

**Reorienting Orientalization:
Intrasite Networks of Value and Consumption in Central Italy**

By

Jessica Catherine Nowlin

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The waters of the Mediterranean during the early first millennium BCE were teeming with ships, heavily laden with diverse wares and peoples from regions surrounding this inland sea. The ease and frequency of communications, which was so characteristic of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, now began to stretch further west, bringing coastal zones that may have previously seen intermittent boats and traders from the east, into even tighter and more regular contact with the broader Mediterranean world. In the midst of these contacts, peoples carried with them ideas, religions, and cosmologies that were depicted on the objects they transported, shaping their interactions with each new group of people. And when they arrived on the shores of new lands, they were similarly met with entirely different sets of objects, customs and ways of life. The ways in which such encounters brought about complicated entanglements with radically new results for all of the cultures involved, and particularly the ripple effects that emanated from these meetings, is at the core of what this dissertation seeks to consider.

Although these types of encounters occurred throughout the Mediterranean at different times during the first millennium depending upon location, no situation was alike. Local differences of geography and culture within the western Mediterranean, along with the different combinations of people and objects that arrived at each coast, made each outcome unique. Italy stands at the center of the Mediterranean, at the crossroad of the eastern and western sides of the sea, in addition to serving as a channel of access to inland central Europe. As a peninsula that juts into the sea, Italy took part in

Mediterranean interaction from three different coastlines – along the Tyrrhenian, Ionian and Adriatic seas – each with different intensities of contact between local groups and foreign traders or in some cases, foreign settlers. The results of this contact along the coasts, within material culture and broader cultural practices, then triggered ripple effects of transformation, resistance and intentional continuity within the peninsula. It is this complex *mélange* that makes Italy, and particularly central Italy, such a critical setting for teasing out the varieties of contacts and local reactions to being more closely connected with previously unfamiliar realms. This dissertation seeks to explore the ramification of foreign entanglements on local networks of interaction that stretch beyond the initial zone of contact along the coasts.

The Apennine region of central Italy is enmeshed within a number of local Italian trade networks connected to groups that have access to longer distance resources. Located in the middle of central Italy, it is closely linked to both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts, as well as to the Greek colonies situated to the south. The Etruscans and Latins of the Tyrrhenian coast began to have greater contact with the eastern Mediterranean, particularly through Phoenician and Greek traders, at the beginning of the 8th century BCE, although intermittent contact stretches back into the Bronze Age. Within the Adriatic Sea, Greek interaction and settlement had a long history in southern regions such as Apulia, and the frequency of Greek and eastern Mediterranean trade within this narrowly interconnected sea gradually increases over the course of the first millennium BCE. The Adriatic played a greater role, arguably, as a facilitator of trade between central Europe and the Mediterranean, and Italian coastal settlements benefited from being situated along this pivotal route. At the edges of all of these zones of contact

and trade sits interior Abruzzo, which is the focus of this dissertation, and in which we are able to observe how phenomena of contact develop at the fringes.

In this dissertation I examine the local outcomes of increased economic interaction and culture contact for two cemeteries, Campovalano and Fossa, during a period that has been described traditionally as the ‘Orientalizing’ period. I work from a diachronic perspective, analyzing the funerary ritual at both sites before and after the arrival of imported objects from Etruria and further abroad. The vast majority of the archaeological knowledge that we have from the central Apennines in the ‘Orientalizing’ period is of a funerary nature, thus limiting my consideration of this period to mortuary data. Although this dissertation depends heavily on funerary data, since my investigation centers on determining the effects of increased contact with the Mediterranean world, it is not intended to be a full mortuary analysis of each cemetery.

In order to eschew the earlier biased frameworks created by the term ‘Orientalizing’, I combine quantitative methods of archaeological analysis with anthropological theories of value, art history and post-colonialism in order to investigate how imported objects, styles and practices from the eastern Mediterranean were accepted, transformed and in some cases rejected within local communities. Working to build a more holistic view of society and material culture, I employ multivariate statistics and network science to understand changes in funerary ritual from a bottom-up perspective at both sites, framing them within the context of the central Abruzzo and coastal Adriatic. These methods show that although certain communities adopt new practices while incorporating local elements and traditions, other communities maintain substantial continuity even when encountering new ideas and practices. From these nuanced local

perspectives, then, it is possible to articulate the larger mosaic of cultural contact and change that occurs at this time throughout the Mediterranean.

Summary of Chapters

The term ‘orientalizing’ has been a cornerstone of study of this period of change within central Italy from between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE. It forms the basis for understanding both the material culture of the chronological period and the way in which cultural change occurs; however, a detailed historiography of the term’s development within the context of Italian archaeology has until now been lacking. In chapter 2, I explore the intellectual and political theories that shaped both the study of the material from this period and the development of the term ‘orientalizing’ itself. This chapter contextualizes the development of the art historical term ‘orientalizing’, and the investigation of Etruscan origins, within the broader historical and political environment of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Study of the long-standing question of Etruscan origins was often used to bolster Italian nationalism, particularly during the Risorgimento. However, the evidence of material similarities between objects discovered in Etruria, Greece and the Near East during the 19th century indicated participation in a broader, Mediterranean-wide artistic style. It is within this backdrop that Alexander Conze first defined an ‘orientalizing’ style, and Alessandro Della Seta formalized ‘orientalizing’ as a chronological period within Etruscan art history. The term ‘orientalizing’, however, was not just meant as a tool for defining artistic styles or periods, but as a project in Orientalism: defining the birth of civilization in the West against Eastern peoples and traditions, marking the triumph of Western artistic invention

over Eastern decorative influence, and condensing the artistic and intellectual contributions from the eastern Mediterranean into an amorphous “Orient”. Because the term was so fundamentally shaped by 19th and 20th century nationalism, colonialism and Orientalism, I argue that we should move away from using it as a description of cultural change and a chronological marker.

Within Chapter 3, I move forward in scholarly history to discuss how this period of Mediterranean interaction has been studied more recently. Although conceptions of the nature of contact and the process of cultural change within Etruria have remained focused on the elite emulation of an eastern lifestyle, post-colonial approaches from other regions within the Mediterranean offer productive frameworks for addressing the period within central Italy: these include contextual considerations of artistic style, hybridity and consumption. These approaches argue for a long-term consideration of the processes of change, situating new objects and practices within preexisting local traditions. Fundamentally, in order to avoid previous assumptions made concerning imported objects, it is essential to reconsider the notion of value as something not inherent to the import itself. I argue that by understanding value as emerging through action and particularly those actions connected to social relations, we must refocus our study on the funerary ritual enacted for the deceased, and understand how imported objects and practices fit within this structure.

In light of this new approach, I then move to a discussion of the archaeological background of the central Apennines, the region in which my case studies are located, as well as describe my methodology within Chapter 4. The two case studies, Campovalano and Fossa, are located amid a larger Iron Age cultural milieu that has come to be

described as the central Italian *koiné*. The cultural similarities within the central Apennine mountains form unity that helps to illustrate the funerary ritual and material culture that existed before the arrival of imported objects from Etruria and further abroad. I discuss two key cemeteries from this *koiné*, Colfiorito and Bazzano, as well as a third from just outside the region, Pontecagnano, whose theoretically informed study provides a model for my own research. This is followed by an introduction to each case study itself, including a history of the excavation at each site, an overview of funerary ritual, and its placement within the archaeology of the immediate area. The end of Chapter 4 provides an explanation of the quantitative methods that I employ in Chapters 5-7: hierarchical object clustering with multiscale bootstrap resampling, two-step clustering of tombs, core-periphery network measures and network analysis. This section outlines a general introduction to the quantitative methods while a more detailed and technical description of each method and their underlying concepts is given in Appendix I.

It is in these three chapters, 5-7, that I provide a detailed, micro-historical exploration of the changes in funerary ritual at Fossa and Campovalano. Chapter 5 focuses on Campovalano, studying the funerary ritual through object and tomb clustering. Since this site exhibits traits that have traditionally been characterized as ‘orientalizing’, particularly the practice of funerary feasting, I have used this chapter to question the basic assumptions of ‘princely’ graves that set themselves apart and the arrival of a coherent ‘orientalizing package’. Through object clustering, I am able to build an understanding of funerary ritual and the changes that it integrates without leaning on the heavily laden term ‘orientalizing’. In chapter 6, the attention shifts to Fossa, which has been conceived of as lacking obvious changes associated with an ‘orientalizing’

phenomenon and considered a site of continuity. I employ core-periphery analysis to determine the most critical elements of funerary ritual for the community and observe how elements of this ritual shift and meld in subtle ways over time. I also apply object clustering in order to look for unrecognized patterns in grave good deposition to see whether or not the assumption of continuity is well-founded. Through both of these techniques, I have been able to identify slight shifts in practice and transformation of imports that show an active engagement with forces of change, and demonstrate the effort required to produce consistent practice.

Chapter 7 looks at one of the most recognizable aspects of the period and considers the role that ‘orientalizing’ style and iconography play in the construction of community identity. By employing Feldman’s notion of communities of style alongside a network analysis approach, I explore how certain motifs and styles become either integrated, or rejected from both Campovalano and Fossa. By looking at networks based on grave good similarity in roughly 50-year time slices, I interrogate the role that network structure played on the diffusion of new decorative elements. In this chapter I find that at Campovalano, imagery that connects new Mediterranean-wide motifs to those from Bronze Age local contexts are executed in a local style in order to aid in the acceptance of the new practice of feasting, while Fossa shows that the divorcing of imagery and function leads to a lack of popularity for such decorative schemes.

After the detailed analysis of the funerary data from the previous three chapters, Chapter 8 contextualizes these findings within broader regional and theoretical frameworks. For Campovalano, it considers the social role that feasting played in materializing forms of male power while continuing forms of female expressions of

identity. This is part of a larger process in which those at the top of the social hierarchy employ the ‘invention of tradition’ to legitimize new practices. At Fossa, the number of subtle shifts and emendations of funerary practice, through an overall trend of continuity, is considered for the social and political processes that enable such a maintenance of tradition. The trends at both sites are then set against the surrounding sites in each region in order to build an understanding of the nature of local, inland exchange within central Italy during this time.

Finally, Chapter 9 presents my conclusions, a discussion of the applicability of the quantitative methods employed, and paths for future research. Overall, this dissertation argues that large phenomena of cultural contact need to be observed locally, from the ground-up, rather than seeking to build sweeping, overarching narratives that would cloud the agency of individuals and groups. Additionally, it provides an example of the benefits of exploring the edges of such a phenomenon, since these areas require both a contextual study of the local setting, and an open mind as to the varieties of responses groups may have to encountering change. Communities once considered conservative or traditional in light of broader cultural change can show that preserving certain cultural practices actually involves tactical changes and accommodations. Furthermore, this research asserts that certain types of quantitative analysis in archaeological research are useful not only for raising patterns that had previously gone unnoticed, but also for interrogating the usefulness and applicability of categorical definitions that are often left unconsidered.

Chapter 2: Orientalization and its Modern Historical Milieu

2.1 Orientalization: Tracing the Term

The tale of the establishment and study of what eventually became the Orientalizing period is one tied to the pace of the discovery of antiquities, the gradual clarification of art historical chronologies, and the modern political movements between the 18th and 20th centuries. Tracing these developments not only shows the importance of the subject matter to the construction of modern national and regional identities, but even to how people constructed an idea of so-called “Western civilization”. Although narrowly conceived of today as the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, this is not always how the Orientalizing period was imagined. Before it was a seemingly concrete chronological period, it was an *idea*, one of where, when, and how the West became “civilized”. This was envisioned first as a question of where this civilization originated, something particularly tied to the nationalist movements of Europe during the 19th century (García 2007: 77–78). Then, as historical chronologies became more precise through excavations and the “East” was firmly perceived as the realm of older, earlier advanced civilizations, study began to focus on exactly how this “eastern wisdom” was not only transferred from East to West, but also reworked and improved in the process, thereby providing a new leaping off point for “Western civilization” (Marchand 1996). These issues were navigated through all of the prominent intellectual disciplines of the western world between the 18th-20th centuries: literature, history, philology, art history, anthropology and archaeology. Each discipline attacked questions of origins, civilization, interaction with the East and artistic development from their own perspective, and tracing

chronologically the developments of each field reveals exactly how this period, or idea, was constructed.

Yet because this quest for the foundations of western civilization was important to all European nations, untangling the varieties of stakeholders involved is extremely complicated. It is not a coincidence, for example, that scholars shaped an Orientalizing period in Greece, Italy, France and Spain, and that a great number of German, British, and other northern European thinkers became deeply involved in this idea and eventual period of study. Due to this complicated and tangled history, I will center my narrative historiography on the study of the Orientalizing period in Italy, before broadening my discussion to more recent developments of its study throughout the Mediterranean in the next chapter. This focus on the Italian use of the term is critically important because, although there have been many seminal works interrogating the way in which Greek art and the Orient have been studied (S.P. Morris 1989; S.P. Morris 1992; Gunter 2009), as well as how German scholarship in particular was involved in this question (Marchand 1996; Marchand 2010), to my knowledge, an investigation of the political and intellectual milieu surrounding the relationship of pre-Roman peoples to the Orient has heretofore been lacking¹.

The way in which the term “orientalizing” was constructed, and particularly the political reasons to which it was turned, critically undermine the further use of the term, either as a chronological period, an adjectival description of specific material, or – even most problematically – as a description of cultural process through the word

¹ Barbanera of course provides a history of Italian archaeology, which inevitably includes elements of this story, and the recent volume on the origins of the Etruscans examines some of the modern political context behind this search (Barbanera & Terrenato 1998; Bellelli 2012).

Orientalization. The term “orientalizing” was fundamentally constructed for and shaped by three of the most dominant and problematic discourses of the 19th and 20th centuries: nationalism, Orientalism and colonialism. Its birth was not simply an unbiased collection of neutral observations concerning artistic objects in order to date a chronological period, but rather an Orientalist project aimed at further distancing European civilization from the east. This was particularly true for the term’s use in Greek art history, the context in which “orientalizing” was first used, but when it was built into the history of ancient Italian art at the turn of the 20th century, it took on an additional colonial valence. Such a colonial framework became critical in the shift away from cultural historical understandings of this eastern material and towards explanations that emphasized process and social and cultural change, particularly in the work of Massimo Pallottino (Pallottino 1947; Pallottino 1965). Once the presence of “orientalizing” material expanded to mean the adoption of a new, eastern way of life rather than simply a new trend in artistic style, this singular interpretation became crystalized within the term Orientalization.

Although one can almost always find traces of the historical and political milieu within purportedly unbiased research and writing, the political discourses of nationalism, colonialism and Orientalism, engendered a categorical flaw in the term “orientalizing” which has stymied the construction of alternative narratives for nearly two centuries of ancient history of the Italic peoples. When early 19th century nationalism sought but failed to find civilization’s origins amongst European nations (Kohl & Fawcett 1995; García & Champion 1996; Kristiansen 1996; Kristiansen 1998; García 2007), and when such origins could not be found within Europe itself, the West needed to define a time in which it acquired its most important institutions. These were seen to be writing (through

the epic of Homer), aristocracy and the development of a ruling class, and urbanism: all critical components that could be traced back to this encounter with the East. Each of these institutions, therefore, with the more recent exception of urbanism, has remained a key element within modern interpretations of the “orientalizing” period.

The Orientalism of the late 19th century, besides creating the very division between East and West, Europe and Orient, has provided a linguistic tone of prejudice and judgment to the interpretations of both the materials and institutions routinely categorized as part of this period. The labeling of foreign imports as *exotica* has meant that study of these materials was, until quite recently, frequently isolated from their original funerary context; moreover, such objects have been typically narrowly interpreted as luxury objects of opulent elites meant only to display power, particularly in the form of a newly-arrived monarchy from older eastern realms (i.e. the “princely” tombs) (Riva & Vella 2006a). In light of broader European colonialist attitudes, and as Italy engaged in its own colonial ventures in Africa at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, colonialism emerged as an interpretative framework for understanding the way in which cultural change occurred within ancient Italy, from primitive Iron Age tribes to the high civilization of the Etruscans and eventually Rome. As one major element of this change, the wholesale acceptance of the banquet, and modified acceptance of Greek drinking practice, are critically tied to these colonial narratives, and both of these practices became the centerpieces of a Hellenocentric, view of “orientalizing” elite culture that focuses on Greek colonial consequences. One can see how the interpretative baggage attached to the powerful forces of nationalism, Orientalism and colonialism are unsuitably encapsulated within a single little term, “orientalizing”.

While drawing out all of these connections to dominant political structures of the time, I nevertheless want to emphasize that this is not meant to completely undermine the sheer volume and astuteness of work done by earlier scholars in trying, for example, to understand why one might find an Assyrian bowl in the foothills of the Italian Apennines: something which must have been absolutely baffling for material so ancient at the beginning of the 19th century. From the minute discernment of differences in artistic style in order to determine the location of original production, to the compilation of vast tomes cataloguing various finds from multiple countries throughout the Mediterranean in order to establish a more holistic and integrated chronology, each of the scholars mentioned within this chapter did an immense service to the field. While working from the vast body of knowledge built by these efforts, however, it remains essential to bear in mind that all works of knowledge-construction are inevitably historically and politically situated, including my own, and the biases to be found in each of these efforts must be understood as far as possible before attempting to build an interpretation that corrects for these issues, as I seek to do here.

2.2 From Monarchies to Nationalism: Laying the historical backdrop

Well-before the birth of the term “orientalizing”, there was interest in the relationship between Italy’s pre-Roman peoples and the eastern Mediterranean. The focus of attention was centered on the Etruscans, whose unique language and seemingly eastern characteristics had made the question of their origins an ever-alluring topic, even in antiquity. Ancient sources provided two possible answers: Dionysius of Halicarnassus asserted that the Etruscans were autochthonous, native peoples of Italy while Herodotus,

along with the vast majority of ancient sources (Briquel 1990, 479-88), stated that the Etruscans had migrated from Lydia to Italy². When later inquiry took place in the form of Thomas Dempster's *magnum opus* on the Etruscans in the early 1600s, he argued for an autochthonous origin for the Etruscans. Dempster's work, however, was a commission for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II de Medici, who had provided Dempster with protection and refuge from his long string of quarrels and run-ins with the law. Here, at the beginnings of more modern studies of the Etruscan and pre-Roman history of Italy, Dempster's work signals the increased intersection of politics and scholarly inquiry into the past. Titled *De Etruria Regali*, Dempster dedicated six books to the history and customs of the Etruscans, and the seventh book to the history of the Medici (Dempster 1723). Published in its entirety nearly one hundred years later, this work sought to establish a number of intellectual traditions: the first, the Etruscans' autochthony, and their role as the originators of civilization on the Italian peninsula, the second, the monarchic and truly royal character of Etruria, and the third, the legitimacy of Medici rule mediated through the antiquity of Etruscan monarchy. By locating the origins of the Etruscans, a people, he argued, governed by monarchy rather than a series of aristocrats, within the heart of Medici-controlled Tuscany, Dempster eschewed the theories of eastern origins while at the same time asserting their independently kingly-nature in an effort to justify the hegemony of the Medici. Such an emphasis on the kingly and monarchic nature of the Etruscans would become extremely important in later characterizations of the Orientalizing period, although it is important to note here that this conception of Etruscan kingship was one which was conceived as being original to the

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.26-30; Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.94.2-7

Etruscans, and not derived from the East. Although this work ushered in a period of Etruscheria in the 18th century, a time characterized by pseudo-scientific practices of inquiry into the past, it also foreshadowed later studies of the 19th century whose quest for origins among the early Iron Age peoples of Europe became increasingly intertwined in growing nationalist political movements.

The beginning of the 19th century was a dynamic time for Europe, an ever-changing landscape of over-thrown royal dynasties, rebellions for independence, and the coalescence of smaller states into larger nation-states based on a common identity. Starting with the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, several political movements began throughout Europe that opposed the large multi-ethnic empires or small isolated kingdoms of old in favor of nation-states that were built on economic, social and cultural unity. In order to build legitimacy, these newly-constructed nation-states looked to the past for historically-based precedents for their own identity and existence, seeking something new, which was not based on the previous idea of the divinely-sanctioned legitimacy of ruling kings and emperors³. A great deal of interest ensued in the pre-Roman indigenous peoples of Europe, who could serve as the historical forebearers of these new modern nations, as peoples already-established before the Romans arrived to impose their own over-arching rule. The rise of nationalist origin stories came to prominence just as the phenomenon of Etruscheria was winding down at the end of the 18th century. The question of the origins of the Etruscans achieved a truly

³ In France, for example, this was called Celtomania, and centered on basing the modern nation state on the tribe of Celts rather than the Franks, who had come to represent the noble aristocracy. Along with serving as the ancient basis for modern France, many French scholars sought to assert the Celts as the both the first as well as the greatest people and civilization of Europe. La Tour d'Auvergne (1792) stated that Celtic was the original human language, Johanneau (1807) claimed that all European peoples had descended from the Celts, and Maréchal (1799) believed that Pythagoras had received his wisdom while spending time with the Druids in Paris (Dietler 1994; De Francesco 2013).

international level of debate, with conflicting opinions from within the Italian and Northern European scholarly communities. This debate was not simply a dispute over where the Etruscans, and through them the earliest advanced civilization within Italy, came from, but rather where “western civilization” within Europe originated. Consequently, scholarly communities throughout Europe had a stake in identifying the earliest and most influential civilization, since this would bolster the legitimacy of each newly emerging nationality.

In the midst of these debates, a third possibility was added to the theories on Etruscan origins: they were originally from a Rhaetian tribe that descended into the Italian peninsula from north of the Alps in military conquest. This thesis was originally put forward by Frenchman Nicolas Fréret in 1753 and later gained the following of Danish-German scholar B. G. Niebuhr and the Germans Theodore Mommsen and K.O. Müller (Momigliano 1994: 309; De Francesco 2013: 77; Briquel 2013: 36). This origin story, unlike those derived from literary sources, was based on the linguistic similarities with Rhaetic, a language related to Etruscan, which had few linguistic similarities with any other nearby languages. The connection with the Rhaetians was made on the basis of inscriptions and linguistics, a hallmark of German philology and scholarship of this time, and was further bolstered by the discovery of the Bronze Age *Terramare* culture later in the 19th century (Pall 1975: 67). Although the methods employed to form this origin story were a strong reaction against the pseudo-scientific practices of 18th century Etruscheria, this new more rational and scientific approach obviously did not remove all bias. The concentration of northern European scholars in support of a theory that placed the origins

of the first “civilized” people of Italy within central Europe shows the tendency of these debates to form ideological camps around nationalistic interests.

2.3 Italian Nationalism: finding the pre-Roman precedent for Italian unification

The nationalistic preferences of foreign intellectuals within the debate on Etruscan origins prompted in turn a renewed interest in the autochthony theory amongst some Italian scholars. One of the more fanciful views was asserted by Angelo Mazzoldi, who pushed the origins of western civilization back earlier than the Etruscans to the mythical Pelasgians, the predecessors to the Greeks, whom he believed were the autochthonous peoples of Italy (Mazzoldi 1846). Contradictory to most opinions at the time, Mazzoldi believed that following the dramatic cataclysm and submerging of Atlantis, these Italic Pelasgians spread from the Italian peninsula throughout the Mediterranean, *exporting* civilization to Greece, Egypt and Phoenicia as they traveled (De Francesco 2013: 88). This study reversed the typical chronology and direction of the “civilizing” process in a nationalistic effort to give Italy primacy, but its lack of philological and historical rigor meant that it gained few supporters.

Another, more politically minded response came from Vincenzo Cuoco, who wrote *Platone in Italia* in 1804, which followed Plato and a young Athenian named Cleobolus on a journey through the ancient cities of southern Italy, locales familiar to Cuoco, who was a native of Molise (Cuoco 1804). In this account, Plato and young Cleobolus considered the level of civilization reached here to be far superior to that of Greece and viewed the Pythagorean school that they visited to be the center of Italian politics and morals (De Francesco 2013: 36). The civilization at the center of this

narrative was the Etruscans, who Cuoco argued had united all of Italy at a time well before the Trojan War. A confusion of chronology however, led Cuoco to believe that this already-established Etruscan empire had unified Italy before then going on to colonize Greece, bringing its own knowledge and civilization along with it, and eventually founding the Greek colonies in Magna Graecia as a *return* to the Italian peninsula by an originally Etruscan group. Within this single work Cuoco sought to place the Etruscans, and therefore Italy, as the oldest civilization within Europe, while also establishing the cultural superiority of Italy to Greece: the latter of course was celebrated by German scholarship as the pinnacle and highest ideal of ancient Mediterranean civilizations. At a time when the Italian peninsula was fragmented between the French Empire and the kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, Sardinia and Italy, *Platone in Italia* established a historical precedent, set in the earliest period in Italian history, for a culturally unified Italy. Not only did it provide a model for future Italian unification, it also placed Italian civilization ahead of the rest of Europe, as the place where western civilization was founded and spread throughout the Mediterranean.

In a similar assertion of the autochthony of Italic peoples and civilization, historian and archaeologist Giuseppe Micali put forth an alternative ancient historical model of unification through federated, independent regions. Beginning with his publication of *Italia avanti il dominio dei romani* in 1810, Micali explored the nature of Italy and its diverse peoples before the arrival and control of the Roman Empire. In the first sentence of the first chapter, he especially decries the fact that scholars have looked to Egypt, Greece, Asia and the North for traces of Italian ancestors, alluding to the debate on Etruscan origins, but had not thought to look within Italy itself (Micali 1810). In

attempting to come to a better understanding of the pre-Roman peoples of Italy, Micali contended for the autochthonous nature of each of these groups, not just the Etruscans, as well as their common cultural heritage. He believed that the autochthonous peoples of Italy were independent, differentiated groups who were unified by a common cultural model while being loosely, non-hierarchically organized (De Francesco 2013: 65). This picture of early Italy envisioned a system of loosely federated states, coexisting in harmony and united as a single civilization: in other words, an ideal example for those who sought to unify Italy during the Risorgimento. In this model, people throughout the peninsula were not required to give up their regional traditions for the sake of Italian nationalism since a specifically Italian civilization had once existed in the past that achieved unity while maintaining a particular amount of regional autonomy. Micali asserted this history and regional autonomy in a number of different works throughout the early 19th century, making his scholarship a centerpiece of intellectual thought for the Risorgimento.

The employment of Micali's comprehensive look into the pre-Roman peoples of Italy within the project of Italian nationalism imbued the position of autochthony with political authority, making such an opinion in the debate on Etruscan origins rather fraught. The assertion of autochthony carried with it an implication of the primacy and superiority of Italian culture; yet as more and more evidence of earlier, advanced civilizations in the eastern Mediterranean came to light, maintaining such a position for Italy as the origin of European and Mediterranean civilization became increasingly difficult. We can see evidence of this in the evolution of Micali's writing from the beginning to the end of his career. In a letter to his friend Melchiorre Delfico written in

1790, Micali voiced his *opposition* to the other prominent theories of Italian origins at the time:

I will never be persuaded that an insurrection of Germanic tribes or Celts or, as others would have it, a colony of Lydians, Phoenicians, or Egyptians had, as if by a miracle, populated Italy. It appears to me far more in conformity with nature and reason that, in a country where there has been such marvelous physical and moral development in every period, there existed in the remote past an indigenous people, who by their own natural industry were able to elevate themselves to an astonishing degree of culture and knowledge (De Francesco 2013, 57 translation of Delfico 1904, 172–173).

This opinion changed, however, as more archaeological materials were found in Etruria, and as England, France and Germany conducted more archaeological explorations in the Near East. In his final edition of *Monumenti inediti a illustrazione della Storia degli antichi popoli italiani*, Micali conceded:

If, however, profound ancient knowledge was first communicated to the West from the region where the sun rises, the nationality of the Italic peoples was indigenous, as it was the work of our wisdom to weave a system of well-organised civil instruction, the best suitable to the genius of a people tutored by the fluent imagination of their skies and tending by nature to the individual increase of their faculties. The great strength of the Etruscan institution was in the firmness of political order and in the tenacity of the law; but if they maintained the form with rigour, then as time drew on new needs, new desires and new customs were triumphant (De Francesco 2013, 78 translation of Micali 1844, IV–V).

Here, Micali continues to assert his opinion of the inherent superiority of the Italians, but now had to allow that not all of Italy's strengths were of her own making. In order to keep the Italian peoples indigenous to the peninsula, he needed to divide descent from knowledge, and imply some kind of process of cultural transferal that for the most part was left undefined. Such a change in the 1844 edition, after 30 years of writing on the topic of Italian origins, was not a coincidence. The publication of the French Napoleonic expedition to Egypt between 1809 and 1828 provided hundreds of images of Egyptian objects and monuments for the scholarly community and ignited Egyptomania

throughout Europe (*Description de l'Égypte* 1809-1828; Curl 1994). When the Regolini-Galassi tomb was then found in Cerveteri in 1836, and its elaborate finds – such as the golden fibulae, bowls and pectoral – could be compared with the recently published material from Egypt, it must have been difficult for Micali to continue to deny links between Italy and Egypt (Figure 2.1).

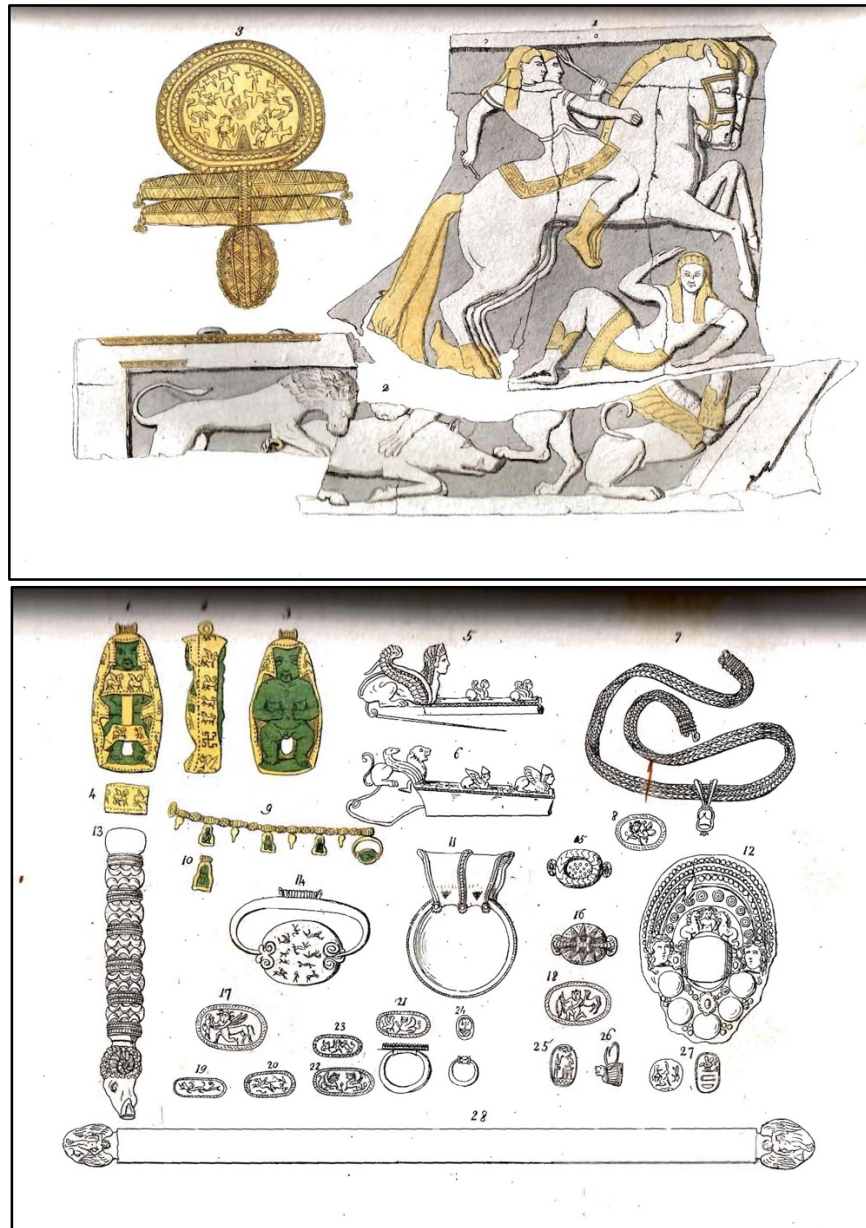


Figure 2.1: Objects from the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Micali's *Monumenti inediti a illustrazione della Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (Micali 1844 Tav XLV and XLVI)

In his description of this connection, however, we see Orientalism begin to rear its ugly head. In the notion that such ancient knowledge which was passed from the East needed to be organized within “institutions”, “law” and “rigour”, we see the process by which Micali and others felt that “the East” had to be forced to become Western. This not so subtle infusion of Orientalism into the transfer of objects, knowledge and ideas began a trend that will stretch beyond the conceptualization of Italy’s origins and into the study of art history, becoming ingrained within the language used to describe “orientalizing” material.

At the middle of the 19th century, as the proponents of European nationalism played a great role in shaping the intellectual milieu, working to employ antiquity for their own ends, the stage was set for the birth of a formal term to describe the way in which knowledge was transferred from East to West. There was a shift from nationalistic claims to primacy to an emphasis on properly defining the relationship in antiquity between each newly-formed European nation and the “Orient”, which was in the process of being explored and understood. This formalized self-definition of Europe based on a distance from and a superiority to the eastern Other is at the heart of Edward Said’s definition of Orientalism (Said 1978), a phenomenon he was particularly interested in tracing from the same historical period as this increase in interest in the pre-Roman indigenous peoples of Europe. If western peoples could still be autochthonous, they could no longer be hailed as the originators of the understood indices of civilization. Scholars thus had to establish a relationship between East and West that explained, not only how civilization traveled to the West, but also how it was *improved* in the process, thereby affirming the West’s supremacy. In other words, for European scholars the

question became: how did civilization shed its Oriental flaws and provide a strong moral, political, and economic foundation of western civilization? In this regard, ancient historical sources, having served as the basis for various origin stories, could not help to clarify the situation. Instead, archaeological discoveries and art history took the lead in trying to clarify the fraught relationship between East and West, and – since Greece was on the frontlines of this bifurcation – research tended to concentrate on Greek art, with Italian materials subsumed secondarily within that.

2.4 Mid-19th century art history and the neutral classification of finds

Identifying the beginning of the use of “orientalizing” to describe Italian and Etruscan material is quite difficult because, at the time in which the term was invented, ancient Italian art was considered a subset of Greek art, and therefore inextricably intertwined within that larger realm of historiography⁴. This was due to the fact that, since Luigi Lanzi correctly attributed black and red-figure vases found within Etruscan tombs to a Greek origin (Lanzi 1806), Etruscan and Italian art was studied as a specific category under the heading of Greek art until the beginning of the 20th century, when it became its own category of study. The popularity of such vases on the art market, the usefulness of their iconography in chronological dating, and the assertion that Greek art had achieved perfection through the achievement of the idealized form meant that – while Greek art found in Etruscan tombs was incorporated within the evolutionary history of Greek art – Etruscan art proper was seen as something of an imperfect, tangential

⁴ Gunter 2009, chap. 2, discusses the beginning of the term “orientalizing” within Greek scholarship along with tracing the study of the relationship between Greece and the “Orient” back to the time of Homer

digression. When trying to look at the historiography of Etruscan tombs, therefore, one has to unite multiple fields of art historical study from the 19th century: Greek art, Etruscan art, Egyptian art, and eventually Phoenician art. Over the span of the 19th century, the descriptions of and relationships between each of these art historical categories became clarified, but the one over-arching theme that slowly shaped all interpretations of these different art forms would be Orientalism and the intellectual framework it provided for the birth of the term orientalizing.

The beginning of the 19th century was a period of frantic discovery of new objects, new sites from a diverse range of places, and even entirely new artistic styles, unknown until then. When such discoveries were made, their publication was typically characterized by descriptive texts concerning only what was visible on the object itself and the manufacturing technique used to create it, with little to no interpretative framework. This method of archaeological publication fell into the techniques established by the philological approach to archaeology, heavily influenced by the German approach to archaeology at the time.

An example of this in the Etruscan context is one of the initial publications of the material from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, found in 1836 by archpriest Alessandro Regolini and general Vincenzo Galassi outside of Cerveteri, and eventually housed within the Gregorian Etruscan Museum within the Vatican. The 1842 publication of this museum had an entire section dedicated to the finds of the Regolini-Galassi tomb, comprising over thirty plates accompanied by short textual descriptions of the objects illustrated. The accounts were short, direct, entirely concerned with relating the form of the object, how it was made, and the precise nature of the figures represented on any

objects with iconography (Maximis 1842). Even the descriptions of figures such as sphinxes, chimeras, harpies and griffins, as well as foreign animals such as lions, simply identified these figures, using no adjectives to further color the reader's interpretation of these scenes. The only additional characterization given to the objects published from the tomb went to elaborately decorated gold, silver and ivory goods that contained figured scenes, whose figures were regarded as being "grandezza del vero" (Maximis 1842, tav. VIII, XX–XXIII). Labeling the iconography of these goods, funerary objects which will become the most frequently-referenced pieces characterizing the "orientalizing" period in Etruria, with the designation of being "life-size", placed the figures within the upward evolutionary path of an art which is striving to obtain a kind of realism to be met only in later Classical Greek art.

Such a description stands in strong contrast to subsequent adjectives applied to these materials such as foreign, grotesque, or monstrous, Orientalist terms that came to be assigned when objects similar to those found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb were specifically identified as imports from the East. Before they were recognized as imports from the eastern Mediterranean and before they were forced into a broader art historical narrative, these objects were simply described as being true to scale, escaping the Orientalism already present in many of the general histories of art. Published at the same time as Austen Henry Layard's discovery of similar metal bowls at Nineveh (1842) and prior to the display of Cesnola's metal bowls from Cyprus (1880), the goods from the Regolini-Galassi tomb could not be safely fit into an eastern origin and so were not automatically categorized as being exotic depictions of monstrous beings, just in case they were not originally from the Orient.

Once newly-found objects from pre-Roman Italy were identified as imports, however, they quickly gained dismissive and derisive attention. The language used, to be more directly explicated below, illustrates a growing unease, in which there is a developing need to build a historical framework that allows the West to receive such foreign objects, in both Italy and Greece, accepting the productive and positive parts of civilization, while discarding the eastern elements viewed by 19th century Europeans as the negative characteristics of Oriental character, and therefore something to be rejected. The nationalistic character of these nation-states was not to be dependent on originality of civilization, the claim of the earliest nationalistic rhetorics, but rather on the way in which each one encountered, fought with, tamed, and later benefited from the East.

2.5 Alexander Conze: the quest for the origins of art and the creation of the orientalizing style

This shift from a focus on origins to an interest in the encounter between East and West is an intellectual transition that can be observed in the work of Alexander Conze, the German art historian and archaeologist who coined the term “orientalizing” or *orientaliserende*. One of his earliest works, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst*, published in 1870, sought to locate the beginning of Greek art by identifying the earliest artistic style found on Greek painted pottery (Conze 1870). Citing a number of examples observed in European museums and describing their common characteristics, Conze categorized it as consisting of sharp, linear features, zigzags, concentric circles, horizontal bands, diamonds, meanders and animals drawn primarily in outline (Figure 2.2) (Conze 1870: 14–15). The descriptive language used to characterize this style,

which would eventually be called Geometric, is on the whole unbiased, although the term *primitiv* is used frequently.

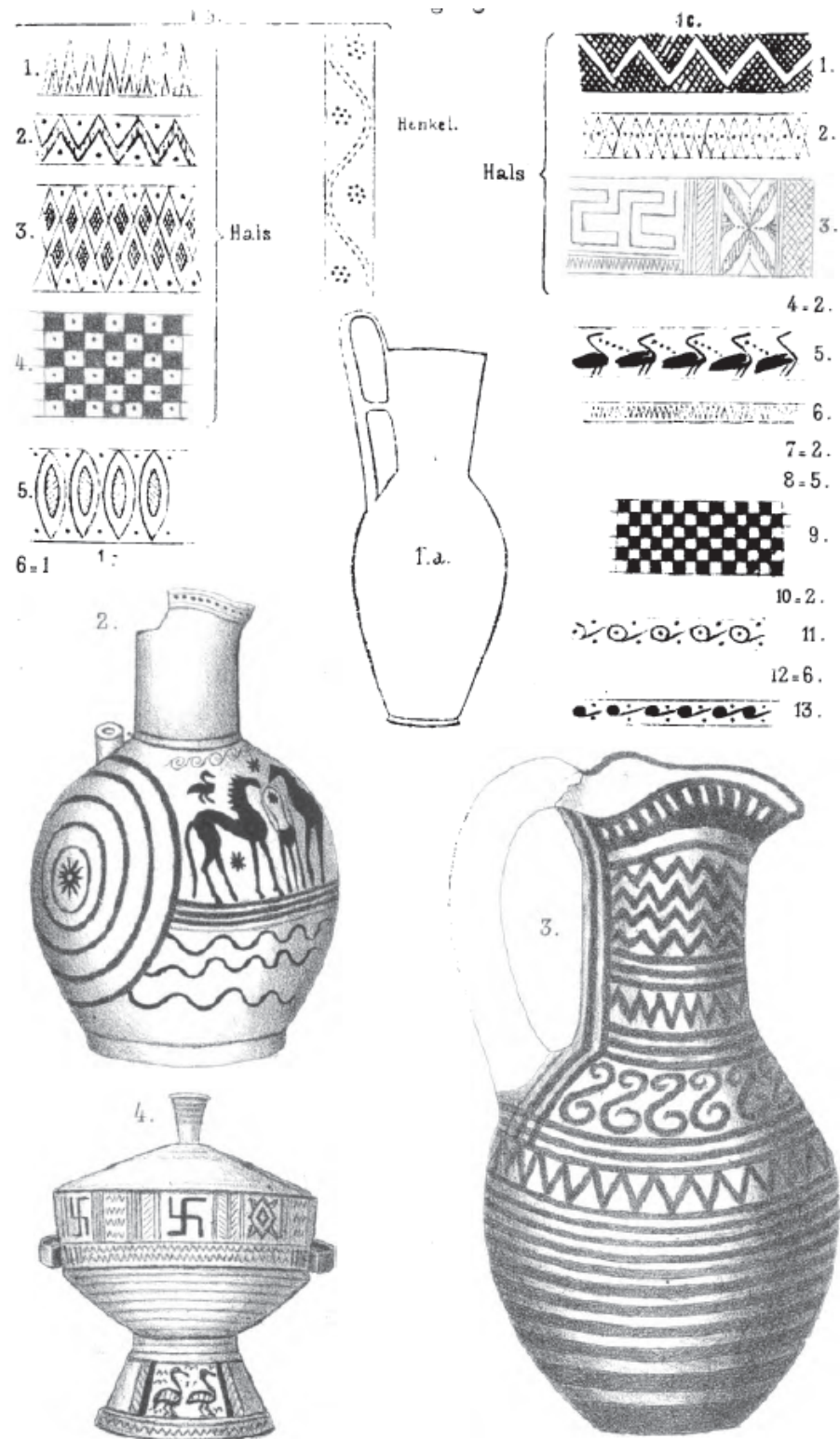


Figure 2.2: Characteristics of the earliest artistic style, Geometric (Conze 1870 Tav V)

After providing a description of the defining elements of the style, Conze further supports his identification by contrasting it to the succeeding *orientaliserende* style (Figure 2.3). Although Conze sees similarities in the preference for parallel horizontal bands, a desire to fill empty space, and the use of animal figures, the primary differences included the new appearance of floral motifs, lions, tigers and hybrid animals, and the reduction of some of the most prominent geometric elements (Conze 1870: 16–18). In this process of distinguishing difference, Conze is embedding the fundamentally divisive principle of Orientalism within a seemingly straightforward identification of artistic style⁵. He is quite literally defining the West, and its earliest period of art, based upon its difference from the later oriental influences that can be seen in *orientaliserende* pottery.



Figure 2.3: Example of style from the succeeding phase, *orientaliserende* (Conze 1870 Tav XI)

⁵ Conze often refers to the pottery of the earliest Greek artistic style as *unsere Vasen*, a slight but subtle way of distinguishing them from the “Other”

Although Conze's project is fundamentally shaped as a project of Orientalism, the language he uses to describe the *orientaliserende* style is actually relatively neutral, unlike the art historical language that will characterize slightly later works on this style. The most suggestive adjectives used to describe this style are *Fülle*, *phantastischen*, *reichere* and *durchgebildete* (Conze 1870: 17–18, 20), words which will come to signify the decline of the older, more advanced East through its desire for wealth, richness and opulence. The definition that Conze constructs for the *orientaliserende* style is one that has remained relatively unchanged even today: painted vessels that are characterized by more elaborate, rounded features, a predominance of fantastic animals and plant forms, and a background filled with zigzags, diamonds and especially rosettes (Conze 1870: 20). Although such a categorization might still fit a particular class of painted pottery, this focus on a single material type would only help in obscuring a broader assemblage of goods in the later expansion of the term.

It seems that this very quality of blurriness made the term *orientaliserende* appealing to Conze for this particular class of pottery. As he notes, other more precise names had been used to describe it (*phönicisirend*, *korinthischen*, *ägyptisirend*); however since the motifs used go back to Assyrian sources originally, Conze chooses the term *orientaliserende* while acknowledging that it is in fact too general (Conze 1870: 19). This preference for a simple umbrella term implies that in the process of movement from Assyrian sources to other peoples within the Near East, each of these unique and entirely different groups of people enacted no significant or noteworthy change, meaning that it was unnecessary to acknowledge the contributions for any particular group. Conze's

concern lay in trying to define the evolution of western art, leaving entirely acceptable a reduction of the complexities and specific histories of the East.

After laying out the characteristics of the two earliest artistic styles of Greek art, Conze does little to explain exactly how eastern influences came to Greece and how the change in style occurred. One thing was clear to him, however: Greece was the first and one of the main disseminators of this new style to the rest of the western Mediterranean. Conze states that *orientaliserende* also spread to Etruria, but only after the Etruscans were influenced by the Greeks; Etruria, in turn, was then the conduit for the influx of these new forms and ideas into Italy. The implication, even from the beginning, was not just that they brought a new artistic style, but that they set in motion, *with* this new style, “historical processes”, which had been absent in the earliest phases of each western nation’s art.

Later in his career, Conze arrived at a possible explanation for the way in which this artistic evolution developed. In his 1897 lecture to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Conze presented “On the Origin of the Visual Arts”, a paper in which he discusses the evolution of his definition of Geometric art after over 20 years of archaeological discoveries, particularly those made by Heinrich Schliemann in Mycenae (Conze 1897). The topic of the lecture demonstrates a clear tie between the intellectually prominent subject of the day, the origins of western civilization, and the development of artistic styles. In his quest to understand the thought process behind the Geometric style, he drew on contemporary ethnographic research of so-called primitive societies in

Australia, Brazil and the peoples of the Pacific Ocean for comparative analogies⁶. By connecting the earlier Geometric style in Greece, which immediately preceded contacts with more advanced civilizations from the East, to the art of “primitive” tribes, Conze established an ancient corollary for those pre-colonial indigenous populations being encountered by European colonists at the time. Conze therefore drew a direct analogy between modern colonial encounters and those of the much earlier “orientalizing” period. He qualified this analogy, however, by stating that in the ancient instance, although:

They were incrementally drawn into the influence from a realm of more abundant artistic forms emanating from the eastern regions of the Mediterranean.... this did not cause their own artistic sensibilities to quickly evaporate as is happening in our own days when these cultures are exposed to the overwhelming influence of the developed cultures (Johns 2012 translation of Conze 1897).

Here, the distinction is made that rather than dropping all artistic tradition in favor of the eastern style, Greece maintained its own artistic trajectory, while incorporating the elements it wished from the east; for Conze Greece was not a passive receptor of culture and civilization, willing to give up everything in the face of an overwhelmingly more advanced society – unlike the European perception of the outcome of modern colonial encounters. In his definition of the Geometric style, Conze intertwines the debate over European origins and the evolution of artistic styles into a direct relationship, thereby *creating* the “orientalizing” period. The idea of the “orientalizing” period is then one of progress, reshaping of artistic style and of advancement.

⁶ Conze cites a number of different ethnographic works by Ernst Grosse, Karl von den Steinen, H. M. Stanley, Garrick Mallery, Anton Springer, Charles H. Read, William H. Holmes and a work on the art of children by Corrado Ricci

2.6 Orientalism within art history: the birth of a style and a chronological period

Preserving the active role of the Greek artist and craftsman under the assumed pressure of Oriental influence is what caused the term “orientalizing” to be chosen as the designation of this period of East/West interaction, even if it took decades to finally become common parlance. This delay was primarily due to the fact that Conze’s original intent in defining the Geometric style was to isolate and explicate the origins of art within western civilization, not to create a new classification, “orientalizing”, or to describe a particular type of interaction. In order to concretely delineate the Geometric style, however, Conze needed, at some level, to define what came afterward in order to provide a bounded limit to his Geometric phase. Since his definition came at a time when Greek art history was especially concerned with assessing the exact nature of Oriental influences upon Greek art, there was no consensus on a concise and finite term to describe the process or period whose products were characterized by a proliferation of wild beasts and vivid floral motifs with strong ties to various locations in the eastern Mediterranean.

As Conze himself acknowledged, “orientalizing”, was not the only potential term in existence at this time that could have been selected. Since scholars were seeking to condense the debate on eastern influences in Greece into a coherent term, new designations emerged that limited this interaction to a single period. In 1880, C.T. Newton articulated a chronological span called the Graeco-Phoenician period which fell between the time of the Homeric poems (850 B.C.E) and the fall of Nineveh and the Assyrian Empire (560 B.C.E) (Newton 1880: 289). Newton crafted this period in light of the new finds that Schliemann published from Mycenae only four years before, which

provided more data on which to base newly-established chronologies. Although Newton's definition was clearly meant to apply to Greece, finds from Italy were often used as examples to describe objects associated with the period. Comparisons to scenes and objects in Homer are commonly connected to these materials as well, again even for goods found in Italy⁷. Newton compares, for example, the design and techniques used on the Shield of Achilles to Phoenician bowls and the great shield found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb. These examples point to an early period in scholarship in which Italian materials were already tightly connected with Homer, a mode of discussion that is still incredibly prominent in interpretation today (Rathje 1990; Mandolesi & Sannibale 2012). In a nearly identical use of language, Maxime Collignon called a similar time span the Graeco-Oriental period in his 1886 *A Manual of Greek Archaeology* (Collignon & Wright 1886). This too was focused on a period in which Greeks received ideas from "more advanced" civilizations to the east, but Collignon readily admitted that the chronological boundaries, particularly for the beginning, are rather fuzzy. He sets the lower limits securely at the end of the 7th century B.C.E, however, when "the Greeks were in full possession of technical processes, and that at about that date the history of Greek art really begins" (Collignon & Wright 1886: 27). In addition, there is again a connection with Homeric civilization, which Collignon categorized as being "half Oriental", stating that much of its architecture and decoration more closely resemble palaces in Assyria than Greece.

Both of these alternative terms have a flaw which prevented them from being chosen over "orientalizing". The Graeco-Phoenician/Graeco-Oriental title places the two

⁷ Newton 1880, 290–291; uses Homeric word *athyrmata* to describe the type of objects that characterize the period, such as engraved shells found at Vulci, Kamiros, Nimrud and Bethlehem.

camps of West and East at the same level, as equal partners in defining the chronological phase (although Graeco does take the primary position). Almost counterintuitively, the choice of the term “orientalizing” does two things to sublimate the East in order to emphasize the achievements of the West. The first, is that by removing “Graeco” at the beginning, it tacitly implies that this group is the natural subject of the term “orientalizing”. To put it another way, the Greeks are the active group to whom this period refers; the Orient cannot have an “orientalizing” phase. The term’s open quality also means that it can refer to any civilization that is part of the West (such as Italy) as long as the group is not already considered Oriental. The term’s second effect is that – by making this entirely an “orientalizing” phase, one which could not also be experienced by peoples actually in the Orient such as Egypt, Phoenicia, Assyria, etc. – it actively excludes the people of the Orient from being any part of Mediterranean history. By placing their contributions at a nascent stage of development for Greek art, they are enshrined as a people frozen in time, not subject to the evolutionary changes of the next chronological phases. The Orient, therefore, played no part in the artistic perfection later achieved in Classical Greece.

The exclusionary practices that led to the preference of “orientalizing” above other designations for the period were greatly influenced by the pervasiveness of Orientalism in Greek art history at this time. Many of the handbooks of the late 1800s contain a language of what, post-Said, we would call ‘Otherness’ used to construct the Oriental elements present within Greek art as a harrowing episode in the West’s encounter with the eastern Other. The types of representations found on pottery and other imported objects are described in a variety of deprecating terms, from something

that is merely dismissive, such as “decoration” or “ornament” in opposition to narrative imagery (Harrison 1885: 63, 127, 146, 158), to the more insidious connection with “luxury” and “opulence” (Martha 1889: 105, 114, 584), or the descriptions of animal friezes as “monsters”, “horrid” and “mongrel” (Harrison 1885: 63, 96, 146; 135; 179). Heroes in this struggle, the Greek artist had to endure a period of Oriental influence, obtain the technical skills he needed in order to express his own artistic genius, and then break before the truly negative attributes of the Orient had any permanent repercussions (Collignon & Wright 1886: 15, 26, 33). Jane Harrison described this as a “flood of Oriental contagion of hideous forms” that the Greeks had to fight back and Maxime Collignon as a phase from which Greek artists needed to “emancipate” themselves (Harrison 1885, 179; Collignon and Wright 1886, 27 and also Birch 1858, 269). Such emancipatory rhetoric is particularly important because the time of Oriental influence is depicted as one of “slavish copying and imitation”, something to be overcome in order to finally achieve the ideal of Classical Greek art⁸. This attitude is most dramatically presented by Jane Harrison:

When we watch the Greek artist so to speak face to face with the Phoenician workman, it is then we best feel the contrast, the essential, unutterable, unchangeable difference between the two. At first the Greek, beholding this wonderful mastery of technique, is amazed; he copies blindly with reverent astonishment; he decorates his vase with a series of friezes which are but rows of Oriental monsters; he takes the pattern ready made, marveling at its dexterity, feeling its decorative fitness. But *he was not born to decorate; he has a soul to think*, and therefore a thought to express; so bit by bit, the Oriental monsters go down to their own place, they are subordinated to purely decorative functions, which from their very lifelessness, they so admirably fulfill. The main body of his space the artist keeps to utter his thought – at first naturalistically, later, as we shall see, ideally. It is in this absorbing and assimilating of the good, this refusing of the evil, nay, more, in this *turning of what is expressively bad into what is decoratively*

⁸ This stigma was passed on to the Etruscans, who were often thought of as imitating Greek art and not living up to their ideal (Izzet 2007b for a full discussion of this bias against Etruscan art).

good, that we see the artist instinct of an artist-born race (Harrison 1885, 146–147; italics my own).

While this quotation is filled with much of the typically pejorative language identified above, it also reveals something extremely important for how 19th century scholarship built the beginnings of western civilization within the “orientalizing” period. The period’s construction followed an observation noted in an 1835 work on ancient sculpture in which Richard Payne Knight commented that the remote periods of history are often classed “by some common attribute of imperfection” (Knight 1835: xlv). The imperfection of this period, therefore, is the Oriental. In the quest to clarify the relationship between East and West, these works of Greek art history, then, need to subordinate the imperfection of the East by sublimating their contributions to Western civilization. The “orientalizing” period is thus categorized as the intellectual and artistic conquest of the West over the East, not solely in the sense of artistic achievement, but more importantly in a battle between good and evil. Therefore, the “orientalizing” period is perceived by 19th century scholarship as a chronological period analogous to their own imperialist and colonial expansion; intellectual understanding and mastery was an important aspect of both victories, and an essential way to construct modern Europe.

2.7 Italian Orientalizing: between arte/periodo orientalizzante and the Eastern origin of the Etruscans

As these three alternative terms were being coined and debated within the realm of Greek art, the first art historical handbooks on exclusively Italian, and Etruscan art, were being written. Since the time of Dempster, the Etruscans were seen as the first truly Italian civilization, and so they were often isolated from the other Iron Age peoples of the

Italian peninsula, not least as being the first creators of art. An increasing number of texts sought to bring Italian, and particularly Etruscan art out from its secondary role, either as simply a location for finds of Greek art or as a tangential deviation in its linear evolution. These comprehensive histories of both Italian and Etruscan ancient art employed a much different method of understanding the relationship between the Italian peninsula and the “Orient” than the simple binaries of Greek art history. Within Italy, by contrast, understanding the varieties of connections and interactions required a more complex explanation. Although the Phoenicians were still depicted as one of the primary foils, as commercial middlemen responsible for the majority of maritime activity as well as the craftspeople who created the eclectic mix of artistic forms from Assyria and Egypt, scholars were also compelled to define the relationship between Italy and Greece, whose similar artistic styles necessitated some explanation and chronological cohesion. In addition to the difficult task of defining the roles of each of these players, Italy added in the wrinkle of debate over the mythical origin stories of the Etruscans, which needed to be reconciled with any terminology and periodization constructed.

In the earliest works in the late 19th century on Italian and Etruscan art, the eastern origin of the Etruscans tended to dominate. This eastern migration, which had been heavily under fire at the time from German scholarship asserting a trans-Alpine northern origin, gained new credence through the work of Edoardo Brizio. The Italian archaeologist made the first comprehensive argument for Etruscan eastern origins by pairing ancient literary accounts with those objects and architecture recently found in Etruria that had ties to the eastern Mediterranean. While listing all of the evidence pointing to an eastern origin for the Etruscans, Brizio also severely critiqued the German

arguments for a southern migration from central Europe. Brizio argued that the Etruscans must be from the east because of the polygonal architecture of their walls, the radical change in funerary ritual from cremation to inhumation (as well as the introduction of more elaborate tumuli mounds and the *tomba a camera* architectural construction), and the pomp of the ornaments and vessels used within the tombs (Brizio 1885: 157). One of the most important tombs for this argument was the Regolini-Galassi tomb, which combined the greatest number of these elements, uniting a tumulus structure similar to Late Bronze Age treasuries in Mycenae, Sparta and Lydia, with the Phoenician metal wares whose descriptions he matched to items in Homer, such as the Shield of Achilles (Brizio 1885: 146–147). These comparisons had been made in discussions of Greek art history, but Brizio migrated them to Italian soil in an effort to understand the dating and interpretation of these phenomena. Since no painted Greek pottery was found within the tomb, Brizio assigned the tomb to the 7th century, saying that it must have been before the 6th century when Wolfgang Helbig stated that importation of Greek pottery began (Brizio 1885: 146). This importantly separated both the tomb and the Etruscan migration process from the later Greek colonization to the south and its concomitant ripple effects on the Tyrrhenian coast. In part, it is this separation from Greek pottery that prevented Brizio from employing the term *orientalizzante*, either as a description of the art from the Regolini-Galassi tomb and similar burials or as the period to which the tombs would belong. Most importantly, however, the term *orientalizzante* or “orientalizing” would be completely inappropriate in this case since the entire argument was centered on proving that the Etruscans are, in language and in material culture, from the East, and therefore Oriental, not simply “orientalizing”.

In addition to avoiding the use of *orientalizzante*, Brizio also eschews the language of Orientalism that is so widespread at the time. In his study of the Regolini-Galassi tomb, Brizio actually directly embeds the original, neutral descriptions of objects from the 1842 Vatican Museum publication discussed earlier; since they were of course used to argue for the westward migration of the Etruscans, they almost entirely avoid the negative, Orientalist connotations seen elsewhere. Instead, the more prominent modern discourse underlying Brizio's work was colonialism, something in which Italy was becoming more actively involved at the end of the 19th century through their colonial ventures in Africa. The process described at various points throughout his work, by which the Etruscans arrived on the Tyrrhenian shores and slowly conquered and assimilated the local Umbrians to their superior eastern way of life, very closely resembled contemporary colonial ventures. According to Brizio, the Etruscans arrived and conquered the Umbrians not only because of the superiority of their weapons, but with the help of "una grande cultura", comprised of "grande prudenza civile e politica" born in the older civilizations of Asia Minor (Brizio 1885: 168–169). Remarkably, however, Brizio provides a nuanced construction of the process of cultural change in the colonial encounter, comparing it to the Roman conquest of Este, in which many indigenous practices carry on after initial conquest. The degree of cultural change which eventually occurred and the type of monuments erected, however, were not something that Brizio believed could be the result of simply importing a few scarabs, Phoenician gold, or Greek painted pottery: such changes had to be the consequence of a whole-sale migration (Brizio 1885: 164). In arguing for the appearance of these objects and architectural forms through migration enacted in the form of colonialism, Edoardo Brizio

became the first person to provide an explanatory framework to account for how what would eventually be called ‘orientalizing’ material, appeared within Italy.

Although Edoardo Brizio was influential in the field of Italian archaeology more broadly, his particular identification of material with the eastern origin of the Etruscans did not take hold. The Lydian migration thesis still held, but the dating of their arrival moved farther back in time as greater quantities of excavated materials revealed deeper and more coherent artistic and stylistic traditions. In the first comprehensive study of Etruscan art, published in 1889, Jules Martha agreed to an eastern origin for the Etruscans, but believed that for many centuries, they did not have a great deal in common with the East especially in the Villanovan period, until trade began with Phoenicia and Carthage in the 7th century and eastern styles and luxuries arrived on the Tyrrhenian coast (Martha 1889: 21, 24). Although this trade argument fits within the later chronological boundaries of what will be called the “orientalizing” period, Martha at no time formalizes either the art or the period as *orientalisante*.

Perhaps the most important chronological divide between Etruscan migration and the imported eastern objects, however, was made by the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius, whose construction of the first relative and absolute chronology for the Bronze and Iron Age of central and northern Italy was presented in 1897 and then fully published in 1912 (Montelius 1897a; Montelius 1912). In stark contrast to the aim of Brizio’s diffusionist work, Montelius sought to create a precise absolute chronology for Italy, to which other European countries could pin their own relative chronologies, particularly in his case for Scandinavia. Working from a cultural history approach, Montelius created five periods for the Bronze Age and six for the Iron Age based on

entire assemblages of multiple classes of objects, then fixing these phases to an absolute chronology based on two certain dates: a 15th century BCE date for Period 3 of the Bronze Age based on the Peschiera fibula and the Bügelkanne vase type contemporary with the Egyptian King Amenophis III, and the end point of Period 6 of the Iron Age which he dates to between the François vase and the Persian destruction layer in Athens, 600-480 BCE (Montelius 1897a: 262–264). The next most important fixed point, in between these two boundaries, which Montelius spent even greater time discussing, was the date of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, whose date he pushed back to the 9th rather than the 7th century BCE. An entire period, Period 3 of the Iron Age, was given over to this tomb and to similar materials within central Italy. It so typified the standard assemblage of the period that Montelius frequently referred to Period 3 as the *Regulini-Galassi-Zeit/Regulini-Galassi-Periode*, one of only two periods of the eleven in total to have been assigned a descriptive rather than solely numeric name⁹. In assigning the name of the tomb which had the greatest number of objects described as “orientalizing”, Montelius opened the door to assigning the “orientalizing” style, to a set chronological period and to the variety of goods present at that time, enshrining the historical division between East and West within the structuring of history.

Montelius, however, never uses the term *orientaliserende*. Unlike Brizio, this was not because he viewed the material from Period 3 (*Regulini-Galassi-Periode*) as something that accompanied the Etruscans from their Oriental home, and therefore an artistic style that would not need to be “Orientalized”. Although Montelius believed that the Etruscans were from Lydia, he dated their arrival to the 11th century BCE, much

⁹ The other was Period 2 of the Iron Age – *Tomba del Guerriero-Periode*

earlier than the material that Brizio associated with their migration (Montelius 1897b: 260)¹⁰. Rather, Montelius never used the term *orientaliserende* simply because such interpretive terms were outside of the goal of his project, and he had a preference for unambiguous description and numerical classification instead of a term designed to condense a debate on artistic style. In separating the period of interaction with the eastern Mediterranean, Period 3, from the period of Corinthian pottery within Italy (the material defined by Conze as *orientaliserende*), Period 5, Montelius created the need to explain *both* of these periods through different sets of interactions. Embedded within the culture-historical paradigm of archaeological thought, these different periods would require interaction with entirely different groups of people: in this case the Phoenicians for the first period and Greeks for the second. Although *orientaliserende* had come to define a style of Greek pottery, more than anything else its main role was in describing the initial meeting between East and West, and in the case of Italy, and based on Montelius's chronology, this would mean a time before the arrival of Greek colonies and goods in Italy. Therefore, the original construction of an Orientalizing period in Italy would be limited to this Period 3 and the interactions with the Phoenicians.

It is in the early 1900s that the Orientalizing period becomes formalized and accepted within the historical chronology of Italian antiquity, primarily through two comprehensive works: Alessandro Della Seta's *Italia Antica* in 1922 and Pericle Ducati's *Arte Etrusca* in 1927 (Della Seta 1922; Ducati 1927). Stemming from Montelius's production of a schematic chronology for central Italy, previously debated artistic styles

¹⁰ Within the discussion on the origin of the Etruscans and Mycenaeans that accompanied Montelius's presentation of chronology, however, he makes a number of comparisons between Etruscan migration and Roman colonization, following the intellectual trend established by Brizio (Montelius 1897b: 256, 257).

now began to be fit within these newly constructed, but not systematically or historically explained, chronological periods. The first instance, to my knowledge, of *periodo orientalizzante* within Italian archaeological or art historical literature comes from Alessandro Della Seta's guide to the Villa Giulia published in 1918 (Della Seta 1918: 82). Rather than any clear definition for this particular periodization of material within the Villa Giulia, this period designation comes after eighty pages describing objects as being "nel periodo dell'importazione del materiale orientalizzante", making the use of the two-word phrase seem to be chiefly for the sake of convenience and brevity.

Interestingly, however, Della Seta chose not to use the moniker provided for the period by Montelius, *Regulini-Galassi-Periode*, most likely because its specificity would be confusing when used to discuss other tombs and materials, nor did its 9th century date fit with the 7th century assignation Della Seta gives to *periodo orientalizzante*. In addition, the historical narrative Della Seta offers at the beginning of the guide is based less on the chronological prevalence of types of objects, as is the case for Montelius, but rather structured by successive waves of influences and their subsequent artistic imitations, beginning with the Phoenicians and then followed by the Greeks¹¹. Therefore for Della Seta, the chronology of the Italic peoples is not something locally controlled, but rather defined as a series of artistic and evolutionary advances encouraged by outside forces, very much resembling the kind of colonial framework that is so prevalent in scholarship of his time.

Della Seta continued to frame the historical narrative of Italy as a succession of waves of foreign influences in his larger work concerning the history of all of ancient

¹¹ *Periodo orientalizzante* is described as "Si ebbe così un'arte orientalizzante d'imitazione" (Della Seta 1918: 33)

Italy. In *Italia Antica* (1922), he actually makes a more deliberate definition of the so-called orientalizing period: “Nei prodotti che primi importarono in Italia i Fenici, e che qui anche furono fabbricati, si scorge questa unione di elementi diversi, questa preponderanza di elementi orientali, cosicchè tale periodo, che corrisponde all’incirca al VII a.C., si dice orientalizzante” (Della Seta 1922: 74)¹². In the description of the way in which these “orientalizing” objects were composed, his language actually resembles some more recent, more nuanced treatments of the material. Throughout the rest of the narrative, however, the language and syntax of Orientalism colors the nature of the interaction between Italy and the Phoenicians, and the way in which the Phoenicians are separated from later Greek activity on the peninsula.

The methods and the language Della Seta uses are very familiar in their resemblance to the examples given earlier of Orientalism within Greek art history. The first description of the Phoenicians, based on Homer but believed to be faithful to archaeological reality, invokes the stereotypically negative characteristics given to the Phoenicians: “navigatori, commercianti, pirati e rapitori di donne” (Della Seta 1922: 73). The connection to the seduction of women and an emphasis on the appeal of these imported objects to female vanity objectifies the Orient and its products as decadent and feminine, while the characterization of Phoenician art as “scaturita dall’avidità di guadagno” evokes the Semitic stereotypes of greed and avarice (Della Seta 1922: 80)¹³. Although one might argue that such derisive language is merely superficial, the most

¹² “In the products that the Phoenicians first import into Italy, and also those that were produced here, one sees this union of diverse elements, this preponderance of oriental elements, so that such a period, that corresponds to the beginning of the 7th century, is called orientalizing” (translation my own)

¹³ This language is particularly interesting considering Della Seta’s Jewish heritage, which caused him to be removed as director of the *Scuola archeologica italiana del Atene* after the passage of the racial laws in 1938. This occurred even though this particular work, *Italia Antica*, contained rhetoric of Italian nationalism and Fascism.

harmful aspect of Orientalism in Della Seta's work is the implication that the period failed to make any long-term impact, instead being viewed solely as preparing Italy for the influence of the real, more pure art and civilization of the Greeks (Della Seta 1922: 82, 91). Whereas Greece was able to overthrow the Oriental influences in order to bring forth its own originality of thought and idealism during the Orientalizing period, Italy was unable to "emancipate" itself from the same encounter without the aid of Greece, thus leaving Italian and Etruscan art in a subordinate position. Within Italy, the initial Phoenician influence that became connected to the original definition of the Orientalizing period was a false start, an eastern aberration that was later righted through Greek influence and colonization.

These two separate events, flawed Oriental influence and Greek emancipation – which were the two main characteristics of the earliest definitions of a new Orientalizing period within Italy – were later enshrined as distinct phases within a single period: Proto-orientalizing and Orientalizing, or *l'arte orientalizzante antica e orientalizzante più recente*. Although Montelius was the first to divide primarily Phoenician/Egyptian/Assyrian material (Period 3) from the later Greek Corinthian wares (Period 5), he did not group the appearance of these materials within Italy as part of the same or even related phenomena. Since the later material (Period 5) had been classified as part of the Greek orientalizing period (for instance within Conze's original definition of the *tem*), the creation of the Orientalizing period in Etruscan or Italian art would thus have to span from Period 3 (900-800) until Period 5 (700-600) in order to properly encompass Italy's initial encounter with the East and its reception of subsequent Orientalizing material, especially since the Greek artistic influence was so crucial to the

idea of evolutionary advancement. Orientalizing, therefore, would serve as a descriptive marker for all of these stages, but the dominant Orientalism of the time made it necessary to keep Oriental and Greek influence as more distinct entities on Italian soil. When Pericle Ducati created his comprehensive work on Etruscan art, therefore, the Orientalizing period was made up of two separate phases, *l'arte orientalizzante più antica* (700-625) and *l'arte orientalizzante* (625-575), each of which was given its own chapter.

In this work, Ducati used a lower chronology than Montelius, defining the first Orientalizing period as stretching between two of the most prominent Etruscan tombs: the *tomba del guerriero* at Tarquinia at the upper limit (700) while the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri marked the lower limit (625) (Ducati 1927: 153)¹⁴. Between these two funerary bookends, Ducati discussed the imported gold, silver, ivory and bronze wares as part of the Phoenician-Cypriot and Egyptian influx, which he separates as distinct from the later predominance of Greek influence (625-575) (Ducati 1927: 114). Neither of these periods were constructed as hermetically sealed receptors of only a single source of influence. In the earlier Orientalizing period, the geometric style continued along as later proto-Corinthian pottery began to be imported from Greece while in the later period, gold and silver jewelry continued arriving from the eastern Mediterranean.

The broader implications of dividing these two periods, however, came through in the return to the language of Orientalism, in which *l'arte orientalizzante più antica* is characterized by Phoenician art that is called “bastarda”, “industriale”, “funzione meramente ornamentale” (p.116; 151), made up of trinkets or baubles (*chincaglierie*) and

¹⁴ These tombs correspond to Period 2 and 3 respectively of Montelius's chronology (Montelius 1912: 62, 78)

executed through “imitazione pedissequa” (p.142). The Etruscans are then emancipated from this slavish and bastardized art by the Greeks, whose introduction of myth and emphasis on human figures marks the main difference between it and the earlier Orientalizing period (Ducati 1927: 174–175; 213). This Greek input is seen as directly advancing the Etruscans along the evolutionary process, as an art characterized in the preface of the book as a grafted art, continuously borrowing from others, just as Della Seta had imagined: an art that needed this kind of external assistance only to eventually become “travolta ed assorbita nella portentosa unificazione dell'Italia nel nome di Roma, e nel trionfale affermarsi dell'arte imperiale romana” (Ducati 1927: 10). It is in the exultation of eventual Roman dominion that we see part of the political aim of Ducati's work, as a text to describe the precursors to the glory of Rome, an historical entity that had now served as an ancient example for the modern Fascist regime in Italy¹⁵. Whereas the pre-Roman peoples of Italy had served as a model for the Risorgimento in the 19th century, Rome had now taken over as the historical antecedent for a modern, unified and strong Italy. The role of Etruria was thus as a vessel for transporting the most important advances of Greek art into later Roman art, and the role of the Orientalizing period, as a cataloging of the first encounter of Italy with eastern culture, as a record of the beginning of the Orientalist struggle.

The manner in which Ducati presented this encounter made the eventual emancipation from trinkets and baubles composed in slavish imitation seem like a natural evolutionary step, one easily made by the Etruscans once they saw what the Greeks had to offer. At this phase in the interpretation of the Orientalizing period, whereas during

¹⁵ Mussolini marched on Rome and became Prime Minister in 1922.

the 19th century it served as a conduit through which older eastern civilization sparked the birth of western civilization through interaction, at the beginning of the 20th century Orientalizing had been reduced to almost purely an artistic style, the direct result of the sublimation of eastern contributions through the pressure of Orientalism. While Ducati's *L'arte etrusca* marks the first time in which the dual-pronged/two-stage Orientalizing period becomes enshrined within Etruscan chronology, it also serves as a pivot point, in which Orientalizing begins to imply much more than simply an input of artistic motifs for western artists.

This change is through the subtle and seemingly innocuous introduction of the term *principesca* as a descriptor for the female inhabitant of the most famous Orientalizing tomb and the marker of the early period's lower chronological limit, the Regolini-Galassi tomb (Ducati 1927: 134, 136). The term was added in the context of discussing a large golden chest piece and fibula as an example of the advancing skill of Etruscan goldsmiths through the introduction of new techniques by Phoenician-Cypriot objects, distinct from Greek orientalizing goods. Although she is called a *principessa*, there are no further discussions of monarchy or the nature of government within Etruria at the time. And while these Phoenician-Cypriot objects are described as being similar to the motifs from reliefs in the royal palaces in Nimrud, there is no implication that the objects carried any political ideology alongside their stylistic motifs. This falls in line with the lack of a more robust interrogation of the cultural processes that lay behind the meeting of artistic styles in the Orientalizing period, but the use of princely terminology would later come to encompass much more as its interpretation expanded beyond the evolution of art. This particular reference – within the discussion of gold objects of

ornament and the connection with feminine luxury – may indeed be another consequence of the Orientalist discourse, but the limited use of *principesca* and *principessa* to a single use for each caution against drawing any further conclusions.

By the end of the 1920s, the term “orientalizing” had thus shifted from its role in determining the origin of western civilization (either coming from the East or in reaction to interaction to the East), to a more reduced scope in which it was narrowed to first an artistic style and then a chronological period. The transition from its discussion within Greek art history to the Etruscan and Italian sphere combined Orientalism with a new nationalistic viewpoint that placed Rome at the evolutionary end point of Italian superiority, to whom the Etruscans served as a strong contributing force. The establishment of the term “orientalizing” as a chronological period, therefore, was not an innocuous, descriptive choice, but rather the selection of an important historical turning point for Italian history, one of the first historic encounters with the East, as well as a divergent path that was briefly explored and subsequently rejected in favor of Greek, western influence. Obviously other chronological markers such as Archaic and Classical have political connotations and value judgments that make their use problematic, but the term “orientalizing” has the further condemning issue that although the connections to Western identity construction and sublimation of the East were delineated through characterizations of artistic style, this actual cultural process, became the later evolution of the “orientalizing” period, which was further developed into the term Orientalization. Therefore, even though the context of the term’s birth and codification within historical narratives contains fraught and politically charged nuances that color even its basic use, the further evolution of the term into the process of cultural change known as

Orientalization has made its continued use highly problematic. If this was the framework surrounding the construction of the “orientalizing” period and the purpose to which this seemingly innocuous period was employed, how can we continue to employ it in current scholarship?

2.8 Massimo Pallottino: shift from chronological period to cultural process

In the middle of the 1920s, even as archaeology and art history sought to establish stable chronological periodization and definitions, Italy itself was going through radical political change. The rise of Fascism within the peninsula and the transfer of power to Mussolini in the fall of 1922 had far-reaching consequences that easily stretched into the realm of academia. There was a broad trend in scholarship away from the study of pre-Roman Italy to a focus on the rise to power of the Roman Empire and later Augustus. With a more positive view of Roman unification adopted during the rise of Fascism, scholars of Italian history were forced, if only for political reasons, to lay aside interest in Italian origins and the earliest periods of history in favor of Rome. Clarifying the relationship between the indigenous peoples of Europe, the stories of eastern migration of the Etruscans, and the transfer of eastern art to the west, therefore, underwent a brief hiatus. Obviously a great deal can and has been said about archaeology’s relationship with Fascism during this period, but this would mostly be in regard to the connection with the Roman past (Galaty & Watkinson 2004; Arthurs 2012). There are, however, some connections between Fascist attitudes on race, the colonial ventures of the time and the development of an idea of how culture, not just artistic styles, might transfer between different peoples outside the context of conquest and mass-migrations.

An important scholar for configuring this idea of cultural transfer, as well as arriving at a solution to the question of Etruscan origins, found himself at the center of these intellectual and political currents and would prove one of the most pivotal scholars in the study of the Orientalizing period in Italy. Massimo Pallottino has long been recognized as the founder of modern Etruscology and is one of the most significant Italian archaeologists of the 20th century. Because of this fact, his work and his life have been studied considerably by modern scholars, but few except Antonino de Francesco have investigated his writings on Italian colonial actions in Africa in connection with his seminal work on Etruscan origins. De Francesco has revealed that Massimo Pallottino had written several articles on African history for the social and corporative Fascist journal *Rassegna sociale dell'Africa italiana* between 1938 and 1943. Here Pallottino wrote in support of the power of the Italian cultural model to colonize and civilize the peoples of Africa without the need for racial mixing. The ancient analogy he used in this instance was one of Roman colonization: “Rome did not destroy a people by superimposing itself upon them, but, bringing its own traits of organization and culture and only partly also its blood, dragged them out from the shadow of pre- and proto-history towards a shining destiny” (De Francesco, 2013, 207 translation of Pallottino 1943, 112). This view that culture could transfer without a great degree of racial mixing was crucial in a Fascist period whose racial agenda in 1938 was to “make a complete distinction between Mediterranean Europeans on the one hand and Orientals and Africans on the other” (Manifesto della razza 1938).

Later, when Pallottino’s focus shifted back to his primary research interest in the Etruscans, we can see an evolution in his ideas on race and the usefulness of such a

category when discussing evidence for the origins of the Etruscans, a people similarly located in “the shadow of pre- and proto-history”. In his 1947 book *L'origine degli Etruschi* he thoroughly critiqued the three prominent ideas of Etruscan origins at the time: autochthony, migration from the East, and migration from north of the Alps. In addition, he reviewed the various types of data that had been used within each argument, dedicating sections to literary sources, linguistic data, archaeological data, and finally, information related to race, mentality and costume. Clearly Pallottino believed that, at least within his own scholarly effort, race was still a factor that needed to be addressed, but he expresses a great deal of skepticism with this type of research and the usefulness of either cranial data or statuary and paintings for assistance in identifying race and even further, in answering the Etruscan origins question (Pallottino 1947: 130)¹⁶. While the concept of race waned in analytical value, the other concept that Pallottino had been honing within his articles on Africa was the evolutionary and propulsive power of an encounter with an advanced civilization. In the end, Pallottino arrived at a solution for Etruscan origins that combined all three major theories as identifying important contributions to the formation of the Etruscan nation, a process that took place along the Tyrrhenian coast, and whose final formative phase he identified with the *civiltà orientalizzante*, a time in which Etruria became fully enveloped within the “ciclo delle grandi civiltà mediterranee” (Pallottino 1947: 157).

The idea that culture can spread beyond the geographic bounds of an ethnic group and that cultural transferal could occur without the need for forced migration or complete

¹⁶ He cited Giuseppe Sergi, whose cranial research had led to an identification of a distinct *razza mediterranea*, and who had examined 44 Etruscan skulls, 34 of which belonged to the before-mentioned race and 10 to that of the *euro-asiatica razza*. Sergi's son, Sergio, was a signatory to *Il manifesto della razza* in 1938.

racial replacement brought Massimo Pallottino to a completely new conception of Etruscan origins. He firmly argued that the Tyrrhenian coast was the crucible in which all of the local traditions mixed with foreign elements from the north and from the east across the sea when historic Etruria was formed between the 10th and 6th century BCE (Pallottino 1947: 152–160). Now, the material that Edoardo Brizio had used to prove an eastern origin for the Etruscans was considered as part of the Orientalizing period, the final stage of Etruscan formation. This broader definition of an Orientalizing culture and process actually appeared within an entry on “Orientalizing Style” in the *Encyclopedia of World Art*, published a number of years later in 1965 (Pallottino 1965). Here we see the final, most significant shift in meaning from Orientalizing style to Orientalization:

What seems to have been a sudden and intense Orientalization of the culture and taste of the Greek world, and subsequently of the Italian peninsula, did not result from events of a political or military nature, from invasions, penetrations, or subjugations, from the spread of religious ideas, or even from imposition of the cultural prestige of the East (or why then only in a certain period?). Rather, the phenomenon can be explained essentially in the light of the development on the waters of the Mediterranean basin of an immense commercial activity fostered by a happy combination of historical and economic circumstances (Pallottino 1965: 784)

Within this definition of cultural change, Pallottino has distinguished Orientalization from other colonial encounters, conquest or migration by limiting the impact to the realm of “culture and taste”. Although modern Italian colonialism may have led Pallottino toward this kind of more nuanced cultural transfer, something that did not require a great deal of racial mixing or replacement, the kind of Orientalization described here more closely resembles how ancient Rome was later shaped by the Hellenism coming from Greece, a cultural influence that did not take the form of conquest or top-down intervention (Figure 2.4) (Pallottino 1947: 159–160). This all occurred under what

Pallottino calls “a happy combination of historical and economic circumstances”, which involves the beginning of historical encounters between East and West along with the new existence of an interconnected Mediterranean aristocracy clamoring for an “international style of luxury”(Pallottino 1965: 792).

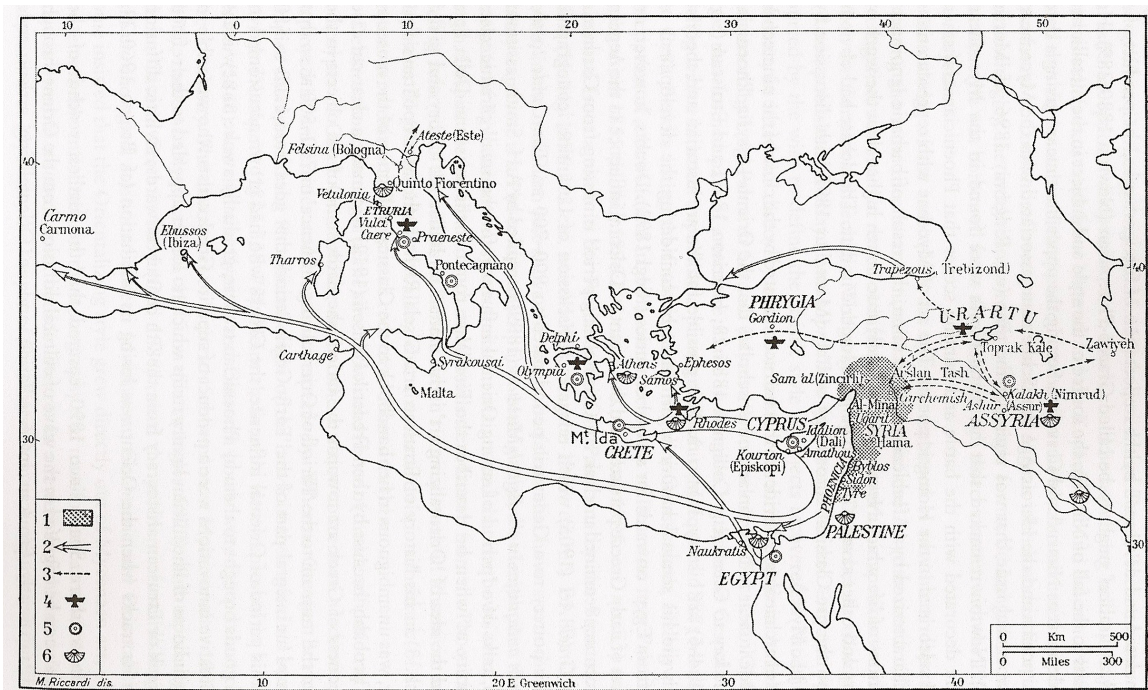


Figure 2.4: Representation of the spread of Orientalizing culture (Pallottino 1965)

To the first point, we can see that Orientalism, which formed the foundation for Conze’s creation of the term “orientalizing”, was still present nearly one hundred years later and became further embedded within a newly-delineated process of cultural change. Not only is Orientalization a transfer of civilization from East to West, but it also marks a crucial turning point in exactly who the primary actors are within world history. Pallottino defines the “orientalizing” style as “a particular, and in a certain sense final, aspect of the arts of the ancient Near East”, while for the Italian peninsula, it is the “first chapter of Etruscan art” (Pallottino 1965: 786). Orientalization, therefore, is the space in which the prime movers of history move from East to West, leaving the East in a

suspended antiquity until its modern encounters with Europe; it is also the time when Italy makes its first entrance onto the historical stage, consequently relegating all previously native culture primitive and unimportant. “In a short time the stagnant backwater of Etruria was transformed into a high and wealthy civilization complete with great buildings, exquisite works of art of its own, as well as goods imported from abroad on a large scale” (Pallottino *et al.* 1955: 12). The arrival of older cultural models from the East and eventually Greece, in many ways similar to the ripple effects of Italian colonial experience in Africa, spurred economic growth and development in Etruria, making the Orientalizing period Italy’s critical first step toward contributing to Classical Antiquity and eventually Western civilization. The onset of history in Etruria and therefore Italy, in the form of the alphabet and the written word, combined with the appearance of objects in Italy that could be tied to an absolute, scientifically derived chronology, masks the subtle enforcement of western superiority behind a presumably factually-determined, objective façade.

One of the more entrenched and interpretatively problematic characteristics of Pallottino’s definition of Orientalization is the restriction of the goods and those who used them to a pan-regional class of Mediterranean elites. Since one of the first and most prominent examples of “orientalizing” material within Italy was the Regolini-Galassi tomb, it seemed logical to connect these and similar objects of precious materials to the most wealthy individuals of society. However, even as more imported objects, from a diverse and greater number of contexts came to light, for him the elite base remained the core constituency of Orientalizing culture. As Pallottino explicitly defines the vast variety of objects of this culture, he states that they have “one important aspect in

common: they reflect the taste and demand of an elite, be they Assyrian, Syrian, Cypriote, Greek, or Etruscan” (Pallottino 1965: 786). This has subsequently created a circular argument by which all material determined to be part of “orientalizing” culture is brought within the taste of the elite, therefore anything that is determined to be “orientalizing” inherently must be elite (Riva 2010: 42). Pallottino layers further levels of inference on the political nature of these elites by describing the contrast in reception between Greece, which is explicitly described as not having a monarchy, and Italy, in which: “...(as in Assyria) they were the courts of minor barbarian princes who desired to be buried with their treasures” (Pallottino 1965: 785). The use of the “prince” designation had now evolved beyond Ducati’s original adjectival use to one that implies an actual system of government, and in this case one that is being used to explain the contextual differences between “orientalizing” find spots in Greece and in Italy. Since, in Pallottino’s evolutionary modeling, the Orientalizing period was the final phase before the coalescence of historic Etruria – a land historically documented as being ruled by kings – it is natural that the preceding phase would be envisioned as a world of princes. Orientalization then came to encapsulate the arrival of historic, monarchic Etruria, and therefore an extremely important stepping stone on the evolutionary scale toward the eventual peak, the Roman Empire. The transition from an Italian culture inspired by the East to one firmly grounded in the Republican ideals of the Romans would not take place until the end of the Orientalizing period, however, when in 509 BCE, the Roman overthrow of the decadent, tyrannical Etruscan kings served as a founding act of Orientalism within Roman civilization.

Pallottino's idea of a transfer of cultural models from the East to the West brings us to more contemporary interpretative frameworks for scholarship on the Orientalizing period. There has been a greater emphasis on the active selection of objects and practices by Italic peoples, which even Pallottino referenced in his descriptions of artistic styles, and on the general mixing and hybridization of artistic forms from Greece and the East, which will be discussed more in the following chapter. The shift from stylistic transfer to cultural transfer required the identification of certain human actions and practice that would then comprise what was now called Orientalization. While this particular shift in intellectual framework is vital for a broader understanding of how people lived during this period of Mediterranean interaction, the repeatedly recycled data sets (especially the most famous tombs) together with the accumulated baggage of the underlying traces of nationalism, Orientalism and European colonialism yet weigh the term down with the political aims and interests of multiple modern constituencies. I think it is quite telling that the same person who brought clarity to the confusing and seemingly endless debate on Etruscan origins, a favorite topic of 19th century nationalistic scholarship, in turn would create the processual engine by which civilization spread to the West and formed the foundations for European civilization. And Orientalism lies at the very heart of why and how this evolutionary process was thought to be necessary in the first place.

2.9 Conclusion

Tracing the birth of the term, style, period and process now encapsulated within the term "orientalizing" draws out a complicated web of political subtext and constricted intellectual bias that makes the continued use of the term a hindrance to conceiving of

new interpretations for understanding this period of interaction. Each phase of terminological definition has seen interpretative problems arise as a result of the political and intellectual discourses of that time (and this continues in modern scholarship as well, as will be seen in the following chapter): the orientalizing style as a meeting of an obscurely defined East and West, of artistic evolution from primitive toward the ideal form; the Orientalizing period as a historical category determined only by outside forces and agenda; and Orientalization as a unidirectional mode of cultural change geared toward evolutionary advancement, and required to include all of the necessary elements deemed essential for the foundations of western civilization. All of these factors make the continued use of the term “orientalizing” untenable, even in its purely adjectival descriptive art historical formulation, since even this is still a tool of Orientalism, colonialism and nationalism, and cannot be used without the biased assumptions that trail with it.

Rather, the focus should be on delving through the opacity of “orientalizing” and attempting to understand how each individual group of people around the Mediterranean reacted to a newly enlarged series of networks expanding their own world view. For Italy specifically, this means not fixating on imported objects alone, as a way to plot the spread of Orientalizing civilization, but rather contextualizing imported goods within the much larger local material culture and determining not just the role of these new objects, but the shifts in the uses of all material culture. This shift in emphasis follows broader trends in post-colonial theory and consumption studies, which I will explore in the following chapter, as well as newly emerging theories of value. These last will be critical for revising out understanding of a period that has not only been centered around the values

of a select, elite group, but a period whose primary value to modern scholars has been, as we have seen, in encapsulating an original struggle with the East in order to define the beginnings of the West.

Chapter 3 – A Reorientation of Method: From the Significance of Imports to Internal Networks

Each of the political tides described in the previous chapter, nationalism, orientalism and colonialism, coalesced to form the multi-headed interpretative challenge that ‘orientalizing’ has become today. This phase of the early first millennium was a period that was meant to serve as a European origin story based on classical western civilizations, a period that was tasked with distancing West from East, and a period in which many of the interpretations of the material have been used either for a project in self-definition or as a way to separate Eastern luxury from foundational Western institutions. Although this was the original intention of the scholars who constructed the ‘orientalizing’ period throughout the Mediterranean more broadly, when one looks at the contextual specifics of its historiography within particular countries, as I have in the previous chapter, it is possible to see the ways in which this period was employed for the particular goals of each nation-state and even certain regions within these countries. It is the multiple steps of remove, for instance, that make the situation in Italy much more complicated than that of Greece. Greece had direct contact and eventually conflict with the Near East, as well as being the first ‘western’ region to meet the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon. The Phoenicians were moving from the Levant to the west in various instances of colonization at the same period. Italy, as a slightly later recipient of ‘orientalizing’ material (some of which came later through the lens of Greek merchants or craftsmen), cannot be presented a simple binary to the East. Important intermediaries in understanding the processes behind ‘orientalizing’ such as the Greeks and Phoenicians break up a straightforward East-West dichotomy, and the later portrayal of the Etruscans

as a semi-Eastern group, by comparison to Rome, results in further complications. The nature of the ‘orientalizing’ package within Etruria, therefore, results from a much more complicated relationship with the East and is composed of a more diverse series of elements. Laying out the current scholarly understanding of the ‘orientalizing’ period, then, requires untangling a complicated web of diverse ancient interactions along with more modern academic categories of study that, at the same time, fragment and muddle many of the ancient processes.

My intention in this chapter is to draw an outline of the current trends in research on the ‘orientalizing’ period within Italy, identifying biases that have stymied further investigation while highlighting new avenues for research, both within Italy and from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, that show promise for breaking the original, historically skewed aim that created the ‘orientalizing’ period. The postcolonial turn in particular has provided many new positive directions for research within the Mediterranean Iron Age, and its focus on local responses to increasing connections with a wider world has begun to form a diverse patchwork of voices from throughout the ancient Mediterranean, rather than a single narrative built upon eastern actors and cultural models moving further and further westward. New interpretative frameworks such as hybridity, consumption and network analysis have created alternative means of understanding both the material culture and the intricate interactions of Mediterranean peoples, complicating the standard interpretation of ‘orientalizing’ culture as mutual elite emulation of eastern lifestyles.

In addition to these postcolonial methods of investigation, a new conceptualization of the notion of value is critical to building interpretations that do not reduce the accumulation of particular imported goods or other ‘orientalizing’ objects to

simply elite displays of power. A theory of value that bases itself on the importance of human actions, and particularly those actions that build and sustain social relations, encourages a shift away from the more art historical approaches that have characterized previous ‘orientalizing’ scholarship, and toward an analysis of social networks that illuminates the nature and construction of community-based social relations at a time of heightened expansion in connectivity. This approach seeks to build an understanding of social hierarchy and relationships from the bottom-up, through a value system that does not privilege, *a priori*, the possession of particular prestige items of the ‘orientalizing’ period (which at this point encompasses the overwhelming majority of objects specifically identified with the period). This is a significant departure from approaches that begin from an ‘orientalizing’ framework that privileges the investigation of a small ‘princely’ class at the top of a rigid social hierarchy, who seek to emulate an eastern royal lifestyle through the employment of foreign imported goods, iconography and practices.

The theory and methodology that I will lay out in this chapter seeks to understand the nature of social relationships and the role that particular sets of objects play in building communities based on funerary assemblages that are deposited in larger, more heavily occupied cemeteries. This is in an effort to detect the broader social extent of the phenomenon previously understood as ‘orientalizing’, as well as other social changes that may have gone unnoticed due to the dominance of the standard ‘orientalizing’ narrative. This will, in turn, help to create a more nuanced and well-rounded picture of societal change in Italy during this dynamic period of the late Iron Age.

3.1 Modern interpretations of Orientalization

When looking at modern definitions of the ‘orientalizing’ period, we can see that the broad outline of cultural change Pallottino initiated with his 1965 definition has now been filled in with an identification of the specific actions and cultural practices that made up this phenomenon. Pallottino’s reorientation of the Etruscan origin problem toward local Villanovan development (with some external stimulus) directed research toward fuller explorations and explanations of these processes, and particularly to an identification of exactly which developments should be attributed to foreign input. This meant a shift from a focus on the art historical details of objects, styles and motifs, to one that used these materials as the basis for understanding human interaction in the past, as well as how this resulted in larger social and cultural changes within Etruria. Such a shift fit within broader trends in archaeological theory in the 1960s and 70s toward processual archaeology, although these ideas did not truly take hold within the Italian sphere until the 1980s (Cuozzo & Guidi 2013: 14).

The cultural changes that were part of the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon were driven by an Etruscan elite seeking to be participants in an “international style of luxury” (Pallottino 1965: 792) by employing both local and foreign craftspeople. These two groups, aristocrats and artisans, became focal points as the agents of cultural change in the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon, centering research on their actions and interactions abroad.

The current interpretation of ‘Orientalization’ holds that the importation of eastern objects and luxury goods implies the acceptance of an aristocratic way of life taken from the Eastern Mediterranean by Etruscan elites, and later diffusing throughout the entire

Italian peninsula (Mandolesi & Sannibale 2012; D'Agostino 2006; Dore *et al.* 2000; Naso 2000a; Sannibale 2013). Gradually, all imported objects and those made of precious materials have been classified as 'orientalizing' goods, making the material culture definition of the period include nearly the entire material culture repertoire of Etruria except non-painted impasto and bucchero pottery, as well as some bronze objects with earlier Iron Age precedents. These materials are primarily eastern imported objects, such as ivory, glass, faience, ostrich eggs, gold, silver, bronze, as well as imported painted pottery, primarily from Corinth and Ionia, and architectural styles from Ionia. Each of these objects was employed by the already-existing Etruscan aristocracy as a way to further bolster their local power by showing their connections abroad, as well as their inclusion in a larger network of Mediterranean-wide aristocratic culture, all of which were looking eastward toward the kingly courts and palaces of the Near East (Torelli 2000a: 22; Naso 2000a: 122; Rathje 1979; Cristofani & Martelli 1994; Ampolo 2000). Through the presence of these goods, there is a further implication that ideas, cosmologies, customs and practices traveled alongside these imported objects (Sannibale 2013: 100; Naso 2000a: 116; Burkert 1992: 6 for similar understanding in Greece). Three of the most important practices transferred by the craftsmen and traders who carried the eastern imported goods have become the core components of what now makes up the 'orientalizing' phenomenon: the ritual eating of meat and drinking in the banquet, new symbols of aristocratic power and monarchy, and finally a desire for the luxury and opulence of the east (Riva 2010: 41).

3.1a Aristocratic Banquet

The aristocratic banquet is represented by a large number of the ceramic vessels and metalwares of the 'orientalizing' assemblage, with many new forms and objects coming from the Near East and Greece. The primary objects associated with the banquet are the cauldron and tripod, iron spits and firedogs for roasting meat, large open-mouthed vessels for mixing wine and water, and drinking vessels, as well as other metal and ceramic serving ware for food consumption (Sannibale 2012; Rathje 2013; Riva 2010: chap. 6 for a contextual use of all of these objects). In addition to these essential components of the banquet, there were also accessories to the feasting such as couches made of precious materials like wood, ivory and metal (Sannibale 2012; Rathje 2013). Our evidence for banqueting materials is made up of objects found from funerary assemblages or within depictions on tomb paintings or architectural terracottas, such as the Tomb of the Leopards in Tarquinia or on the plaques from Murlo (Figure 3.1) (Rystedt 1984; Rathje 2013).



Figure 3.1: Rendering of the banquet frieze from Murlo (Gunter 2015: fig. 23.3)

Due to the eastern origin of these practices and materials, their appearance has been used to mark the arrival of banqueting as conducted in Near Eastern royal courts

(Rathje 1991; Rathje 1990: 282), along with Greek drinking practices in the form of the *symposion* (Torelli 2000b: 148–149), although both have been seen as incorporating local Etruscan interpretations and accommodations (Rathje 1990; Rathje 1995; Sannibale 2013: 100; Rathje 2013: 824; Riva 2010; Tuck 1994). The most conspicuous Etruscan adaptations are the inclusion of women as active participants in the drinking and banqueting, as opposed to the Greek practice of excluding all women except *hetaerai* (Rathje 2013: 826; Colonna 2000a: 37; Bartoloni 2000: 275). Another Etruscan modification is the prominence of the banquet in funerary imagery and its material representation within the grave, showing that this is not simply a courtly practice of the living, but also either for the dead themselves in the afterlife or as an act in which the living and the dead may have communed.

The current interpretations of the Etruscan banquet present it as the central arena for aristocratic display and elite gift-exchange during the ‘orientalizing’ period, which place it as one of the most important driving forces behind the phenomenon (Naso 2000b; Sannibale 2013: 100). This practice is presumably how the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon spreads, hopping westward from indigenous aristocrat to aristocrat, through a constantly sustained and universal competitive drive. The banquet is equated with the activity of Near Eastern courts, and the emulation of this, although with some local variations, is seen as a common facet of the ‘orientalizing’ period throughout the Mediterranean (Dietler 1990; Dietler 2010 for one of the most prominent efforts to nuance our understanding of the feast for this period).

3.1b Monarchy

A new ideology and display of power comprises another element of the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon within Etruria. In current thought, nearly all materials associated with the ‘orientalizing’ period have been classified as prestige goods, embodied with the task of communicating legitimacy (Torelli 1985: 18). There are specific objects, however, that are more closely tied with how authority has been displayed within Near Eastern and Egyptian courts, and therefore, are more explicitly connected with a new more institutionalized form of power: monarchy. This includes the scepter/mace/distaff, chariot, throne, staff or *lituus*, and *flabellum* (fan), each of which has been found within funerary contexts, and primarily in ‘princely’ tombs (Winther 1997; Delpino & Bartoloni 2000: 223–4; Naso 2000a: 111). The iconographic similarities and material connections with symbols of monarchy in the east has led to an interpretation by some of a direct transferal of a monarchic political structure to Etruria (Figure 3.3) (Torelli 2000b: 145; Gras 2000a: 20; Menichetti 2000: 206–207; Sannibale 2013: 102). Even without these explicit symbols of monarchy, the wide use of the term ‘princely’ implicitly references a monarchic form of governance within Etruria. The mechanisms by which monarchy became formally adopted within Etruria, however, have never been fully explicated, and instead rely on an evolutionary narrative that turns the ‘orientalizing’ period into the intermediary step between Iron Age chiefdoms and Archaic kings. The arrival of eastern monarchy in Etruria, then, serves two purposes: the first, is to provide the external, evolutionary catalyst toward the eventual development of the Etruscan Archaic kingship known from later literary and epigraphic sources, and the second, as was stated in the previous chapter, is to establish the Etruscans as the easternized, despotic counterpoint to the later republican values of the Romans.



Figure 3.3: Silver bowl from the necropolis at Palestrina, depicting clear images of Egyptian monarchical power (Vella 2014: fig. 2.3)

3.1c Luxury

One of the final significant factors of cultural change incorrectly tied to the ‘orientalizing’ period is the development of a taste for luxury, *tryphe*, among the Etruscan aristocracy (Colonna 2000a: 37; Colonna 2000b: 55; Menichetti 2000: 210). Although local development of social hierarchy had already established elite groups by far back into the Bronze Age, the ‘orientalizing’ period is seen as bringing new opportunities for

social differentiation among the elite through a more elaborate and extensive suite of material culture. This taste establishes the Etruscan desire for the acquisition of all of the objects, customs and ideologies discussed above, and even if eastern practices were not fully accepted, there is a consistent assumption that Etruscan elites enviously emulated the pomp and ceremony of Near Eastern courts (Briquel 2000: 45; Naso 2000a: 122; Sannibale 2013: 99). These eastern objects, styles and customs are assumed to be inherently appealing, and therefore the development of a taste for them is seen as both natural and a sign of progress. The idea of *tryphe*, however, was formed based on literary accounts attributing this trait to the Etruscans from Greek and Roman literary sources such as Theopompus, Alkimos, Heraclides Ponticus, Timaeus, and Posidonius as a way of moralistically ‘othering’ them (Colonna 2000a: 37). Giovanni Colonna explicitly links this literary attitude toward the Etruscans with the material culture of the ‘orientalizing’ period:

the roots of the Greek idea of *tryphe* lie in what is known as *habrosyne*, that is, the Etruscan aristocracy’s urge to emulate the refined customs and high living standards of Ionian stamp (or, more generically, of Graeco-Oriental origin), a lifestyle they pursued from the days of the lavish Orientalizing culture of the seventh century” (Colonna 2000a: 37).

The Orientalist equation of lavish decadence with the East has been transferred to the Etruscans through the material evidence of the ‘orientalizing’ period, and just as in the case of monarchy, it is done in order to establish a foil to the Western ideals embodied in the Roman republic.

Along with the negative connotations of luxury, the formation of an Etruscan taste for eastern goods was thought to set in motion another critical component of more ephemeral exchange: technology and skilled craftspeople. The appearance of a number

of new technologies have been connected with the cultural exchange of the ‘orientalizing’ period: wheel-turned, refined and slipped pottery, more precise ceramic firing techniques, goldsmithing techniques of filigree and granulation, and perhaps above all writing (Figure 3.2) (Cristofani 1978; Torelli 1981: 70; Colonna 2000b: 58; Sassatelli 2000; Torelli 2000c; Riva 2010: 59–60). The new needs and desires of the Etruscan aristocracy created a demand for closer, more local production of such luxury goods, meaning that the necessary technology and skills needed to be transferred through teaching, local imitation, or by the actual immigration of eastern craftspeople into Etruria (Cristofani 1978: 35). The full-scale migration and eastern origin for the Etruscans first connected with the ‘orientalizing’ period by Edoardo Brizio has been replaced by a partial migration of craftsmen instead. In addition to their role in diffusing ‘orientalizing’ art and culture within Etruria, they have become another element of this cultural package that the Etruscan elites consume, in a similar way to the imported objects that are buried with them in their tombs. The skilled artisans, however, carry with them the critical technologies and abilities needed not only to satisfy the consumptive desires of Etruscan elites, but also some of the critical components for establishing an urban civilization: craft specialization and organized craft production, writing, and presumably a more complete understanding of how each of these was meant to be used.



Figure 3.2: Gold fibula granulated with decoration and an inscription, middle of the 7th century BCE, from Castelluccio near Chiusi (Bernardini & Camporeale 2004: 109)

3.1d A 'princely' way of life

The combination of these three fundamental aspects – the banquet, monarchy, and luxury tastes – composes the ‘eastern lifestyle’ at the heart of the modern interpretation of the ‘orientalizing’ period. From this perspective, it is not simply that eastern objects and motifs arrived on the Tyrrhenian shore, but rather that entire lifestyles, customs, technologies and ideologies were transferred from East to West, comprising a complete “way of life” (Riva 2010: 42). This shift from earlier art historical approaches rightly acknowledges that the appearance of new objects and iconography has broader implications than simply adding to the artistic and material culture repertoire, or marking the actual immigration of people as earlier thought. When people of different lifestyles and experiences come into contact with each other, the worldview and sometimes the material culture of those people involved will be changed, and although in the case of the Etruscans we have primarily objects as the fragmentary manifestation of these transformations, we must look to a further explanation of the immaterial changes that took place as well. And while the Etruscan ‘orientalizing’ period has never explicitly been called or discussed as a “colonial” situation (since there were no permanent settlements of foreigners within Etruria), the way in which the phenomenon of cultural change in the 8th and 7th centuries has been approached, nonetheless, is from a colonial perspective. Since applications of a colonialist perspective have only been implicit in the outcomes of Orientalization within Etruria, the framework for understanding this process of cultural interaction has until recently remained relatively uncritiqued (Izzet 2007a; Riva 2010; Riva & Vella 2006b).

There are a number of ways in which scholarship on the ‘orientalizing’ period has been conceived of and explained through an underlying colonialist framework. As was

the case in many colonial situations, history has been written by the non-indigenous groups, in this case Greek and Roman literary authors, and often even by those at a chronological remove from the actual period of cultural interaction. Demaratus of Corinth, for instance, is one of the most prominent stock characters symbolizing a literary figure who exemplifies the cultural changes of the ‘orientalizing’ period. This literary figure was selectively chosen, however, to emphasize the Greek contributions and agency within the ‘orientalizing’ period, previously diminished by the placement of their actions within the later phase of the ‘orientalizing’ period. After Pallottino refuted the claim of eastern origins of the Etruscans, there was a shift to adding emphasis to the Greek contributions at the expense of eastern elements. As a Corinthian exile who moved to Tarquinia, Demaratus brought with him his own extensive wealth (which aided him in marrying the daughter of the ruler of Tarquinia), the technique of writing, and advanced craftspeople skilled in painting and the plastic arts (Livy 1.34, Strab. 5.2.2, Tac. *Ann.* 11.14, Plin. *Nat.* 35.5). Demaratus thus served both Roman historians and modern scholars as the explanatory conduit for many important aspects that needed to be transferred to Roman life. His journey to Etruria, and then his son’s later role as the fifth legendary king of Roman, created the ideal narrative for ancient sources in the same way that he became the later model for a more Greek-biased understanding of cultural progress and advancement in the ‘orientalizing’ period. This advancement of Hellenic influence into earlier time periods has not only served to obscure the Phoenician and other eastern influences, whose written sources are not as frequently preserved for this area, often labeling their imports as mere trinkets, but it privileges the Greeks, who are both more literarily prominent and more directly tied to Western identity formation,

something which the last chapter showed is an important component in conceptions of this period.

The lack of an explicit colonialist situation in the case of Etruria has made it easier to deny the impact of colonial thought in the study of these cultural interactions. In particular, the art historical roots of the study of the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon have led to the basic assumption that eastern imports were used in Etruria just as these objects had originally been used in their initial context (Strom 1971; Rathje 1979; Sannibale 2013). Objects used in Near Eastern courts in the east are considered to have been used, not just by similar classes of aristocrats and kings, but with similar iconographic interpretations and in connection with eastern ideologies and practices. This assumption has led to numerous studies whose foundations are built on a detailed examination of a single class of objects and its iconographic motifs, followed by a survey of comparanda within the eastern Mediterranean employed to understand the use of the object or the meaning of a particular iconographic element (Brown 1960; Szilagyi 1992; Szilagyi 1998; Sciacca 2005).

Such studies continue to be undertaken, and although this may be useful for determining the extent and participants in the Mediterranean trade network, it fundamentally shifts attention away from the context of use in Etruria, often negating the role of the local context within which these objects are actually being used and transformed. The meaning and purpose of imported objects is not something packaged alongside the goods themselves, and even if this were the case, it would not guarantee that the Etruscan use would directly coincide with these instructions. The reason that the meaning and use of these imported objects is assumed not to have changed is because

these eastern elements, particularly after they have been transformed through Greek hands, are thought to be farther along an evolutionary scale of societal advancement, making the acceptance of these new goods a natural reaction that does not require further explanation, which is in many ways similar to how colonial meetings were interpreted in the past.

There are, however, certain common issues with colonialist approaches that recent interpretations of ‘orientalizing’ Etruria have resolved. Some of the first interpretations of the period placed Etruria as the supplier of raw materials, particularly metals, for older civilizations such as Assyria, and as the receiver of their advanced art and culture (Sherratt & Sherratt 1993). This framework adopts a world-systems view of this period, centering the Assyrian empire as the extractor and supplier of finished luxury products for the peripheral regions such as Etruria. Ever since more information has been found pointing to the greater extent of intersea trade throughout the Mediterranean, however, it has been recognized that Etruria also exported bucchero and fine bronze objects to southern France, Cyprus and Greece, maintained long-standing contacts with Sardinia, and had connections with Phoenician settlements in Sardinia, Sicily and at Carthage, showing that it is not simply an extractive region for eastern powers (Gras 2000b: 98; Dietler 2010: 94–104; Sannibale 2013: 100; Bellelli 2014: 93). Therefore, Etruria is not merely a receiver of advanced eastern culture, but is an equal participant in the lively trade of the early first millennium Mediterranean.

Additionally, Etruscans are not portrayed as passively accepting the ‘orientalizing’ package, but rather, most modern interpretations maintain that the Etruscan elite were actively participating in a Mediterranean-wide aristocratic culture,

choosing and modifying particular objects, styles, imagery and customs in order to be able to interact with an expanding group of foreign peers (Cristofani 1978: 42; Naso 2000a: 122). Although Etruscan elites are portrayed in this active role, unfortunately the previous historical development and understanding of ‘orientalizing’ necessitates that, no matter the process, the assumed end result, the full development of Etruscan civilization and the later influences it would have on Western European culture, remained the same. The end point of the evolutionary development was always the same, therefore the nuances in process appear to have primarily a superficial impact, and are therefore folded into the traditional assumptions about ‘orientalizing’ without any real changes.

Such a colonialist outlook in scholarship has resulted in a diffusionist interpretation of the spread of ‘eastern lifestyles’ to Etruria, and subsequently the other regions of Italy, particularly those areas that were not in direct contact with Greek colonies. For regions such as Umbria, Abruzzo and Marche, the Etruscans serve as the colonizing agent, spreading the eastern aristocratic way of life that they themselves had just previously assimilated. Along with the explicit interpretation that Etruscans transmitted the ‘orientalizing’ lifestyle to the rest of peninsular Italy (G. Bradley 2000: 97; Naso 2000a: 122; Naso 2000c: 96; Colivicchi & Zaccagnino 2008: 11), the use of terms such as ‘princely’, ‘king’ and ‘monarchy’ to describe slightly later ‘orientalizing’ burials and forms of government in these interior regions shows an implicit diffusionist and evolutionary perspective. The interpretation of the Etruscan ‘orientalizing’ period, therefore, is not simply limited geographically to the land between the Tiber and Arno rivers, or even to the often discussed Etruscan colonies, but rather has been applied to all areas and sites that have any material signs of the ‘orientalizing’ package.

Since these materials often appear later chronologically, they are typically disconnected from the concomitant process of urbanization and inherent ‘civilizing’ that occurred in Etruria, which serves as a fruitful contrastive point frequently used in modern scholarship. Rather, in interior communities that appear as less hierarchically structured than Etruria, the presence of these objects is more closely associated with mutual processes of elite self-definition in relation to the rest of the community. The limited interpretative impact of the ‘orientalizing’ period in these regions may in part be due to the lesser role they played in the construction of the modern Italian state compared to Tuscany. Often the use of terms such as ‘princely’ or ‘king/queen’ appears to be not only due to the similarity of some objects within the assemblage to those of the most famous tombs of the Tyrrhenian coast, but additionally as a component of regional competition for evolutionary equivalency in the development of its Iron Age groups. The broader impact of the concept of the Etruscan ‘orientalizing’ period, however, is clear. Its diffusion throughout the rest of central Italy in particular means that any reconsideration of the ‘orientalizing’ period in these areas must first be grounded in a reconsideration of the use and meaning of the term within Etruria as well.

Along with these diffusionist perspectives on the ‘orientalizing’ period, one of the other biases that does the greatest damage to a fuller understanding of cultural interaction among central Italic communities in the eighth and seventh centuries is the exclusionary elite focus. Since the broader understanding of Orientalization in the Mediterranean has been that of mutual aristocratic emulation of eastern lifestyles through an assemblage of imported luxury goods, the only active participants are by necessity the elites, and possibly the artisans who work under their demands and direction, therefore lacking

agency due to their subordinated position. Diffusion of the cultural impacts of the ‘orientalizing’ period in this case are distributed not just geographically from Etruria inward, but socially, from the top down, through the much-emphasized hierarchical organization of society. It is undeniable that the first appearance of goods associated with the ‘orientalizing’ period is seen in the wealthiest graves within Tyrrhenian coastal centers. So much attention has been paid to these rare and extravagant burials that are typically characterized by the possession of *all* components, practices and materials characteristic of the phenomenon, however, that the more scattered and isolated appearance of imported objects or related materials within smaller burials tends to be viewed as lower-class imitation and deficient emulation. Social relations, even in a time of community reorganization within a more discrete urban form, are therefore conceived of in a strict pyramid of social hierarchy, with the imported luxury goods trickling through at the discretion of the upper classes, making the lower classes simply another location for the diffusion of ‘orientalizing’ culture. Questions of the possible differential of use of these objects and practices between classes cannot be addressed in such a reductive framework, nor is it possible to question how the introduction of new objects, ideologies and value systems may have upset the pre-existing social hierarchy. The totalizing nature of what Riva has called a “culture of princes” has led to defining two centuries of Etruscan history, as well as the late Iron Age formation of other interior and Adriatic Italic peoples, by the actions of the smallest segment of their population alone. It creates, therefore, a history that excludes the vast majority of the population.

3.1e The warrior elite

In recent scholarship there has been an effort to nuance the interpretation of those at the top of the social hierarchy in Etruria by placing the changes seen during the ‘orientalizing’ period into the longer history of funerary representation within Etruria. This has been done with particular reference to the warrior identity that was so strongly established in Etruria in the Early Iron age of the mid 9th century BCE (Iaia 2013)¹⁷. In this case, alongside the transition to inhumation, offensive weaponry such as lances, short swords and daggers began to accompany the deceased male in burial. The presence of weapons in burial became one of the primary ways in which identity was displayed for males, while social hierarchy began to be articulated through the number of weapons that were included within the panoply, and in the addition of defensive weaponry. As such, the scale at which the warrior identity of the deceased was displayed in burial was established during the Iron Age, both within Etruria and in other regions of Italy, as a symbol of power.

In light of this local context, Corinna Riva has interpreted the arrival of certain ‘orientalizing’ elements in the late 8th century as being folded into this method of representing power through a warrior ideology (Riva 2010: 84). Indeed, the expansion of the ways of representing a participation in this warrior ideology in turn broadened its social reach, as it now included women. Items such as chariots and thrones, spits could be found in both male and female graves, and weapons that were once exclusive to males, such as axes and knives, now began to be included in female graves (Riva 2010: n. 86). Female graves still maintained elements of spinning and weaving, although now these

¹⁷ The warrior identity was so prominent a characteristic of Iron Age funerary assemblages that Montelius described Period 2 of the Iron Age as the *Tomba del Guerriero-Periode* (Montelius 1912). It was the only other period that received a name besides the *Regulini-Galassi-Periode*.

became symbols of household, while weaponry in all graves also took on a symbolic message for military prowess. Therefore, these symbols of household and military status proclaimed a broader message of political authority, transforming the warrior ideology into a way to signal membership within an elite social group.

During the ‘orientalizing’ period, then, Riva asserts that the critical practice of eating roasted meat and drinking wine discussed previously became appropriated within this new warrior ideology (Riva 2010: 90). In this grounding of the changes due to contact with the broader Mediterranean, Riva’s interpretation is strong, however there is an added interpretation that attempts to link this new version of a distinctly Etruscan warrior ideology with a Homeric warrior aristocracy (Riva 2005: 58, 90). Such a direct association with this particular type of warrior ideology is complicated by the exposure to other forms of ritual drinking, such as those in Europe, where there was also a strong warrior ideology (Kristiansen 1993). This association with Homeric ideals once again shows the tendency of interpretations tied to the ‘orientalizing’ period to ascribe particular changes to direct transfers of eastern ideas, in this case particularly those of Greece and Homer, linking early periods of Italian civilization with the important Western figure of Homer.

More broadly than Riva’s particular interpretation, the emphasis placed on the warrior identity within central Italy as the Iron Age predecessor to more formal governing bodies in later periods forwards an evolutionary trajectory that places the ‘orientalizing’ period as the impetus for a shift from a war-like society to the political organizations from eastern civilizations, like monarchy. In this case, the Homeric aristocratic warriors provide the ideological bridge between the two. In other regions of

Italy, particularly Samnium for instance¹⁸, the warrior ideology continues to hold cultural prominence until Roman expansion brings with it more recognized forms of urbanism to the region, once again setting the shift away from a warrior ideology as a marker or societal progress.

3.2 The postcolonial turn: approaches to Iron Age interaction within Italy and abroad

In light of these problems of colonial and diffusionist approaches toward an elite-focused, ‘orientalizing’ culture, the most productive research on this period of interaction during the Italian Iron age has been located in a critical assessment of standard terminology and especially in the recent postcolonial turn, a trend that has been occurring more broadly within archaeology for the last nearly twenty-five years (Thomas 1991; Dommelen 1998; Gosden 2004; Dietler 2010b; Lydon & Rizvi 2010; *World Archaeology* 2011). Within Italy and the surrounding islands, focus has shifted from looking eastward to the original homes of the objects and motifs, and even away from the amorphous debate as to who exactly was involved in the process of transport and exchange¹⁹, and instead toward the peoples who used these imported goods within the western Mediterranean and how they in particular incorporated these new objects, themes and customs into their own, pre-existing material culture and local context. These approaches

¹⁸ See Dench and Scopacasa for discussions of the trope of the Samnites as mountain warriors (Dench 1995; Scopacasa 2015).

¹⁹ The Phoenician (a deceptively homogenizing term for a diverse group of Levantine, central and western Mediterranean peoples) role within the Orientalizing period has long been dismissed or down-played, but in recent years their contribution to the Mediterranean-wide style of the 8th and 7th centuries and their role in the transmission of these objects, particularly in the western Mediterranean has been highlighted (Aubert 1993; Hodos 2006). In the case of interactions with the Etruscans, the Phoenician role as well as the earliest “trinkets” associated with their phase of exchange has been reduced to something of a false-start for the real ‘orientalizing’ period set in motion by the arrival of Greek colonists and traders.

have been highlighted in the recent edited volume, *Debating Orientalization*, which is one of the only Mediterranean-wide critical assessments of both the term Orientalization and the ways in which it has been studied throughout the countries ringing the Mediterranean sea (Riva & Vella 2006b). An important point to state is that none of the authors, nor I, seek to undermine the copious amounts of material evidence for a heightened period of cultural interaction and trade throughout the Mediterranean in the first half of the first millennium BCE. Nor indeed is there a shift to a nativist perspective that denies any impact of increased connectivity on local sets of material culture. Rather, new work on this period seeks to shift both the perspective and the types of questions that are asked of the material, for instance: “Why an Etruscan in the Tyrrhenian thought alphabetic writing a useful thing to learn is a more important question than where the person who taught the person who taught him learned it from” (Purcell 2006: 24).

Within Etruria, the reassessment of the ‘orientalizing’ period has remained relatively limited, with only recent critical evaluation of the terminology being used to describe the period (*orientalizzante*) or the category of tombs (*principesche*) (Fulminante 2003; Riva 2006; 2010; Riva & Vella 2006a; Isayev 2007: 8). Critical components of the ‘orientalizing’ way of life, such as the presence of monarchy in the 8th-6th centuries, has been questioned by scholars such as Christopher Smith, who discursively examined the existence of Etruscan, and later Roman kings, through a critique of the literary and archaeological sources (C. Smith 2011). Such a review of basic assumptions, of whether or not we have evidence for actual kingship or simply a well-developed aristocracy, is a vital part of dissecting the cultural package of the ‘orientalizing’ period, and something that this dissertation will address for other central concepts, such as Near Eastern

banquets and the inherent value of imported eastern objects. Accompanying such a reevaluation of monarchy is Corinna Riva's archaeological reassessment of how Etruscan elites used the expanded material culture of the early first millennium as a means of institutionalizing their own political authority through a continuity of funerary ritual and display rather than in order to assert a new ideology of monarchy transferred to them from the east (Riva 2010: 187). This work is grounded in placing the 'orientalizing' period within its broader chronological context, evaluating preexisting symbols of power such as weaponry, technological appropriation and monumental, collective burials through the *longue durée* in order to belay the assumption of a sudden change in aristocratic ideology.

A contextual approach to particular object types, motifs or cultural phenomena has become one of the most prominent new avenues for research on interaction in the early first millennium within Italy, possibly because it does not require an explicit indictment of previous colonialist approaches. Work by Maria Cristina Biella, for instance, places the conspicuous imagery of fantastic bestiary within the longer Faliscan tradition of incised impasto decoration, emphasizing the truly local elements that combine to make a completely new figurative culture, one that is genuinely Etruscan and Italic (Biella 2007; further explored in Biella *et al.* 2012). Additionally, Fabio Colivicchi has reassessed the nature of wine drinking within the landscape of Magna Graecia and used contextual studies of drinking wares and iconography to track the maintenance and eventual disappearance of particular traditional drinking forms in the diverse groups of southeastern Italy (Colivicchi 2004). One scholar who has added an explicitly postcolonial theoretical approach is Mariassunta Cuzzo, whose long-term and thorough

study of the ‘orientalizing’ cemetery at Pontecagnano utilizes a contextual archaeology while embracing theoretical ideas such as hybridity and resistance in the face of Greek colonialism and Etruscan influences (Cuozzo 2003). This work provides a model for my own research and will be discussed further in the next chapter. Cuozzo’s work is tied to that of Bruno d’Agostino and Luca Cerchiali, whose application of notions of alterity and the subaltern derives from Gramsci’s concepts of hegemony and resistance (Cuozzo & Guidi 2013: 23, 96).

Each of these material approaches to phenomena of the ‘orientalizing’ period, Greek colonialism, or simply cultural change in the early first millennium more broadly, breaks with the earlier methodologies described above in favor of a more nuanced understanding of cultural interaction within a local context. A scholarly shift in this direction has also been argued for by Elena Isayev and Vedia Izzet, both of whom call for refocusing attention on appropriation and choice, as well as further questions into exactly why particular choices were made instead of relying upon evolutionary reasoning (Isayev 2007; Izzet 2007a). These attitudes do not center on a complete reexamination of the ‘orientalizing’ period and culture contact more broadly in the early first millennium, but rather argue for asking the question *why*, in order to better understand the underlying reasoning for Italian participation within the sphere of Mediterranean interaction, and in particular to understand the nuances of how this took place.

3.3 Postcolonial approaches within the Mediterranean

Each of the trends I have highlighted above has been even more prominent within Iron Age research on the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, as well as in the Mediterranean

more broadly. The early Iron Age Mediterranean has seen a scholarly resurgence in the past decade or so that centers on the deconstruction of a number of disciplinary divides and reassessment of terms of the debate. Concepts such as Greek colonization, Hellenization and Phoenician colonization have been problematized and reconsidered alongside Orientalization, through a number of different theories and methodologies, the most prominent among them being postcolonialism. In its broadest sense, each of these studies is interested in moving beyond grand overarching explanatory terms to a more contextual understanding of how this period of increased interaction at the beginning of the first millennium created subtle changes within the material culture and society of local groups throughout the Mediterranean. The variety of ways in which this new perspective has taken root, however, depends greatly upon the traditions of scholarship within each geographic region in which research has centered.

3.3a Art Historical Approaches

Within Greece, for instance, where the concept of ‘orientalizing’ art was first fully-fleshed out for European scholars, the question has remained framed in terms of artistic style. Past debate has focused on how much of Greek art must be attributed to foreign influence and how much was originally “Greek”²⁰ (particularly more recently S.P. Morris 1992; Burkert 1992), but many of the more current reassessments of this artistic style within the Aegean context have sought to answer the question of exactly why and how this particular interchange occurred. Ann Gunter, for example has placed

²⁰ As Ann Gunter has rightly noted, these questions of origins and conception of art as an expression of national spirit developed in the 19th century, but the methodology developed for such questions has carried over until today (Gunter 2009: 4). Because the early history of the term ‘orientalizing’ is tied to both Greek and Italian art history, the methods carry over between the two fields.

the developments of the ‘orientalizing’ style within the setting of a broader set of interactions, eschewing the Hellenocentric bias of many past art historical studies and sought to incorporate how objects associated with ‘orientalizing’ art traveled throughout the eastern Mediterranean, to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, and not just unidirectionally toward the west (Gunter 2009). This incorporation of the Neo-Assyrian Empire by Gunter breaks from the traditional East vs. West dichotomy established between Greece and an amorphous “Orient” by adding historic specificity to this ambiguous term. In addition, her focus on object biographies provides a productive turn away from the art historical tradition of dividing an object into motifs that can be traced back to their original source, and instead to a more holistic understanding of the object and its shifting meaning as it changes hands and contexts. Another recent study of ‘orientalizing’ art in Greece by Thomas Brisart takes a much more local look at the use of this style, focusing on the contextual variability of where these materials were found within multiple sites throughout the Aegean (Brisart 2011). Brisart assesses the variety of ways in which this material is used by local elites either to encourage civic participation through competitive forms of aristocratic display in a large range of private contexts, or in order to reinforce boundaries between a small aristocratic citizen body and others through the public display at civic institutions.

Neither Gunter nor Brisart explicitly assumes a postcolonial perspective, although Gunter discusses its influence on her choice of topic and methodology. Both authors, however, push back against simplistic art historical practices assuming a direct transfer of meaning from production context to the place of consumption. Each work concentrates on elite objects and contexts, which has created a dominant overarching narrative that

considers the primary use of these objects and motifs as a means of elite communication across the Mediterranean. Such an interpretation ties in with another art historical study concerning an earlier period of eastern Mediterranean interaction, the Late Bronze Age. Marian Feldman has noted that this period was characterized by what she terms an “international artistic koiné”, which was made up of highly mobile eastern goods employed by Mediterranean elites deliberately *because* of their hybrid nature (Feldman 2006: 13). Feldman’s approach, however, takes a somewhat generalizing and simplified view of “hybridity” as a singular concept rather than a discursively created third space since the objects are meant to be understood in the same way, as objects of elite communication, no matter the contextual specificity of the places in which they are found. While Feldman’s work does much to move the field past the standard art historical debates, a more refined exploration of the cultural negotiation that takes place in this period of cultural interaction would create a richer narrative, something that others working on this period of Bronze Age interaction have sought to do, and which I will discuss shortly.

While each of these studies makes a move away from simplistic understandings of cultural transfer and attempts to understand the role of these imported goods in their contexts, the art historical focus on objects that are loaded with stylistic and symbolic cachet results in a view that is restricted to the elites, and therefore often to narratives of power. Although power is clearly something always at play within symbolic choices, the link between imports and power must be explicated through local context, just as such power had to be communicated through society by those wielding it. For the

Orientalizing period within central Italy, except for recent work done by Corinna Riva (Riva 2010), such an effort has not been taken up.

3.3b Hybridity

One of the most productive current approaches archaeology has drawn from the pluriverse of postcolonialism stems from the notion of hybridity. The term hybridity has gone through a series of reconceptualizations from its origins in the 18th and 19th centuries as a description for the biological mixing of species and races, and was often associated with colonial situations (Young 1995: 5–18). Its current, most popular use within archaeology derives from the theoretical framework built by Homi Bhabha to recast the term as a cultural process that is the product of colonial encounters. According to the theoretical concept of hybridity as Bhabha has constructed it during a colonial encounter, ambivalence develops in the negotiation of identities and practices, as the colonial discourse strives to define similarities and differences between itself and the Other (Bhabha 1994a: 111). Additionally, in the colonial mission to create something that is “almost the same, but not quite”, the process of hybridization creates a third space in which “the rearticulation, or translation, of elements that are neither the One nor the Other but something else besides, which contests the terms and territories of both” (Bhabha 1994b: 28). This space then serves as a destabilizing force, as it both resembles and questions the protagonists within the colonial encounter.

Bhabha’s approach to hybridity has influenced some of the most insightful archaeological uses of postcolonial theory because of his emphasis on process rather than bounded ideas of culture, and the essential contestation of the identities of all involved within the colonial encounter. It moves away from considering the situation within the

binary terms of colonizer and indigenous populations and instead moves to an articulation of how the process of constant engagement, within the terms of colonialism, creates an “entirely new way of doing things and perceiving meanings and that this ‘new way’ is peculiar to each specific colonial situation” (van Dommelen 2006: 137).

Sardinia has proven to be a productive testing ground for these ideas within the research conducted by Peter van Dommelen (van Dommelen 1997; van Dommelen 1998; van Dommelen 2006). The variety of contacts between indigenous Sardinians and Greek traders, Phoenician and Carthaginian settlers, and the later Roman expansion have made Sardinia a useful case study for testing the applicability of hybridity within a variety of occurrences of ancient cultural interaction, trade, and colonial encounters. In particular, the concept of hybridity assists in the exploration of the “complex situation of mutual influencing, imitation and creative subversion” (van Dommelen 1997: 319) that came with the arrival of Punic settlers, and that can be seen in examples: the transformation in pottery production to Punic methods and forms, the multivalent forms of terracotta figurines from Neapolis, the presence of the cult of Demeter and its incorporation of indigenous spaces and practices, and the differential settlement patterns of Punic sites between coastal and inland settings. The nuances brought out by van Dommelen in each of these examples points to a colonial situation that is much more complex than previous narratives constructed from only the perspective of the colonizer. Focusing on the process of hybridization brought out the multiplicities of practice and the variety of responses that characterized particular colonial encounters without trying to place it within a broader unifying discourse – a methodology and approach that would strongly benefit discussions of Orientalization.

Bhabha's conception of hybridity has generated numerous other archaeological employments of hybridity within ancient Mediterranean colonial situations. Many of these are directly informed by van Dommelen's work and concern Phoenician or Roman colonial encounters within the western Mediterranean (Tronchetti & van Dommelen 2005; Vives-Ferrándiz 2008; Cañete & Vives-Ferrándiz 2011; A. Jiménez 2011; Card 2013). Each of these works considers the discursive action of hybridity as a way to understand changes in social and cultural practice within the colonial contexts of power asymmetries and hegemony. Although such a reading of hybridity has proven productive for these colonial encounters, I am less convinced that it is applicable in the case of the 'orientalizing' period in every region. This is primarily because this period for central Italy, and particularly the inland regions, is not a colonial situation, but rather a matter of trade, gift-giving and cultural exchange. As such it falls under the distinction of contact that van Dommelen and Rowlands term as the 'degree of intensity', in which this situation falls at the low end of intensity, lacking co-presence and the immediate juxtaposition of practice (van Dommelen & Rowlands 2012: 24). Any asymmetries in power dynamics between central Italic inhabitants and imported eastern goods, practices and motifs have been placed onto the period based on our own modern assumptions of the inherent superiority of eastern, 'more established' cultural traits, and are not necessarily characteristics of the interaction. Since this reading of hybridity is not only based on modern colonial examples, but it draws its most productive element for archaeological inquiry, the negotiation of identities based on the shifting nature of colonial discourse, its foundations are not suited for instances where such colonial discourse is not present. This skepticism in the usefulness of this approach for earlier

periods without evidence for a colonial encounter has been noted by both Dietler and van Dommelen (van Dommelen 2006: 149–150; Dietler 2010: 52–53). This is primarily due to the fact that culture is neither bounded nor static, and therefore in constant flux, so everyday instances of cultural interaction do not necessarily result in the specific type of cultural hybridization explicated by Bhabha for colonial encounters.

Approaches in the ancient world that do not rely on these concepts have closer ties with art historical methods, which instead employ the term ‘hybrid’ as a way to characterize objects born from the combination of diverse elements via cultural exchange. Carla Antonaccio uses this particular form of ‘hybrid’ even within the colonial context of Sicily, showing that this simplistic use of the term has not been restricted to ancient Mediterranean trade encounters (Antonaccio 2003; Antonaccio 2005; Antonaccio 2010). As discussed previously, work by Marian Feldman employs the term ‘hybrid’ as an endpoint, a bounded idea that singularly explains the nature of art created to conform to an international style catering to a Mediterranean elite (Feldman 2002; Feldman 2006). This has also been used by Nasos Papalexandrou for monstrous elements in Greek orientalizing art, whose hybrid forms were meant to shock the viewer in sanctuary and cult places through universally understood motifs (Papalexandrou 2010). In such instances, the term ‘hybrid’ becomes descriptive, a replacement term for the mix and fusion of elements from a variety of traditions. In this way, this kind of use very closely resembles the original history of the term ‘orientalizing’, and indeed the word ‘hybrid’ appears numerous times in relevant discussions within early Greek art history texts. Yet it neglects a discussion of differences in practices within the larger community brought about by cultural interaction, instead focusing solely on the practices of the artist or

producer, and the audience for whom they are producing. This essentializing view of ‘hybrid’, therefore, does little to help us understand how and why cultural practices changed in the midst of cross-cultural interaction, and would not help to break apart the universalizing concept of ‘orientalizing’.

In some ways, these art historical views more closely resemble the often simplified use of hybridity within the language of globalization. A more critical assessment of the usefulness of hybridity to understanding the complicated processes of globalization has just recently begun, and so far there has been no established consensus on what form of hybridity is most appropriate for providing the proper framework for investigating the cultural mixture that takes place within globalization, or exactly how hybridity might be used (Nederveen Pieterse 2004; Kraidy 2005; Chan *et al.* 2007; Krishnaswamy & Hawley 2008; Acheraïou 2011). Part of the unease of finding suitable ways of using hybridity in globalization results from the uneasy relationship between globalization and postcolonialism, which remains an open question:

Is globalization theory then just a strategically recast version of postmodernism—one that effectively blunts the critical edge of postcolonialism through a spatiotemporal leveling of differences?...It is unclear, for instance, whether contemporary globalization has been made possible by the postcolonial challenge to older Eurocentric forms of globalization premised on the centrality of the nation and narrated in terms of modernization or whether postcoloniality itself is the consequence of a globalization premised on the marginalization of the nation in the economic and cultural domains (Krishnaswamy 2008: 3).

The historical specificities of the problems facing the study of globalization make its application to the ancient world a complicated matter. And while some have pushed the beginning of what we now call globalization back to the 1500s (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 68; Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008), it remains a debated question as to whether or not such a concept could be used as a framework for the ancient Mediterranean. The

complex structural underpinnings of globalization make its applicability for the early first millennium Mediterranean questionable, and the strong influence of modern historical events and views on the previous history of the term ‘orientalizing’ make any forced, direct analogies problematic.

Ian Morris’s call for a study of Mediterraneanization recognizes current trends in scholarship on connectivity and seeks to “push the globalization analogy harder”, striving for a more critical engagement between studies of the ancient Mediterranean and current research on globalization (I. Morris 2003: 33). Such a comparison between ancient Mediterranean connectivity and modern globalization is useful for identifying places in which there are similarities and differences, leading to a further refinement and understanding of both processes. The first initiatives to contribute to this “push”, however, have done so using uncomplicated notions of globalization, making the concept nearly indistinguishable from connectivity (Hodos 2009; Versluys 2014). Miguel Versluys, for instance, has recently advocated for the usage of globalization theory as a way to reinvigorate the Romanization debate within a new, decentering framework; however the brief description of globalization’s theoretical applicability makes it difficult to critically assess the use of this analogy (Versluys 2014: 14; Pitts & Versluys 2014). Tamar Hodos has employed globalization as a framing device for exploring the similarities and differences between Greek and Phoenician colonization, topics that are often set apart disciplinarily, but the lack of a critical engagement with the concept of globalization theory make its use appear superficial (Hodos 2009). Globalization theory promises to be a useful lens of comparison for the future; however in the case of the ‘orientalizing’ period for central Italy, there are more well-established theoretical

approaches that can be employed to move past the universalizing, elite-centric narratives of our current understanding.

3.3c Consumption

A similar postcolonial approach that has often been paired with hybridity centers upon a theory of consumption, and within the first millennium BCE, there have been a number of studies that have placed contextual studies within this theoretical framework. The most prominent work has been by Michael Dietler on consumption patterns in France during the entire first millennium, from the first contacts between Greeks and the indigenous populations in France to the eventual consequences of later Roman conquest (Dietler 1997; Dietler 1999; Dietler 2006; Dietler 2009; Dietler 2010). Dietler has produced a number of works that integrate the anthropological concept of consumption developed by Miller, Appadurai and others and apply this theory to the archaeological contexts of the ancient world. In his most recent book that comprehensively assembles all of the work he has done on southern France, Dietler uses a postcolonial approach and consumption to fundamentally recenter the focus on the indigenous populations as they participated in over six centuries of colonial encounters, tracking the choices they made concerning drinking customs, foodways, trade, violent encounters, urbanism and ritual landscapes (Dietler 2010). What Dietler has been able to accomplish by looking through the lens of consumption is a study *of* colonialism and cultural interaction, diachronically, in a framework and theoretical approach that is fundamentally separated from discourses built *from* colonialism. As he defines it, “cross-cultural consumption is a continual process of selective appropriation and creative assimilation according to local logics that is also a way of continually reconstructing culture” (Dietler 2010: 60). This definition

would apply even in situations, such as we find within central Italy, in which the asymmetric power dynamics and permanent enclaves of foreign settlers are absent, but local groups are still encountering new and foreign ways of life.

This particular notion of consumption as “a symbolic activity deeply embedded in social relations and cultural conceptions” (Dietler 2010: 57), has inspired similar recent work employing consumption from a theoretically nuanced perspective rather than – as it has traditionally been viewed within archaeology – as the final step in the economic life of an object. From Tamar Hodos’s reconceptualization of local responses within North Syria, Sicily and North Africa to the dual presence of Greeks and Phoenicians (Hodos 2006), to Jaime Vives-Ferrándiz’s study of the interaction between Phoenicians and indigenous peoples along the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula and the subsequent ways in which drinking and eating practices maintained already-established traditions (consumption of alcohol) and added new ones (wine as a new alcoholic beverage, often amended with spices ground in tripod bowls, or the increased presence of flatware for food consumption) (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008). These works utilize the lens of consumption in order to comprehend the overall social milieu and everyday practices of local populations, and stand in strong contrast to those that use the term consumption for almost purely economic and consumerist concerns.

Alternatively, most of these studies consider imported material from the point of view of the consumer, but they do not necessarily place these imports within the broader material culture and practices of the local population, instead isolating the imported goods without a thorough discussion of the context (the majority of the chapters from Crielaard *et al.* 1999, although chapters by Morgan, Crielaard and Hannestad take a more

social and contextual approach; Osborne 2007; Bevan 2010; St. P. Walsh 2014). The priority in these cases has been shifted from a focus on the colonizer, as in previous colonialist approaches, to the colonizing element, the imported object. Although there is an effort to understand what the consumer thought of such an object, rather than assuming an inherent desire for the goods based on their association with the colonizer, such a view of consumption does little to address how such imports fit within the already-existing social context of these local communities. Instead, an effort should be made to start from the daily lives of the inhabitants, not from the lives of the imports, and from the materials that both shape and are shaped by the local social context in which they exist – and then determine how new materials are accepted, transformed or rejected into this already existing process of cultural creation.

Although the form of consumption as it has been applied to archaeological contexts has produced new insights for changing practices in the midst of increased cultural connectivity, that is not to say that consumption is a panacea, or indeed an unchallenged anthropological concept. David Graeber has rightly called into question the near universal application of consumption to all forms of human practice that are acts of production solely intended for the marketplace (Graeber 2011). He instead delves into the history of the term in order to understand its relationship to destruction, elite conceptions of desire and the popular emphasis on food, and how all of these have been reformulated within a market economy to create the modern idea of ‘consumption’. He points out a number of complicating factors that have been underexplored and overlooked by anthropology, in particular the nearly completist division of human action into categories of production and consumption, and that one of the most meaningful acts of life, the

creation of human beings as meaningful nexes of social relations, fits into neither category (Graeber 2011: 502). It is this concept, especially in the context of the ancient economy, which does not strictly separate fields of production and consumption, that needs to be added as a way of understanding the value of human action that goes beyond consumption. This critique, however, is mostly aimed at the nearly universal anthropological description of individual action within the modern world as a process of consumption (such as watching television), and does not necessarily undermine the notion of consumption constructed by Dietler as “a symbolic activity deeply embedded in social relations and cultural conceptions” (Dietler 2010: 57). The funerary deposition of goods does in fact fit this idea of consumption in that it involves the destruction of goods in order to build an impression of individual identity, although it does not explain the reasoning for the community action revealed by this endeavor.

I believe that a combination of this cultural definition of the process of consumption, along with Graeber’s entreaty to reconsider the value of human creation, which will be discussed further in the next section, will build a more sensitive picture of the changing nature of funerary material in the early first millennium BCE within central Italy. The methodology of examining consumption, particularly that put forward by Vives-Ferrándiz, has been productive for exploring colonialism precisely because it is not born from colonial studies, and therefore does not suffer the same issues of previous colonial work that either reifies binary conceptions, or denies agency to its participants. Additionally, it does not put forward a predetermined value for imported objects, but instead seeks to understand how they fit within the cultural milieu of their consumption, requiring a broader look than a focus on elites or imported objects alone. In short, it

seeks to understand *why* someone is using a particular good and how it fits into their own, already existing set of material culture and practices, something that has been lost in grand narratives about the spread of eastern elite Mediterranean culture.

3.4 Reconceptualizing Value

Alongside these efforts to reconceive the so-called ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon through new, more nuanced understandings of cultural interaction and change, if we are to truly shift away from essentializing and Orientalist modern conceptions, we need to fundamentally question how people in the past valued the imported goods and cultural practices that comprise this period of connectivity. The most consistent interpretation of these imported goods from throughout locations around the Mediterranean, as already observed, is their role in building the elite language of a pan-Mediterranean aristocratic culture. The automatic assumption that imported goods are inherently worth more and indicate the bearer as powerful, no matter what cultural context they are in, has led to limited and reductive interpretations. These objects have often been discussed as *exotica*, part of a luxurious way of life rooted in eastern values (*habrosyne*), Orientalist language designed and utilized more as a part of the Orientalist project of European self-definition than as an accurate description of the value and purpose of these objects. This framework of Orientalism has even been pushed back onto the people of the early first millennium in a recent chapter by Bernard Knapp, stating that “ancient Orientalism enabled ‘western’ (i.e. Mediterranean) elites, through their knowledge of and contact with – but not power over – ancient Near Eastern realms, to establish, stabilize and expand their own authority at home” (B. Knapp 2006: 50). This kind of reading will not change simply because the

objects are thought of as part of a process of consumption rather than diffusion. In order to get at a fundamentally different comprehension of this category of imported good within the existing local culture, we need to begin from a completely new concept of value.

Questioning such predetermined assumptions is at the heart of anthropological studies of value, and it has been particularly used for understanding the circulation of goods. The arrival of imported goods marks an important intersection between a new, unknown object, and already existing local systems of value. It indicates a particularly poignant point in the process of value creation, which Nicholas Thomas defines as “a recursively constituted outcome of acts of substitution, juxtaposition, and transformation” (Thomas 1991: 31). This definition helps emphasize that value construction is a continuous and recursive process. This process is both governed by the already existing systems of value and creates a completely new notion of value for both individuals and the community at large. The element that spans this shift in value is the imported good, making a focus, although not exclusive focus, on this material aspect a valuable lens for examination. An imported object’s value, in particular, is described by van Wijngaarden as “a cultural judgment made in the receiving society and should be investigated in that cultural context” (van Wijngaarden 1999: 5). More than this, the imported object is a materialization of the social actions which brought different groups into contact, and therefore an encapsulation of the encounter between various systems of value. This argues for a different way of approaching material in the Orientalizing period. Instead of isolating imported materials as exotica and exclusively studying a single class of object,

these eastern imports must be understood in their cultural context – that is, in the material culture of central Italy.

The construction of value has been the subject of a volume based on a conference held at the Getty Research Institute (Papadopoulos & Urton 2012) and has been prominent in Bronze Age Aegean archaeology, a time period that also saw an influx of goods from the east (Voutsaki 1995; van Wijngaarden 1999; Feldman 2006; Legarra Herrero 2011). Many of the archaeological applications of value, in order to avoid the labor connotations of Marx's definition of value, draw heavily on Georg Simmel's understanding of the term. Simmel states in *The Philosophy of Money* that "the value of objects... can never be inferred from their mere natural existence and content", but rather is a judgment made about it by people (Simmel 1922: 5–8). In particular, his description of value as the tension between the desire for objects and access to them has been appealing to archaeological work concerning value due to the fact that both *desirability* and *accessibility* are considered visible in the archaeological record. Such an approach, however, reduces the value of an object to simply its exchange value, a product of supply and demand economics without considering other social, political, or symbolic values that also come into play. This mistakenly considers objects as static, whose value can be restricted to the time at which it is exchanged. Although more recent work on value in the Bronze Age Aegean has provoked new questions and provided a theoretical discussion that is more critical of many assumptions concerning exchange, many of the resulting interpretations for the value of imported objects fall back on elite social differentiation through specialized access to and knowledge of a foreign place. The focus on objects and the notion that value is created for these imports above all through exchange, leads to "an

image of commerce as a universal human urge” (Graeber 2001: 33), leaving actions that might not be governed by economic value out of the discussion.

In striking opposition to these simplified economic approaches, David Graeber has constructed an alternative theory of value by reassessing the vast bodies of anthropological literature on theories of value(s), exchange, debt, and money (Graeber 2001). Graeber moves past the kinds of prominent economism present in previous work theorizing value (particularly Appadurai 1986a), and calls for a theory of value to be centered on how people measure the importance of their own actions within a structure, following Nancy Munn’s idea that value emerges in action (Munn 1986). It combines Strathern’s emphasis that value is embedded within *social relations* (Strathern 1987: 286) along with Marx’s notion of the *value of objects* based on the expenditure of human energy. The primary venue for this display of the value of one’s own actions is society at large: the audience, largely imaginary, that judges these actions and how they fit into the values of the larger body of individuals. In Graeber’s own words, “value can only be realized in other people’s eyes” (Graeber 2013: 226). In everyday life, society serves as an amorphous audience for an individual’s construction of value. There are, however, particularly charged ritual events in which society as a whole takes collective action, something Appadurai calls “tournaments of value” (Appadurai 1986b: 21). Cemeteries, and the funerary rituals that create the burial evidence of the archaeological record, provide a unique opportunity, a ritualized space in which society takes actual material form: “If society takes concrete, material form, this tends to happen only during important ritual events (funerals, graduation ceremonies, marriages, games, trade summits, etc.)” (Graeber 2013: 226).

It is at this point that most of the archaeological studies employing a theory of value mistake the object of study within the grave. As Graeber points out, the most significant action any person can take is in the effort to reproduce society, both physically through the addition of new human beings, and socially through the construction and maintenance of social relations (Graeber 2001: 217). Here, Graeber's emphasis on social reproduction leads to a critical reassessment of exactly *what* should be investigated within cemeteries. From the perspective of the society as a whole, it is the *individual*, not the objects buried with them, that holds the true value. Rather than seeking to define which objects within a grave hold the most value, or determining the specific value of all of the objects within the grave (particularly imported goods for the 'orientalizing' period), there needs to be an important analytical shift toward how society invests value in the individual being buried. The collective action taken by members of the individual's family and the community more broadly then in turn imbue the deceased by their own meaningful action: through the treatment of the body, construction of the grave, objects placed within tomb, and the maintenance of a connection with the deceased after the funeral. The entirety of the grave, therefore, represents the meaningful action and value of the community.

With this in mind, if we are particularly interested in how imported objects contribute to the meaningful action directed toward the deceased, such an object needs to be considered within the larger context of the funerary ritual as a whole. This is because it can only be understood in relation to its function to people in the past, in this instance in its funerary function. This does not mean simply looking at its instrumental function, but also its social, symbolic, political and personal role. Such a multidimensional reading

requires a view of objects that takes what Graeber describes as the Heraclitean approach, seeing objects as processes rather than static entities, meaning that these objects are made up of the entire sum and history of human and material actions with which they were part. Archaeologically, the inherent complexity that then makes up objects makes it even more important to approach them through the human action that they were employed in and which is the subject of investigation, in this case funerary ritual.

Finally, Graeber brings up an important note about the relationship between value and politics that will help shift the traditional focus of the study of the Orientalizing period. Following Turner, Graeber states that politics is “not just to accumulate value, but to define what value is, and how different values dominate, encompass, or otherwise relate to one another” (Graeber 2013: 228). Therefore, the study of tombs from the Orientalizing period should not simply emphasize which tombs accumulated the greatest number of grave goods or the most objects of a predetermined economic concept of value, but rather should attempt to understand how particular values are competing and negotiated with one another through the practice of the funerary ritual.

In light of this reconceptualization, the value imbued within both the deceased and the reconstitution of society after the burial of the deceased cannot be determined by a selection of grave goods for study. It also cannot be looked at in isolation to the other graves in the cemetery. This must be explored through a combination of quantitative methods, social network analysis and a contextual study of grave goods. Since so much of the Orientalizing period centers around imported objects and their distribution, I would like to begin from the opposite direction, the people themselves and the social relations they create and maintain through funerary ritual. This will then highlight which objects

are valuable for social cohesion or differentiation (for which imports are often interpreted as being used), rather than beginning from our own modern interpretations of a static value for these objects.

3.5 Conclusions

Studies of a so-called ‘orientalizing’ period within central Italy have arrived at a standstill, having rested on a view of aristocratic participation in Mediterranean-wide elite practices of social differentiation, banqueting and in general a luxurious life. Such a myopic view of a time of increased connectivity has left out large swaths of the community and has focused on imported goods and simplistic notions of cultural change that accompanied these objects. Although not often picked up within scholarship of central Italy, there have been a number of advances in scholarship on cultural interaction in the Mediterranean over the past thirty years that present many ways of looking at the period from a new point of view. Some of the most important works have centered on postcolonial approaches; while I do not believe such approaches necessarily apply to the study of the presence of imported material and new practices within the inland communities considered here, many of these ideas will help lead study of this period in a new direction. These will include a focus on the perspective of local populations rather than solely on Greek, Phoenician, or even in this case Etruscan colonizers; cultural change as an active and recursive process rather than the predominance of one bounded culture over another; and questioning of the role of imported material as a tool for societal evolution.

In addition to these new perspectives, another important shift for deconstructing an elite-centric narrative is the fundamental change toward an understanding of value as meaningful action taken particularly in the formation of fully-social human beings. This means that the individual who is buried, and the collective actions of the group burying the person, are the real ‘objects’ of value within the funerary record, not a particular class of objects. Such a shift calls for a completely new way of looking at the archaeological material preserved within cemeteries, one that focuses on social relationships and community structure. Such a methodology is best served by larger datasets taken from more populous cemeteries that have contextual information for the grave goods preserved. These sites occur more frequently within inland regions that have received much less attention than Etruria, Latium or Campania. In addition to being better datasets to work with, the sites that I have chosen (Campovalano and Fossa) provide a chance to look at choices being made with regard to what non-peninsular objects make their way this far inland and what series of modifications have been made to them along the way. From this inland perspective, and with the inclusion of larger community groups, we can better assess the kinds of nuanced responses people and places have to the exposure to a broader and more connected world.

Chapter 4 – An Inland View of Mediterranean Connectivity at the Beginning of the First Millennium BCE

Taking a new approach to the varieties of ways in which Italy participated in Mediterranean interaction in the first millennium requires not only a shift in theory and methodology, but also a reorientation in geographic perspective to regions that have not often been included within the interaction discussion. There are numerous sites and regions within the Italian peninsula that were part of the broader phenomenon of cultural interaction at this time, and that employed objects and practices that have been described as part of the ‘orientalizing’ package, but whose lack of later historical significance and archaeological attention – at least until the last few decades – has left them relatively unconsidered within English discussions of the ‘orientalizing’ period. It is in these inland sites that we are able to see not the broad array of imported goods available along the coasts, indicative of the diversity of peoples with which the Italian peninsula was in contact and the choices made by coastal communities, but rather those choices made about imported objects by populations farther inland. This is a particular perspective on *local* choice that has been left out of considerations concerning Mediterranean connectivity given that attention tends to follow the paths of Greeks and Phoenicians, and one in which inland sites within the Apennines and along the Adriatic coast can provide new data for investigating the varieties of responses to such connectivity. By interrogating the understanding of ‘orientalizing’ through a closer examination of the range of local choices and local responses within the peninsula, it further demonstrates how inappropriate such a universalizing term is, not only for these inland situations, but for the Etruscan and broader Mediterranean context.

Within this chapter I will define the inland region of central Italy that is the focus of my research, exploring the concept of a central Italian *koiné* as a unifying suite of material culture and patterns in settlement and religious and funerary practice. In addition, I will highlight three sites (Colfiorito, Bazzano and Pontecagnano) that are either within the *koiné* or in close proximity that provide useful comparanda for my own case studies or useful theoretical frameworks for investigation. Having laid out the regional context, I then introduce the my two primary case studies, Campovalano and Fossa, that are the focus of the more in depth, micro-historical explorations using quantitative and contextual methods for the following two chapters. The end of this chapter then details the types of tomb and object clustering, as well as network methods, that I will employ in the following three chapters in order to interrogate the foundational concepts structuring the study of the ‘orientalizing’ period at both sites.

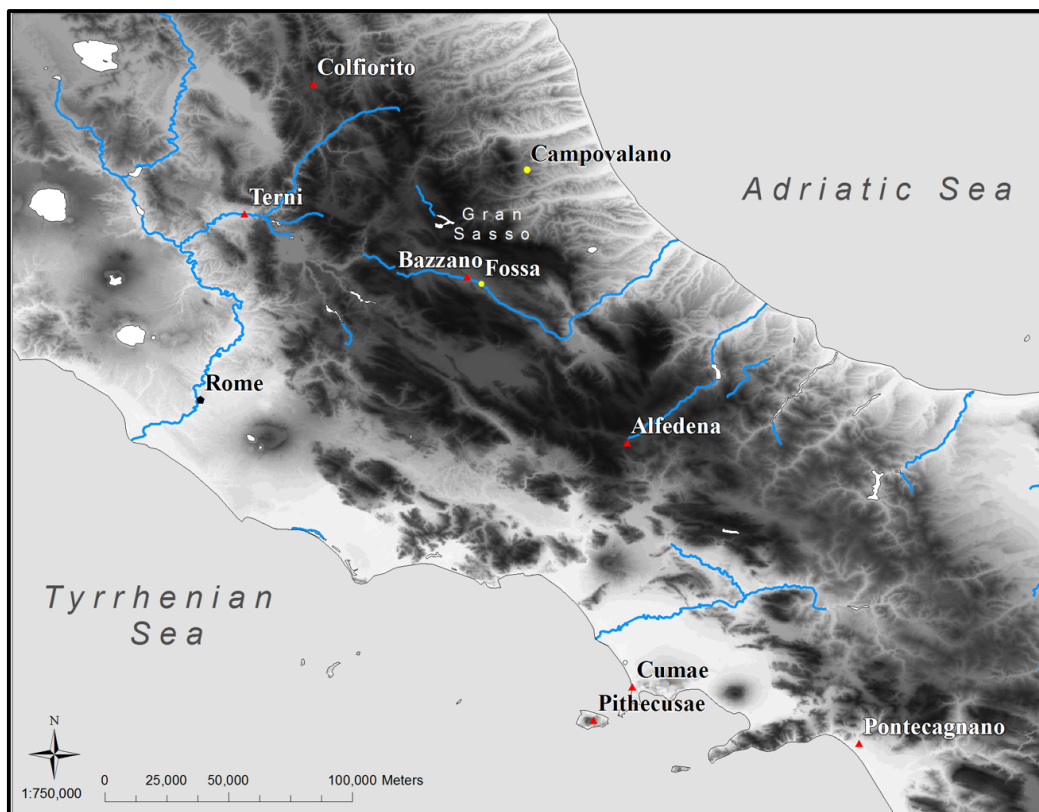


Figure 4.1: General map of region of study

4.1 The Central Italian Koiné

When we look at the inland regions of central Italy stretching east from the Tyrrhenian coast, there are a number of different ways in which they can be archaeologically classified. One of the broadest and most inclusive for the peoples and material culture of the inland and Adriatic regions of central Italy during the early first millennium BCE has been established by Laura Bonomi Ponzi: the central-italic *koiné*. The territories of central Italy that span the Apennine mountain range form a cultural unity that overarches both the individual Iron Age ethnic and tribal names, as well as the larger and later defined Augustan regions. This *koiné* stretches from the Umbrian site of Colfiorito in the north, through Terni and the Sabine area further south, and finally into the northern parts of Abruzzo (Figure 4.1)(Bonomi Ponzi 1996: 393). Geographically, this cultural group is united by the slopes and high plains of the Apennine mountains, and in some cases includes those ridges, rivers and valleys that run down to the Adriatic coastline, a short distance to the east. At other times this stretch of the mid-Adriatic has been treated as a separate archaeological culture; however many of its defining characteristics are the same as those of the central-italic *koiné* (Cianfarani 1978).

Bonomi Ponzi established this central-italic *koiné* based on a number of similarities in funerary structures and grave goods, settlement patterns and religious practices. Within the funerary sphere, the rite of inhumation was almost universal in this area, as was the early use of monumentalized tombs that are surrounded by stone circles, and the deposited grave goods have common types of impasto vessels (ollae, orcioli, brocche, and four-handled chalices), fibulae (particularly types *ad arco serpeggiante*), bronze objects (bronze discs with embossed or incised decoration and tazze with an

umbilicus), and weapons, especially the short sword with stamen handle (Bonomi Ponzi 1991a; Bonomi Ponzi 1996: 393–394). Beyond the funerary context, settlements in this broad area tend to be built on high fortified sites, which many describe as a *pagus-vicus* organization, while the sanctuaries are located along mountain passes and at elevated locations (La Regina 1968; Bonomi Ponzi 1992). There is a common religious practice of depositing small bronze figurines, often of armed males, praying females, animals or deities, that is also found throughout the region (Bonomi Ponzi 1991a: 71). In addition to the funerary, settlement and religious commonalities that Bonomi Ponzi identifies for this mountainous region, Benelli and Weidig have outlined an italic metallurgical *koiné* that stretches broadly from Novilara in Picenum to Cales in northern Campania (Benelli & Weidig 2006: 12).

Even though these patterns are established by the 7th century, there are clearly signs of them in the first Iron Age, and Blake has argued that a northern, Umbrian and Picene, Transapennine network existed already in the Bronze Age (Blake 2014: 205). Connectivity was an essential quality of these mountain groups, both among the peoples at higher elevations in the mountains and for those located at lower elevations along the coasts. Blake notes that the cultural unity seen within these groups of the central Apennines may be due to the fact that this mountain range serves as a facilitator rather than an impediment to movement (Blake 2014: 201). This may be due to the fact that it would have been much easier to travel along mountain ridges, in this case in a north-south direction, than it would have been to travel down and up the mountains to the coastal communities at lower elevations. Transhumance was one facilitator of movement within the mountains for short distances, although winter weather may have led some

herds to lower altitude pastures that would have required longer distance travel (G. Bradley 2000: 50; Williamson 2005: 145). Indeed, the variability of weather and seasons, and the microclimates that each mountain valley takes on, instills a need for flexibility in sustenance patterns and a necessity for exchange. Additionally, the dearth and poor quality of metal resources in this section of the mid-Adriatic mountains would have required trade with bordering regions, such as the Fucine basin and the Tyrrhenian coast, for the essential components of weapons and jewelry (Naso 2003: 28). In this context then, interaction and exchange with neighboring groups was a vital part of life.

Although this larger descriptor of a *koiné* helps provide a framework for the broad, overarching material patterns evident within the central Apennines, if we zoomed in on a particular region or community, we would be able to see discernible local variations on these themes. Within the Picene region, for instance, the deceased is buried in a crouched position rather than the supine inhumations of the rest of the *koiné*. Some of these smaller sub-groups have also been defined as *koiné*, typically centering on a specific named group, such as the Vestini (D’Ercole 2014a). The Iron Age tribes and ‘ethnic’ categories of Umbrian, Picene, Sabine, and the many other groups in northern Abruzzo are still extremely malleable and are in a constant process of identity formation, and even when their distinctions are more evident in later periods, there is still fluidity. In part this appears to be why the use of the term *koiné* is so popular as an archaeological descriptor: it notes the similarities in material culture of a particular group without reifying an ethnic marker assigned by later classical authors.

The effects of a so-called ‘orientalizing’ period within the central-Italian *koiné* have focused on the aristocratic class, and particularly their efforts to define themselves

as elite by comparison to the rest of the community. The evidence for this is primarily drawn from funerary material, especially from a number of well-known sites: Colfiorito, Terni, Monteleone di Spoleto, Campovalano, Fossa, and Bazzano. Aristocratic status was thought to be identified in tombs with banqueting paraphernalia and with a large panoply of weapons emphasizing the warrior role of the deceased (Bonomi Ponzi 1996: 408). Rather than connecting such an aristocracy to any larger changes or processes, tombs that have numerous drinking vessels and weapon types are often simply discussed as ‘princely’. In this area the development of the aristocracy is divorced from the process of urbanization, as this is thought to take place later, just before or during Roman conquest of the region (although as in other regions, the process of Roman expansion is never uniform in its results). Moreover, the predominant ideology to which these changes are tied is that of a Homeric society, rather than an eastern ideology of an aristocratic monarchy²¹. This is due to a combination of perceptions that Greeks had a deeper impact on Italy at this time than influences from further to the east, founded on Hellenocentrism, and that the strong expression of warrior identity more smoothly aligned with a Homeric ideology. Overall, in regard to funerary analysis of this period, there is an almost complete focus on the expression of increasing social hierarchy in response to greater trade with neighboring regions, chiefly Etruria.

What makes this region so interesting for investigating the phenomenon of Mediterranean contact in this period is the variety of peoples through whom these foreign materials are filtered. Although Etruscan influence has typically been emphasized, nearly every bordering region has shaped the imported objects, forms and stylistic motifs that

²¹ Bonomi Ponzi describes it as a “la gerarchia omerica” in reference to Colfiorito (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 93)

are found from this period in inland central Italy. In addition to this, the way in which each local community receives and adapts these items is molded by the peculiarities specific to their particular corner of the central-Italian *koiné*. Before delving into my two primary case studies, which will be investigated in detail in the following chapters, it is important to know the cultural and archaeological background of some of the other key sites in the region in order to situate practices within a contextual framework. In order to do this, I will look at three of the most significant sites from within the central-Italian *koiné* and the immediately surrounding region: Colfiorito, Bazzano and Pontecagnano. Each of these sites has been thoroughly studied and broadens the geographical range for exploring the various ways in which local communities shape the contact they have with foreign groups and objects.

4.1.a Colfiorito

In her description of the central-Italian *koiné*, Laura Bonomi Ponzi makes frequent mention of the necropolis of Colfiorito, a site that she excavated along with Anna Eugenio Feruglio in the late 1970s/early 1980s, and which she subsequently published in 1997 (Bonomi Ponzi 1997). The necropolis is located on the northern edge of the central Apennines, on the border between the regions of Umbria and Marche, about 26 miles east of the modern city of Perugia. The fertile plateau on which the site is situated was connected to a series of valleys that cut through the Apennines, making it a facilitator for trade and communication amid the larger mountain range. Colfiorito is linked to the Tyrrhenian Sea primarily through the Valle Umbra and the Tiber river, while the Chienti river provides eastern access to the Adriatic coast. Overall, Colfiorito provides useful evidence of the northern connection between the Tyrrhenian coast and the

Adriatic, whose material culture shows some differences in the cultural aspects of the northern part of the central-Italian *koiné* from the southern route around Gran Sasso²², which will be highlighted shortly.

Along with the necropolis itself, there is some settlement evidence, in the remains of three huts that were part of a lakeside village dating from the 9th until the 7th centuries BCE; however, these results are not fully published (Bonomi Ponzi 2010: 174). Slightly later there is evidence of centralized ritual activity in the late 6th/early 5th century sanctuary to dea Cupra, one of the foremost deities of the region (Feruglio 1989). The placement of this sanctuary at the intersection of a number of crossroads and the presence of imported goods has led Bonomi Ponzi to describe it as an emporion, meant to welcome travelers from Etruria, Umbria and especially Picenum, where the deity has many more sanctuaries (Bonomi Ponzi 2010: 179). Also around this period we begin to see settlement shift to the top of Monte Orve, which overlooks the Colfiorito plain from the west. Here we find evidence of terracing, a polygonal wall and other structures along the ridge, which mark this location as the new center for habitation after the abandonment of the lakeside huts (Bonomi Ponzi 2010: 174–176). This kind of upland settlement, described as a “*castelliere*”, follows the settlement patterns found in other parts of the central-Italian *koiné*.

²² This has been noted by Bietti Sestieri (Bietti Sestieri 2001b). Indeed Blake’s work hints at this separation between northern and southern routes across the Apennines, noting that the Recent Bronze Age and Final Bronze Age networks that she identified among later Umbrian and Picene groups do not have connections with any nodes in the Sabine territory further south (Blake 2014: 205).

Phase	Date Range	Number of Tombs
IA	900-790	16
IB	790-690	24
II	690-590	29
IIIA	590-490	52
IIIB	490-350	76
IV	350-200	24
Unidentified		34

Table 4.1: Chronological phasing of the necropolis of Colfiorito di Foligno, based on phasing created by Bonomi Ponzi (Bonomi Ponzi 1997)

The necropolis is made up of 255 simple *a fossa* inhumations dating from the beginning of the 9th until the 3rd century BCE (Table 4.1). Phases IA and B date to the Iron Age in Etruria, and provide evidence for the process of incorporation of the *ripostiglio* within funerary ritual, which consists of a storage area at the foot of the tomb containing a storage vessel and dipping cup. In Phase IA, 6 of the 16 tombs have a single storage vessel, which take the form of an *olla*, *anforetta* or *brocca*, however no tomb has an accompanying dipping/drinking vessel. This combination begins to appear in Phase IB, in which a single-handled *tazza* or *scodella* is paired with a storage vessel. For both periods these vessels tend to appear at the feet of the deceased, who lay supine, as can be seen in the rest of the central-Italian *koiné*. In some instances, in Phase IB and later in Phase II, however, we do see these two vessels split in their placement, often with the larger vessel remaining near the feet and the smaller vessel at the head or hips/knees. In terms of dress and personal items, in Phases IA and B some male tombs include a razor while a single spindle whorl is often found in female burials. Knives are also present, and are typically located near the arm or shoulder of the deceased.

Phase II (7th century BCE) is the equivalent of the orientalizing period in Etruria, and it is in this phase that we begin to see an expansion beyond the two vessel pairing.

Tombs like t.174 include an *olla*, small plate, three *tazze*, a *bicchiere* and a *boccale*, all deposited along the right side of the deceased in this case. In other tombs of this period that also include numerous vessels (ex. t.20, 244), these vessels continue to be placed at the feet of the deceased. Along with this expansion of the number of vessels, there are also new vessel forms, such as the four-handled *tazza* from the central inner and Adriatic regions, from Abruzzo to Sabinum, and further north to Picenum and Romagna (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 60). Indeed, the impasto ceramics show inclusion within the central-Italian *koiné*, and connections to those groups that are in contact with both regions: southern Etruria and the Sabine-Faliscan regions. Additional connections with the *koiné*, can be seen in the bronze discs that are part of female dress and male defensive equipment, and which are strongly present in the central Apennines and mid-Adriatic. Those deposited in female graves show the two ways in which they are worn: as a stole hanging from either the shoulder or the hips down to the feet. In male graves we also begin to see weapons deposited for the first time, in the form of lances and swords. In this period, it appears that Colfiorito is making stronger contact with all its neighboring regions, and in the process, beginning to take on new funerary rituals that expand beyond libations and into larger scale, more elaborate drinking sets. Bonomi Ponzi marks these changes and elaborations of funerary ritual as the beginning of the emergent social class, which becomes more apparent in the following period (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 62).

Phase III is the period in which the necropolis sees the greatest use, and along with the shift in settlement to a fortified hilltop position, it probably marks a demographic increase for the community. Although the so-called ‘orientalizing’ period took place in the previous phase, it is in Phase IIIA and especially IIIB that there is evidence of the

traditional characteristics identified with ‘orientalizing’ culture: extensive banqueting, presence of imported objects and the existence of tombs that are described as ‘princely’. In many of the burials from this period, the earlier ritual placement of the *ripostiglio* is altered, now being placed along the side of the body, and it is expanded, as storage vessels and drinking cups are deposited in increasingly greater numbers, often with more than ten per tomb. New vessel forms are introduced at this time, the majority of which are still made locally in impasto, and this marks the first appearance of bronze serving vessels at Colfiorito. Some ceramic forms are derived from the Adriatic, such as the *boccale*, while others come from the Etruscan region, such as the kantharos (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 86). The bronze vessels are most likely imports from Etruria, and specifically Volsinii, with whom Colfiorito is thought to have had particularly close contact during this period (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 88). Other imports, such as the Attic vases that begin appearing at the end of IIIA and more prominently in IIIB, are most likely arriving from Numana on the Adriatic coast, which started flourishing as a commercial center in this period. Colfiorito is clearly well-linked to both sides of the Italian peninsula at this time.

It is amidst this backdrop of the expansion of funerary feasting²³ that those formerly emergent burials now become ‘princely’. Bonomi Ponzi defines ‘princely’ tombs based on the quantity, quality and nature of the funerary material, stating that these consist of a regular set of vessels, imported objects, iron weapons in male tombs and numerous ornaments of luxury in female tombs (Bonomi Ponzi 1991b; Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 82). This means a set of bronze pieces such as cauldrons, basins, olpai, oinochoai

²³ There is actual evidence of feasts occurring at the funeral through the remains of pig bones, poultry and egg shells that were found in bowls and plates (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 82)

and graters, along with cooking instruments such as spits and firedogs, in addition to the repertoire of storage, pouring and drinking vessels. For male tombs, there is the additional element of a dolium, which is part of the wealthiest tombs and is thought to point to the individual's role in redistribution within the community and possibly indicating possession of land and control of transhumance routes. Alternatively, females have access to drinking sets and tools for cooking (spits and firedogs), and there is still emphasis on distinction through ornamentation and the display of imports such as amber. In the case of these discussions of 'princely' tombs, however, there is no actual listing of exactly which tombs are considered princely and which are not. Instead, the most important fact is that the ability to provide such a designation to Colfiorito means that a number of other social and hierarchical inferences can be made based on the presence of such a distinct aristocracy.

More broadly, it appears that the use of the term 'princely' is meant to show an equivalence in social development to those groups in the Tyrrhenian area. As Bonomi Ponzi herself stated: "The rising of an aristocracy even takes on a 'princely' role in no way inferior to that of the aristocracies in the Latial or in the Sabine areas" (Bonomi Ponzi 1991a: 69). This seeming comparison of social evolutionary position is further reinforced by the fact that Bonomi Ponzi views this period as the point in which a true and autonomous "Umbrian" identity can be discerned (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 145). In addition to ethnic identity being attached to these changes in social hierarchy, it appears that centralization in settlement and religious practice is also linked, since the sanctuary of dea Cupra was built in the late 6th and the occupation of the fortified hilltop settlement began in the early 5th century, at roughly the beginning of Phase IIIB (Bonomi Ponzi

1997: 93–94). This process of centralization, however, is pointedly described as different from the kind of Tyrrhenian urbanism that is often associated as culminating in the ‘orientalizing’ period (Bonomi Ponzi 1991a: 70). In this case, the fortified settlements and system of towns and villages is seen as being distinctly Umbrian. It is therefore through the complete development of social hierarchy, as seen through the ‘orientalizing’ period and ‘princely’ tombs, which Bonomi Ponzi believes that we see evidence of the Umbrians joining the stage with the other Italic tribes: in material culture, aristocratic culture, in landownership and settlement patterns. This places the ‘orientalizing’ period, once again, as was seen in Etruria, as being a critical period of development of social evolution.

4.1b Bazzano

In the center of the central Italian *koiné*, southwest of the high peaks of Gran Sasso and within the Aquila plain, sits the necropolis of Bazzano. The large cemetery was excavated between 1992 and 2005, and has just recently been fully published in an immense three volume set by Joachim Weidig (2014a). The necropolis consists of 1670 tombs spanning between the 8th and the 2nd century BCE, with fully 700 of them dating to my own period of interest, from the Iron Age until the Archaic period (Table 4.2). Bazzano is located a mere 5 kilometers from my case study of Fossa; however, since this site was published just as I finished my analysis, I was not able to include it within case studies of my micro-history. Nevertheless, Bazzano provides helpful comparanda and richer context to our knowledge of the funerary culture and interaction history of the Aquila basin.

Phase	Chronological Range
I	Middle of 8 th – Beginning of 7 th
IIA	Second Quarter – Third Quarter of 7 th
IIB1	Last Quarter of 7 th – First Quarter of 6 th
IIB2	Second Quarter – Third Quarter of 6 th
IIB/III	Third quarter of 6 th
III	Last Quarter of 6 th – First Half of 5 th
IV	Second Half of 5 th

Table 4.2: Campovalano's placement within the regional landscape (Weidig 2014a: 648)

In the first phase of the cemetery, the number of tombs is limited, partially due to the poor preservation of the tumuli that are typical of this period. These large, earth and stone-built tumuli, encircled in stone, are representative of the necropoleis of northern Abruzzo for this period (D'Ercole *et al.* 2003). As we will see at both Fossa and Campovalano, the chronological trend in tomb construction is a gradual move away from these large earthen, stone-circled tumuli, to smaller tumuli in Phase II, and eventually trenches for *a fossa* tombs from Phase IIB – IV (Figure 4.2). While tombs gradually decrease in size, the cemetery also begins to incorporate more members of the community into the rite of formal burial. Bazzano also matches Campovalano and Fossa in the first phase by being represented by only male tombs (Weidig 2014a: 614–621). Although this may in part be due to the archaeological record, the consistency across sites with variable states of preservation makes it more likely that burial was restricted to males in the early period of the cemetery, and that male individuals were critical to the establishment and foundation of necropoleis in this part of northern Abruzzo. Females and infants are not represented in the cemetery until Phase IIA, when tombs are spatially organized around family units, and eventually groups of warriors and children are paired together.

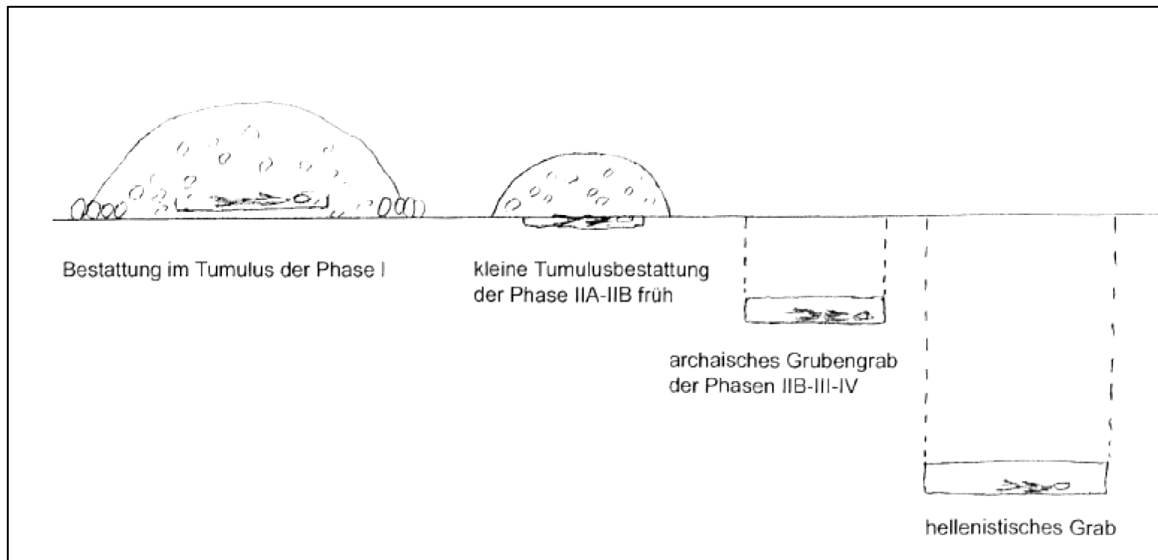


Figure 4.2: Evolution of tomb construction techniques at Bazzano (taken from Weidig 2014, fig. 209)

The state of preservation at Bazzano makes it difficult to understand the dress and personal objects of the deceased until Phase IIB, when the number of tombs increases and burials begin to differentiate themselves. The funerary costume for both males and females is very similar to that seen in the other necropoleis of northern Abruzzo (Weidig 2014b). Males were buried with only a small number of fibulae, mostly for functional use with clothing, and are primarily distinguished through the weapons with which they were buried: dagger with stem handle, long sword, lance and mace head²⁴. Female burials are characterized by greater emphasis on personal ornamentation and dress, with typical local elements such as a bronze plaque belt, certain types of pendants and fibulae. The bronze or iron discs that are part of female dress in other sites in Abruzzo (Fossa and Avezzano), are notably absent, however this may be due to the small number of female burials.

²⁴ Physical evidence drawn from the skeletons shows that males were heavily trained in single-handed combat. Study of the human use of a single hand shows that the male population of Bazzano has seen repetitive and heavy use of a single arm, most likely with weapons, showing that the weapons that are buried with males are not merely symbolic (Sparacello & Coppa 2014).

Spindle whorls and other weaving equipment are actually quite rare, as is the case at Fossa.

By comparison to the other necropoleis of northern Abruzzo, Bazzano has many fewer vessels, both for the number of tombs in which they are included (only one quarter of tombs) and for the number of vessels per tomb (7 at the most) (Weidig 2014a: 693). There are two trends in the way in which vessels are deposited: within a *ripostiglio* at the feet or alongside the deceased, or fragmented in the burial fill of the tomb. The *ripostiglio*, as will be seen at Fossa, consists of a large storage vessel, evolving from a dolium to olla, and a dipping vessel. The vessels of the *ripostiglio* are gradually given greater protection, being delimited by small stones in Phases I and II, and eventually being incased in large stone slabs (*ripostiglio litico*), including a cover plate, during Phase IIB (Weidig 2014a: 702–705). This type of more secure placement is associated with wealthier tombs, and as the *ripostiglio litico* begins to go out of use during Phase III, it continues and is limited to the wealthy adult graves. Overall, the *ripostiglio* is not limited to a warrior elite, but is also seen in wealthier female graves and infant graves, however the vessels in this case take on a miniaturized form (t. 1147 *olletta* and *anforetta*). At Bazzano, the vessels of the *ripostiglio* appear to be the most common types of ceramics, and they are employed in the libation ritual during the funeral, using a type of fermented, alcoholic beverage other than wine (Weidig 2014a: 706). Additional elements that accompany the deceased as part of the personal funerary kit are bronze basins typically placed on the legs or feet of the deceased. This pattern also appears at Fossa; however at Bazzano, since the bronze vessels are typically accompanied by toiletry elements, it is thought that these bronze basins are used to treat the body of the

deceased rather than as vessels for providing an offering to the deceased (either liquid or of solid food) before finishing the burial (Weidig 2014a: 487–488).

The other pattern for vessel deposition at Bazzano is the ritual of breaking drinking vessels after the burial ritual has finished and the tomb is being closed. There is evidence of this practice in many children's tombs, those of a few outstanding warrior burials, and a single female tomb (Weidig 2014a: 696). The vessels were either destroyed before deposition, with the sherds distributed within the grave, or intact vessels were shattered within the grave pit. The types of vessels found for both practices expanded the range of forms present at Bazzano, and were typically different types of drinking vessels such as Aquila-type *anforette*, dippers and *ollette*. This rite occurs in Latial and Samnite contexts, causing Weidig to suggest that this is one possible element of ethnic identity for the peoples buried at Bazzano. Dating to between the middle of the 6th until the first half of the 5th c. BCE, these smashed vessels are evidence of a form of ritualized drinking as a final act in the completion of the burial ceremony, visually separated from the dead, as a final acknowledgment of the rite of passage. This is a practice that will be helpful to keep in mind since it has at least one occurrence at Fossa.

Both of these patterns of vessel usage are components of the so-called 'emergent tombs' that date to Phase IIB and III. Within the *ripostiglio*, the size of the storage vessel and the type of encasement have been correlated with wealth of the deceased, while those tombs with vessel fragmentation typically employ prestigious vessels, either local or imported, within this ritual (Weidig 2014b: 257 & 259). This, of course, is logical when the presence of greater number of vessels, and particularly imported vessels, has traditionally formed our criteria for the definition of elite or emergent tombs. Weidig

considers those tombs with element of the Etruscan banquet or symposium (bronze vessels beyond basins, straining and mixing equipment, spits and firedogs, etc), almost all of which are male, as ‘princely’ tombs (Weidig 2014b: 258).

There are five of these so-called ‘princely’ tombs from Phase IIB and only one from Phase III²⁵, showing a drop-off similar to what we will see at Campovalano. Tombs with sympotic elements typically are characterized by the *ripostiglio*, as only t.918 has sympotic elements as well as vessel fragmentation (Weidig 2014b: 259). In these cases, since the wealth indicated by the grave goods does not appear to be that different between those emergent tombs with elements of the Etruscan banquet and those warrior tombs with fragmented vessels, Weidig proposes the existence of two different ways of expressing status at the top of the social hierarchy: on the one hand noble families distinguished by grand *ripostigli litici*, and on the other, elevated warriors, identifiable perhaps as military commanders (Weidig 2014a: 259–260). For both groups, however, there is clear valorization of the military role (tombs designated as ‘princely’ with a *ripostiglio* have a full panoply of weapons), so it appears that these two funerary rituals are instead different ways of expressing status rather than explicitly being tied to their possible military role, since this is expressed by virtually all males. Work by Sparacello and Coppa has associated greater bone stress through single-hand usage (presumably of weaponry) with greater levels of status. Those tombs with a higher level of status as calculated through grave goods have greater evidence of early and heavy weapons training (Sparacello & Coppa 2014).

²⁵ Phase IIB – t. 8 finesa, 447, 885, 953 and 1566; Phase III – t. 890

The grave goods buried at Bazzano show connections with other regions of central Italy, particularly the Sabine, Latial and Southern Etruria areas, just as is the case at Fossa. Picene and Adriatic connections are not as distinct, and only become more intense during the second half of the 6th century (Weidig 2014a: 758). The placement of Bazzano within this network helps to establish the connectedness of this part of interior central Italy. What Bazzano shows us, that Fossa does not, is the existence in the Aquilia basin of different funerary rituals coexisting at the same time, establishing that the presence of either the continued use of the *ripostiglio* or the ritual of breaking vessels is a choice made by those individuals and groups rather than a default or ‘traditional’ practice. This will be important to keep in mind as we delve deeper into the case studies in the following chapters.

4.1c Pontecagnano

Just outside of the southern extent of the central Italian *koiné* and in the middle of Campania lies the much-studied site of Pontecagnano. Although it is outside of the *koiné* area, the model of study presented for the site by Cuozzo and the related inland Hirpinian sites provide a productive case study for considering sites within the interior of Abruzzo. Rescue excavations undertaken over the last 50 years have uncovered over 8,000 tombs dating from the 9th until the 4th/3rd c. BCE belonging to two cemeteries situated to the east and west of the ancient settlement. The site provides an important window into the multifaceted nature of interactions in this part of Italy during the early first millennium BCE. At this site and in the surrounding region it is possible to view the interaction between the indigenous peoples of Campania, Etruscans, Greeks and Phoenicians, making this a productive region for investigating the complicated nature of such entanglements. The

work done on the site by Bruno d'Agostino, Luca Cerchiali, Mariassunta Cuzzo and others has done a great deal not only to highlight the important nature of the evidence that Pontecagnano presents, but also to expand the theoretical possibilities available to Italian archaeology for ways of analyzing the material from this complex period of history. Cuzzo's work in particular has focused on the changes seen at Pontecagnano during the 'orientalizing' period, using a number of statistical methods to tease out the nuance of community versus group and individual identity (Cuzzo 2003). Although we are still awaiting the full and detailed publication of each tomb from the 'orientalizing' necropoleis, the thorough study that Cuzzo presents in this monograph, and the numerous articles that have resulted from this work, provide a comprehensive understanding of the community at Pontecagnano (Cuzzo 1994; Cuzzo 2003; Cuzzo 2007).

In the transition from the Iron Age to the 'orientalizing' period, funerary norms changed to emphasize a new, more expansive view of community, spatially organized along kinship lines, and to incorporate a new set of grave goods and funerary practices. While the earlier Iron Age practice of cremation burial, often connected with the Villanovan milieu of material culture, gradually shifted to inhumation burial, new areas began to be used for burial. In contrast to the earlier pattern of burial grounds that were only used for a generation or two at most, tombs from the 'orientalizing' period show planning of tomb placement that strives to avoid future superimposition, along with groupings of tombs, presumably connected by familial descent, that continuously occupied the same space from the end of the 8th century until the 5th c. BCE. Another change that seems to follow this shift to emphasizing the continuity of family groups and

the community as a whole is the inclusion of infants in burial groups, an age class that was excluded in the previous period. Along with these changes in the placement, style and prerogative of burial, the range of grave goods begin to consolidate into a recognizable base set of *corredo*, which consists of a small local impasto amphora, oinochoe, kylix or skyphos, and a cup or plate. As Cuzzo has noted, this base of grave goods shows the active appropriation of Greek elements of wine drinking or offering by members of Pontecagnano, creating a semantic ambiguity between categories of symposium, banquet and libation (Cuzzo 2003: 196). By comparison to the highly gendered difference in grave goods in the previous period, one in which weapons, weaving equipment, personal ornamentation and particular types of fibulae corresponded closely with specific genders, the base set of vessels from the ‘orientalizing’ period appears in tombs of both genders.

All of these changes demonstrate a shift in the expression of community identity, in which more age classes are given burial prerogative, gender differences displayed through grave goods are reduced, and the representation of familial descent gains greater importance. Although these elements served to show a united community during times of great change and engagement with foreign groups, behind these communal practices there were still marked distinctions between individuals and particularly elite groups. Cuzzo’s work complicates the vast majority of Italian scholarship whose description of elite groups in the ‘orientalizing’ period often stops at discussing their presence as evidence of social hierarchy, and frequently of a gentilitial society. Rather than viewing these elite groups as monolithic, Cuzzo has distinguished ideological differences

between particular groups of elites, as expressed through their strategic use of certain rituals and elements of a 'princely' material culture (Cuozzo 2005: 95).

Such distinctions are best exemplified by two types of princely burials: the female t. 2465 of the eastern necropolis and the collection of male princely tombs (926, 928, & 4461) (D'Agostino 1977; Cerchiai 1987). The male tombs actually present a continuation of the practice of cremation, with the charred bone remains being placed in a central stone ossuary, and the tombs themselves are relatively isolated from the rest of the burials in the area (D'Agostino 1977 Fig. 1). The grave goods that accompany these cremations are described by d'Agostino as fitting a Greek 'heroic-prince' model, resembling the Euboean funerary practices in Eretria and Cumae in the deposition of the bones in a bronze cauldron, the presence of spits and firedogs, the inclusion of weapons such as a lance and axe, the deposition of a chariot, and the use of precious metals for service vessels.

By comparison, the female 'princely' grave t. 2465 is situated in the eastern necropolis as a distinct pole of a centrifugal concentric placement of tombs outside the probable tumulus that covered her tomb. The grave goods within this tomb exhibit many of the same symbols of power that are visible in the other male 'princely' tombs: metal vessels, spits, firedogs, a knife, axe, carriage, horse-shaped handled cup, etc. It also displayed items of wealth that are more specifically related to the female sphere, such as ornamentation of bronze and gold jewelry, amber necklace, faience scarab, a bronze spindle and spindle whorls (Cuozzo 2003: 108–112). In the case of this female 'princely' tomb, however, it is independent of any equivalent male burial that could be considered the accompanying 'prince', and in fact all of the surrounding male tombs are described as

‘sober’ by contrast, since none of the ‘princely’ symbols have been found in these tombs (Cuozzo 1994: 289). Other female tombs in this eastern cemetery, however, do contain elements of the ‘princely’ ideology, possibly indicating that women are the bearers of wealth and social importance within these groups of the cemetery. Since these female markers of status, such as the role of weaver and caretaker of the hearth, can also be seen in the ‘orientalizing’ burials of the southern Etruscan/Latinal world, Cuozzo infers that this group may be drawing their ideology from this realm, by contrast to the ‘princely’ males from the western necropolis, who are connected to a Greek ideology (Cuozzo 1994: 292). By carefully drawing out the contextual expression of status, Cuozzo has demonstrated a method of discerning differences in ideological reference as well as identifying possibly competing systems of status within the larger community of Pontecagnano.

In addition to highlighting these opposing groups of elites, Cuozzo emphasizes the effect that the establishment of a new ideology of power and status would have had on the community at large. As part of the changes in funerary ritual, Cuozzo asserts that the elites are enacting a ‘reinvention of tradition’, as defined by Hobsbawm and Ranger (Cuozzo 2003: 18; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). The new funerary landscape that emphasizes familial descent and organized future burial practices creates the framework for ancestral reverence, and by projecting this cult of the elites on to the past, it serves to legitimize the prerogatives of the elite within society (Cuozzo 2015: 593). Moreover, the appropriated objects and practices incorporated from foreign contacts asserted the ability of the elite to place new practices related to their place in a wide network within the central ideology of the community. At the same time as ‘new traditions’ were instituted within the community, this ideology was paired with a strategy of ‘symbolic violence’.

This notion, defined by Pierre Bourdieu, describes the kind of everyday practice that enacts the logics of domination, both consciously and unconsciously, over all of the agents involved. For Cuzzo, this is exemplified in the ‘orientalizing’ period by the dual ability of the elite to both construct a new form of funerary representation through a selective form of material culture and restrictive set of symbols, but also to silence subordinate social groups through their removal from formal burial, restriction from symbols of power, and virtual disappearance from the funerary record (Cuzzo 2015: 593). At a site like Pontecagnano, in which the incredibly large sample size makes it more likely that the archaeological record reflects the actual funerary record, such a hypothesis does appear to be valid, but this is not necessarily the case for every site. Additionally, as we will see, the elements of ‘princely’ ideology that are constrained to certain classes here at Pontecagnano were not always so restricted. In some ways this makes Cuzzo’s interpretation of the specific situation at Pontecagnano even more convincing. Her study, however, emphasizes the importance of chronological, spatial and material context for understanding the nuances in strategies of power.

An additional point of Cuzzo’s work on cemeteries in Campania that will have bearing particularly on my inland case study is the investigation of the Hirpinian necropoleis during this period. The placement of the interior sites of Oliveto-Citra, Cairano, Calitri and Bisaccia model some of the same settlement patterns as those of the central Italian *koiné*: situated on hilltops along rivers that connected the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts. As will be seen for the communities of inland Abruzzo, the common assumption is that the unchanging pottery repertoire, consisting for nearly two centuries of locally-made, hand-shaped impasto, was a sign of a conservative, culturally closed

milieu, only permeable to outside influences at the beginning of the 6th century BCE (D'Agostino 1964: 96). Instead, Cuzzo interprets these communities as possibly engaging in “forms of ever-day silent resistance reflecting complex contrastive/oppositional dynamics of identity building” (Cuzzo 2005: 100, drawing on many others). She cites examples such as t. 66 at Bisaccia, which contains four bronze vessels, showing that these communities have been introduced and have some kind of contact and familiarity with coastal communities that are incorporating Greek practices. These interior sites, however, appear to reject both Greek style pottery and generally any signs of Hellenizing customs, making it seem that the objects and practices are actively being rejected by inland groups (Cuzzo 2007: 241). In the characterization of silent resistance by these communities, Cuzzo describes the picture evoked by the material culture as “one of conservatism, social control, uniformity, persistence and prohibitions” (Cuzzo 2007: 243), in some ways continuing the conception of these peoples as closed off from the outer world, even though it is clear that they are connected, but actively not engaging. The description of these communities that maintained their own form of practice while being surrounded by communities of change often depends on our own personal biases as to whether or not we believe such change is progressive or not, and this is often what determines whether such communities are described as “closed, conservative and prohibitive” or “sustaining, preserving, and resisting”. Since this kind of description is very commonly used to describe the social context of inland communities, as well be apparent in Valeria Acconcia’s work, it will be important to keep this example in mind.

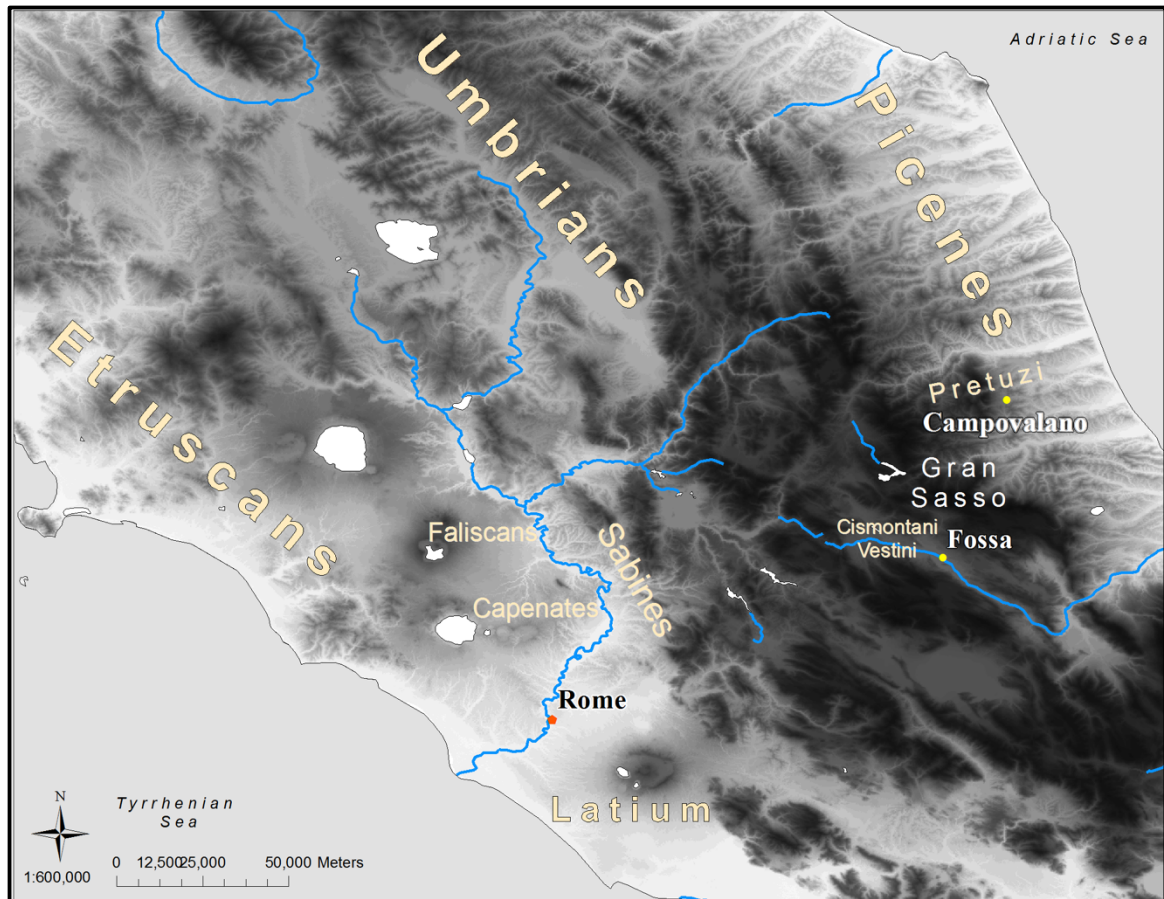


Figure 4.3: Location of two case studies, Campovalano and Fossa, indicated in yellow, amid Iron Age tribes.

4.2 Case Studies

I have chosen two case studies (the cemetery sites of Campovalano and Fossa; Figure 4.3) for a number of methodological and contextual reasons: they are well connected to inland trade networks and are particularly tied to Transapennine routes linking the Tyrrhenian to the oft-neglected Adriatic; they have been excavated within the last forty years using relatively scientific recording strategies (varying by date of excavation) and have been fully published; they each have timespans that include a period that has been characterized as “orientalizing”, have tombs that have been described as “princely” or contain objects and practices that have been associated with

the core “orientalizing” package discussed in the previous chapter; and finally, the population recorded within each cemetery is of ample size to represent more than the most elite members of the community and to produce statistically significant results.

In this part of the chapter, I will introduce both of the case studies, discussing the nature of settlement and funerary ritual for each of the regions (that of the Vestinii and Pretuzi respectively), and then review each site’s history of excavation, state of preservation, and chronology, as well as broader trends in funerary ritual. I will then turn to discussing the specific methods of quantitative analysis adopted to identify significant patterns in funerary ritual, as well as for testing previous conceptual categorizations of imported material. As opposed to viewing these regions as the receptors of ‘orientalizing’ culture from Greeks and Phoenicians, through the conduit of the Etruscans (as has been postulated recently by Naso 2000c), I discuss the benefits of a more detailed investigation into exactly how particular objects and practices adapted and changed within each site. Only by looking at the contextual differences of each of these sites and regions can we properly situate the meaning and impact of such transformations during what is yet called the ‘orientalizing’ phase at each site.

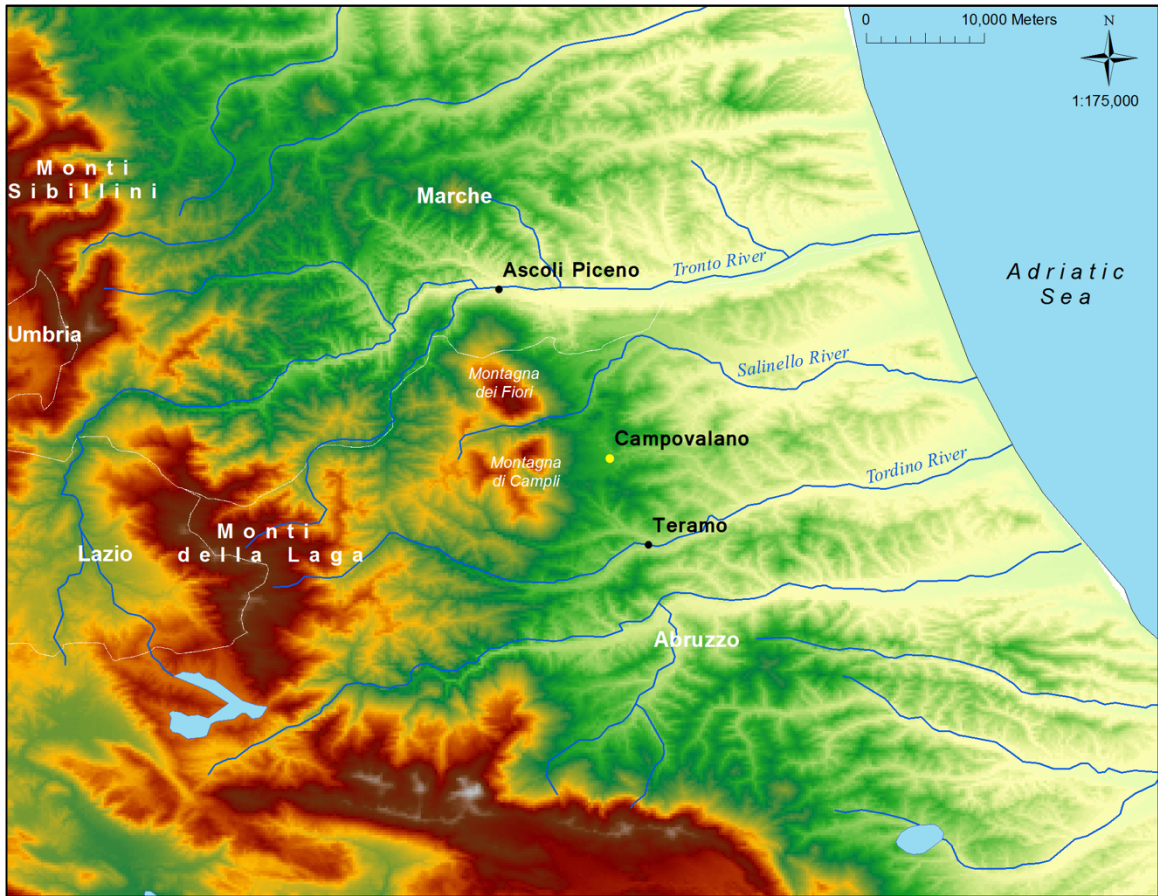


Figure 4.4: Campovalano's placement within the regional landscape

4.2a Campovalano

The site of Campovalano is located between Ascoli Piceno and Teramo, on a high plain that rises up between the Tronto River to the north and the Tordino River to the south (Figure 4.4). It is positioned just to the east of Montagna di Campoli and Montagna dei Fiori, two of the lower mountains of the Monti della Laga in the Apennine Abruzzo. Although Campovalano is situated on the eastern side of the Apennine Mountains, at 450 meters above sea level, topographically it is more similar to other mountain valley sites as opposed to the coastal settlements further east such as Cupra Marittima. The plain in which the necropolis is situated was built from a combination of thick alluvial deposits and an alteration made by brown calcareous soils during the Middle-Upper Pleistocene

(D’Ercole & Pellegrini 1991: 9). These rich soils for agriculture and pasturing, along with the resources provided by the forests, make this an advantageous place for human habitation.

The easy access to Transapennine trade routes marks another benefit to this community’s placement within the landscape. The meeting point of the Monti Sibillini to the north and the Monti della Laga provides an accessible mountain pass for crossing the Apennines, something of which Campovalano can easily take advantage. The ceramics at Campovalano provide material witness to these interconnections, exhibiting decorative patterns from the Faliscan and Capenate areas, and forms from the Etruscan and Sabine regions. Alongside these Apennine trade routes that allow for communication with other peoples of the peninsula, Campovalano’s position near the Adriatic coast provides a more direct connection to the Mediterranean from the eastern side of the Apennines, independent of Etruscan mediation²⁶. Additionally, there is evidence of Picene craftsmanship on ivory from sites along the Adriatic, showing that eastern “luxury” materials and motifs are being actively reworked on the eastern side of the peninsula, and not only by Etruscan craftspeople (Landolfi *et al.* 2001: 100).

The earliest habitation in the Pretuzi region surrounding Campovalano dates to the Middle and Recent Bronze Age (18th-13th c. BCE), at a site called Coccioli (D’Ercole & Pellegrini 1991: 18–19; D’Ercole 2001: 81). Finds reveal metallurgical activity in the form of a bronze axe mold, agricultural activity associated with a grinding stone, weaving as represented by spindle whorls, and faunal remains that show the domestication of

²⁶ Mid-Adriatic contact with the Greek world goes back to the Bronze Age, as we can see from the presence of Mycenaean material in Ancona and Tolentino (Luni & Silvestrini Lavagnoli 2000; Jones *et al.* 2014). Additionally, Bronze Age glass working in the Po plain at Frattesina suggests contacts with the eastern Mediterranean (Bietti Sestieri 1980).

sheep, goats, oxen and pigs. After the site became abandoned in the 13th century, our knowledge of habitation in the region becomes somewhat more limited. Although a regional survey was conducted between 1979 and 1981 by the *Cooperativa Archeologia e Territorio* and the *Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Abruzzo*, very few of the sites found during this work were investigated more systematically through excavation (D'Ercole *et al.* 1995; some follow-up work has been published in Staffa 2012). A number of small sites have been identified near Campovalano in the province of Teramo (Fig 4.5), such as coastal Martinsicuro and Tortoreto that span from the Middle Bronze Age until the beginning of the Iron Age, and inland Colle Troia di Bellante and Castello di Campoli, dating to the same period (Bietti Sestieri 2001a: 39). Additionally, the city of Teramo itself has provided evidence for settlement, with recent excavations taking place at Campo di Fiera, which has revealed stratified layers from a protohistoric village dating to the Final Bronze Age that developed into a more structured Iron Age and Archaic community before the establishment of Roman Interamnina (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2003). The only site that has been mentioned as the community possibly associated with the cemetery of Campovalano, however, is Colle Melatino, which was identified through the field survey; no further information is known about the nature of this settlement, however, or what has been found there (D'Ercole *et al.* 1995: 90; Bietti Sestieri 2001a: 39).

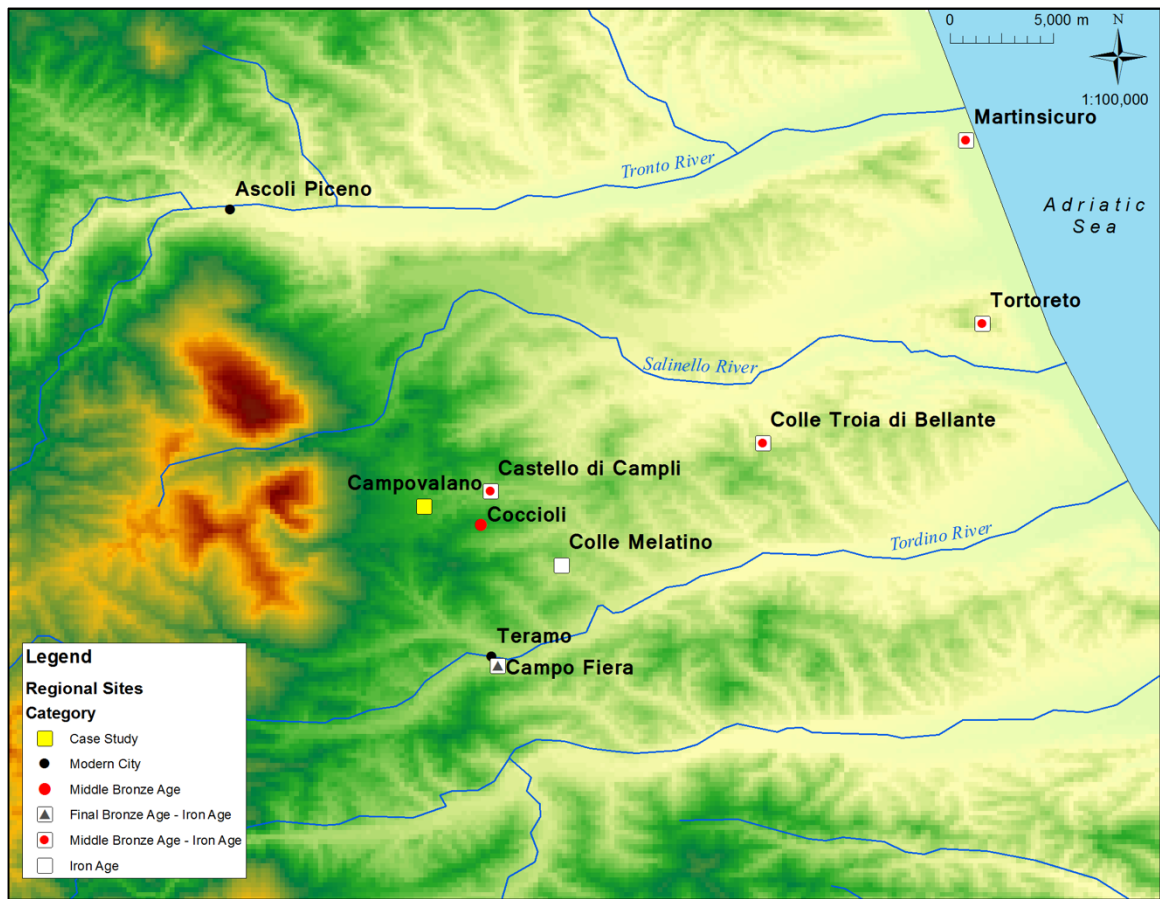


Figure 4.5: Location of important sites near Campovalano dating to between the Middle Bronze Age through the Iron Age

Although the scant study of settlements throughout the middle-Adriatic region makes it difficult to fully understand how communities lived in this part of southern Picenum, the regional survey did establish some broad trends. From the second half of the second millennium BCE, roughly the Middle Bronze Age, settlements became more stable, staking out locations on hilltops that had good visual control of the landscape. These “castellieri”, as Vincenzo d’Ercole describes them, are naturally fortified and are considered to be similar to the types of settlements we see in the Colfiorito plateau, located further north in the middle of the Apennines. Occupation of these hilltop sites continues through the Iron Age and Orientalizing period until when, in the 6th century

BCE, these sites go out of use and people begin to concentrate settlement on plains, typically at the intersection of rivers (D'Ercole *et al.* 1995: 96). In this case, the question should not be why it took so long for habitation to shift to the plains (something that is often associated with “progress” toward urbanism), but rather why people shifted to settling in these valleys in the first place. The landscape of this side of the Apennine mountains is much more rugged and hilly than the Tyrrhenian coast, with rivers carving the eastern slopes of the mountains into horizontal slivers of elevated terrain. The vast majority of the landscape is comprised of hilltops, and flat plains are rare, so it should not be surprising that there had been a preference for more elevated terrain.

The nature of the evidence makes building a coherent narrative history of human life in this part of the middle Adriatic particularly difficult, no doubt one reason that a comprehensive history is currently lacking. The partial nature of earlier finds, as noted above, has for a long time made any thorough treatment impossible. A recent explosion of work in the area, however, now means that while the eastern side of the peninsula has begun to receive more archaeological attention, such work has yet to be synthesized, remaining largely either in single-site narratives or digested in a more limited way for large museum catalogues (Colonna & Franchi Dell'Orto 2001; Guštin *et al.* 2007). Indeed, there are so many new finds and newly-discovered sites, that some have cautioned against any grand syntheses since our current data is not exhaustive or secure (De Marinis & Silvestrini 2001)²⁷. It is especially necessary to be cautious given that

²⁷ This specific caution addresses the work of Alessandro Naso, whose book *I Piceni: storia e archeologia delle Marche in epoca preromana*, constructed just such a synthesis, using Etruria and Latium as an analogy for explaining unclear cultural process observed in Picenum (Naso 2000c). And while the contextual placement of the region in relation to the rest of the peninsula is helpful, unfortunately it also tends to further a diffusionist narrative of cultural processes transferring from Etruria to Picenum, particularly for the ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon (Naso 2000c).

these understudied regions are so often either read through the lens of more examined regions, such as Etruria, or compared to them developmentally, particularly in the realm of urbanism²⁸.

An additional problem for this particular region is the fact that, although it is now a part of the Abruzzo, and archaeologically it falls within the central-Italian *koiné*, on a smaller scale Campovalano is located in a liminal zone, showing similarities with the Picene region to the north, and the coastal Abruzzo to the south. Linguistically it is associated with the Iron Age peoples called the Pretuzi, hence the regional definition. Often, archaeological discussions on the nature of pre-Roman settlement in the Abruzzo divide the region into smaller geographical pockets (Fucino Lake, L'Aquila and Aterno Valley, coastal Abruzzo, and Samnium to the south). Such cultural differences make it impossible, and likely incorrect, to construct a single comprehensive history of the Abruzzo as a whole, delineated at the time of Augustus. Therefore, the region around Campovalano has been discussed variously as the southern extent of Picenum, and within the larger category of the central-Italian *koiné*. At its most specific, the region can be defined as the coastal strip between the Tronto and Tordino rivers, which belongs within the mid-Adriatic cultural milieu.

4.2b *The Necropolis of Campovalano*

In spite of the awareness of archaeological material in the area around Campli since the 1800s, the necropolis of Campovalano was not identified until plowing after

²⁸ Guy Bradley particularly discusses this issue, bringing forth the idea of state formation as an alternative way of looking at regions that would otherwise be discussed as being developmentally late in terms of the form of urbanism that has been seen as the standard (G. Bradley 2000: 30–42). Corinna Riva's work also follows this line of thinking and extends this perspective to the Marche region (Riva 2014).

World War II brought finds from the cemetery to the surface. After the identification and excavation of Tomb 1 in 1963 by Adriano La Regina, Campovalano underwent a series of investigations and excavations over the next 50 years: Soprintendente Valerio Cianfarani uncovered over 180 tombs between 1967-1975 during seven campaigns, Gaetano Messineo revealed 30 tombs in 1977, emergency rescue archaeology between 1981-1984 brought another 60 tombs to light under the direction of Vincenzo d'Ercole, who later conducted more systematic excavations from 1990-1997 that exposed 300 additional tombs (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003: 1–3). In total, Campovalano has brought to light more than 600 tombs dating to between the 13th and the 2nd century BCE. After these more recent, systematic investigations were conducted, Vincenzo d'Ercole and Cristina Chiaramonte Trere worked to comprehensively publish all of the tombs and finds in a series of volumes beginning with the earliest chronological period. Thus far only the Orientalizing and Archaic tombs have been published in full (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003; Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010) while sporadic information has been reported for the Roman phase of the site (Guidobaldi 1996).

Because of the intermittent nature of investigation at the site, as well as a lack of systematic practice in early excavations, there are some gaps in our archaeological knowledge of the site and points where researchers have had to rely on the diaries of earlier excavators for records of finds. Otherwise, however, the state of preservation of the site overall is fairly good. The earlier sporadic investigations did not always allow the excavators to identify the stone outlines surrounding the tumulus, especially prominent in the late 7th/early 6th century, but this was possible in later excavations when larger areas could be opened up (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003: 5–6). In many

cases, the superstructure of the tumulus has preserved the context of the burial, although there are some instances of deliberate tomb robbery, and a few of grave disturbance through the cutting of earlier tombs by later ones and through agricultural activity. The weight of the tumuli and stone grave covers, however, has caused additional damage to the skeletal remains, making anthropological analysis more difficult (Mancinelli *et al.* 1996: 213). The most harm that agricultural activity has done is to the impasto brunorossastro dolii, contemporaneous with the tumuli, that are located outside of tombs and which have been shaved by the plow, leaving only the base and in some cases the contents of the dolium, including impasto and bronze cups (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003: 8).

Even with this level of preservation for the skeletal remains, anthropological study of the bones and teeth has been able to provide some evidence as to the condition of the people buried at Campovalano. The dental remains reveal the difficult rearing that almost all residents had at Campovalano, as 100% of individuals studied presented enamel hypoplasia (Mancinelli *et al.* 1996: 217). In addition to this, the 11.25% of individuals with skeletal morphologies related to some form of rickets show either a vitamin D deficiency and a poorly differentiated, unvarying diet, or ancestral form of the disease that passed down this poor nutrition (Capasso 1991: 74). It is this lack of dietary stability and variability, combined with a low percentage of fractures and microtraumas from monotonous and difficult work that helps to identify Campovalano as a small agro-pastoral community, with few signs osteologically of a war-like society. The low percentage of fractures and microtraumas, however, may be due to the more limited selection of individuals who are buried at Campovalano, representing the higher status

members of society, who might be less likely to show signs of bellicose or work-related trauma²⁹. Another point to be drawn from the osteological data concerns the variability of human relations and lineages at Campovalano. The results, however, are mixed: on the one hand, the variation of the shape and size of teeth has been taken as evidence that Campovalano was influenced by a level of genetic variability (Macchiarelli 1991: 70), and on the other, that the presence of taurodontism (fusion of tooth roots), provides evidence of high endogamy as such a trait appears more frequently in family lineages (Capasso 1991: 75). It seems that, without knowing exactly which tombs each of these traits belong to, it is possible that both patterns might exist among different populations within the community, and therefore such inconclusive evidence cannot help in determining how frequently people, rather than just objects, traveled to and from Campovalano.

Chronological Period	Number of Tombs	Picene Chronological Phase, from Lollini 1976	Broader Chronological Phase
Second Half of 7 th c.	5	Picene III (700-580 BCE)	Orientalizzante medio
End of 7 th – First Quarter of 6 th c.	67		Orientalizzante recente
First Half of 6 th c.	80	Picene IVA (580-525 BCE)	Archaic
6 th c.	15		
Second Half of 6 th c.	6	Picene IVB (525-475 BCE)	
First Half of 5 th c.	4		
Tomb with “non-significant” grave goods	39		
Upset or disturbed burials	1		

Table 4.3: Distribution of burials by chronological period, based on chronological revision from (Acconcia 2014a: 79–80, n.11-13), with reference to phasing of Picene culture articulated by Lollini (1976).

²⁹ Such a hypothesis, however, would be opposite of Bazzano, where the upper part of the social hierarchy showed greater signs of repetitive, single-handed motion, likely related to wielding a weapon.

The cemetery of Campovalano is primarily organized around a road extending from southeast to northwest, leading roughly from Coccioli and the Tordino River toward Montagna dei Fiori (Figure 4.6). The paved road, stretching for nearly six kilometers, dates to at least the 6th century, although earlier strata below the road surface and the alignment of earlier tombs show that the path has existed for longer (D’Ercole 2001: 82). The vast majority of tombs are laid out within 100 meters of the road, marking the importance of access and visibility for those buried within this cemetery. All graves are inhumations, with almost all constructed as *a fossa*, and some later hypogeal tombs (t.1, 2, 119) that were dug at much greater depth.

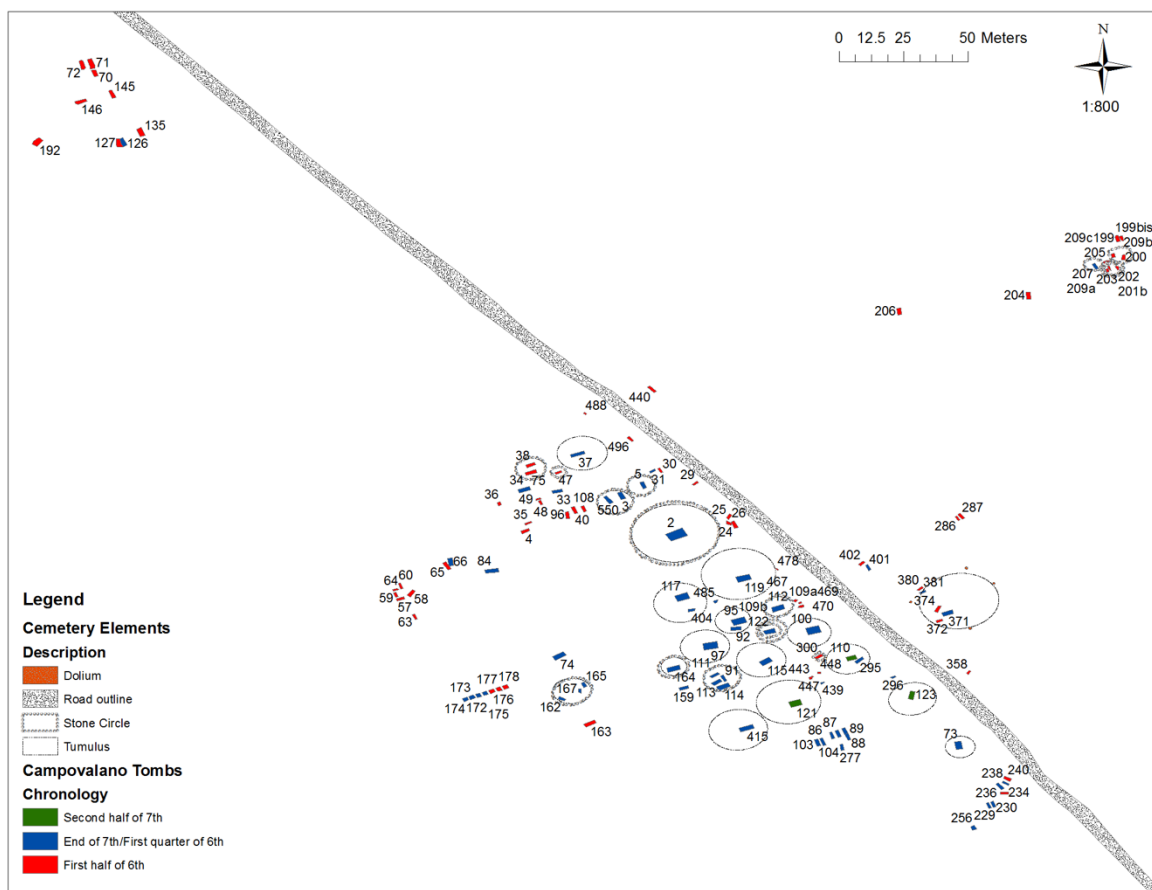


Figure 4.6: Plan of Campovalano (after Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010 Pianta generale di CD)

Although the earliest evidence of use of this location for burial dates back to the 13th century, the remains are scanty until the second half of the 7th c. BCE. This makes it very difficult to understand what funerary ritual took place at Campovalano before the beginning of the changes that are associated with increased Mediterranean connectivity. There are only sporadic finds that attest to the initial use of the cemetery: quadrangular razors, bronze fibulae *ad arco serpeggiante*, and a bronze lance point, all dating to between the 13th and 11th c. BCE. The first intact grave dates to the 9th century and contains an infant buried with a single fibula. These make up the earliest finds of the cemetery and give us only a fragmentary view of burials in which individuals appear to be interred in normal dress and accompanied with a few personal objects and weapons.

When there is more organized occupation of the cemetery in the middle of the 7th century, we already see some of the elements that have been noted as typical hallmarks of ‘orientalizing’ material culture: chariots, elaborate floral and faunal imagery, spits and firedogs, drinking equipment and a single inscription. While this unfortunately makes it difficult to assess how these items and practices became incorporated into already-existing ritual, it is still possible to learn which elements were successfully integrated by looking at the composition of expanded feasting practices, modes of drinking and means of iconographic display. Out of the five tombs that date to this period, two of them have been designated by the excavators as ‘princely’ (Chiaramonte Treré & D’Ercole 2003: 1). Many of the grave goods, practices and funerary ritual that are present within the tombs of this period, such as an elaborate panoply of weapons, expansive sets of eating and

drinking vessels, and large tumuli³⁰ encircled with stones continue through time with some modifications.

The vast majority of our information on funerary practice at Campovalano comes from a 75-year period, divided by the excavators into two phases, from the end of the 7th century until the middle of the 6th, equating to roughly from the *orientalizzante recente* until the beginning of the Archaic (Picene III & IVA). While during the second half of the 7th century individual burials were covered by a large tumulus, exclusive to that burial, in the *orientalizzante recente*, we see the use of the tumulus (Figure 4.7) expand from a covering for a single individual to additionally being constructed over multiple burials (Figure 4.8). The inclusion of multiple burials within a single tumulus is thought to indicate familial ties, and in the case of t. 295, we can see that the assertion of familial ties also occurs through the insertion of a later burial into the older tumulus. In this phase, double stone circles also begin to be used (t.122), encircling individual burials rather than large, monumentalized tumuli. Along with this, infants begin to be included in the cemetery in greater number (7 out of 67 as compared to none in the previous phase), presenting a very different type of funerary community than that of Latium and southern Etruria where we see infants excluded. These changes in tomb construction and occupants show an expansion of cemetery usage from the monumental memorialization of single powerful individuals to one that is more inclusive of larger familial structures and a broader range of individuals located outside of these monumental structures. As we transition into the first half of the 6th, fewer tombs are either covered by a tumulus or encircled in stones, and instead, the majority of tombs are simply the *a fossa* type.

³⁰ The tumuli, according to d’Ercole, are typical tomb constructions of the Abruzzo that date back to the Final Bronze Age (Chiamonte Treré & D’Ercole 2003: 7)



Figure 4.7: The tumulus covering tomb 2 at Campovalano

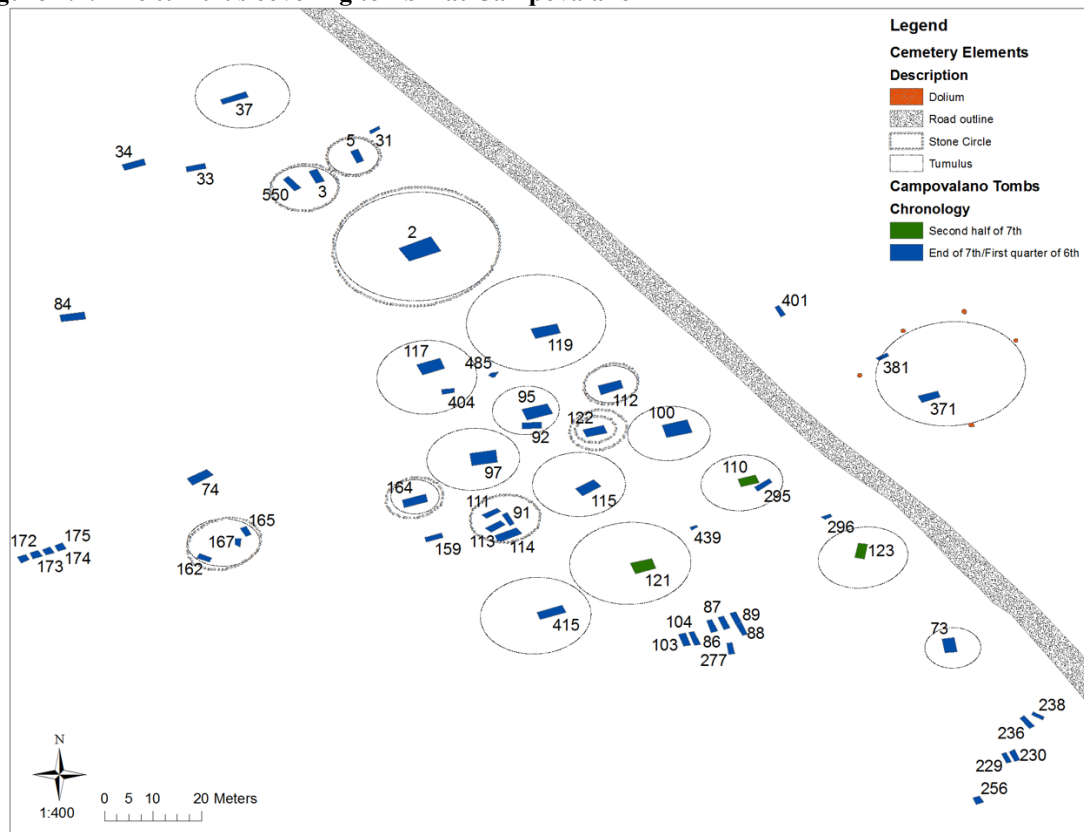


Figure 4.8: Map of central section of Campovalano, showing tombs from the first two phases

The grave goods that accompany the burials from this most frequented phase of occupation are primarily ceramic and metal vessels for eating and drinking, objects of personal ornamentation and weapons. The standard set of vessels consists of a large storage container for liquids (olla or amphora), a pouring vessel (brocca/oinochoe/anforetta), cups or chalices for drinking and bowls for food consumption. Each of these classes of objects varies by tomb, with differences in form, material and number. The local impasto that makes up the majority of ceramic vessels has a refined, black, almost buccheroid quality³¹. This is striking since only one piece of actual bucchero has been found at Campovalano (t.415). The other noteworthy aspect of impasto vessels found at Campovalano is the wide variety of forms and decorations that show not only contact with other regions and craft traditions within central Italy, but a level of local inventiveness and playfulness that takes these foreign models and adapts them to this local context. Campovalano shows particularly strong ties to the Faliscan, Capenate and Sabine regions of central Italy, as demonstrated by the four-handled chalice, chalice “a corolla”, and incised impasto decoration (Scotti 2003; Mantia 2003; Chiamonte Treré 2014 who describes this as a kind of mid-Adriatic koine). At Campovalano it is possible to see both imported objects from the eastern Mediterranean, along with these impasto decorative styles of central peninsular Italy that show how the motifs have shifted and changed within the context of Italy.

³¹ Chiamonte Treré believes that this impasto nero is locally produced by Picene artisans to satisfy the demand for bucchero within this area (Chiamonte Treré 2003a). There is also locally made bucchero within the Picene and Abruzzo contexts, which she refers to as local bucchero, as opposed to Benelli, who describes it as buccheroid (Benelli 2004; Acconcia 2012 agrees with the buccheroid designation, but acknowledges that the distinction is not as clear). The line between these classes of impasto nero, impasto bruno and buccheroid is incredibly thin, and depends on color, level of purification and forms, but is often at the discretion of the person studying the material.

In addition to these ceramic grave goods, Campovalano in this period displays a great deal of elaboration in funerary costume through jewelry and personal ornamentation. There are a number of pendants that express local and regional symbols and ornamentation, such as bronze pendants “a banana”, small axe pendants, and hand pendants³². Additional elements of personal ornamentation, such as bronze belts and fibulae, show more connections to the Picene and northern Abruzzo regions, and often include the horse imagery that is so common in these regions. Alongside these more locally-situated expressions of personal dress, there are also a significant number of decorative elements that have their origin outside of Italy. Objects of amber, ivory, glass and precious metals are often considered as being transported from abroad, either as raw material or in finished form. For Campovalano in particular, its position along the Adriatic Sea puts the site in contact with important trade routes for Baltic amber, with skilled craftsmen of glass and amber who had a long tradition in the Po valley, and with known Picene craftspeople who worked in ivory and amber from Verucchio. Objects of such materials primarily appear in female and infant burials; however, given the fact they are also found in many burials for which it is not possible to determine sex, the possibility of males being buried with these precious materials cannot be ruled out. There are a number of animal and anthropomorphic decorative motifs that appear on ivory especially that could be traced to contact with the eastern Mediterranean, although the lack of clarity in the production center for these items makes any designation as certain imports difficult. As the cemetery moves into the 5th century, the prominence of these

³² Pendants “a banana” are diffused in the Adriatic area (Percossi Serenelli 1987; Buoite 2010: 204). Axe pendants are found in the Picene region in the 7th and 6th centuries (Franchi Dell’Orto 1996: 221). The small hand pendant is also Picene, and recalls similar forms seen in the Veneto and Slovenian area (Buoite 2010: 206).

decorative elements begins to decline while grave goods related to feasting and drinking soon comprise the majority of objects buried with the deceased.

Finally, a significant number of weapons accompany many of the deceased individuals, both adults and infants, during these two well-represented phases. D'Ercole describes the full 'orientalizing' panoply as a dagger, pair of lances and a mace, a combination that is present within at least 14 tombs (roughly 6% of tombs) (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003: 7). In addition to such groups of weapons, there are also many swords present. The vast majority of weapons at Campovalano are made of iron, with a few instances of bronze lances and swords. Weapons appear in over 50% of the graves from the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, however only 10% of bones show trauma, suggesting that although display of military equipment is clearly significant within funerary ritual, it is not matched by heightened evidence for actual violence.

Even through this brief discussion of funerary trends at Campovalano, we can see that the site offers a fruitful case study for examining the ways in which more inland communities experienced a multi-layered and complex encounter with Mediterranean peoples and objects. The contemporaneous mixing of eastern Mediterranean objects with those of Greece, Etruria and central Italian reinterpretations of all of the above, in addition to the local material culture, illustrates a much more variegated period that breaks from any linear models of elite development of an eastern way of life.

4.2c Fossa

Located just seven miles southeast of L'Aquila within the Aterno River valley (Figure 4.9), Fossa is strategically positioned within the Apennine Mountains with access to both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas. The Aterno River drains out toward the east

where it meets the Adriatic at the modern city of Pescara/Chieti. The next closest waterways are in the northern mountainous tributaries of the Nar River, which drain into the Tiber. Fossa lies along the quickest southern route around Gran Sasso, the collection of the three highest summits in the Apennines, when going from Rome and central Tyrrhenian Italy to the Adriatic coast. The necropolis of Fossa, which was located near the future Roman town of Aveia, is strategically connected to both Rome and the Adriatic by the eventual Via Claudia Nova, a probable testament to earlier networks that connected Fossa to the rest of the Italian peninsula.

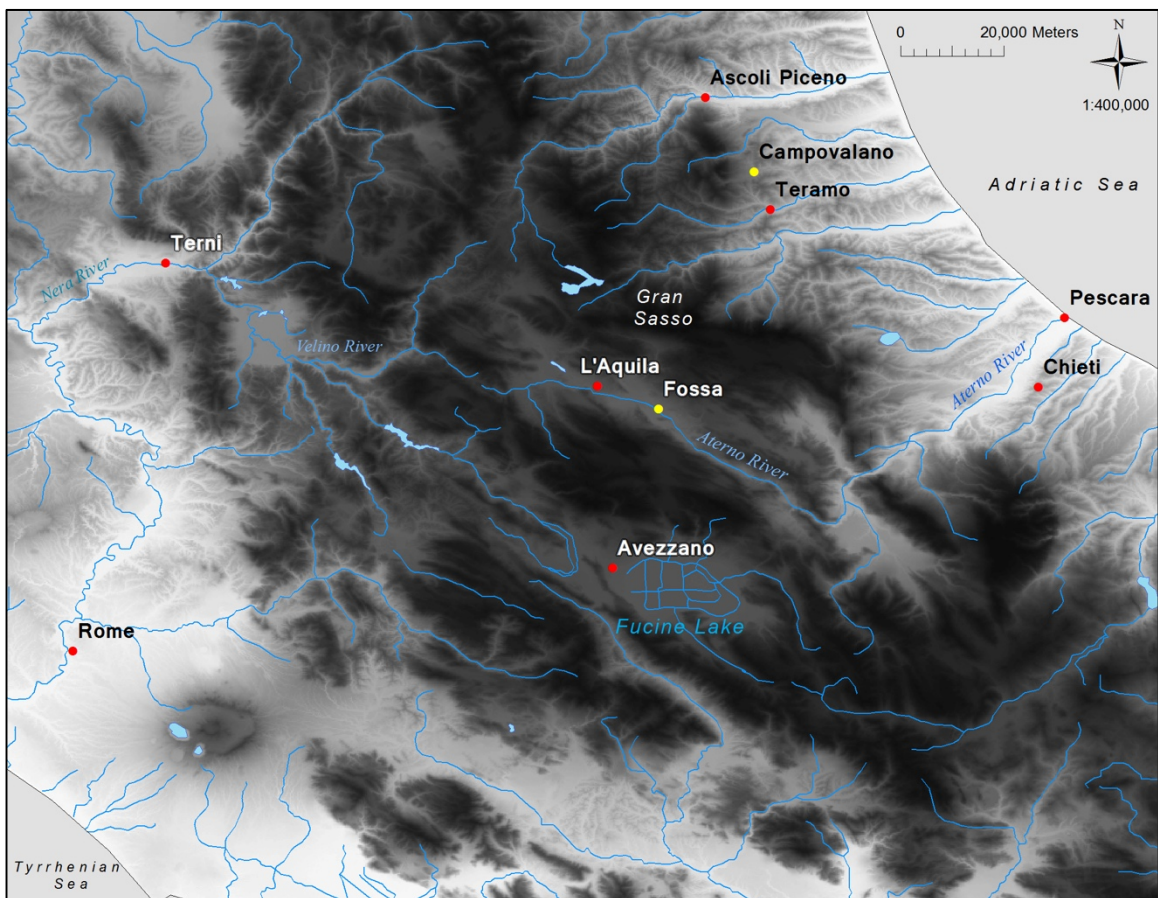


Figure 4.9: Regional location of Fossa in the landscapes of central Italy

As opposed to the fragmentary and scattered evidence of settlement around Campovalano, we seem to have an abundance of evidence for human occupation of the broader Aquila basin in which Fossa is located. The region, described as *Vestini Cismontani* due to the historical name of these people, has seen a real boom in archaeological discoveries in recent years due to the shift in modern land usage from agricultural activity to large industrial and factory zones, as well as construction of new places for people to live (Acconcia 2014b: 117). Furthermore, a recent regional survey conducted by Stéphane Bourdin (2006-2009) and an investigation of aerial photographs by Patrizia Tartara has led to the identification of many more, previously unknown archaeological sites (Bourdin 2014a; Tartara 2008). It is the combination of all of this work that has made it possible for some scholars to begin to build regional syntheses of the material and a broader narrative about settlement patterns in the Aquila basin (D'Ercole 2010b; Acconcia 2014b; Bourdin 2014b).

Although there has been a long history of human occupation of this inland plain, the most important period for understanding the contextual history of Fossa begins at the end of the Bronze Age. This is the point at which the plain sees a radical change in settlement pattern, when the low valley of the Aterno River ceases to be used for farming of cereals and legumes, and instead becomes a home for the dead. We can see this in the numerous necropoleis, in addition to Fossa, which begin to dot the landscape of the valley bottom. As d'Ercole has pointed out, although farming could no longer continue while so much of the landscape was now devoted to burials, particularly with the prominent use of the tumulus, pastoralism could continue to take place (D'Ercole 2014b:

800)³³. These tumuli, however, do not completely cover the valley bottom, so the economic pattern in this area is most likely one of a mixed-use, agro-pastoral landscape. In this early period, vertical transhumance was the norm, going between the heights of the mountains ringing the edge of the plain in the summer, to the valley bottom in the winter. However later in the Iron Age, a form of horizontal transhumance begins, moving from the inland mountains to the coastal plains in the summer, a type of natural, seasonal movement that also helps to encourage trade and exchange. Another use for the flat, more fertile land of the basin may have been for higher value crops, such as olives and vines, which begin to appear at the end of the Bronze Age/beginning of the Iron Age (Ruggeri Giove *et al.* 2007: 85). In the case of both agriculture and pastoralism in this part of the Aterno basin, the frequent placement of tumuli may in fact signal control of agricultural land and transhumance routes in addition to marking a landscape of the dead.

While the valley at the beginning of the Iron Age was being used for tombs, pasturing and the cultivation of olives and vines, human settlement was then situated in high places, on small hills in the plain and on the elevated mountain edges of the basin. These high, fortified sites provide a different model of human settlement and organization than other regions of Italy, where urbanization is the primary model for this period. Some have termed these smaller, more loosely organized sites as following the “*pagus – vicus*” model, in which a more extensive territory or district (*pagus*) is made up by smaller communities (*vici*) (La Regina 1968; Capogrossi Colognesi 2002). Others, however, would like to attribute such a model only to the period of Roman conquest, as an administrative system established at that time (Tarpin 2002). Rather than choosing

³³ There is a corresponding prevalence of ovicaprids during the Finale Bronze Age, confirming the prominence of transhumance at this time (Bietti Sestieri 2003: 302)

between these two models for the earlier period of settlement in the Aquila basin, d'Ercole explains the dense nature of both settlement and necropoleis through a model of federated states (D'Ercole 2014b: 800). These groupings of smaller towns and villages that worked together for pasturing and protection provided a much different system than the urban city-states of the Tyrrhenian coast, and as Acconcia has noted, has nothing to do with a delayed development (Acconcia 2014b: 142). For the pre-Roman peoples of this area, the *Vestini Cismontani*, d'Ercole has identified three regions for these states: the Aquila plain, Navelli plain, and Capestrano, with Fossa belonging to the first.

At Fossa, there are a number of settlements in the area that could be associated with the cemetery, as well as many smaller and more sporadic necropoleis located around and near Fossa that point to this part of the plain being used for the burial of individuals from different settlements. There are two primary settlements that are the most likely to have been connected to Fossa (Figure 4.10): Monte di Cerro (n.27) and Colle Restoppia (n.20). The earliest is Colle Restoppia, which has finds that go back to the Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age, as well as a few generic impasto sherds suggesting some later presence (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 37; D'Ercole & Martellone 2007: 25). In the Hellenistic and Imperial period, however, the site became a place for tombs, indicating a shift in usage. Monte di Cerro, on the other hand, did not become occupied until the Iron Age, suggesting that the inhabitants of Colle Restoppia may have moved to this more defensible position as part of a broader shift in settlement patterns in the Aquila plain (Acconcia 2014b: 121). Monte di Cerro, which has only been explored sporadically, shows a number of defensive structures, including two circuits of walls around the hill,

one of which most likely coincides with increased hostilities with Rome in the Hellenistic period (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 51–53; Bourdin 2014a).

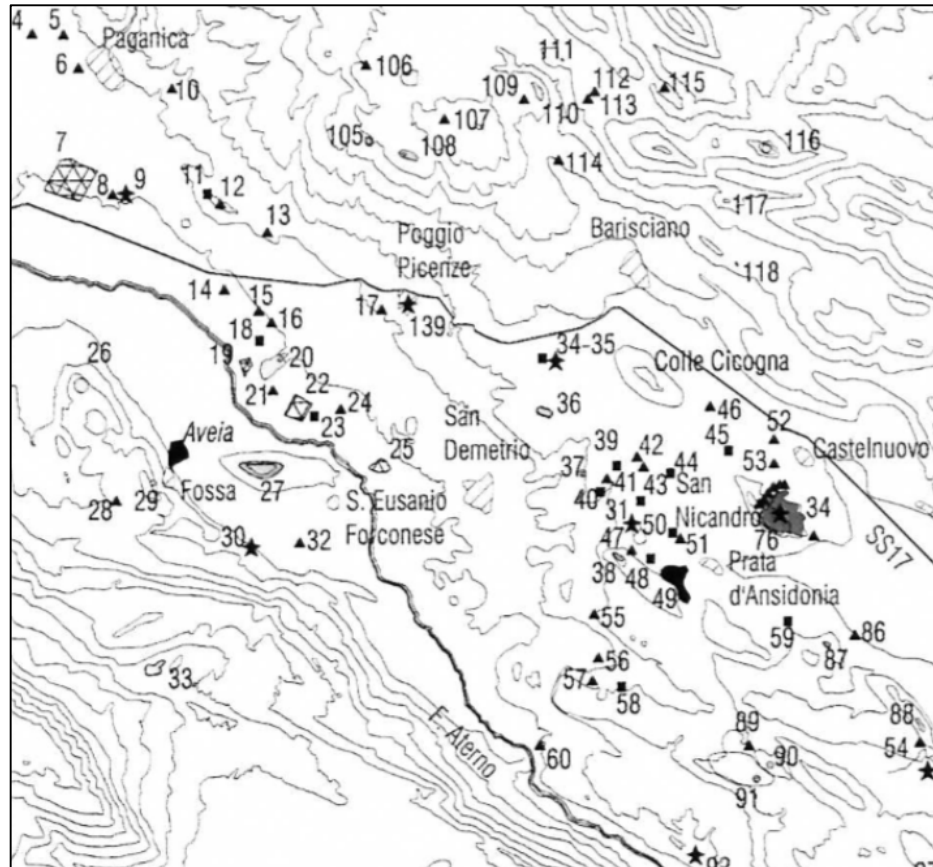


Figure 4.10: Selection from regional map of archaeological sites in the Aquila Plain, (Acconcia 2014b: fig. 1). Sites mentioned in the text and smaller necropoleis: 7-Bazzano, 15-Piè dalle Piane, 16-Cave di Breccia, 17-Madonnella, 18-Casale, 19-Fossa, 20-Colle Restoppia, 21-San Lorenzo, 22/23-Varranone, 24-Piè del Colle, 25-San Demetrio ne' Vestini, 26-Monte Cavalletto; 27-Monte di Cerro, 29-Castello, 32-Casentino-La Valle, 33-Coste

Besides these two important settlements, there are a number of border sites such as the Bronze Age site of Castello (n. 29), much later site of Coste (n.33), and the still chronologically uncertain site of Monte Cavalletto (n.26), that were either placed for defensive needs or are smaller, more isolated settlements, in the area of Fossa. There are also additional necropoleis (n. 15-18, 21-25, 32), all dating to between the Iron Age and

Hellenistic period, that are at this point much smaller than Fossa; few, however, of them have been thoroughly explored as of yet. All of these sites and burial grounds point to a series of smaller communities that were deeply invested in funerary ritual and display, the specifics of which will be discussed for Fossa in the following section.

4.2d The Necropolis of Fossa

The necropolis itself was stumbled upon during the construction of an industrial plant for steel in July of 1992. The *Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Abruzzo* conducted excavations at the site from 1993 until 2000, by which time 554 tombs had been uncovered and documented (Consentino et al. 2001, 14; Figure 4.11). These archaeological investigations were led by Vincenzo d'Ercole during all except the first year. The graves that were uncovered range from between the 9th c. BCE and 1st c. CE with the apogee of burial between the Orientalizing and Archaic periods (Table 4.4). Such a diachronic span allows for the understanding of how funerary rituals changed over time at Fossa, and in particular, what possible role so-called Orientalizing material played and whether or not it was part of broader changes in funerary customs. Although all of the tombs have been published in three volumes, the promised fourth volume (which was intended to be dedicated to overall synthesis, anthropological analysis, archaeometry, and metal analysis) has not yet arrived due to lack of funding³⁴. A short synthesis has been presented for the Iron Age and Hellenistic/Roman burials within the primary necropolis publications, but syntheses of the Orientalizing period have only been presented in published conference proceedings (Cosentino *et al.* 2003; Benelli 2008; Prayon 2011).

³⁴ The preliminary results of the archaeometry on ceramic vessels and the materials analysis of the metals are published as part of a 2001 conference on prehistory and protohistory of the Abruzzo (Cosentino *et al.* 2003)

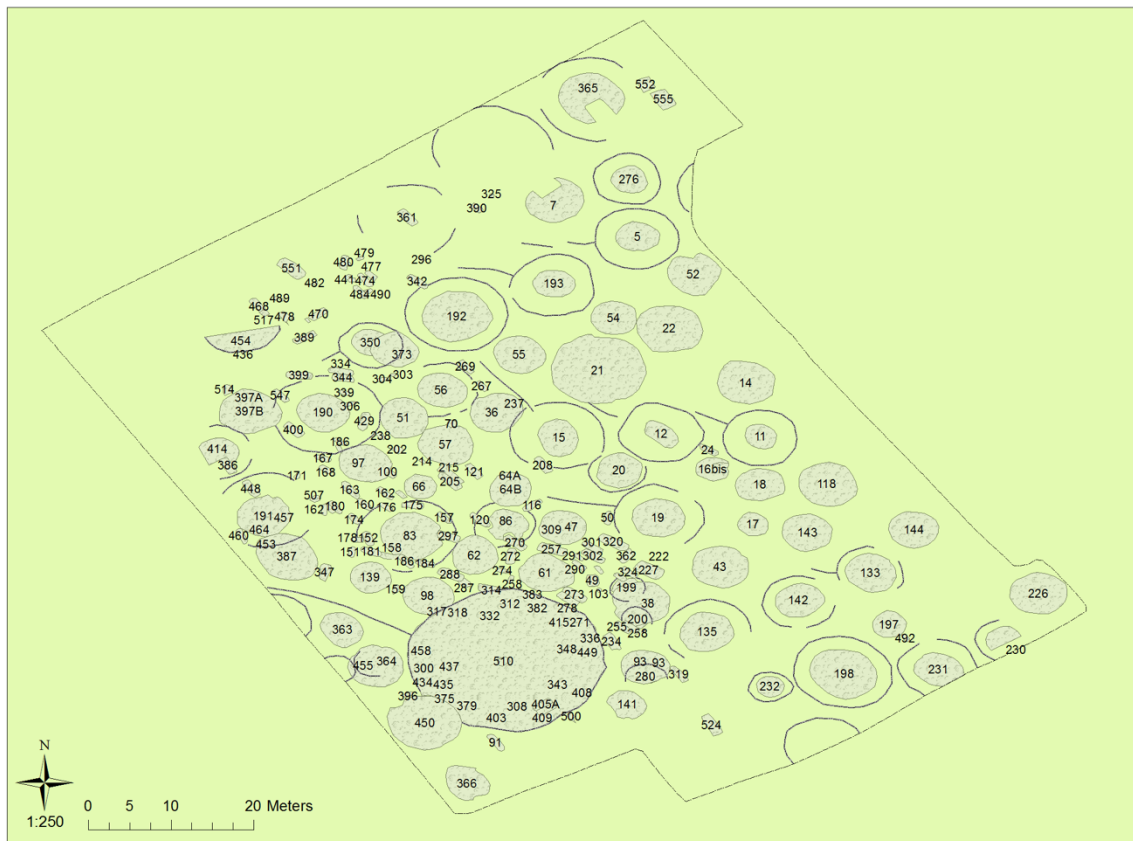


Figure 4.11: Plan of Fossa, adapted from (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004, general plan)

Chronological Phase/Period	Number of Tombs	Broader Chronology
1A (Second quarter of 8 th)	9	Late Iron Age
1B(Third quarter of 8 th)	21	
2A(Final quarter of 8 th /first quarter of 7 th)	14	Orientalizzante antico
2B1 (First Half of 7 th)	6	Orientalizzante medio
2B2 (Second Half of 7 th)	7	
2B3 (End of 7 th /Beginning of 6 th)	9	Orientalizzante recente
3A1 (First Half of 6 th)	28	Archaic
3A2 (Second-third quarter of 6 th)	14	
3A3 (Second Half of 6 th)	7	
3A (6 th)	4	
3B (End of 6 th -5 th)	28	

Table 4.4: Chronological breakdown of tombs at Fossa into phases and subphases designated by the excavators and amended by Acconcia 2014

As opposed to the situation at Campovalano, investigators at Fossa were able to open up a larger part of the cemetery at one time, allowing tomb superstructures, menhirs

and dolia to be exposed contextually rather than in a more piecemeal fashion. The tombs at Fossa have a similar state of preservation to those at Campovalano, although with fewer robberies. Many of the bones and grave goods were damaged due to the presence of stone covers and tumuli that crushed them in their collapse (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 18). Additionally, the true height of the tumuli and stone covers may have been lessened by natural erosion and plowing. I have followed Acconcia's reassessment of the chronology and viability of the tomb contexts in order to guide my own selection of tombs for analysis (Acconcia 2014a: 30 n.6).

The difference in funerary ritual between the Iron Age and Orientalizing phases of the necropolis is not drastic, but instead sees a gradual shift to smaller tombs with increasingly diverse grave goods, particularly with respect to metal vessels. The Iron Age tombs, of which there are only 30, are divided into 2 subphases (1A: 9th - second quarter of 8th BC, 1B: third quarter of 8th) based on comparanda of ceramic and metal vessel forms from other dated sites³⁵. Overall the tombs are fairly homogeneous, which is interpreted as a sign that only a select group of individuals were buried during this period. One of the most visible differences between phases is the tomb structure itself. Phase 1A is characterized by monumental tumuli encircled with stones as well as possessing a line of menhirs stretching westward from the tumulus (Figure 4.12). These menhirs, which at Fossa are only present in male burials, form a line stretching away from the tumulus, beginning with the largest stone near the tumulus and gradually descending as the stones become more distant. Phase 1B sees a closer placement in tomb spacing and the tombs themselves shrink in size, as well as the menhir that accompany some. This trend of

³⁵ Dates also confirmed by C14 dating (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 174–176)

gradually smaller tombs continues through the Orientalizing period (Phase 2A & B), and by this time the menhirs have completely disappeared. Such a reduction of tomb size marks a strong contrast with the other cemeteries, in Etruria for instance, as well as at Campovalano, in which tombs instead *become* monumental during the Orientalizing period, often developing a tumulus or features such as a surrounding circle of stones.



Figure 4.12: Menhir accompanying tombs from phase 1B (this photo shows the menhir from t. 300)

Another significant feature of this transition is the shift in organization from one centered around a single monumental tomb, thought to be a common ancestor of the entire community, to three separate familial groups, which the publishers have described as gentilicial groups (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 210). These groups have been identified by their spatial positioning and general clustering, since it is thought that kin groups bury

their dead in close proximity (Figure 4.13). This is a different kind of spatial organization than what we see at Campovalano, in which the primary focal point is the road and visibility from that. The spatial proximity of individual tumuli, both male and female, that is seen at Fossa is different from the separate male tumuli seen at Campovalano chronologically just 50 years later. In later periods at Fossa, the tumuli go out of use and the *tomba a fossa* is the dominant form of burial. These tombs are often placed in close proximity to the earlier tumuli of ancestors, or sometimes actually within the tumulus itself, showing that this kind of spatial association for tombs and kinship continues to be an important factor even as the form of the tomb itself changes.

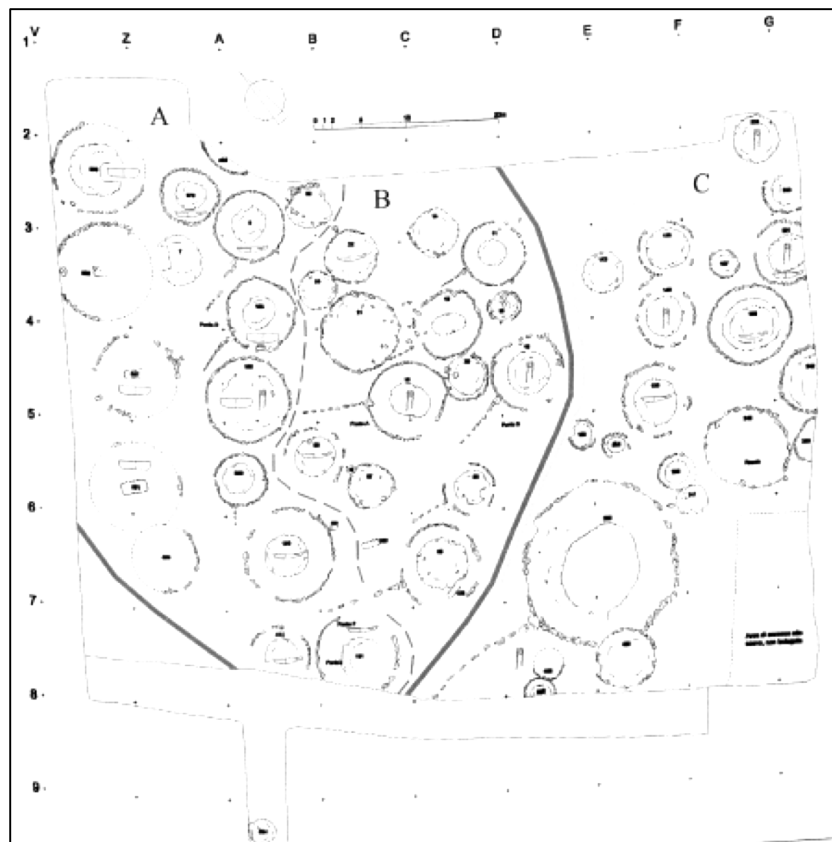


Figure 4.13: Plan of Fossa phases 1-2A with outlines of three family groups (A, B & C)

In the middle of the Orientalizing period, between 2A and 2B1, there is a natural event that disturbs the occupation of the cemetery and makes our understanding of Fossa

in this period a bit hazier. Phase 2A is clearly distinguished from later phases based on a large layer of silt from the flooding of the Aterno. Benelli says that this indicates a phase of abandonment of the cemetery, based on the drop in the number of individuals buried around this event (Benelli 2008: 90). This meant that the tops of menhir and the circle of stones were nearly buried by the flood, in some ways obscuring the earlier phases of use to those who now buried their dead at Fossa.

Turning to grave goods, the most consistent accompanying vessels take the form of a single storage vessel and a smaller dipping/drinking vessel that is either placed within or alongside the storage vessel. This pairing has been called the *ripostiglio* due to its typical placement just to the side of the feet of the deceased, protected by an outline of stones. It is thought that this combination of vessels was employed in a libation ritual given to the deceased at the time of burial (Acconcia 2014a: 46). Throughout the chronological span of the cemetery examined here, the *ripostiglio* continues to be a critical element of funerary practice, even as the vessel forms and materials they are made from may change. It is present in both male and female burials, as well as in some infant tombs, although at a less frequent rate and often in smaller, more miniature vessels than those present in adult burials.

Just as we saw at Campovalano, the vast majority of male burials at Fossa are accompanied by weaponry, typically a lance and either a dagger or sword. There are far fewer maces at Fossa; however they are still present, indicating that even within this inland area with similar trends in military equipment, there can still be some variance in usage. In female burials there is a similar emphasis at Fossa on ornamentation and jewelry. One of the most interesting absences is the lack of weaving implements (spools,

spindles, loom weights, etc.). In the Iron Age such objects are not present at all, and in the Orientalizing period there are only a limited number of spindle whorls. Although for these periods there is already a notable absence in the assemblage of grave goods, what makes the omission of weaving implements even more unusual is the prevalence of pastoralism in this mountainous region. Rather than indicating a lack of either pastoralism or weaving practice, it may instead signal a difference in the way gender roles were articulated and expressed in funerary practices. In this matter in particular, Fossa presents an important site for a reexamination of social and gender roles in this period.

While most of the publications on the material at Fossa are purely descriptive, some assumptions about what the Orientalizing period consists of and how banquets can be identified betray inherent biases. The banquet is identified with the ‘princely’ tombs, defined by d’Ercole as the shared consumption of meat and wine, and is identified as adopted from Greece by the Italic peoples, once it was first imported from the Near East (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209). The objects that are then identified as signs of banqueting activity are bronze basins, and bronze vessels more generally (although they were already present earlier in the Iron Age). The tombs that are characterized as ‘princely’ are described as being identified by bronze vessels, painted ceramics, panoplies of weapons for males and imported goods (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209). Many of the other tombs in the cemetery have objects from these categories, and not all of those characterized as ‘princely’ contain all of these elements, making the definition seem arbitrary. This is one instance in which an analysis of what constitutes social groupings based on similarity and

difference of grave goods – rather than modern biases of value – may help obviate this problem.

In addition to the issue of the ‘princely’ designation, there are a large number of bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian vessels, as well as decorative styles that have their roots in the Faliscan/Capenate region. The presence of these numerous imported ceramics, however, does not always signal a shift in practice toward that of a banquet, as the practice associated with the *ripostiglio* continues its prominence and in fact in many cases incorporates these imported vessels and forms. In this case Fossa provides a counterpoint to the notion that contact with Etruria during this period, and especially with the essential components of the banquet (drinking and pouring vessels), necessarily leads to the adoption of such banqueting practices within the funerary sphere.

The inland perspective that Fossa offers calls into question what we assume must be a part of Orientalizing and ‘princely’ material culture, and presents a history of funerary practice different from what is observed at Campovalano, giving some sense of the variety of responses of communities in the central-Italic *koiné*.

4.3 Analytical Approaches - Functional Analysis

The sites of Campovalano and Fossa, along with Alfedena located further south in Abruzzo, were the subject of a recent functional analysis by Valeria Acconcia (Acconcia 2014a). Since the majority of the most recent work done in Abruzzo has been in the excavation and publication of recent finds, Acconcia provides one of the first analytical works for material within the broader Abruzzo region. In the work, Acconcia employs the functional categories determined in her previous work with Bartoloni in Etruria to

investigate indigenous banqueting patterns within these three sites (Bartoloni *et al.* 2012). This is done by looking quantitatively at the different combinations of storage, pouring, dipping and drinking vessels present in each burial, and drawing out notable trends for each site. Additionally, at Campovalano, the more significant presence of bronze vessels as well as impasto was used to create hierarchies of tombs (TL1-TL5). Overall, the goal of the work is to look at how contact with the middle Tyrrhenian area introduced new practices, pottery and metal ware, and possibly most emphasized, new expressions of wealth and power.

The analysis combs through the data for each site, contextually situating patterns in vessel combinations and assessing how these combinations vary by period, gender and age. For both Fossa and Alfedena, the consistent use of the *ripostiglio* by adult members of the community is frequently described as a codified and rigorous ritual (Acconcia 2014a: 57, 173). In each case, the top of the social hierarchy is characterized as emergent, primarily due to the fact that, although they may be considered the wealthiest tombs for their respective sites, when judged by Tyrrhenian modes of luxury and elite status, these tombs do not quite reach full aristocratic levels. Status at Alfedena and Fossa is expressed as a complete *ripostiglio*, bronze basin usually located at the feet, and a full suite of weapons. For Fossa in particular, in which it is possible to examine the evolution of funerary ritual from the 9th until the 5th centuries, Acconcia emphasizes that ritual does in fact change over time, mostly through the evolution of ceramic forms; however, it preserves the general line of tradition. Since the site clearly does have contact with the Tyrrhenian area, this persistence of ritual is described as a reluctance to take on these

convivial practices of consuming food and drink. It is interpreted as a deliberate choice of conservatism.

By contrast, Acconcia views Campovalano as showing a general acceptance of feasting and the Homeric form of the banquet (Acconcia 2014a: 105). Certain local elements such as the *ripostiglio* are still present, in the form of dolia at the end of the burial, and the pottery is almost entirely locally made, however there is a much larger number of ceramics present in graves, in more varied combinations, and a larger number and range of forms of bronze vessels and instruments. The expanded variety of vessels and their combinations led Acconcia to group tombs based on the quantity and classes of goods represented within them. The exact quantitative methods used are not explicitly laid out, although it is stated that bronze vessels in particular were used to define the groups (Acconcia 2014a: 119). Such a basis for classification shows that these groups were formed using a predetermined understanding of value at their onset.

Although the groupings are not intended to model real social classes within the community, TL1 corresponds with those tombs that have been labeled ‘princely’, and the following four groups each descend in the quantity and prestige of vessels. Instead, Acconcia asserts that these groups model the positions occupied by the individual within the gentilicial structure, as well as their privileges of participation in the banquet (Acconcia 2014a: 130–131). In this case, for instance, females only begin to appear in large numbers in TL3. This is in part due to their lower levels of representation within the buried community, however it is also hypothesized that the general lack of large-mid size containers and bronze vessels indicates that they were restricted from tasks of preparation within the banquet (Acconcia 2014a: 133–134). In tombs that are a part of TL4 and only

have a single ceramic or bronze vessel in addition to the *ripostiglio*, these individuals may have only attended banquets as diners (Acconcia 2014a: 134). The connection between these banqueting roles and the position of the individual within the gentilicial structure is made because tombs from each of these groups are often located in close proximity, in a traditional sign of kinship affiliation. This is how Acconcia breaks from ascribing these groups to the existence of reliable social classes, however the affirmation of social hierarchy is still present and asserted within the banquet.

The contextual study and quantitative methodology that Acconcia applies in this work are sound and a welcome change from the traditional isolation of imports that many studies of the Orientalizing period had previously employed. Indeed, the detailed findings provide a nuanced perspective of how ceramic and bronze vessel assemblages change in each site over time, and how that affects the principal funerary ritual that is present. Acconcia's work does a great deal to clarify the composition of funerary ritual in this part of Abruzzo, but in its consistent linkage and comparison to Tyrrhenian models of banqueting and funerary practice, it reifies many of the predetermined values of 'orientalizing' culture. The 'orientalizing' banquet found at Campovalano is discussed as Tyrrhenian and Homeric, even though the most likely direct source of these ideas is from Picenum. This therefore hypothesizes a direct transmission of ideas³⁶ from Greeks to Etruscans, through Umbrians and Picenes, and finally to Campovalano, and moreover that such a Tyrrhenian lifestyle is a natural desire for a community open to contact and interaction. The analysis of Fossa and Alfedena then sets up a contrast: mid-Adriatic 'princes' engaged in luxurious conviviality at Campovalano, as compared to the

³⁶ Discussion of the transmission of Tyrrhenian values through prestige goods (Acconcia 2014a: 127)

restrained and rigorous ritual of Fossa and Alfedena. This juxtaposition between luxury and rigor not only reifies the association of ‘orientalizing’ culture with eastern ostentation, but moreover it exhibits the traditional view of inland mountainous peoples of the Abruzzo as leading a war-like lifestyle³⁷. Therefore, the results of this work are still being aligned with notions of these groups that are primarily derived from foreign historical sources on the topics. As stated in more detail in my second and third chapters, it is these historical characterizations, shaped by our own modern political biases, that I hope to move away from in my own work.

4.4 Methodology

As can be seen in the way in which the term ‘princely’ is assigned and the assumed value of so-called ‘orientalizing’ objects, the interpretations for Campovalano and Fossa, in both their original publication and in subsequent research, have been based on a Tyrrheno-centric view of funerary ritual and value. As more thoroughly outlined in the third chapter, this very particular view of what ‘orientalizing’ culture looks like within Italy, derived from Etruscan, eastern-derived models, is focused on elite self-representation of power through imported objects, banqueting and drinking: a ‘princely’ culture. In an attempt to begin from a locally-based understanding of value, I will use quantitative methods in the next three chapters that places no weight on any particular variable and attempts to treat each object equally. I begin by quantitatively testing some of the basic assumptions behind this previously-held model to determine whether or not

³⁷ This characterization of the peoples of the Central Apennines is most famously made by Edward Salmon (Salmon 1967), drawing on Livy’s description of them as *montani atque agrestes* (uncouth mountain men), thoroughly deconstructed by Emma Dench (Dench 1995).

such a framework truly existed, or whether they are constructions of our modern scholarship. With this in mind I have broken down this larger concern into three focusing questions: are objects really organized into a type of ‘orientalizing’ package? Does a particular group use these objects to set themselves apart through a socially distinct form of consumption, and how do imported objects, styles and motifs become incorporated into local culture and material practices? In order to answer these questions, I have chosen a number of different quantitative methods and approaches from social network analysis for examining tombs with their accompanying grave goods, primarily focusing on clustering, core-periphery analysis, and network positioning and centrality³⁸.

I have chosen to use statistical methods, and these particular types of multivariate statistics, to explore change in funerary ritual for a number of reasons. First broadly, statistical methods require that any assumptions about the data or the way in which it is being analyzed be made explicit. When studying a time period that is so laden with modern scholarly and political baggage, such a deliberate approach, while it by no means escapes biases, hopefully avoids previous problematic assumptions and makes my own presumptions more plainly evident. Second, these techniques are methodologically suited for my examination of the contextual use of imports due to their ability to consider multiple variables at once. This makes it possible to find patterns that are contextually situated to the grave goods and funerary employed used at each site for each time period. Finally, these statistical methods make it possible to examine a large quantity of data at once, meaning that hundreds of tombs and thousands of appearances of grave goods can

³⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the technical concepts behind these methodologies and for a more specific explanation of the procedure that was used for each method, as well as reasons for certain methodological choices, please see Appendix I.

be considered at once in order to identify particular patterns. This is particularly important since I am attempting to move beyond simply and exploration of the so-called ‘princely’ tombs.

Statistics and quantitative methods, it should be stated, do not provide unambiguous answers, and always require interpretation. While I am employing these quantitative methods as a means of testing these long-held ‘orientalizing’ frameworks, I am also using them for their exploratory nature. This is in an effort to see whether or not the assumed understanding of ‘orientalizing’ may have led us to ignore other patterns in funerary ritual and behavior that have gone unnoticed. These methods, therefore, are intended as a means to highlight interesting patterns and divergences in funerary practice, which are then treated in further detail through applicable theoretical frameworks.

The primary underlying assumption behind each of these quantitative methods, whether drawing from clustering or network science, is the association of tombs to one another based on the common occurrence of particular grave goods. In mathematical terms, this is because all of the measures used relate tombs and objects to one another are based on contextual measures of similarity or difference, meaning that they take into account which grave goods tend to appear together. In archaeological terms, this means that I have chosen to assume that the similar treatment of an individual in burial indicates the attachment of similar social values by the communities burying them. This includes the treatment of the body, the burial ritual, the grave goods that accompany them and the construction of the tomb itself. There can always be individual divergences by person or group, and indeed sometimes diverging intentions can elude recognition within the archaeological record. Overall, however, the treatment and grave goods that are buried

with the individual are the material manifestations of the value the community holds in this person. Therefore, determining where imported objects and styles fit within patterned practices of value may shed light on how new items and beliefs are integrated within society.

The methods used in the following chapters have a long history of use within archaeology, particularly clustering, as well as in funerary archaeology (Shennan 1997: 217). Platforms such as the R statistical environment have made conducting such methods easier and have allowed greater access to new tools for conducting and interrogating such analyses (R Core Team 2015). Those techniques drawn from network science, such as core-periphery measures and centrality, while they are frequently used on larger-scale, regional networks, have only rarely been used at a site level for cemeteries (Sosna *et al.* 2012). In order to perform these quantitative techniques, I have digitized each tomb for both sites with their age, gender, tomb construction techniques and the grave goods that accompany the deceased into an SPSS data table. Grave goods were determined by general vessel form (amphora, brocca, etc.), element of jewelry (rather than individual bead), and functional item (lance as opposed to lance point and sauroter)³⁹. All of the following analyses work from abundance data of grave goods in tombs, which are normally distributed. Additionally, I have digitized plans from both cemeteries using ArcGIS 10.2 in order to allow for spatial analysis and contextualization of the findings brought out through these exploratory measures. In the rest of this chapter (and further in the appendix), I will detail the specifics of each technique, as they are all used to varying extents in chapters 5 and 6, while network analysis is used in chapter 7.

³⁹ The general typological names come from the publication, and in some instances differ between the two sites; however, I address when particular categories should be equated or considered as different.

4.4a Object Clustering

The first method I have chosen for analyzing object associations adapts the process that Pierre Legendre lays out for concordance analysis, a particular technique that was designed within ecology to identify species associations in different communities of mites (Legendre 2005). Concordance analysis is a way to conduct and check species clustering, described by Legendre as finding groups of co-occurring or correlated species whose appearance together cannot be said to be random (Legendre 2012: 389–390). Although numerical ecology, and particularly mite communities, might not seem like a natural analog to understanding funerary data, the type of data that characterizes both data sets is highly similar. Both funerary and ecological data are structured as abundance counts, the number of species at a particular site in the ecological sense, and the number of grave goods in a particular tomb in the archaeological case. In addition, investigating the relationships between variables, for either species or grave goods, can only be done through methods that are specifically designed for exploring the R mode, in other words the association between variables based on their common appearance. Therefore, when looking to discern differences in consumption patterns among tombs, the steps that make up concordance analysis provide a way of understanding which objects tend to be buried together. If there is a select group within these communities that were expressing themselves with a specific suite of imported goods and practices, set apart from standard funerary ritual, this method should pick out such a consumption pattern.

The framework that Legendre lays out for concordance analysis involves a number of different steps, each of which involves choices that depend on the data and the way in which it is being looked at. In the case of the tombs at Campovalano and Fossa,

grave goods have been recorded in abundance counts per tomb based on general typologies of form and material in order to create a *tomb x grave good* abundance matrix. For the general outline of the procedure, I have chosen to follow Legendre's initial steps of concordance analysis (Legendre 2012: 395–396). These involve (1) transforming the abundance matrix using a chord transformation⁴⁰ in order to control for differences in total abundance, (2) computing a Pearson's correlation matrix among the variables and converting this into a distance matrix, (3) performing Ward's hierarchical clustering, and (4) determining the significance of clusters of objects using multiscale bootstrap resampling⁴¹.

This last step differs from Legendre's method and from standard applications of hierarchical clustering that require one to choose at which height the dendrogram should be cut, which in turn determines the number of clusters. Instead, the R package `pvclust` determines the probability of a cluster existing based on bootstrapping of the dendrogram, regardless of the chosen number of clusters. By repeatedly applying the chosen method cluster analysis to the sample, the package determines the probability that the dendrogram has clustered the variables properly, and gives p-values to certain groups of objects. The resulting probability is calculated in two percentage figures, AU (Approximately Unbiased) and BP (Bootstrap Probability), of which AU is considered a more reliable figure. Clusters with an AU larger than 95% are highlighted in red on the

⁴⁰ Chord transformation is not affected by double zeros, is metric, measured in Euclidean space, and results in expressing the data as relative abundances.

⁴¹ The entirety of this procedure was carried out using the R statistical package, utilizing the `vegan` package (Oksanen *et al.* 2016) for the chord transformation [`decostand()`], the `cluster` package (Maechler *et al.* 2016) for Ward's hierarchical clustering [`hclust()`], and the `pvcust` package (Ryota Suzuki & Shimodaira 2015) for multiscale bootstrap resampling [`pvcust()` and `pvrect()`].

dendrogram. The presence, or sometimes the absence, of significant clusters of objects, then guides my observations for each site and period.

This particular method offers a number of advantages over Principal Components Analysis, Correspondence Analysis or standard methods of hierarchical clustering, which have been used in other archaeological situations for exploring the connections between grave goods. This method made it possible to use a sparsely populated matrix of abundance data, meaning that I could include individual variables for each grave good rather than having to combine items into broader categories in order to make it more friendly to other types of dimension reduction techniques. Additionally, the ability to look at the statistical significance of object associations, without having to determine a specific number of clusters, meant that I was able to look at the structure relationships between grave goods without having to force the data into hard cluster memberships that would not have reflected archaeologically meaningful results.

4.4b Tomb Clustering

Since access to imported objects and practices has been assumed to be limited to the top of the social hierarchy, such a difference in consumption patterns should be discernable through the presence or absence of particular types of grave goods. I use a two-step clustering method which includes grave goods, tomb construction, elaboration and orientation, which further works to automatically detect the optimal number of clusters for the data set. This makes it possible to question whether or not interpreted social hierarchies are statistically visible or something that relies on a predetermined categorization of value. In addition to clustering tombs, it is also possible to explore which variables were most influential in defining these clusters, showing which objects

or burial practices were most determinative. Therefore, when clustering individuals rather than objects, it is then possible to discern which objects are most critical in determining groups of people united through common consumption patterns. This in turn may help us better understand the ways in which groups may have defined themselves through the selective use of material culture. If there is a set of ‘orientalizing’ goods that an elite group used to define themselves as both aristocratic and in touch with a broader Mediterranean cultural *koiné*, such distinctions should be discernible.

The method I have chosen to cluster tombs is a Two-Step Clustering method conducted using SPSS (SPSS 2001). This type of clustering implements a model-based, log-likelihood distance measure for both continuous and categorical variables to determine the distance between two cases. This means that it is possible to include variables concerning tomb construction, orientation, age and gender along with the abundance counts of objects within the graves. Additionally, unlike hierarchical clustering and k-means clustering, this type of model-based clustering allows for the automatic determination of the optimal number of clusters based on the data. This is done through either AIC (Akaike Information Criterion) or BIC (Bayesian Information Criterion), both of which have given the same results for the samples that I have clustered. I will then compare these results from each of the phases with both the results found in the object clustering of the previous section and the standard interpretations of social hierarchy within each site.

It is important to note that I do not assert that these tomb clusters fully illuminate the numerous social divisions present within each community. Although social roles are represented by more than just the grave goods and funerary practices present within each

burial, the common deposition of similar objects denotes that the greater community associated particular funerary practices with these individuals. In this way, the commonalities of ritual practice tell us something about the way in which the community views these individuals and their social role. When we are able, these commonalities of practice should then be looked at in comparison with the social roles that we are able to reconstruct through other means in order to understand how ritual practice may be either reinforcing these roles or undermining them.

4.4c Core-Periphery Network Measures

In order to determine the most central objects of funerary practices, I have used a bipartite network measure called Categorical Core/Periphery (Borgatti & Everett 1999). Within a two-mode network, this measure seeks to find a “core” of frequently co-occurring actors and events that exhibit a higher density of ties than the periphery, in which tie density is lower. Since the structure remains bipartite, in this case it collects within a single core two co-occurring phenomena: actors that attend a large number of core events and events that are tied to a large number of core actors. This creates a core that is more closely connected within its group with fewer connections for peripheral nodes, which themselves are only sparsely connected (McCulloh *et al.* 2013: 82). In terms of network structure, core nodes are at a greater structural advantage.

Within an archaeological context, the tombs are actors and the grave goods are the events. In discussing a cultural theory of networks, Fuchs describes the core as “network components which turn out to be fundamental and foundational to the entire structure”(Fuchs 2009: 356) . In essence, by determining the “core” objects within a bipartite network constructed through the common burial of particular grave goods within

tombs, we are able to discern which objects make up the “core” or foundational elements of funerary ritual at a particular time. In a network sense, these common choices of objects form the edges of the network that unites the tombs as nodes, highlighting the shared funerary practices that unite this group as a community. This is crucial to the question of looking diachronically at how funerary ritual changes over the period of increased contact with neighboring regions and the broader Mediterranean. It centers analysis on the nature of existing funerary patterns and looks at how the practices begin to incorporate new ideas and rituals, while either keeping or abandoning previous ones. Additionally, the sequence of what the “core” looks like over time helps us understand if the fundamental funerary practices remained the same, expanded or saw a reduction as the community changed.

It is important to emphasize that core/periphery numbers do not perfectly capture all of the ritual complexities of funerary ritual, however it does serve as a useful tool to highlight the most central components, whose meaning and role as central objects then needs to be assessed. The fact that the technique categorizes grave goods as either part of the core or periphery, with gradation or a measurement of the level of membership, makes it primarily useful for an initial assessment determining the most essential components of funerary ritual. As such, I have used it to explore funerary ritual at Fossa, since the results presented for Campovalano did not produce archaeologically meaningful patterns⁴². Along with assessing change over time, another factor that has to be considered when determining funerary traditions for this region is the factor that gender can play in what is considered critically important for the burial of a particular individual.

⁴² The high variability of the funerary ritual at Campovalano meant that there were often over 30 different objects within the core, making any reading of these results uninformative.

Consequently, for each of the core/periphery measures, I have calculated one set for all objects in total, and then two additional measures that are gender-specific⁴³. When it is possible, a comparison of genders allows us to be able to discern first, what are critical components of funerary ritual overall for each individual in this group, and second, how do differences in gender add to or restrict the core group of necessary rituals.

4.4d Network Position and Centrality

Since this work also seeks to refocus the idea of value onto the individual buried rather than solely on the imports placed alongside them, network analysis places the individual as the node, centering analyses on the placement and role of the person in the network. The edges within this framework are based on common choices in material culture, burial type and construction, standing as proxies for the relationships they share with other members of the community. In the absence of more concrete knowledge about intra-communal relationships, shared aspects of material culture and practice are our best window into societal connections. As Blake has reasoned for her own regional analyses: “we may expect that whatever materials circulate through those networks will, in their distributions, leave some trace, however incomplete, of the interactions between nodes in those networks” (Blake 2014: 85). The shared value systems that inform and are shaped by these choices in funerary practice and material culture allude to commonalities in relationships that, although not on a personal, one-to-one scale (these individuals after all, are dead), do tell us about how communal relationships change over time. From this perspective, network analyses make it possible to discern the way in which new objects

⁴³ In cases in which objects are not present within a particular gender, I have removed them from analysis so as to not skew the results, and as such are represented as a zero.

and practices were incorporated into local communities and how social structure may have affected this.

In order to look at where imported objects, pottery types and figural motifs fit into the material network of each site, I have created a one-mode network of tombs linked by the similarity of grave good assemblages. This was done by converting a two-mode abundance matrix of *tomb* $\times$ *grave good* into a one-mode network through Jaccard distance. I then plotted the graph using a Graph Theoretic Layout (Spring Embedding) and reduced the edges to those with greater than 0.25 similarity (out of 1), in order to remove the most universal similarities between tombs (such as the appearance of a fibula) and highlight the more significant material structures. After this I scaled the nodes based on the appearance of whichever imported object, motif or material was of interest for that site and time period.

Employing network analysis in this way has made it possible to see how new ideas and ways of figural representation fit into the structure of funerary ritual at Campovalano and Fossa. Rather than simply determining whether or not these images and styles are correlated with a particular type of tomb, the network analysis makes it possible to understand how the tombs that they are found within may affect the popularity of the imagery within each site. The structural positioning, a concept specific to network science is particularly informative for understanding how information flows through a network.

4.5 Conclusion

It is with this goal in mind that I am seeking to employ data mining strategies to take a closer look at the nature of changing funerary ritual in Campovalano and Fossa as they connect with more remote regions within the Mediterranean. The arrival of new materials, decorative schemes and practices provides an important opportunity to assess the usefulness of applying data mining to the study of stylistic and functional trends within material culture. Since data mining is designed to identify trends in data, the arrival of these new materials is something that should be able to be identified in the data. More importantly, however, data mining will be able to show *how* this phenomenon developed within each site, noting interconnections between particular categories of iconography, functional aspects of objects, personal attributes of particular individuals, and styles of burial. It assesses all of these variables together, each within the context of its tomb, so that quantitative and contextual methods are in essence combined. The knowledge of these micro-trends will help to answer the three central questions at the heart of the following chapters.

Chapter 5 – Deconstructing the ‘Orientalizing’ Package

5.1 Packaged Goods, Packaged Lifestyle?

This chapter seeks to determine whether objects related to the increased contact of this period traveled as a set of goods, a type of ‘orientalizing package’, which has been interpreted as transferring an elite ‘way of life’, as well as what happens to the local funerary ritual at Campovalano over time. The ‘culture of princes’ implies an aristocratic form of self-expression that cannot have been the result of a single object, decorative style or import. It would instead have to show a much larger change in ritual practices that had taken root, something that can only be revealed through a number of different objects, not only individual goods. And since it is described as such a deep form of cultural change, we would expect to see changes in the nature of funerary ritual, not only methods of display.

When the ‘orientalizing’ period has been defined through the types of objects present within the most object-rich graves in a particular cemetery, the definition of an ‘orientalizing package’ has tended to include nearly all elements except impasto pottery, and even this may be included when it relates to the banquet⁴⁴. Such a definition of ‘orientalizing’ makes for a very limiting interpretation: the objects that have been used to define it are incredibly inclusive, encompassing a wide variety of materials and functions, while its social role has been seen as quite narrow, as a suite of goods used by elites to distinguish themselves within the community. As Corinna Riva has noted, however, these objects are not often placed within the context of their own local cultures (Riva 2010:

⁴⁴ For the specifics of what has been conceived of making up the ‘orientalizing package’, see the beginning of chapter 3.

43). At the site of Campovalano, ‘princely’ grave goods have been identified both by being included in tombs determined to be ‘princely’ (Chiaramonte Treré & D’Ercole 2003: 1; Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010: 4) and due to a pre-assumed value either because of their nature as rare and precious materials (Buoite 2010: 216), or because of their connection with the presumed eastern elite culture of banqueting and drinking (Acconcia 2014a: 88). Acconcia in particular defines the objects that are included in the highest-ranking tombs (categorized by her as TL1) at Campovalano as being comprised of “all classes of manufacture attested in the necropolis”, “ceramic and bronze vessels, all of the tools necessary for the handling and consumption of food and drink, all types of weapons and chariots for men, and complex ornaments and utensils for women” (Acconcia 2014a: fig. 88 my own translation). Such a broad and circular definition makes it clear that there is a need to search for and define such a set of goods based on the pattern of object consumption rather than on already-held preconceptions.

Instead of following such an elite-centric, top-down approach, I am building a quantitative assessment based on all of the objects within the cemetery, including all of the grave goods from each datable tomb⁴⁵. To begin this assessment of the local role of ‘orientalizing’ culture, I attempt to answer two basic questions: first, is there a distinctive set of objects that can be described as an ‘orientalizing package’ and that distinguish themselves from the rest of material culture within the cemetery; and second, does a

⁴⁵ This admittedly omits some of the least wealthy individuals buried within the cemetery, since the lack of grave goods makes it impossible to attribute their burial to a particular phase, therefore skewing our understanding of the social groups represented within the funerary population. I have included these graves in the analysis of all of the tombs from all periods for Campovalano in order to be able to test their effect on our understanding of the cemetery, as will be discussed further below.

certain set individuals set themselves apart from others through these types of imported objects and practices?

In order to answer these two questions, I employ clustering as a method of understanding common affinities of consumption for objects within the cemetery. While methods such as correlation matrices and chi-squared tests alone only allow investigation of the linkage between two variables, or in this case types of grave goods, and factor analysis and multiple correspondence analysis are not naturally constructed to deal with the sparse matrices composed of numerous types of grave goods that are included as variables but are often only rarely present, clustering allows the grouping of objects that commonly appear in similar tombs. In the case of the ‘orientalizing package’, if it is indeed a new brand of Mediterranean-wide elite representation, different from both earlier material culture and something that distinguished itself from the coexistent non-elite funerary practices, then we would expect it to group itself separately from the rest. Additionally, if such a set of grave goods is found, the definition of which objects are included in such a set should be determined by local use and contextual association, rather than a predetermined idea of what ‘princely’ goods should be included. In order to investigate this, I will use the method of concordance analysis with multiscale bootstrap resampling to cluster objects.

The second question centers on whether elites use a particular set of grave goods to distinguish themselves from others in the community. In looking at clusters of tombs, calculated through two-step clustering, it is possible to examine which objects are most influential in distinguishing separate clusters. In the case of the most object-rich tombs, we would expect to see the goods that have been connected with ‘orientalizing’ culture to

separate this group from the others. In some cases, however, the material culture and funerary choices made in tombs will not be different enough to present identifiable clusters. This may be due to either the low number of samples or to the homogeneity of practice represented in the tombs. It is important to note that I do not assert that these clusters of tombs fully illuminate the numerous social divisions present within each community. Although social roles are represented by more than just the grave goods and funerary practices present within each burial, the common deposition of similar objects denotes that the greater community associated particular funerary practices with these individuals. In this way, the commonalities of ritual practice tell us about the way in which the community viewed these individuals.

Before proceeding, it is also necessary to state that no method of clustering will provide a “correct” answer, but rather, in the critical evaluation of such clustering, through methods such as multiscale bootstrap resampling, it is possible to see what patterns continue to reappear, and specifically to see what objects or tombs are more closely related to each other in either burial or included materials. In this way the most suitable number of clusters or the specific cluster assignment given may matter less than observing from the dendrogram how closely related either tombs or objects are. Additionally, using particular matrix transformations, similarity coefficients and algorithms produces different groupings and combinations, and explaining why these groupings are different can illuminate notable trends. From these resulting trends, it then requires the archaeologist’s perspective to discern the cultural reasoning behind the patterns found in the data.

5.2 Object Clustering

5.2.1 - All Periods

For an initial test of object clustering, I used the entire data set from Campovalano, which spanned chronologically from the second half of the 7th century until the first half of the 5th century, although the vast majority (147 out of 217) date to between the end of the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century⁴⁶. One of the primary reasons for beginning with this larger data set is that this sample allows for the inclusion of tombs whose finds were too general for assignment to a specific phase, but which can be attributed to this broad chronological range, thereby including graves with fewer items that would normally be deemed unimportant. Moreover, including all objects within this larger phase of cemetery occupation allows for the discovery of distinctive sets of objects which may not be part of an ‘orientalizing’ package per se, but which are nonetheless important. Additionally, this is roughly the data set that Valeria Acconcia used in her functional study of the objects from Campovalano (Acconcia 2014a: 86–87), allowing for a comparison of my own results with hers, as a way of further interrogating how the ‘orientalizing’ period has been understood at Campovalano. This test of object clustering for all periods is followed by an examination of object clustering for the two primary chronological periods of occupation: end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, and the first half of the 6th century BCE.

⁴⁶ Acconcia conducted a functional analysis of this data set as a cohesive unit as well, citing the small time span and homogenous nature of the grave goods that does not allow for sharper chronological articulation (Acconcia 2014b: 86–87). She does not, however, include those tombs that are from this phase of occupation, but cannot be assigned to a specific chronological span within this phase, described by the excavators as “corredi non significativi”. I have included these within my dataset in order to account for a broader range of individuals within the community.

The picture presented by the resulting dendrogram is one of fragmentary clusters which do not immediately provide coherent meaning (Figure 5.1). The significant clusters for this chronologically composite group of tombs total to 11, and of these six consist of only two items. The largest group in the center is primarily composed of types of personal ornamentation, particularly symbolic pendants and many types of jewelry, as well as weaving equipment, such as spindles, spindle whorls and spools, and two vessels, an olla and ciotola. This group can be broadly described as being comprised of items often associated with the female gender.

The most important group for my research questions however, is shown in the second largest group, at the very bottom of the dendrogram (Figure 5.2). This collection of items roughly matches the description given by Acconcia of goods related to the highest level of the hierarchy: chariot and horse bit, helmet and greaves, axe, bronze basin, spits and firedogs, holmos, silver fibula, chalice “a corolla” and cover, and bronze kantharos. These items are largely connected to displays of social hierarchy, particularly through military equipment, and to the funerary feast. Although only one object is related to ceremonial drinking, the bronze kantharos, the other feasting objects from this group are strongly associated with the consumption of meat and cooked food. Additional items such as the silver fibula tie in to the inclusion of rare materials in this group, and the holmos is most likely connected to the display of incense.

With a p-value of 100%, we can absolutely reject the null-hypothesis that this group of objects does not exist as a cluster. Therefore, when looking at all of the tombs at Campovalano between the middle 7th-first half of the 5th century, we can identify a set of clustered objects that have a history of being associated with the wealthiest tombs of the

cemetery. These are tombs which are located at the heart of the cemetery, almost all covered with large tumuli and accompanied by a large accumulation of grave goods. Indeed, all tombs that have been labeled by the excavators as ‘princely’, except the infant tomb 127, have a number of items from this set. Although these grave goods are associated with the wealthiest tombs, it does not mean that such goods are restricted to only the most elite tombs. Vessels such as the chalice “a corolla” and bronze basin, as well as spits and firedogs, have usage that extends beyond this so-called ‘princely’ group, and the spits in particular are actually fairly frequent occurrences throughout the cemetery.

These more widespread objects are actually the most intriguing components of this distinct package. The chalice “a corolla” in particular is a vessel form whose continuous ring of handles around the vessel’s carination make it unusable as a drinking vessel (Figure 5.3). Instead, this open form, typically paired with a chalice-shaped cover (as can be seen in the dendrogram) that would rest on the continuous circular handles, has been interpreted as either serving cooked meat or as a holder for burning incense (Mantia 2003: 116 as containers of cooked meat; Chiaramonte Treré 2010: 146–147 as holders of incense). Due to the association here with spits and bronze basins, I believe that these vessels were employed as a way of serving food, possibly a distinctive dish that served a special role in the feast. Since it rarely appears in tombs in multiples, the chalice “a corolla” seems to have been an intermediary vessel for transferring food from the spit, bronze basin or cauldron to the participants in the feast. The form of the chalice “a corolla” provides a noteworthy adaptation of the objects that have traditionally been associated with the most elite burials. The form derives from a four-handled chalice, also

present within the cemetery, which originates in the Etruscan/Latium region (Chiaramonte Treré 2010: 146; Mantia 2003: 113) and whose form changes as the type spreads, creating very particular local forms. Within Campovalano, this change centers on the number of handles, which increased until the entire body of the vessel was encircled in handles. This chalice “a corolla” variety is centered on the Campovalano and Teramo region; however there have been finds along the northern transapennine path from the Sabine region toward Fermo in Picenum⁴⁷. The centralization of this form in the Apennine and Adriatic region, however, shows this vessel to be a locally and regionally significant adaptation of newly arriving forms from the Tyrrhenian coast.

The inclusion of this locally-designed form within an assemblage of elite objects shows the way in which the community of Campovalano did not just accept models from Etruria without input. Although the inclusion of many more handles did not significantly change the function of this vessel (the four-handled vessels would have already been incredibly difficult to drink from), the modification more strictly defines its role as a covered vessel for food which was meant to be passed around the funerary feast. This action of local input into the way in which food was presented gives us a sense of the value that this ritual activity meant to the process of burial. The added element of ceremony is found within tombs that extend beyond the traditional designation of ‘princely’, but which commonly include a significant number of ceramic vessels⁴⁸.

Hence, the chalice “a corolla” is clearly a local addition into a more elaborate form of

⁴⁷ Found at the Sabine sites of Poggio Sommavilla and Monteleone di Spoleto, and along the course of the Chienti river in Umbria and Marche at Colfiorito di Foligno and Belmonte Piceno (Mantia 2003: 115)

⁴⁸ Mantia does in fact acknowledge that the chalice “a corolla” is present in significant contexts with many objects and finds with decorative motifs (Mantia 2003: 116). Chiaramonte Treré classifies the vessel type as “representing a distinctive element of tombs of princely rank” (Chiaramonte Treré 2010: 146). In both cases, however, the presence of such a local form within this elite assemblage of objects does not seem to alter the final interpretation of how such elite tombs should be viewed.

funerary feasting. If we were to build definitions of an ‘orientalizing’ package based on preconceptions of what was common in other regions rather than building from local usage, we might miss elements such as this.

Returning to the clustering of objects, although there is a clear set of grave goods that could be identified with a set of wealthy burials at Campovalano, there are a number of other clusters that could be connected to this elite group as well. At the very top of the dendrogram we see two sets of objects that are closely tied to well-appointed tombs (Figure 5.4): individual rare items that are only found within either one or two so-called ‘princely’ tombs (in the top half) and a collection of bronze vessels connected to the preparation and serving of an alcoholic beverage, in this case most likely wine (in the bottom half). In the first section of the dendrogram, there are two significant clusters at the top that are associated with two specific tombs.

The first cluster of the anthropomorphic statuette, askos and lamp only appear together within tomb 2, which can easily be classified as the wealthiest tomb for all periods at Campovalano, by size, monumental architecture and accumulation of grave goods. The grouping of these three objects separate from the elite objects that were discussed just previously is particularly interesting given the symbolic and representational nature of these items. The anthropomorphic statuettes represent faces and human mourners, the askoi are composite animal forms called “ippocigni”, or horse-swans, which would be attached to large storage vessels, and the lamp, whose form and function is questionable and may in fact be a cup for libation, has a number of prowling felines and other not clearly identifiable animals that may be rams (Figure 5.5)(Melandri 2003). In the figures of the mourners and the birds, which have been understood as

psychopompic figures (Franchi Dell'Orto 2001), we can see the figures that would accompany the deceased for their entire transition out of the world of the living and into the world of the dead. Evidence for the lamp being a libation cup comes from comparanda in the region, since the closest comparanda to this odd form come from a group of tazze-attingitoi from the Ascoli Piceno area (Figure 5.6) (Percossi Serenelli 1987: 128, fig. 21). As opposed to these comparanda which display horses, an iconographic form very typical of the region, the vessel at Campovalano also has bestial images that are associated with protection in the afterlife.

This collection of figural objects and decoration demonstrates the level of symbolic conversancy for those burying this individual, since they have combined within a single tomb bird imagery with ties to Bronze Age European motifs, human faces with comparanda in impasto figurines from Tarquinia and Cerveteri, felines with roots in Near Eastern imagery and horse elements with local stylistic underpinnings, all hand-molded in local impasto. Tomb 2 contains the greatest variety of figural representation and imagery within the entire cemetery, from every period. And while horses and birds appear as decorative symbols within other tombs, tomb 2 contains the only occurrence in which the horse and swan are physically combined to form a composite figure (this is discussed further in Chapter 7). In this funerary example, the combination of the two animals forms a logical connection between the bird, known for funerary transport in the Bronze Age (Franchi Dell'Orto 1996; Franchi Dell'Orto 2001), and the horse, which, as the cart remains in this particular tomb attest, may have been used in this period for the physical transportation of the deceased to the grave. The horse also provides an additional element of prestige as a marker of status. The fact that these two animals, whose

importance is locally situated, were combined into a composite animal figure underlines the appropriation of the technique of creating mythical or hybrid animals that is frequently seen within ‘orientalizing’ culture. As Sperber and Hirschfeld have noted, “it is this combination of a few striking violations with otherwise conformity to ordinary expectations that makes supernatural beings attention arresting, memorable, and rich in inferential potential” (Sperber & Hirschfeld 2004). These horse-swan composite attachments use their unexpected form to focus attention on the vessel on top of whose handles they sit, an unusual amphora that was most likely used for incense, and which will be discussed shortly. Although hybrid and composite animals are quite common in imagery of the ‘orientalizing’ period, the animals combined in this case were locally situated in their choice of animals and sought to link the images and practices of the present to past tradition.

All of these symbolically charged representations were deposited outside of their functional position, which would be attached to the vessel, and next to a unique amphora that was meant to hold these pieces. This impasto amphora has a series of intentionally created, pre-fired holes at the center of the belly, in addition to smaller holes on top of the shoulder for inserting plastic appliques, as well as four intentionally designed holes on top of the lid. Interspersed among the holes on the amphora were three rows of incised and impressed decoration: the top and bottom were a series of unidentifiable quadrupeds and the middle row, in between the largest holes, was incised with sixteen warrior males holding a shield and a spear. On top of the lid there are three plastic horses with open mouths, and the open holes next to them most likely held the impasto heads mentioned previously. In combination, these decorative elements are thought to represent the

community and infantrymen who mourned the deceased within tomb 2 (Franchi Dell'Orto 1996: 186). In light of the funerary imagery present on the amphora and the other impasto elements, along with the fact that they are all made of local impasto, it appears that these symbols were produced specifically for the occasion of this death. The concentration of the other figural plastic elements in a distinct part of the grave, separate from the *ripostiglio* and the other ceramic and bronze vessels, suggests that these elements were isolated for their symbolic potency. In this case, community involvement is not simply implied by the copious banqueting equipment, but they are materially present with the deceased in burial. As such, these figures blur the distinct separation between the living and the dead. The fact that these figural objects were singled out by the clustering as different from standard aspects of elite funerary ritual shows how robust this clustering technique is for breaking apart these nuances.

The second cluster of objects represented in figure 5.4 shows a large concentration of bronze vessels and utensils that are primarily utilized in the preparation, mixing and serving of wine. The lekanis and graffione are single instances from a single tomb which dates to the first half of the 5th century and which is accompanied by a large number of bronze vessels, hence its connection to this group of objects; however it lacks any broader significance due to its limited nature. The other objects, however, have a more widespread use, both chronologically and horizontally, within the cemetery. Although the only significant clustering is between the bronze situla/stamnos and the grater, the five other bronze items that are part of this branch of the dendrogram also have a relatively high percentage of significance, making their connection meaningful as well. The bronze situla/stamnos has been hypothesized as a container for either meat, wine or

water for purification⁴⁹, while the grater and infundibulum/colino (strainer) are used in the incorporation of spices and other elements in wine, the cup/mestolo (ladle) and oinochoe are used for drawing and pouring the liquid, and the patera serves either for drinking or the pouring of libations. While the use of alcoholic beverages other than wine has been identified in early Iron Age funerary ritual⁵⁰, and the earliest arrival of wine on the peninsula has been dated to the end of the Middle Bronze Age (Zifferero 2012), the collection of these types of bronze objects provides evidence of a very particular type of ceremonial drinking of wine as part of a formalized practice. I do not take this to mean that the practice must necessarily be Homeric, as so many scholars of this period believe; however the fact that there are these essential components, methods of preparation and performative ways of serving is undeniable.

The separation of this particular group of objects is an interesting division from the previously discussed set of elite goods, which have more items that are associated with martial power and the cooking of meat, and are separated from the overall majority of the grave goods clustered toward the center of the dendrogram at Campovalano. The equipment required for this particular type of ceremonial drinking is not an exclusive marker of elite status (only 8 of the 23 tombs with at least one element from this group are defined as ‘princely’) although it is clearly distinct from the vast majority of tombs that have ceramic storage vessels for liquid, pouring vessels and drinking cups. All of the

⁴⁹ Acconcia notes the two prevailing hypotheses for these vessels, that proposed by Iaia (Iaia 2006: 106) that they contained liquids and that made by Grassi (Grassi 2010: 186–188), that they may have held solid food, referencing a tomb from Calatia (Laforgia 1996) with pieces of pig and sheep, possibly used in a ritual of animal sacrifice (Acconcia 2014a: 121).

⁵⁰ Chemical analyses done on large storage containers from the Orientalizing and Archaic periods at Bazzano, Capo d’Acqua a Capestrano and Cinturelli a Navelli have shown the presence of an alcoholic substance that was derived from fruit fermentation (other than grapes), and possibly flavored with resin (Weidig 2014b: 259; Ulizio 2014)

tombs that include these bronze items are male or of uncertain sex except for one female tomb, in which there is a single bronze cup whose form more closely resembles a libation vessel than an instrument in communal drinking. This restriction to male tombs, from infants to adults, agrees with Acconcia's conclusion that the actual preparation and distribution of wine was restricted based on gender first and wealth second⁵¹. Since there are numerous drinking vessels and even pouring vessels present within female tombs, however, the idea that women did not take part in this communal drinking must be rejected, as Acconcia herself states, and the inclusion of oinochoe pendants in exclusively female and infant tombs displays a further symbolic connection between women and this type of drinking practice.

The association of these bronze vessels, however, was one foremost with gender and then the wealth of the tomb, since all tombs except those in which the bronze cup was used more for libation had a vast array of either metal or ceramic accompanying drinking vessels. Although these bronze objects are generally associated with each other through common deposition, that does not necessarily mean that they were used together in direct mimicry of the exact components of Greek drinking practices. The entire set of bronze instruments listed in this cluster, and particularly the pairing of the grater and the strainer, only occurs in two tombs, one of which is the incredibly wealthy tomb 2, and the other, t.42, dates to the beginning of the 5th century, when this kind of drinking practice was more widespread. Instead, these items generally appear within similar types of tombs; however the way in which they are combined varies, showing that these practices

⁵¹ Part of this is due to the under-representation of females within the cemetery by comparison to males. Acconcia hypothesizes that women were more restricted from the upper echelons of wealth, which are particularly characterized by full sets of bronze vessels and drinking utensils (Acconcia 2014a: 92).

were not adopted as a set, but through individual goods with a broader purpose in mind of facilitating communal drinking, rather than trying to replicate the precise components of Greek drinking.

The objects within the three clusters that I have just described form the large part of what Acconcia and others have described as ‘princely’ grave goods, with some additions of local items and forms, and differences in practice. There is one more cluster that has been identified as significant that may also be included within this set of elite goods; however its placement within the dendrogram requires some explanation. In the very middle of the third major branch from the top there is a set of rare items (silver ring, collar/torque, and gold jewelry), bronze vessels (cauldron and olpe) and accompanying decoration (metal revetment/decorative plaques, ivory elements and protomes) that have 99% significance, indicating that these objects are consistently deposited together (Figure 5.7). Indeed, all of these objects except for the collar/torques and an ivory element have been found in designated ‘princely’ tombs. There is no tomb in which all of these elements appear together, but rather the frequently occurring bronze cauldron, bronze olpe and metal revetment are what tie the more rare items together.

This cluster is located amongst other objects that are broadly connected with grave goods that occur more frequently throughout the cemetery, specifically ceramic vessels that are part of communal drinking and feasting, as well as weaponry. Among this group there is less exclusivity to the objects that would typically be defined as belonging to the elite, or they are so rare that they only appear once within the cemetery, and in connection with these more common objects. This is the case for the one instance of gold jewelry and unknown pieces of ivory, each of which appear in tombs with many ceramic

vessels. The inclusion of impasto protomes is noteworthy since three out of the four tombs with protomes are designated as ‘princely’, but the tomb (t.96) with the largest number of protomes, 17 impasto horses and rams, has not been described as such. Likewise, the presence of a rare metal such as silver does not automatically indicate a level of wealth that should be classified as ‘princely’, since four of the eight tombs are not. These rare items show no discernible pattern, which is why they are not grouped with the other elite items already described; however their lack of common usage within the cemetery is what binds them together. In some ways this maybe one of the weak points of clustering objects by common association through abundance tables, since all variables are treated equally no matter what the material; however the fact that they did group together reveals that the clustering has recognized a common type of more limited usage.

Although we have seen clear clustering of elite objects within Campovalano, there are a number of items that have traditionally been classified as belonging to this group which appear clustered elsewhere within the dendrogram. These exceptions are particularly noteworthy as they show greater affinity with ways of displaying the gender and gender roles of the deceased rather than appearing to be markers of wealth or power. A good example of this is the iron mace, which is outside of the elite objects and more directly clustered with objects pertaining to drinking and feasting, and its appearance in 35 tombs shows that the mace within this community is a standard piece of weaponry rather than an exclusive symbol of monarchical power (D’Ercole 2010a: 227). Some elements that are typically described as part of an elite ‘orientalizing’ package may suffer from the fact that they occur rarely and therefore are less likely to be grouped with other elite objects. This

is most likely the case for the three different forms of oil vessels (alabastron, aryballos and glass vessel) and a faience amulet, which are generally clustered with other objects of the large female-gendered cluster or just below that, with a series of objects that are often part of infant graves. The large cluster of female-oriented objects also contains a number of rare natural materials often categorized as ‘orientalizing’ imports, such as glass, amber and ivory, each of which are actually distributed more widely among a large number of different female and infant burials.

Each of these objects show cases in which defining tombs as part of the most elite group through the presence of particular imports alone can lead to erroneous results. It likewise shows the strength of using hierarchical clustering with multiscale bootstrap resampling as a means of determining patterns in the common appearance of particular grave goods within similar tombs, particularly in this case as a way to determine exactly which objects are part of elite self-representation rather than imposing a definition based on patterns in other regions of Italy. Generally, the grouping of elite objects for all periods at Campovalano fits with Acconcia’s findings through functional analysis for the general definition of elite goods; however, the lack of chronological depth in her study prevents looking at changes in practice over time, while her emphasis on drinking and banqueting vessels misses many of the more subtle details present within funerary ritual. Since the initial test of this clustering technique has proven a successful tool for exploratory analysis, I now look at the two peak periods of occupation at Campovalano, the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century and the first half of the 6th century, in order to look for chronological shifts in practice and modes of elite representation, as well as other parts of the funerary ritual that have gone unnoticed.

5.2.2 *End of the 7th/Beginning of the 6th century*

The first observation that can be made from the structure of the dendrogram for the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century is that the objects neatly divide into two nearly statistically significant groups (Figure 5.8). The upper half of the dendrogram is composed of objects that fit a designation as elite goods with a significance level of 94%, while the lower half consists of more common objects that are indeed marked at 95% significance. The immediate conclusion that might be reached here is that Campovalano in fact does show the presence of an ‘orientalizing’ package for this specific phase of the cemetery. In focusing on this specific period rather than all burials from Campovalano, it excludes many burials that were equipped with fewer grave goods, which makes the identification of a set of distinct objects more notable since the remaining tombs in the sample represent wealthier individuals within the community.

5.2.2a *Objects of Distinction*

In looking in more detail at this set of distinct objects (Figure 5.9), there a number of patterns that are similar to what was seen in the collective clustering of all tombs from all periods. Firstly, a number of objects are clustered together because they only appear within a single tomb, which is the case for the first two clusters from the top⁵². Additionally, nearly all of the objects that appear in significant clusters within this overarching group are found exclusively in tombs designated as ‘princely’. Exceptions to this are the bronze situla/stamnos and grater pairing, as well as the metal revetment and cover, which are more common objects within a cluster of precious metals. Here we see

⁵² This corresponds to the anthropomorphic statuette, askos and lamp from the first cluster (t. 2) and the graeves, silver fibula and helmet from the second (t.97).

that the clustering and bootstrapping for significance has zeroed in on which objects are especially critical in forming the more restricted aspects of elite identity rather than just those objects that have had a history of being connected with wealthy groups in other locations. And since some of these significant clusters are parts of individual tombs, it may in fact highlight the ways in which members of this upper elite distinguish themselves from each other. The helmet and single greave that are a part of tomb 97, for instance, may represent a different form of martial power, since it does not contain a chariot like many of the other male elite tombs. This tomb contains a full panoply of weapons along with these rare elements of defensive equipment, whose single greave may indicate that the interred individual was a cavalry man⁵³. In contrast to those four tombs with chariots and weaponry, there may be an effort to distinguish this cavalry man as a different type of military commander, more directly involved in combat. In a similar effort of distinction, tomb 2 goes beyond the symbolic motif of ornithological protomes, which is the exclusive figure for protomes of this period, and adds human and unfamiliar figures to the symbolic messages being conveyed through the anthropomorphic statuettes and figural lamp. This inclusion of figures outside of the traditional Bronze and Iron Age motifs of the duck or bird figure signals support from the human world of mourners and soldiers and the mythical realm of griffins, felines, possibly even elephants. This note of distinction could equally be said for tombs within this elite set that contain other single occurrence objects, such as an axe, gold jewelry, and a holmos.

Not all objects grouped within this large cluster of objects, however, are exclusive to elite or designated ‘princely’ tombs. In fact, nearly all of the grave goods that are *not*

⁵³ The one greave may be due to the fact that only the left leg was covered, as a cavalry man would wear, since the shield would protect the other leg (D’Ercole 2010a: 234)

included within clusters that the bootstrapping has identified as significant (bracketed off in red) are distributed among a broader swath of the community, to tombs not designated as ‘princely’⁵⁴. The vast majority of the objects that show a broader dispersal outside of the most elite segment of society are related to communal feasting and drinking. There are two sets of these objects: the upper one consists primarily of vessels and equipment associated with the cooking and serving of meat (spit, bronze basin, spoon/palette, chalice “a corolla” and chalice cover, along with the outlier of the bronze oinochoe). The second set is slightly below and consists of objects that are all connected with the serving and drinking of liquids (kantharos, amphora, bronze olpe, oinochoe, chalice and bronze cauldron). Beside the interesting fact that these objects generally cluster around particular aspects of the funerary feast – eating roasted meat and drinking respectively – it is even more telling that the two practices that are traditionally connected with the specific imported activities of banqueting and the symposium⁵⁵ are the elements that are least exclusive to this elite set of grave goods.

In this distinction we may be getting hints at which objects are key to representing membership within an exclusive segment of society and those objects that are essential components of actually gaining the right to formal burial. In this case I think it is important to remember that, although elites may be signaling each other through symbols of exclusivity, they are also constrained and engaged in the broader local community. And though this period has often been characterized as a network of ‘orientalizing’ elites

⁵⁴ Exceptions include the protome, bronze infundibula/colino, and axe, which are restricted to so-called ‘princely’ tombs.

⁵⁵ The term symposium is used particularly in reference to the bronze vessels associated with drinking; however while the term is often included, it is never exactly explained *how* solely the appearance of bronze vessels is indicative of the complex Greek social activity that is the symposium (Grassi 2003; Grassi 2010).

engaged in gift-exchange and elite competition, each of these elites is locally situated within a complex set of social relations and practices that are essential to the act of burying the dead. One of the most important ways in which to connect with community members across different levels of socio-economic status is through feasting, especially in the socially regenerative context of a funeral, as will be discussed further in chapter 8. That is not to say that elite competition does not take place at funerary feasts, this is surely an important component. The context of the funeral, however, fundamentally changes the audience of such an act. There are members of clans, families and lineages who are in attendance for this rite, but who are not necessarily part of elite competition. The funerary feast must speak to all in attendance. The sheer presence of these social relations is one of the most valuable parts of the funerary feast, and therefore they must be included within the ceremony in some way. The message of the funerary feast, therefore, must be directed to a number of different actors, not only the most elite in attendance as an arena for competitive display.

All this being said, however, there is a reason that these objects are clustered in closer relation to other elite grave goods rather than the set of more common objects found in the larger grouping below. The wealthiest tombs have complete sets of feasting or drinking vessels deposited with them, whereas more modest tombs may only have one or two elements of this practice. The choices made for these more modest tombs as to what vessels are the most essential for the burial of the dead may in fact be more broadly informative of community practices than these elite tombs that include all possibilities. Some of this will be more apparent when examining the clusters of tombs and their determinative sets of grave goods; however we will see one particular form of practice

that has gone unnoticed when looking at the lower half of the dendrogram in which there are more commonly prevalent objects.

The overall pattern of objects within the lower half of the dendrogram appears to be those grave goods that are either more frequently spread through the cemetery or rare items that are placed within more modest tombs. Within this large group (Figure 5.10), there are three smaller clusters of objects (labelled A, B, and C in figure 5.10), each generally shy of statistical significance, but archaeologically and interpretatively coherent. Working from top to bottom, the first is a small cluster of objects (group A) that are primarily joined due to their united presence within t. 115, which is the only identified female ‘princely’ tomb from this period. Although this tomb has a full suite of impasto storage, pouring and drinking vessels, along with a chalice “a corolla”, bronze basins and spits, it appears to have been separated from the other elite tombs due to its lack of more elaborate bronze serving vessels and the large emphasis on jewelry and personal ornamentation that accompanied the feasting equipment. The objects in this cluster are typically associated with female graves, such as the weaving equipment of the spindle and spools, and more rare pieces of jewelry. Such a creation of a separate branch shows the strength of this method of objects clustering, since it was able to see these objects and the tomb that they belong to as being different from both the standard set of elite objects while at the same time categorizing these objects as distinct from the common objects placed in other female graves.

5.2.2b *Male Identity and Martial Display*

Below this small cluster of objects, the dendrogram is divided into two groups: the upper branch (Figure 5.10 B, 76% p-value) is composed of grave goods that are commonly associated with male tombs, and the lower branch (C, 83%) contains items that are more closely associated with female tombs. Within the cluster of objects correlated with the male gender, there are four significant clusters marked in red, two of which contain two, single instance objects (fibula ad arco a bottoni and an arrowhead), and where therefore the strength is more indicative of their rarity. The other two clusters are more noteworthy for marking commonalities in the way in which male tombs are appointed. The largest of these clusters contains a number of very frequent elements of male personal ornamentation, especially iron jewelry, accompanied by a few more rare elements, such as collar/torques and shoes, along with the frequently occurring iron knife⁵⁶ and less frequent bronze kylix. This is most indicative of the fact that the burial of the deceased required their body to be dressed as it had been in life, as demonstrated by the fibula and more conservative set of iron jewelry. The common appearance of the knife, which shows a two-tailed correlation with bronze basins and spits for this period through chi-squared analysis, is clearly connected to the preparation and serving of meat, but this practice has gained acceptance outside of the wealthiest set of tombs. Tombs with these items may in fact fit Acconcia's description of the second highest rank of tombs, TL2, which show elements of objects present in the highest ranking group, however with a significant number of elements missing (Acconcia 2014a: 89). There are a number of

⁵⁶ The iron knife is most likely part of this group rather than the elite group with the bronze basin and spit (both of which show a strong two-tailed correlation with the knife through chi-squared analysis) because the knife is more evenly spread through the cemetery and because there are higher numbers of spits and basins within the most elite tombs.

tombs though that have iron knives and spits that lay outside of this category. It is the trio of bronze basins, spits and iron knives that is most consistent across nearly one-third of all tombs for this period, all but one of which are male; however the high abundance of basins and spits with the elite males in combination with the overall lower number of knives grouped the knives separately with the general male tombs. This appears to be an instance in which the clustering has separated associated objects in a way that does not coincide with a meaningful division; although this misassignment is rare.

The last significant cluster within this branch of male-related objects is the somewhat obvious pairing of the iron dagger and sheath. The way in which weapons are clustered in the dendrogram provides a more meaningful structure for analysis. The significant pairing of the iron dagger and sheath is closely related to the iron mace and iron lance, while the iron sword is located further from this collection of weapons in relation to a number of storage vessels and dipping cups. At this period we are able to view the point of transition in battle tactics at Campovalano from the earlier use of the iron dagger for close-range combat to the iron sword, which requires more space to wield (D'Ercole 2010a: 228). As such, this presents an opportunity to look at the differences between those who were at the front cusp of change, those maintaining older forms, and the few who actually crossed between the two. The only two so-called 'princely' tombs that include the long sword, t.97 and 69, each employ different strategies of drawing attention to this shift in military tactics (Figure 5.11). Tomb 97 includes an entire suite of new military equipment, by pairing the long sword with a bronze helmet and single greave. The switch from dagger to long sword makes tactical sense if this is indeed a cavalry man, who would need a weapon with wider range with which to strike. In this

case, the long sword and defensive gear is part of a functional set of military equipment that was critical to this individual's role as a military leader⁵⁷. By contrast, the long sword that is included in tomb 69 is housed in a sheath replete with imagery that depicts a number of real and possibly mythical animals traced in iron over an ivory inlay. The figural elements of this long sword are matched by impasto griffin and bird protomes surrounding the exterior of an olla and the deposition of a fully-appointed chariot, with a bronze horse bit whose upturned ends are decorated as horse heads. In this instance, this individual was distinguished not only as a member of the elite, but as an adherent of both a new military practice and as engaged in a repertoire of imagery that was being used to make this item, and the tomb more generally, symbolically charged as well. And while all except one of the tombs with chariot remains contain figural representations and imagery⁵⁸, only in t. 69 is this animal imagery applied to a weapon. The two elite tombs present different ways of displaying the integration of a new practice, choosing to emphasize either the functional or symbolic importance of this weapon form.

In addition to considering these members at the top of the social hierarchy who adopted the long sword, 11 tombs in total have burials that include this new form of weapon. All of these tombs (except possibly 2 based on the size of their fossa) appear to be adults, implying that these weapons were more than likely actually part of the weaponry of soldiers. There is no consistent pattern to their level of wealth, as it ranges from so-called 'princely', to more modest tombs with a number of either ceramic or

⁵⁷ The helmet would be especially necessary as a defense against blows from a long sword which were typically overhanded and aimed at the head and neck.

⁵⁸ The only tomb in which there is no direct evidence of figural or any kind of decoration in a tomb that contains a chariot is t.371. The agricultural damage done in part of the tomb, however, makes it impossible to say that the imagery was deliberately omitted.

bronze vessels, or to tombs that are only accompanied by weapons⁵⁹. Furthermore, there appears to be no particular spatial pattern to where tombs with long swords are placed. There are three tombs among the group with long swords that still have an iron dagger, which most likely indicates individuals who were trained and equipped with both weapons. This shift in military tactics, therefore appears to be a change that occurred within the entire community; however only a small number of the most elite tombs are represented as being an active part of this change since the majority include a dagger rather than a sword within their panoply.

5.2.2c Libation in many forms

Although weaponry and simple elements of personal ornamentation comprise the majority of grave goods that are part of this branch of the dendrogram, there are also a number of vessels connected with feasting and drinking; however the way in which they are clustered does not provide any useful information about possible patterns of use. The only significant cluster highlighted in red is mostly united by the abundant dolium, found in 26 tombs. Otherwise, this branch of male-associated objects generally contains storage vessels (dolium, vase and olletta) and smaller open vessels (bronze patera, tazza/bicchiera, four-handled chalice, bronze cup/mestolo and brocca). This begs the question as to why these items of feasting and drinking in particular are located within this part of the dendrogram rather than with the more elite items. In order to answer this,

⁵⁹ T. 69 and 97 are labeled 'princely', t.95, 550, 74 and 55 are accompanied by numerous feasting vessels and equipment, but do not meet that label, t. 165 has a limited set of ceramic vessels, t. 117 has a set of bronze vessels alone, and t. 88, 89 and 5 only contain weapons.

we need to look in greater depth at the actual form and function of the open vessels to understand what makes these different from the drinking vessels within the elite cluster.

In looking at the open forms, it is possible to discern that some of the vessels within the categories of *tazza/bicchieri*, bronze cup/*mestolo*, and *brocca* were more than likely used for ritual libation rather than drinking cups. For each of these three forms, there are distinctions of either size or form that help determine what may have been used in drinking and what was likely used for libations, or possibly for an alternative purpose. For the bronze cup/*mestolo*, although they are combined for their overall site classification (Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010: 7), they should in fact be divided into those forms that can be used as ladles (*mestoli*) and those that are smaller, with single-finger handles, which are closer to a *tazza-attingitoio* (Figure 5.12)⁶⁰. This distinction is particularly important since the ladle would be part of the service equipment for distributing beverages within ceremonial drinking, while the smaller, shallower *tazza-attingitoio*, unsuitable as a ladle, has closer ties to older forms in the Abruzzo region that were employed for ritual libations, and is particularly similar to bronze *tazza-attingitoi* found at Fossa^{61,62}. Although Acconcia relates these vessels to a ritual practice of women distributing beverages, their inclusion in the tombs of male adults and infants suggests a

⁶⁰ Except the bronze cup from t. 2, which may function as a cup for incense since it is placed on a tripod.

⁶¹ Grassi interprets this class of *coppa/mestolo* as a whole within the necropolis publication, making form distinctions only for questions of typological origin and diffusion, viewing all of these as part of the equipment in banquets and the symposium (Grassi 2010: 193). In an earlier article, however, she notes the 8 appearances of this “*coppette-attingitoio*” form at Campovalano from the full 7th c. until almost the entire 6th, and links it to an earlier *attingitoio* “*tipo Fossa*” that existed in the Iron Age (Grassi 2003: 551). Grassi interprets the function of this form as a container of solid food, such as nuts, based on a find at Chiusi. Acconcia, however, interprets these vessels as being closer to their traditional use of drawing liquid (Acconcia 2014a: 122–123). In terms of function, I have chosen to follow Acconcia’s interpretation.

⁶² The exception to this *tazza-attingitoio* form for this period would be the cup from t.74, which more closely resembles a *patera*, however this still means that it would be connected to libations.

broader role for these vessels as part of a traditional funerary libation. This is confirmed by looking at the other two ceramic open vessel forms: *brocca* and *tazza/bicchiere*.

In the *brocca* we see the *impasto* equivalent of the bronze vessel just discussed; however the distinction is based on size and vessel accompaniment rather than form or function. Among the smaller *brocche*, particularly those below the height of about 15 cm, they appear to have functioned more as a *tazza-attingitoio* rather than as vessels for distributing liquid among a number of communal drinking participants⁶³. For this period, of the seven tombs that include these smaller *tazza-attingitoi brocche*, five of them are also paired with some kind of larger pouring vessel, either an *oinochoe* (of bronze or *impasto*) or a bronze *olpe*, indicating that in these cases they may serve as an intermediary vessel, drawing liquid from the *olla* or *amphora* to pour into the larger serving vessel for more formal distribution. In the other two instances (t.238 and 31), however, the *tazza-attingitoio brocca* has no further serving vessel, making it more likely that they were used as libation vessels in this case. This is particularly true for t. 238, whose *tazza-attingitoio brocca* has an added spout on the side to possibly assist in this function (Figure 5.13). In many ways these smaller *tazza-attingitoio brocche* are similar in form to those found at Fossa, as can be seen from figure 5.14, where these vessels often appear either alone with a large storage container, or with a single drinking cup⁶⁴. In the case of Fossa, this *attingitoio* (late 7th-mid 5th c.) clearly serves as a later substitute

⁶³ Chiaramonte Treré also noted this functional difference for those *brocche* that are of smaller dimensions, however she sets the example height at around 9 cm. There are a few *brocche* though, that are slightly larger that are still within this role. I have defined the *tazza-attingitoio brocche* in part based on size and also on their size relative to the storage vessel from which they would draw liquid. *Brocche* that fit this definition are a part of these tombs: t. 31, 69, 74, 122, 159, 174 (n. 2 and 3), and 238.

⁶⁴ The forms at Fossa date to between the end of the 7th century until the first half of the 5th century, roughly matching the forms at Campovalano. At Fossa these vessels are made of either *bucchero* or local *buccheroide impasto*, while at Campovalano they are *impasto bruno* or *nero*, with one *impasto grigio-nero* in t. 69.

for the earlier tazza (mid 9th-6th c.) that was used as part of funerary libations, and in the vessels we find at Campovalano, which have a similar form, these tazza-attingitoio brocche may be serving the same function. For those tombs that include other pouring vessels, it cannot be ruled out that this local Apennine form of smaller brocca may have been appropriated as a tool within communal drinking, but it most likely kept its own local function for libation, showing the existence of two funerary rituals alongside each other.

Finally, in the impasto tazza/bicchieri form we see a somewhat similar use to the previous two forms of dipping and libation cups, as well as a similar affinity to forms at Fossa. These cups are all made out of coarse impasto and have a rough surface with thick walls. In form, they are about the same height as the small dipping brocca, although more globular. The formal typologies of these tazze have been laid out by Benelli, who identifies them as part of a broad category of tazze from the central-italic area that arises in the Bronze Age and persists until at least the first half of the 5th c. BCE, and that show typological similarities along the Apennine ridge from as far south as Alfedena and to as far north as Colfiorito di Foligno (Benelli 2007). At Campovalano there are three broad categories of forms, those with no handle, those with a single handle starting at the rim, and those with double handles located on the same side of the vessel at the shoulder (Figure 5.15). Chiaramonte Treré has interpreted these vessels collectively as objects associated with infants and infancy; however half of the tombs that they appear in are adults, making such a reading less likely. Rather, I think that the central-italic distribution of this form and its long chronological span makes it more likely to be an important component of burial ritual as a libation vessel in the Apennine region, whose longevity

even in the midst of other changes in funerary ritual marks it as a critical component for burying the dead.

For those vessels with a single handle at the rim, it appears to be functionally similar to the *brocca-attingitoio* discussed above, as a vessel for drawing liquid for libations. In the case of the *tazza* with no handles and with double handles, the cover that has accompanied at least one instance for each suggests that these vessels held a special substance, either liquid or solid. All of the tombs that have these two forms of *tazza* in them are accompanied by many more drinking vessels, often quite elaborate in number and form, suggesting that these *tazze* must serve some kind of alternative purpose. The small hand-made *impasto* *tazza* in tomb 95 looks especially out of place with the numerous chalices, *olle*, decorated *oinochoai* and *anforette*, and bronze serving vessels. The differentiation is especially marked within the three tombs (t. 100, 112, and 415) with the double-handled *tazza*, two out of three of which have been designated as ‘princely’, but all three contain an elaborate set of ceramic and bronze vessels. These double handle *tazze* are similarly from the *umbro-picene* region, with later examples from *Colfiorito di Foligno*, and the example from t. 415 appears to be a combination of forms from the end of *Latial I* that are footed with the covered *tazza* that appears in several contexts in the *Picene* region, also from high-ranking tombs (*Chiaramonte Treré* 2010: 143).

All three forms of *tazze* present in this period functioned as part of a different set of ritual practice other than as components of communal drinking. The forms that they are all drawing on are part of a long-established form and tradition of pairing small cups with larger storage vessels that is particular to the central-italic *Apennines*. These hand-

made impasto cups are a strong aesthetic deviation from the more refined, wheel-turned impasto nero and bruno vessels that comprise the rest of the ceramic assemblages within these tombs. Quite simply, one wonders why these less elaborate forms remain while so much effort is being put into embellishing the number, decoration, and quality of vessels associated with feasting and communal drinking. I think that the functions of these tazze, as well as the tazza-attingitoio brocche and bronze tazza-attingitoi, are all tied to an earlier tradition of providing a libation for the dead that can be seen in Iron Age funerary materials from this part of Abruzzo, particularly at Fossa and in the earlier phases at Bazzano. The fact that these vessels continue to appear within grave assemblages even as the majority of ceramics became employed in communal feasting and drinking, from the richest to the poorest graves, speaks to the importance of this ritual within the community for the traditional way to bury the deceased. I think it is telling, therefore, that these vessels have appeared outside of the elite cluster within the dendrogram, alongside the more common objects of the cemetery. In this way, the object clustering has been able to note the varying function of these objects from the other, more elite-centric grave goods.

5.2.2d Female Adornment and Participation in the Feast

The final section of the dendrogram to investigate, located at the very bottom as section C (Figure 5.10), is comprised of grave goods that are associated with female gender and display. The vast majority of these objects are associated with personal ornamentation, weaving, and some smaller drinking vessels. All but one of the significant clusters of objects are pairings of two grave goods, showing the variability of adornment, as well as being a result of a small sample, since there are only nine securely female

tombs from this period. At the top of the branch, there is a strong association between amber and bronze jewelry, most likely because of the common appearance of amber elements on bronze jewelry. It is notable that glass jewelry is also closely related to these types of jewelry; in fact glass, amber and ivory/bone jewelry all show a significant two-tailed correlation for this period, but both glass and amber are separated from the overall cluster of elite goods and not included within the cluster of the female so-called ‘princely’ tomb (Segment A in figure 5.9). These precious materials are not something that was considered exclusive to the highest class.

Although the next significant relationship between an olla and ciotola appears within this female gendered section of objects, and there is indeed a strong tie between these two vessels, neither is exclusive to female burials. The ciotola does not have a significant correlation with any piece of weaving equipment, and the only reason that the olla does is because it appears in so many tombs, both male and female. The placement of this significant cluster is most likely due to the inflexibility of the initial seeding of the clustering rather than indicative of a meaningful relationship between objects.

Just below this is a significant cluster of pendants that is part of a larger branch with other pendants and a bronze belt. The pairing of the shell pendant and boar’s-tusk pendant is primarily due to the boar-tusk’s presence within two tombs (t. 115 and 403b), one of which, t. 115 is a female so-called ‘princely’ tomb that is replete with a number of symbolic pendants and pieces of jewelry, clearly meant to signify areas of strength for either her or her family. It seems that this rich tomb, t. 115, has numerous instances of these pendants, and that the objects may be united because they appear in tombs that are similarly appointed, rather than there being any strong association of particular symbols

with each other⁶⁵. Within this branch, the shell pendants and axe pendants have been connected to fertility, the first for its similarity to the vagina and the second for its use in agricultural ploughing (Franchi Dell’Orto 1996; Boccolini 2003). I worry that such interpretations uncritically default to connecting female symbols to fertility when they lack any other obvious explanation. In these cases, however, the shells may very simply represent a connection to the sea, which played a vital role in supplying other critical elements of prestige within both male and female dress, such as amber and ivory. The axe, which had strong symbolic usage during the Bronze Age in central Italy, was associated with many other functional tasks besides plowing, and came to be seen as a symbol of power more broadly. The boar’s-tusk pendant has been interpreted as transferring strength to the wearer (either because of the strength of the boar or of the one who hunted the boar), and the “a banana” pendant lacks sure interpretation, but has been noted for its resemblance to the human form (Franchi Dell’Orto 1996; Boccolini 2003). Other than the extravagant number of pendants and types for t. 115, the other occurrence of pendants from this branch appears to be more restricted and less overtly part of the display of symbolic wealth and capital.

Finally, looking to the bottom section of the branch of objects associated with the female gender, it is interesting to note that this is where we see imported vessel forms. The skyphos/kotyle appear in three tombs (122, 225 and 415) while the kylix appears in two (122 and 230), and there is overlap in t. 122, which contains two skyphoi and one kylix. The skyphos has been described as “local reproductions inspired by Greek forms from the symposium” while the kylix “recalls general Greek forms without referencing a

⁶⁵ The exceptional wealth of t. 115, particularly in pendants and other items of jewelry, led to it being used as an exemplar for female burial practices in (Chiaramonte Treré 2003b).

specific model” (Chiaramonte Treré 2010: 150–151). These are local productions based on Etruscan bucchero shapes that drew on Greek vessels, showing the multiple lenses of ceramic practice and consumption which produced the forms present at Campovalano. The gender and ages of the tombs that contain these vessels are mixed: one infant buried with weapons (t.122), one juvenile female (t.225), one adult with weaving equipment (t.415) and a tomb of completely unknown age and gender that was buried with weaving equipment (t.230). The difference in wealth among these tombs makes it difficult to explain these vessels as symbolic displays of important social contacts abroad. In tombs t. 225 and 230, they are buried with a modest collection of local impasto vessels whose lack of pouring vessels and multiple drinking cups make the prospect of a feast or communal drinking unlikely. The choice of an imported vessel form in this case appears to be divorced from concepts of the Greek symposium, and instead these vessels are being integrated into the standard *ripostiglio* of a storage vessel and drinking cup, which is part of standard funerary ritual in the Abruzzo.

Tombs 122 and 415, both categorized as ‘princely’, are located near the very center of the cemetery, and are accompanied by a large number of ceramic vessels particularly connected to drinking. Within both tombs, these imported kylix and skyphos vessel forms are joined by a number of other Etrusco-Corinthian vessels, especially oinochoai, which are also connected with drinking. In these two instances, it in fact does seem likely that these different forms of drinking cups are part of a larger expression of trading connections with the Tyrrhenian coast. Also, the fact that these tombs include ceramic vessels from Etruria, as well as those produced locally that take their form from Etruscan models, demonstrates not just an ability to trade, but a relationship with a

ceramic producer who is either working with these new imported models, a producer who is perhaps from that region, or someone who was asked to take up this style.

The connection with female graves (most likely three out of the four) makes the interpretation of these vessels as symposiastic quite odd then, since women in the Greek context were restricted from such practices. Indeed, the fact that the female tombs and infants (who would not have been able to take part in such practices in the Greek context) are the ones that are buried with drinking vessels derived from Greek vessels, rather than male tombs which are more often accompanied by local drinking vessels, suggests that the social role of drinking may have completely inverted itself by the time that it reached Campovalano, in its a preference for female burials. Additionally, the display of new and imported objects within infant and female members of the community appears to be a continuation of the social pattern of personal adornment seen primarily within this group as well. Imported objects such as amber, glass and ivory are commonly adorned on females and infants, and in a similar fashion, these imported vessels became a mode of displaying connections abroad and incorporation of new styles. One difference, however, would be that the precious materials may have an added valence of protection and safe movement within a mythical realm, whereas the vessels display an understanding relationships with outside peoples.

5.2.2e Summary: End of 7th/Beginning of 6th century

Clustering for this period has brought out a number of interesting trends and patterns within the object data that both confirm and alter this ‘orientalizing’ phase at Campovalano. The most distinct result is that clustering has distinguished two, nearly

statistically significant clusters that correspond to a set of elite objects and a set of more common objects. Since this method of clustering relates objects based on their common appearance within similar tombs, this set of elite objects have a pattern of appearing together, and may in fact be thought of as a brand of goods with ties to the classic definition of ‘orientalizing’ grave goods. The notion that they are a distinct and exclusive package, however, is dismissed because of the fact that many of the objects (notably those that are not shown as statistically significant clusters in the dendrogram) are more widely spread throughout the community. These objects are indicative of the practices of feasting and communal drinking, and its dispersal in a wider range of tombs suggests that these community-building practices were employed in a large number of situations, to varying degrees of elaboration, and through both imported and local forms.

By contrast, many of the statistically significant clusters for this section denote ways in which elites have chosen to set themselves apart from the community and from each other, as has been seen in specialized military equipment or symbolic representations. This can also be seen among the objects that cluster as elite female grave goods, in the form of spindles, precious metals and symbolically-laden pendants. In light of these trends, the nature of the elite objects during the late Orientalizing period at Campovalano is less aptly characterized as ‘princely’ and more appropriately considered through its constituent parts, as expressions of military prowess, symbolic conversancy, and weaving ability that were prominently displayed during the highly-charged gatherings of the funerary feast. Therefore, if one were to ask whether or not an ‘orientalizing’ package existed at Campovalano for this period, there certainly is a set of objects that are typically deposited together and that clearly express practices of feasting

and drinking; however, there are enough variations and transformations to show local modifications to the use of such objects. Some objects that have traditionally been included in this definition, such as maces, imported ceramics, rare precious materials like glass, amber and ivory, have shown – through their placement within the clustering – a wider distribution within the community than has been seen within other sites, particularly in Etruria. In conjunction with this, there are traditions of libations and local cup forms that are evidence of the continuation of earlier funerary practices, even within the richest tombs, alongside more recent practices of feasting and drinking. These variations make it clear that rather than taking a definition of ‘elite’ or ‘princely’ built elsewhere, even in a nearby region such as Etruria or Latium, it is essential to do this kind of clustering in order to understand how elites and other members chose to consume certain objects as a means of differentiating themselves within the community.

This is only half the picture for Campovalano. While this period gives a sense of how these practices of feasting, drinking and elite display began within this community, it is important to see how they evolved in use over time. Looking at the following phase, the first half of the 6th c., can better illuminate how elite identity and self-representation shifted, how funerary traditions became modified, and how notions of gender held firm through all of this.

5.2.3 First Half of the 6th century BCE

In this section, I will draw out the changes and continuities that can be seen in object clustering between the first half of the 6th century and the earlier phase just discussed, rather than discussing each statistically significant cluster. The first, most substantive point to note in the dendrogram from the first half of the 6th century is that

rather than the tree being divided initially between groups of objects associated with wealthier tombs and common tombs, the tree from this period has divided objects primarily based on their gendered associations (Figure 5.16). This seems to fall in line with the overall move away from distinguishing the wealth of individuals and families through funerary ritual, as can similarly be seen through the reduced dimensions of burials, as well as the change from tumulus and stone circle burials to fossa inhumations. Additionally, only one tomb has been categorized for this period as ‘princely’, as opposed to the ten from the previous period. Although there is a reemphasis on gender within funerary ideology in this period, gender distinction was certainly present in the previous phase, as weaponry and weaving were important markers then as well. Rather, there is no longer a special class of objects that is set apart as a distinct group, since these items are now more scattered throughout the cemetery, and particularly among the male-associated grave goods.

A large number of the elite objects from the previous period fall out of use in this phase, while the majority of those whose use continues are associated with feasting and drinking, and are situated within the male-associated cluster. The objects that are no longer present in this phase are the very objects that were isolated as significant clusters in the previous period, elite objects that were employed to distinguish the deceased among the elite, such as specialized defensive weaponry, the significant symbolic material of statuettes and askoi, as well as more pronounced markers of wealth such as the chariot. Alongside the decrease in the overall wealth of tombs from this period, it appears that tombs and funerals were beginning to be less of a space for competitive display for elites to distinguish themselves from one another. Other objects that are not

seen in this period include a number of vessels and utensils used as part of the feast or drinking ritual, including the bronze situla/stamnos, bronze kantharos, bronze infundibula/colino, grater and holmos. The absence of these elements of ritual elaboration suggests that the remaining communal practice of drinking became much more simplified, particularly in the way the wine was prepared, as the lack of graters or strainers may indicate that spices and other ingredients were no longer added to the mixture.

As can be seen from the objects outlined in figure 5.17, the remaining elite objects from the previous period that are found within the cemetery during this phase are confined to communal feasting and drinking, with the exception of ivory/bone plaque pendants, silver rings and metal revetment. When looking at the distribution of these formerly more exclusive objects within the dendrogram, there is something of a concentration near the upper end of the large cluster of male-associated objects that makes up the bottom half of the tree. These objects have likely come together since a large number of them appear within t. 163 (bronze cauldron, chalice “a corolla” and chalice cover, bronze oinochoe and bronze basin). In these objects we can see that those burying the adult from t.163 were following a traditional mode of elite display, emphasizing the role of communal eating and drinking, particularly through the use of bronze vessels. The chalice “a corolla” in t.163 is slightly different in that it is a triple-chalice, with three covered spaces for holding hot food, showing further elaboration in the way in which food was presented as part of the feast. Outside of the concentration of elite objects within t.163, and the more restricted number of primarily drinking vessels in t.178, the tombs that contain the remaining elite objects of the previous period are less

wealthy and often only contain a single one of these vessels. Tomb 496, for instance, has only a single bronze olpe accompanied by a dolium and unidentified vase, while the chalice “a corolla” in t.240 was deposited with a chalice, spindle whorl and fibula. Additionally, the seventeen protomes that are attached to an olla in t. 96 are not paired with an elaborate set of drinking and feasting vessels, but rather a single chalice, bronze basin and spit. In the case of t.496 and t.240, it is noteworthy that these vessels are not deposited as part of a functional set, meant to practically serve the needs of a funerary feast. The chalice “a corolla” has no instruments with it for food preparation and the bronze olpe has no drinking cups into which it could pour. Instead, it is likely that these vessels represent fairly young heirlooms tied to the family’s wealth and their role hosting more elaborate feasts.

Along with the trends we see in elite objects for this period, a number of the patterns of common objects seen at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century continue during this phase. Among male tombs, the shift from short daggers to swords slowly continues, although in this period there are no tombs that contain both, indicating that there is no longer any holdover. Additionally, the mace is more reduced in number and appears more often in tombs with short daggers, meaning that the mace was also part of this older military kit. The other trend associated with the male cluster of objects is that vessels connected with feasting and drinking are primarily situated here rather than in the female cluster. The only vessels that appear within the female-oriented cluster are the fairly ubiquitous olla, a single four-handled chalice and bronze cup/mestolo (in this case a bronze tazza-attingitoio), and three plates. Although the four-handled chalice and plates are often associated with containing roasted meat, none of them were accompanied

by spits, and only the plate from t. 155 is part of a larger suite of ceramic feasting vessels. Overall, the cluster of male-associated objects shows a great level of cohesion, with 98% significance as a cluster. Within this large cluster, the only branches with a possible meaningful interpretation are the upper cluster of older elite objects, while the rest are fairly evenly spread and organized.

The upper portion of the dendrogram contains items that are more associated with female and infant graves, and in contrast to the male-associated objects, rather than forming one large, over-arching cluster, they are organized into much smaller, often two item statistically significant clusters. This most likely refers to the greater variability of use of these objects within tombs, which is particularly the case for the jewelry, which can be combined in a number of different ways for adornment. In this period there are a larger number of identified female tombs (14 as opposed to 8) along with 18 infants. This segment of the dendrogram contains objects related to weaving, general elements of jewelry, symbolic pendants (except animal teeth pendants), and precious jewelry, such as amber, glass and ivory. Among the pieces of personal adornment, the new addition of an oinochoe pendant is particularly noteworthy. As opposed to the other specialized pendants from the previous period that were associated with a solar deity, hunting and strength, sea travel and power, the oinochoe pendant has a distinctly social meaning, signaling communal drinking and the serving of wine. Just as the other pendants were symbolic stand-ins for sources of physical strength, power and longevity, the transformation of the act of drinking into a symbolic association with social power is embodied in the oinochoe pendant, conveying this aspect on the wearer. It is notable that the one tomb designated as ‘princely’ from this period has the greatest number of

oinochoe pendants, and that they are exclusively found in adult female and infant tombs. Only t.155 has an extensive set of drinking vessels, including an actual oinochoe, showing that in most cases these oinochoe pendants stand as symbolic reference for the actual communal drinking practice.

One notable difference from the previous period is that imported ceramic vessel forms do not appear within the female branch of the dendrogram during this period. The vessels that are present in this period are kylikes, black gloss cups, an alabastron and an aryballos (Figure 5.18). In this phase, imported ceramic vessels almost entirely appear in infant burials. These vessels present two different functions: the alabastron and aryballos were used for anointing the body with oil, while the kylikes and black-gloss cups were used as drinking vessels. Both the Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron (t.59) and the Etrusco-Corinthian aryballos (t.470) were part of a sparse collection of objects within infant tombs, suggesting that these contained ointments or oils particularly suited for the process of burying infants. The kylikes and black-gloss cups were found within tombs with relatively few accompanying vessels, except for t.469, showing that these imports follow a similar pattern of use to those from the previous period. They cannot be considered as inherently tied to large communal gatherings for drinking, and when there are other vessels present, these imports often appear alongside other drinking cups rather than as their replacement. Although the imported vessels during this period appear within almost exclusively infant tombs rather than a few adult female tombs as was seen in the last period, the display nature of these vessels as symbols of outside connections continues to hold more importance than any connection with specifically Greek symposiastic ritual. The placement of these new and different vessel types with the

youngest interments in the cemetery speaks to the social value of these individuals within the community.

Another practice from the previous period that continues in this phase is that of using bronze or rough impasto tazze-attingitoi as libation vessels. In the first half of the 6th c., this practice is undertaken through the bronze cup/mestolo, brocca and tazza/bicchiere, which are fairly well scattered throughout the dendrogram. There is only one bronze cup/mestolo and it takes the form of a bronze tazza-attingitoio dipping and libation vessel as a part of t. 127, the only designated ‘princely’ tomb of this period. It is actually accompanied by a small impasto tazza as well, and in comparison to the elaborate decorated jewelry of ivory and other precious materials, these small vessels appear incongruous. Among the eleven brocche, only five have reconstructable heights and only two of these appear to take the role as a brocca tazza-attingitoio (t. 469 and 146). The brocche tazze-attingitoi from t.469 are part of a broader set of drinking equipment and are most likely employed to draw liquid from a storage vessel into an oinochoe, while the vessel from t.146 is only accompanied by a chalice, tazza, and fragments of a large vessel at its feet (most likely a storage container), suggesting either a libation role or one of transferal to the single chalice.

Finally, the tazza/bicchiere, as partially seen in the previous period, is actually composed of two types: a form with no handle and one with a single handle. The connection in the dendrogram between the tazza/bicchiere and the cover shows a new role for this roughly-made impasto vessel, one of storing a small amount of a liquid or some other solid material. The single-handled version appears in 5 tombs (t.47, 127, 209 b and c, and 287), two of which are part of wealthier burials, and the other three belong to

more restrained burials; the tazze from these tombs are miniaturistic, ranging from 5-7 cm in height. The tazze without handles are more prominent in this period, appearing within nine tombs, three of which include a lid. These tazze obviously serve a different function than the single-handled tazze, no matter the material that they were meant to contain. They appear in tombs of various levels of wealth and were typically accompanied by a single drinking cup and storage vessel, a traditional type of vessel composition seen in places such as Fossa.

Almost all of the tazze-attingittoi for this period, no matter their form or material, appear in infant or juvenile burials, with one known exception (t. 287). This marks a change from the previous period in which these vessels were more ubiquitous, appearing with a wide range of ages and genders. This gradual phase-out of tazze for older members while continuing to include them within the tombs of younger individuals suggests that whatever the role of these vessels as components of the funerary ritual, during this period, the need for this ritual was something that became less necessary as one aged.

5.2.4 General Conclusions of Object Clustering at Campovalano

The results of clustering objects from the entire data set and the two major chronological phases has both confirmed a number of archaeological interpretations that were already held, and provided some nuanced variations and new pathways to explore. Within the context of clustering the entire data set, this method of clustering has identified the primary markers of elite funerary representation that Acconcia noted in her description of the highest tier of wealth for Campovalano: a set of highly charged symbolic items, a grouping of bronze drinking vessels and utensils, and a collection of

diverse items that have typically formed the traditional definition of ‘princely’ tombs. In distinguishing these items from the more common objects, this validates the use of this technique for quickly discerning patterns within a complex set of numerous funerary objects. As noted, however, there are a number of divergences from the traditional definition of what comprises elite ‘orientalizing’ display, and these differences are much more easily discerned when looking at the diachronic changes in funerary practice.

When looking at the clustering from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th c., many of the trends that were teased out for the clustering of all periods repeat themselves. In this period the elite goods are more closely related, all connected in a separate branch from the rest of the objects, and the distinctions between bronze vessels and utensils and the rest of the elite suite of goods is less marked. The way that clustering identifies statistically significant groupings shows the variety of ways elites could distinguish themselves from one another, either through martial leadership, symbolic and ideological command, or the role as the weaver in the household. These markers were in fact secondary to the objects related to feasting and drinking, whose lack of statistical significance led to an exploration of just how exclusive these items were. While wealthy tombs may contain the greatest number and diversity of feasting objects within their assemblages, only a limited number of bronze instruments specially designed for the ritual preparation of wine were limited to the wealthiest and so-called ‘princely’ tombs. And while this specialized practice may have been another method of distinction for elites, focusing on this aspect alone hides the remarkably widespread nature of feasting and communal drinking in this period. It is entirely possible that when these practices were first introduced, they were more restricted, but since we are not able to check this, it

is impossible to say. It is notable, however, that the spread of feasting and drinking through the community took place at a time in which elites were attempting to distinguish themselves through other means besides feasting, possibly indicating an attempt to look to a new way of marking themselves as distinct from the rest of the community.

In a similar vein, it is worth highlighting the difference in social role and position in clustering for imported ceramic forms. Although these imported vessel forms are more strongly associated with elite tombs (2 of the 4 they appear in are designated as ‘princely’), they appear within the cluster of female and infant associated objects, and this continues into the next period as well. The connection with infant and female sets of objects appears to be stronger than the connection to the standard set of elite objects, which these two elite tombs (t. 122 and 415) have in abundance. In the case of these imported Greek vessel forms, which in this period were made in local impasto for the 3 out of the 4 tombs, it would appear that the form and function were the most important aspects taken into consideration in the creation of these objects by local craftspeople. The skyphoi, kotylai and kylikes were all made of local impasto, although in two cases they were paired with imported Etrusco-Corinthian vessels (the only Etrusco-Corinthian vessels for this period) demonstrating a close link in the imported forms and materials. The double pairing of the locally-produced Greek forms, along with the inclusion of the visually distinct, imported Etrusco-Corinthian vases, shows a close rapport and cooperation with local ceramic producers, as well as a relationship with foreign peoples and traders. All of these vessels, locally made and imported, are related to drinking, meaning that these relationships and knowledge would have been part of the performance involved in the feast. Such a combination, therefore, is meant to represent connections

within the community and abroad, and are being used in the case of the wealthy tombs as another means of distinction.

Co-occurring at the same time as these methods of elite distinction, there is a far more widespread element of funerary ritual that continues alongside the emphasis on communal feasting and drinking. The libation practice that is evidenced by the variety of tazze-atingittoi found throughout the cemetery in this period and in the next show a funerary ritual, well-known in other sites in the Abruzzo, that is not subject to the other changes brought on from contact with other regions of Italy and the Mediterranean. It is noteworthy that this practice spans all age ranges and genders, as well as being found within some of the richest graves to being the only object within a grave. In fact, they appear in the two tombs that contain imported Greek forms and Etrusco-Corinthian vessels, making it clear that while new pottery forms and practices are spreading, there is a strong connection not just to local ceramics, but also local funerary traditions.

If the most significant trend from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century period is that of elite distinction set alongside a continuation of funerary tradition, what we see in the first half of the 6th century is the disappearance of a distinct set of elite goods and a lessening of competition through funerary display. This is shown through the decrease in tomb size and monumentality, a decrease in specialized drinking items related to wine consumption, fewer items connected with meat consumption, and less symbolically loaded, specialized objects and equipment. Elite objects are now primarily clustered with male tombs, and are greatly reduced in abundance, with some lacking functional object associations suggesting a possible use as heirlooms. The funerary tradition of libations continues, although in fewer numbers, and in conjunction with a

shift in tazza form from a dipping/libation vessel to one with no handles that most likely contained some kind of specialized substance which would have moved the practice away from libation.

In this period, the greatest emphasis in the division of objects rests on the gendered association of these objects, a trend which was present, but not as prominent within previous periods. Within female tombs the emphasis has consistently been placed on objects of personal ornamentation, with greater exaggeration coming through the use of symbolically laden pendants than in the great accumulation of precious stones and metals. Whereas amber and glass were employed as relatively unshaped pieces of necklaces or decoration for fibulae, ivory was more regularly carved into figural representations, such as the ivory horse and feline plaque from t. 127. Additionally, the feast itself becomes part of the symbolic adornment of female representation (from infants to adults), and in the form of the oinochoe pendant, embodying the importance of the serving role within the feast, rather than the feast being a place exclusively for elite competition or consumption.

In a slight change from the previous period, imported vessels at the first half of the 6th have more of a connection with infant burials, as seen by the change in their position within the dendrogram. While two of these vessels are meant to anoint the infant with oil, the other imported vessels are drinking cups, kylikes and black-gloss cups, and are divided between infants and juvenile/adult males. The limited ceramic repertoire that these imported vessels and vessel forms were buried with suggests that their representation of relationships with foreign peoples was more salient to their role than any connection to practices of the Greek symposium.

In regards to the clustering method itself that was introduced at the end of chapter 4, the combination of the chord transformation, Pearson's correlation and Ward's hierarchical clustering provided dendrograms for each period from Campovalano that gave archaeologically meaningful results and prompted further investigation of particular pairings and groupings just as this method of exploratory data analysis should. In addition to the dendrogram itself, the multiscale bootstrap resampling made it possible to see where groupings were particularly statistically significant and where there may be more widespread diffusion of particular objects that the highly structured framework of the dendrogram would not normally be able to show. This was particularly helpful in looking for differential object use within the branch of elite objects during the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century. The kind of variability in size, cluster inclusion, and the ability to see the statistical significance of every branch of the dendrogram makes this method much more useful for discovering groups of commonly-connected grave goods within the archaeological record, since human use of objects does not fall into neatly organized clusters.

Some of the drawbacks that this method of clustering presented were in relation to rarer items of prestige, such as the single faience scarab or individual pieces of silver or gold jewelry, since these were often left out of the category of elite object due to their limited use. What this indicates, however, is that the items with which these rarer pieces were associated, were not, in fact, part of the elite set of objects, which in turn tells us something more about the assemblages of which these pieces were part. In these cases, the automatic description of these tombs as part of the top of the social hierarchy, solely based on the presence of these exceptional items, needs to be questioned. For some rare

objects, such as the helmet and greaves, they were positioned within the branch of elite objects, showing that this method of clustering does not treat all individual instances of a class of object the same, but positions them based on the objects with which they are buried.

While this method of clustering has identified groups of elite objects and proven to be a useful means of exploring patterns of object use within the cemetery of Campovalano, it is not able to fully address the question of how tombs might be distinguished from each other. Some of this was hinted at in the differences of statistical significance within the elite object cluster of the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century phase. It will be helpful to know, however, whether or not we are able to discern a distinct set of elite tombs just as object clustering revealed an assemblage of elite objects as a means of corroboration.

5.3 Tomb Clustering

The understanding of social hierarchy developed by the excavators and publishers of the site center around the presence of an elite, ‘princely’ class at the top of the social hierarchy, without much differentiation for those outside of this group. In Acconcia’s exploration of the role of feasting within Campovalano, she creates a 5-tiered tomb hierarchy that is based on “a progression of value defined on the basis of the quantity and classes of goods present in individual contexts” (Acconcia 2014a: 88). In addition to this, the instruments and vessels for conserving and consuming drink, combined with indicators of gender (weapons and weaving equipment), were taken into account. Perhaps more tellingly, the presence of bronze vessels is thought to assume particular value, as it

recalls the type of drinking and eating practices of the Tyrrhenian banquet. It is unclear exactly how divisions were made from this, whether it was done solely on the basis of particular quantitative cut-offs, a method of tomb clustering, or an individual judgment based on a general understanding of the material and the tombs. What Acconcia does make clear, however, is that she does not equate the ranking of these tombs with the effective social rank of the deceased, especially since females and infants are underrepresented within the cemetery by comparison to men. Rather, she views these ranks as groups within which management of different privileges is recognized, possibly reflecting a gentilitial structure that is composed of several nuclear families (Acconcia 2014a: 130).

The following is a brief synopsis of the characteristics of each tier within Acconcia's hierarchy (Acconcia 2014a: 88–90). As expressed earlier, the highest tier (TL1) includes all classes of goods attested in the cemetery, while wealth is expressed through ceramic and bronze vessels, all types of weapons and chariots for men, and complex ornamentation for women. The second tier (TL2) is defined by many, if not most of the objects in the previous group, however these tombs do not contain a complete set of bronze vessels, with sporadic appearances of the most elite objects. The next tier, (TL3), consists of the greatest number of tombs by far, 100, and as opposed to the previous two tiers, it favors more female and infant tombs. Tombs from this tier include a greatly reduced number of ceramic vessels, while the only bronze vessel is a basin. The reduction in ceramic and bronze vessels continues even further in the fourth tier (TL4), where there is typically only a single bronze or ceramic element in addition to the storage vessel at the foot of the deceased. This group is also characterized by more unreliable

data, since some of these tombs contain unidentified fragments of vases. Finally, the fifth tier (TL5) contains the second largest collection of tombs, 60, which lack any type of vessel, excluding the storage vessel, and are typically characterized by either a limited selection of weapons and ornaments for men and weaving equipment and jewelry for women.

In the creation of these categories, Acconcia has given a great deal of value to the presence of bronze vessels as representatives of a Tyrrhenian lifestyle, and therefore something inherently more prestigious (Acconcia 2014a: 119). Since it is not clear whether or not the characteristics behind each tier are the result of some more general type of clustering, or the initial requirements for tomb membership, it is difficult to judge the validity of these groups. The privileging of elements connected to the Tyrrhenian lifestyle as an extension of the assumed ‘orientalizing’ effects begs for both a less weighted exploration of the accuracy of these tomb groups and of the interpretations that have been placed on them. In order to do this, I have clustered first only objects and then included categories of tomb construction, orientation, age and gender. I have conducted clustering on all tombs, as in the previous section, in order to evaluate Acconcia’s results, as well as the two chronological periods with the most numerous tombs: end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th and the first half of the 6th.

5.3.1 All Tombs

In the first clustering of all tombs and only objects from Campovalano, the BIC (Bayesian Information Criterion) clustering criterion returned an optimal result of only two clusters, with an overall average silhouette of 0.4524, which is categorized as Fair for

the quality of clustering (Figure 5.19). The difference from Acconcia's series of hierarchical groupings is most likely due to the fact that she uses functional categories for vessels, separated by material type, rather than their archaeological form, and that although she includes markers of gender, such as weapons and the presence of weaving equipment, this clustering also includes the wide variety of ornamentation that is present at the site. In the two-step clustering results, the two clusters are largely divided by level of feasting elaboration, with a small group of 17 of the most object-rich tombs, and a second group of 195 tombs (Figure 5.20). Overall, this strongly correlates with both the designation of 'princely' and of TL1, with some exceptions. One variation from Acconcia's TL1, t. 127, although described as 'princely' because of the presence of an elaborate figural ivory plaque pendant, is grouped as TL3, but is clustered within the most elite group. Otherwise, the differences primarily have to do with subtle differences in the number of chalices in the tomb and number of bronze vessels.

In looking at why the two-step clustering grouped the tombs in the way that it did, SPSS provides data on the indicator importance of particular variables to the clustering, making it possible to see which objects were most instrumental in dividing the tombs into these two separate groups. Comparing the objects with the highest predictor importance to the elite branches of objects that I found in the previous section through object clustering, there is a great deal of overlap, particularly in bronze vessels, chalice "a corolla", and bronze mixing and straining utensils (Figure 5.21). Since both of these types of clustering were conducted with different distance measures (log likelihood in this case and chord distance in the previous clustering), it is notable that both methods have

produced results that place bronze vessels and drinking utensils as important markers of social differentiation at Campovalano.

These two methods differ, however, in the way in which they treat rare elements used to distinguish among the elite, which was seen in the previous object clustering, and more common objects whose main distinction is in their significantly greater abundance. The latter is what we see in the objects used to predict tomb clusters, many of which are not part of the elite branches found in earlier object clustering. In this case, ceramic vessels that were primarily used in distributing and consuming drinks, such as chalices, kantharoi, oinochoai and anforette, were found in greatly higher abundance in the first cluster of elite tombs. Since one of the most important aspects of a feast is the number of attendants that can be included in such a ceremony, this distinction in the number of drinking cups and pouring vessels would have been an important way of signaling the ability to provide for a large number of community members. By contrast, those objects that were found as markers of elite distinction within object clustering, such as the helmet, greave, anthropomorphic statuettes and chariots, have a much lower predictor importance, showing that they were less important in creating these tomb clusters.

In reality, the great abundance of drinking vessels and rare items of social distinction were used to set this group of tombs apart as elite. The results found from both object and tomb clustering show that there was a group of tombs at Campovalano that set themselves apart from the community, through a variety of different means. While the fact of this elite group of tombs cannot be disputed under such a reevaluation of the evidence, the nature and their role within the community can in fact be reinterpreted. Even though it is undeniable that such a group of wealthy tombs exists, there is nothing

in the objects that characterize the burials of this group to suggest that they should be interpreted as ‘princely’ or in any way connected to monarchy. The political organization of this community is largely unknown, particularly since there are so few settlements to corroborate hypotheses built on funerary data alone. There are certainly no elements within the cemetery that proclaim singular lines of monarchic rule, and even the objects that have been previously been shown to be bearers of monarchical symbolism (maces, spindles/lituus, staff), do not have the same associations within this context.

Acconcia has concluded that, although this cemetery does not completely represent the community, it does reflect internal groups whose privileges are managed by a gentilicial structure composed of several nuclear families. This understanding reflects another way in which interpretations of Campovalano, and of the appearance of practices associated with the ‘orientalizing’ period, are seen as directly transferring types of social organization seen along the Tyrrhenian coast. Although there are certainly familial connections being made in the placement of the deceased at the cemetery, particularly in the instances in which tumuli are cut into for the placement of later tombs, the connection of Campovalano with the concept of the *gens* seems misplaced⁶⁶. Its connotation of property ownership and inheritance implies a type of settlement pattern and land organization for which there is not currently proof within this region of southern Picenum.

Tomb clustering of all phases and all objects has confirmed some of the previous work on how tombs are organized within Campovalano and the objects that are used to distinguish these tombs. When clustering is conducted by including aspects of tomb

⁶⁶ For the complicated nature of the term *gens*, even within the context of Rome and Latium, see (C.J. Smith 2006)

construction, orientation, gender and age, however, the results are almost exactly the same. Since this sample is taken from all tombs at the site, the differences in tomb construction and orientation have more to do with chronology than any significant differences within the population at the same time. Also, the large number of inhumants whose age and gender are unknown makes these methods of distinction more discernible through the objects that individuals are buried with than the categories themselves.

5.3.2 Tomb clustering of End of 7th/Beginning of 6th century and the First half of the 6th century

When clustering is conducted independently for the two more significant phases of the site, the results provide much the same information that was seen in object clustering, however with less nuance. For the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century, the clustering criterion found that 2 was the optimal number of clusters for this sample, although with a slightly lower silhouette value (0.3). The objects that have the highest predictor importance are very similar to those from the sample of all tombs at Campovalano, since the two clusters for this period roughly correspond once again to a small number of the most elite tombs (13) and a larger group of the remaining tombs. In the case of the first half of the 6th century, the BIC clustering criterion was not able to find a suitable number of clusters, leaving all of the tombs within a single group. This actually appears to match the results of object clustering, which saw much more coherence and agreement for this period, with the primary differentiation based on smaller markers of gender roles rather than anything more systemic.

5.3.3 Conclusions for Tomb Clustering

The results that tomb clustering presented for Campovalano indeed show a specific set of tombs, set apart by a set of feasting equipment and bronze vessels, specifically associated with the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE. The differentiation that Acconcia makes based on bronze vessels, while it may be informed by a biased opinion that they refer to a “Tyrrhenian brand of the aristocratic banquet”, is nevertheless borne out by the data. In my method of clustering, none of the object variables have any additional weighted value based on perceived value, and are thus all treated as equal, meaning that their isolation of bronze vessels as significant determinants of tomb clusters is based on contextual use rather than implicit bias. Beyond this, however, Acconcia’s functional analysis has been able to determine subtle differences in practice among four further groups at Campovalano, which are defined by the number and variety of vessels found within the tombs. This is an excellent example of the type of work that should be done at more sites of this period, as a means of determining not just the nature of how elaborate the feast would have been among the elite, but the level of participation among the rest of the community as well.

The interpretations that Acconcia derives from these categories of banquet participation, however, are then connected to ideas of the Homeric banquet and the emulation of a Tyrrhenian aristocracy, which appears merely as a middle man for the “true” origin of these practices, the aristocracy of the East. It is at this connection that truly forward thinking work is tied back into the pitfalls and traps of ‘orientalizing’ that were described in previous chapters. There is no particular evidence that points to the type of feasting present at Campovalano as distinctly Homeric, and in this much removed

context, making this assumption requires the direct translation of practices through a number of different cultural lenses. Additionally, it is not clear what new information the application of the term “Homeric” may provide in this case, or how it might give a deeper understanding of the social implications of such communal drinking and feasting practices. As anthropologically understood, the purpose of a funerary feast is to aggrandize the providing family and distribute food and social capital among the participants, as is well known through ethnographic study (Dietler & Hayden 2001a). Adding the label “Homeric” is not particularly informative, or even cultural relevant in this different context, in explaining particular elements of this funerary ritual. By instead focusing on the social role of the feast, as will be explored further in chapter 8, we can better conceive of the purpose that these funerary feasts serve within the community.

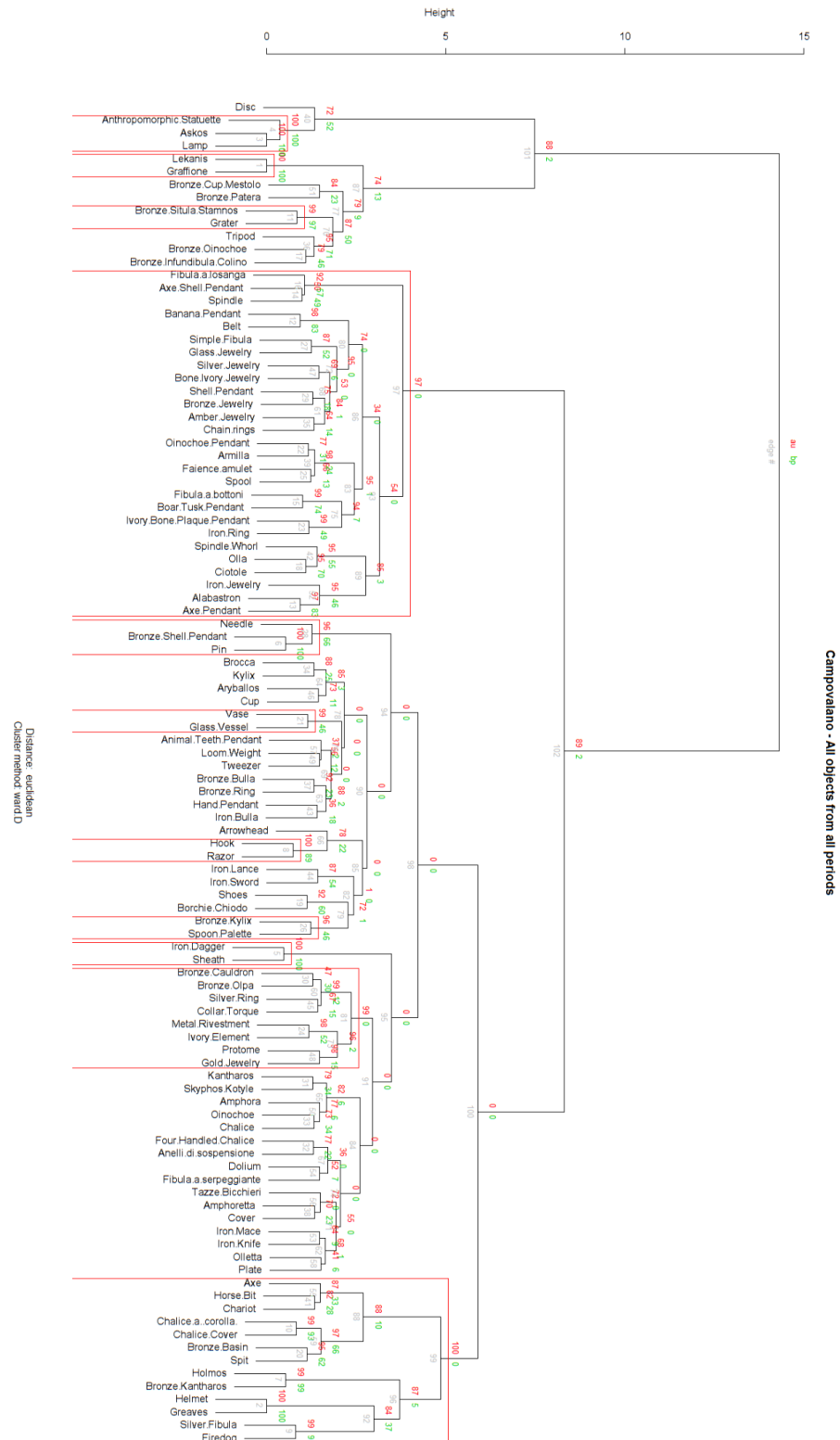


Figure 5.1: Dendrogram of object clusters at Campovalano from all periods. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value at or above 95%.

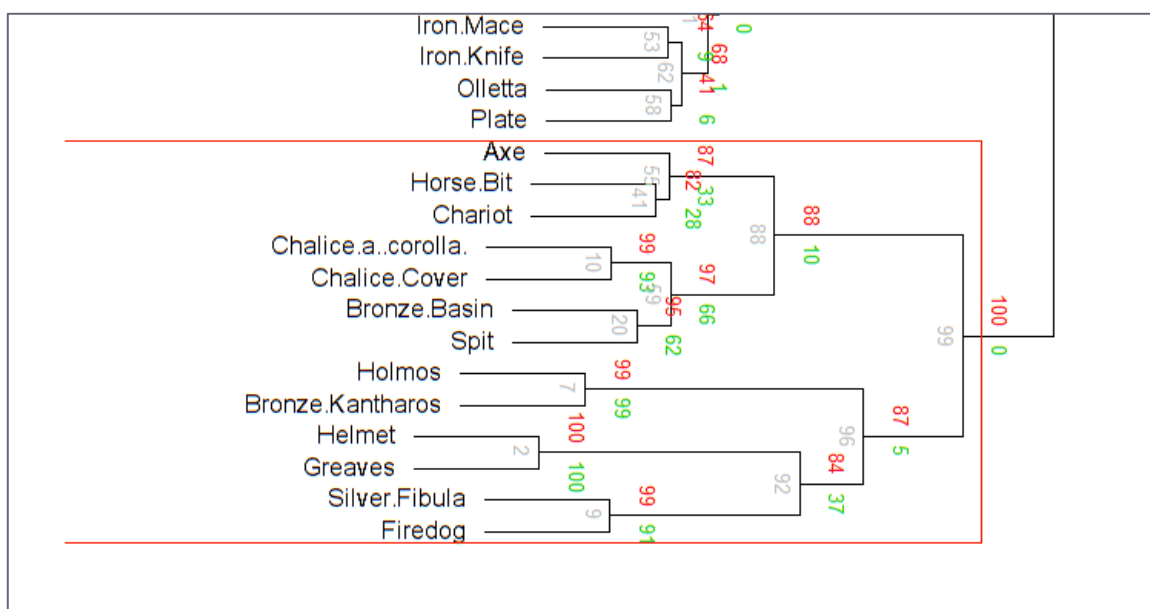


Figure 5.2: Close-up of cluster of objects associated with the most elite tombs of Campovalano

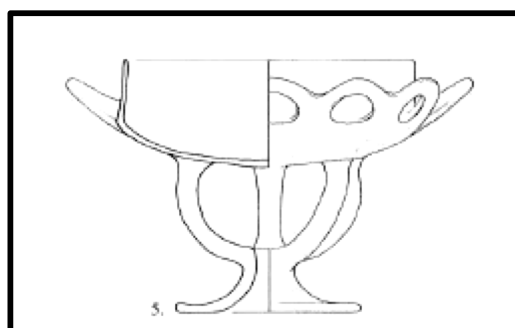


Figure 5.3: Chalice “a corolla” from tomb 550 (Chiaramonte Treré et al., 2010, tav. 138 n.5)

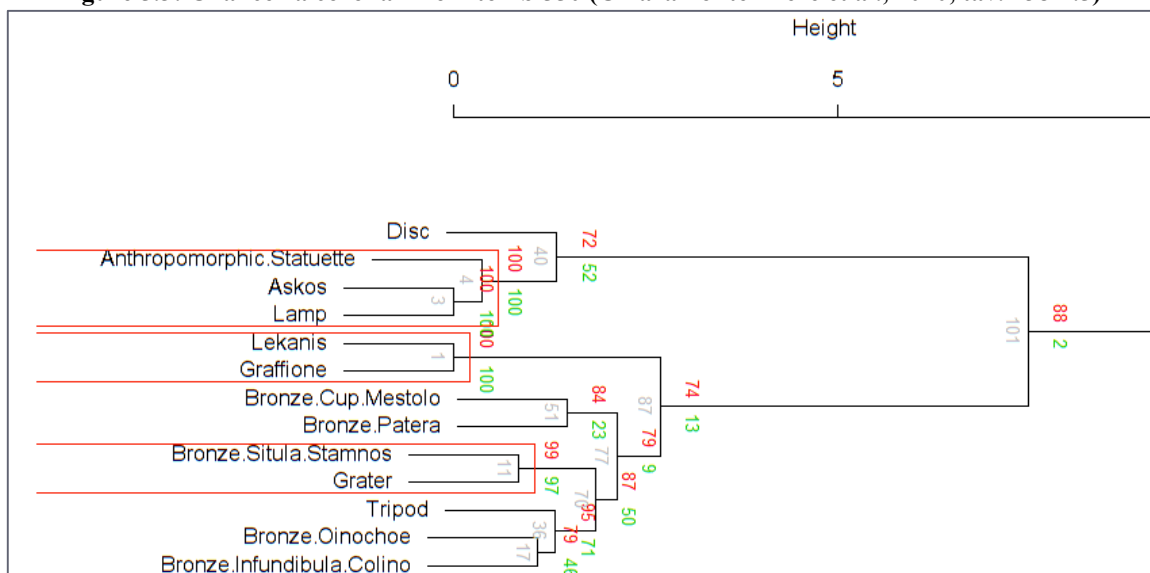


Figure 5.4: Close-up of rare elite items (disc, anthropomorphic statuette, askos and lamp) and bronze vessels and utensils

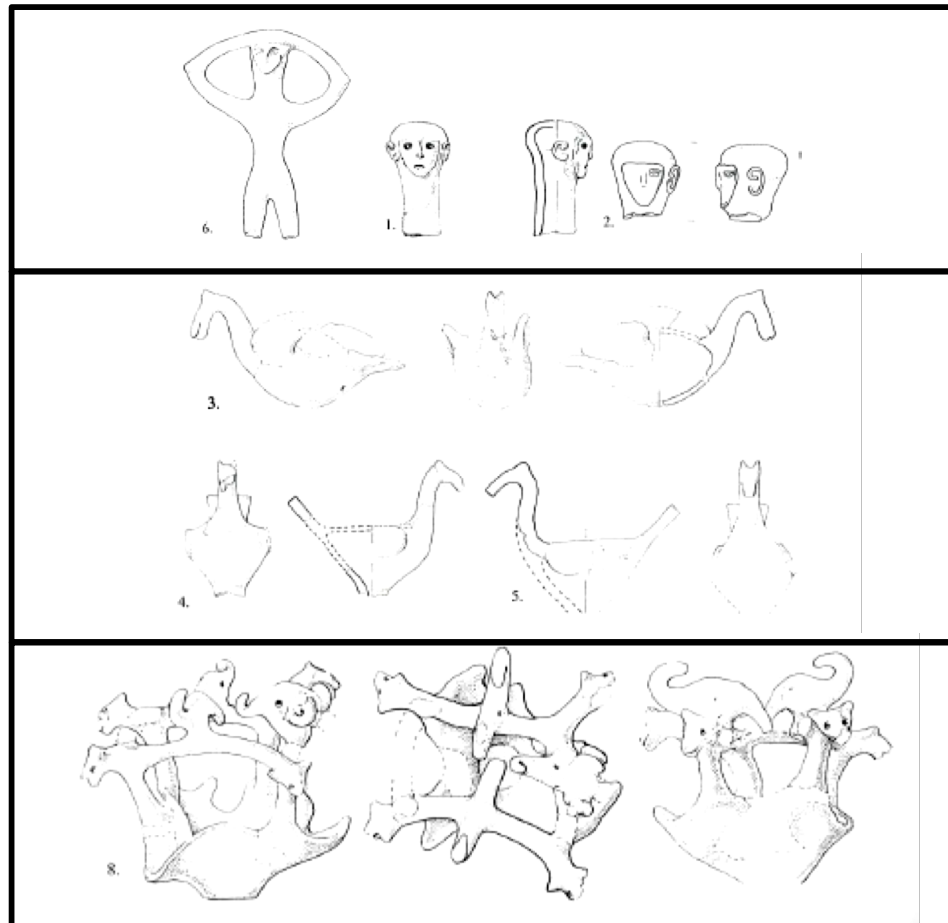


Figure 5.5: Symbolic and figural materials from t.2. Top – anthropomorphic statuettes and attachable heads; Middle – Swan-horse askoi; Bottom – “lamp” or figural tazza-attingitoio (Chiaramonte Treré & D’Ercole 2003 Tav. 15 & 16)

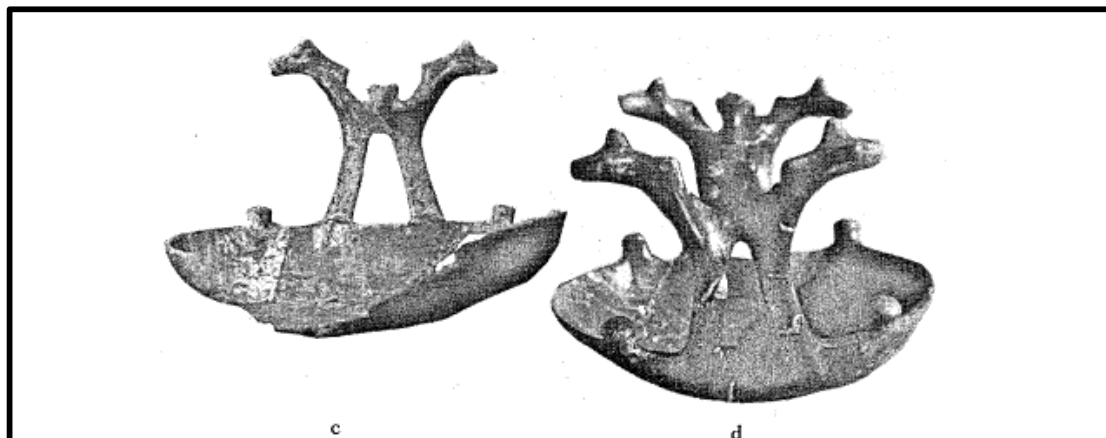


Figure 5.6: Tazze-attingitoi from Cupramarittima which are comparable to the “lamp” from t.2, shown in the figure above (Percossi Serenelli 1987: fig. 21, c & d)

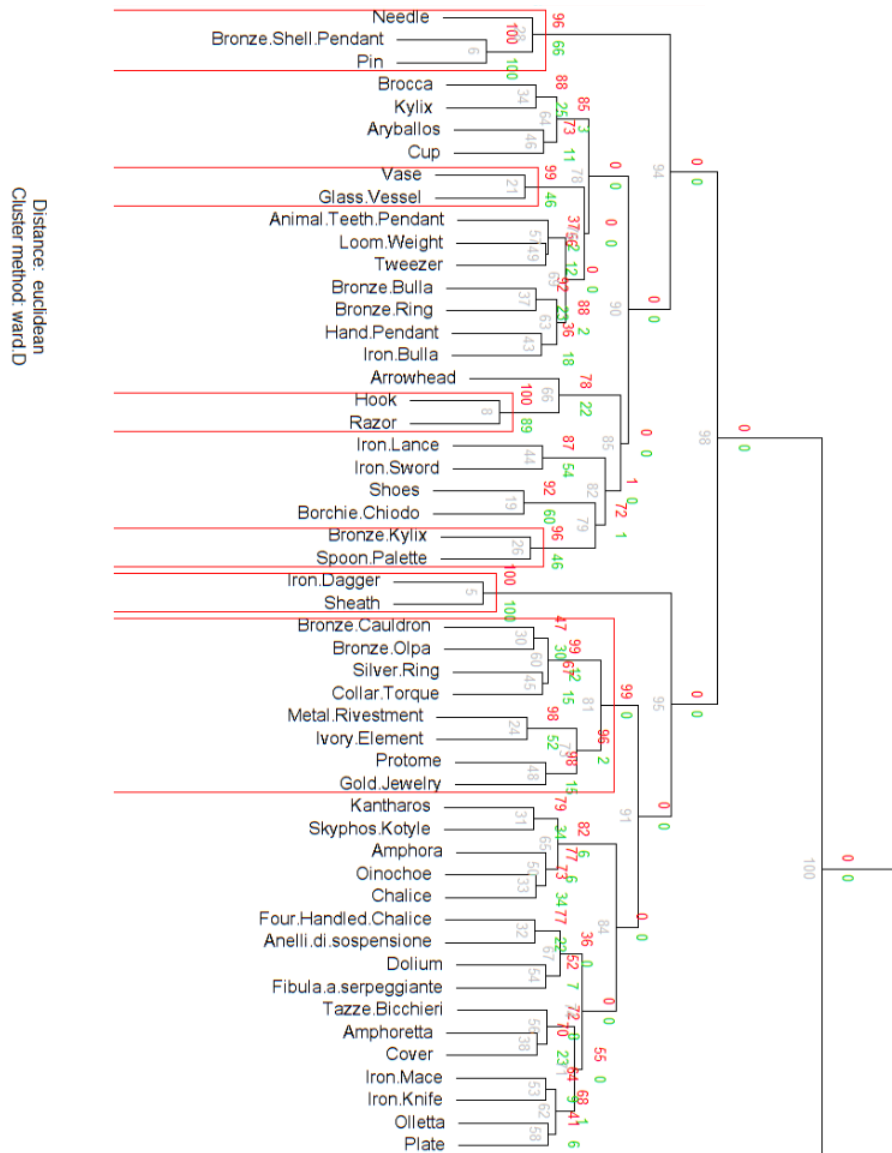


Figure 5.7: Close-up of middle section of dendrogram focusing on the cluster of the bronze cauldron, bronze olpe, silver ring, collar/torque, metal revetment, ivory element, protome and gold jewelry

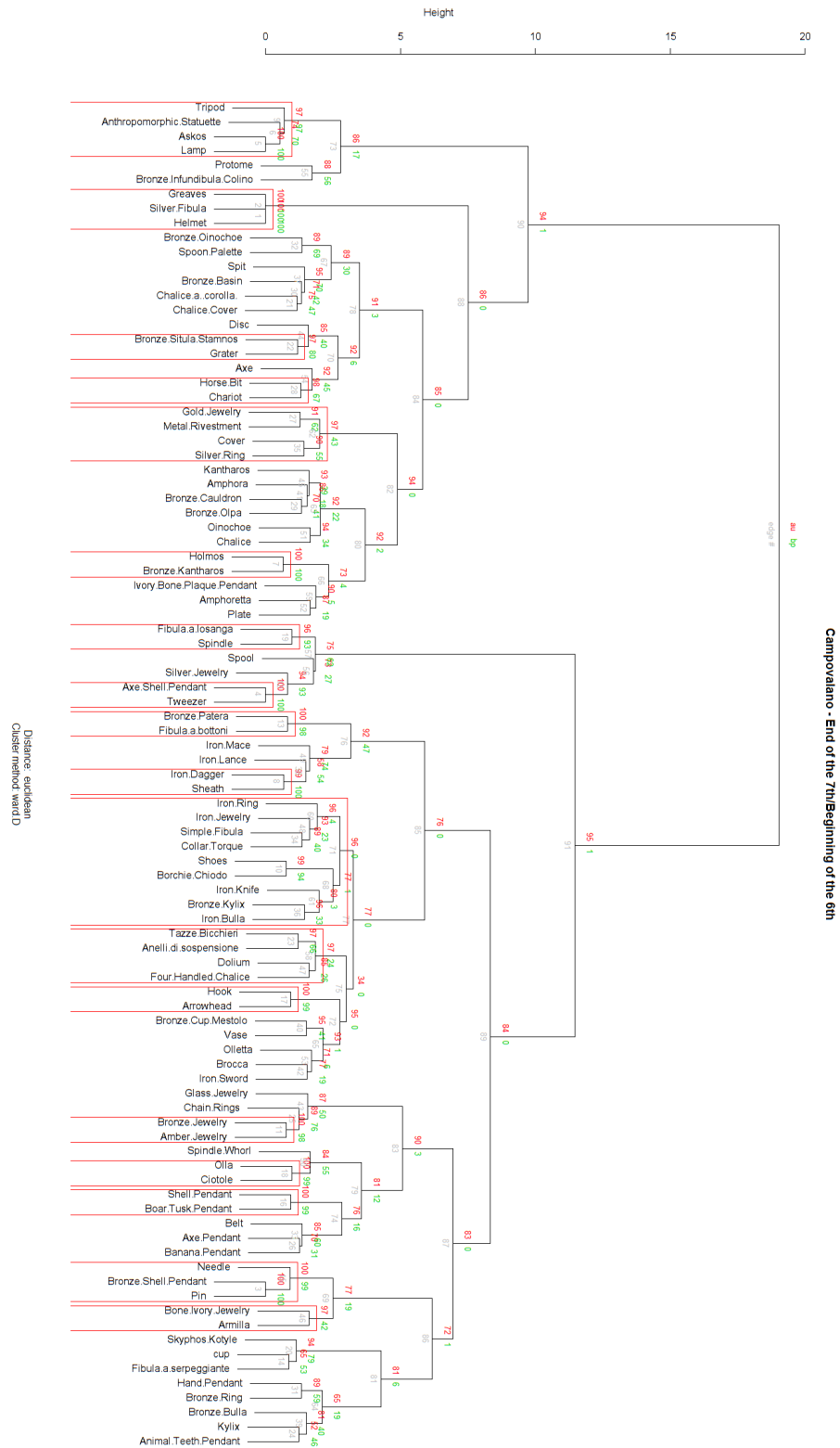


Figure 5.8: Dendrogram of object clusters at Campovalano from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value above 95%

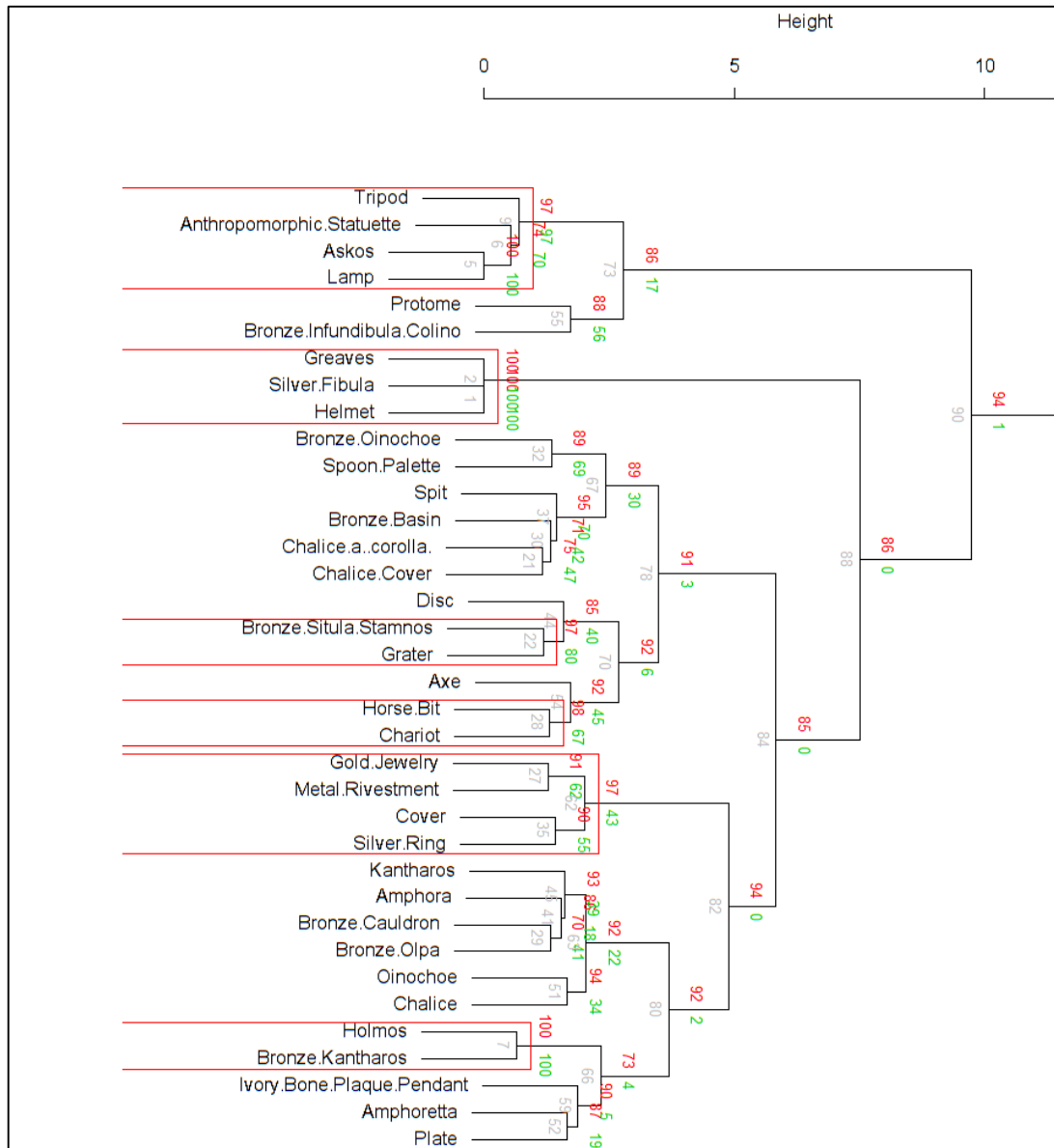


Figure 5.9: Close-up of the upper half of the dendrogram, showing clusters of objects associated with the most elite tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th c. BCE

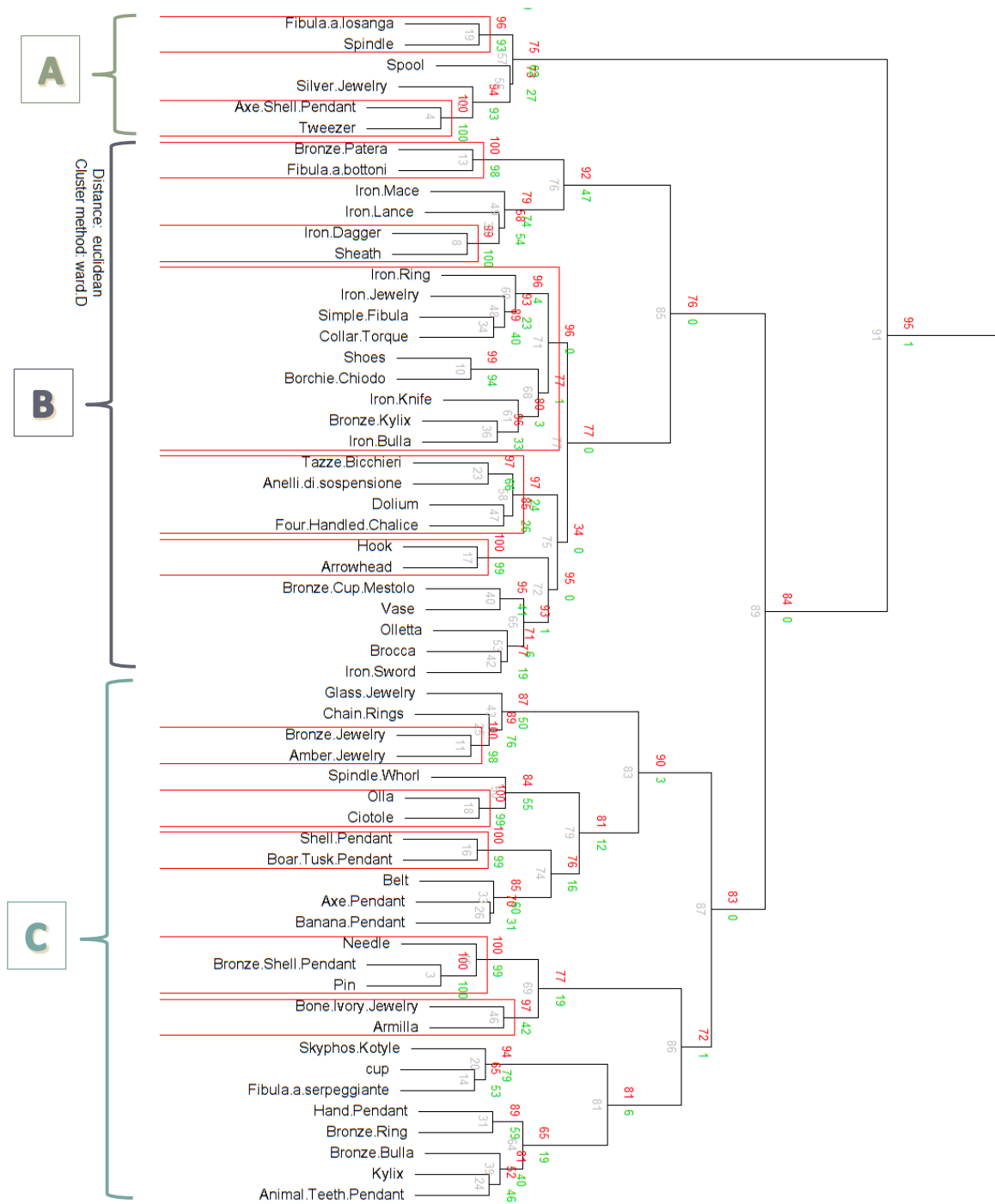


Figure 5.10: Close-up of cluster of the lower half of the larger dendrogram, showing more commonly distributed objects from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th c. BCE

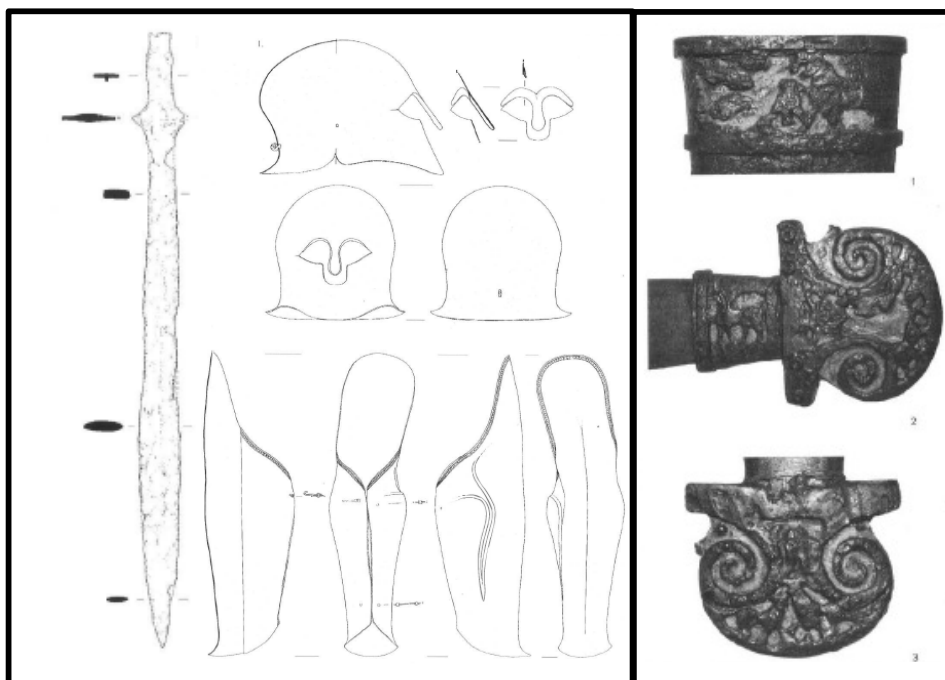


Figure 5.11: Left – Long sword, helmet and left greave from tomb 97 (Chiaramonte Treré et al., 2010, Tav. 32 n.5, 33 n.1–2); Right – Detail of imagery on long sword sheath from tomb 69 (D’Ercole 2010a: fig. 2)

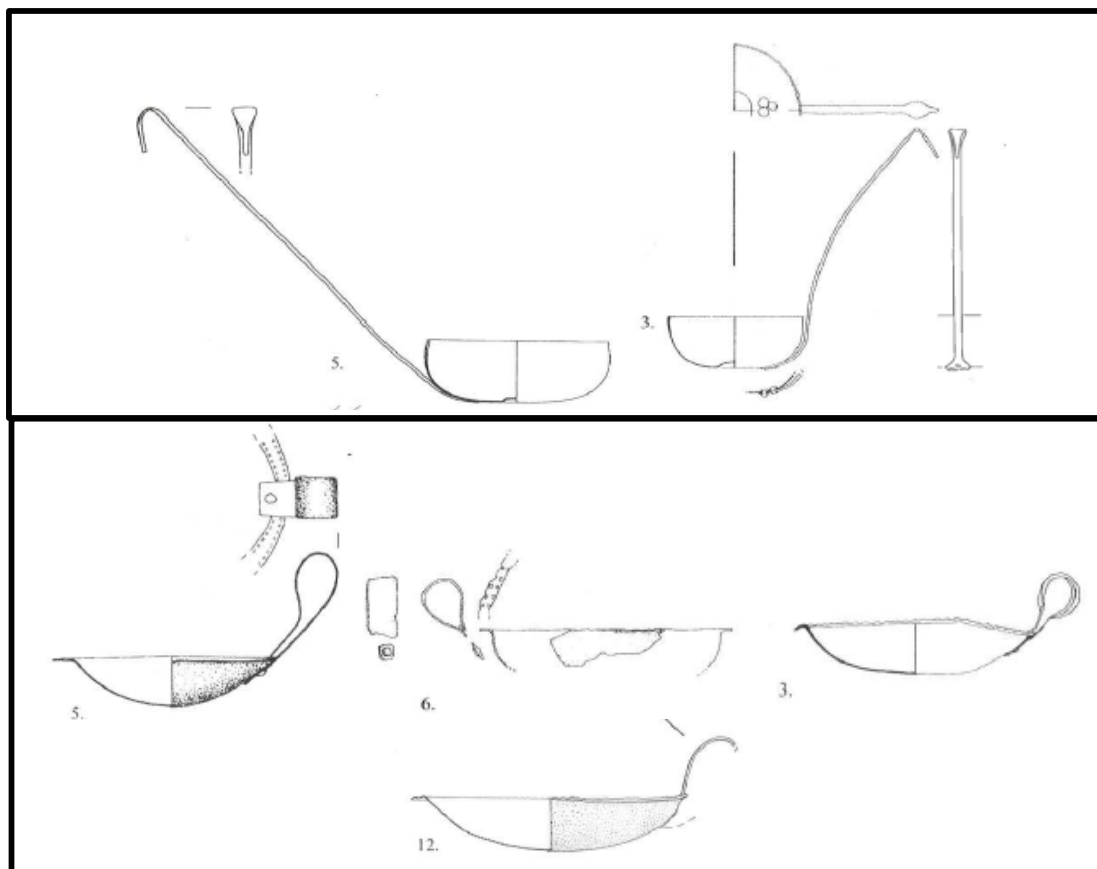


Figure 5.12: Upper half – mestolo (ladle): left to right t. 97 and 164. Lower half - bronze cup/mestolo: tazza-attingitoio/libation vessels - upper left to lower right: t. 112 (5), 113 (6), 415 (3), 485 (12)

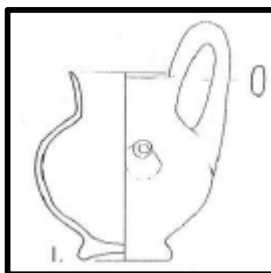


Figure 5.13: tazza-atingitoio brocca with spout from t. 238

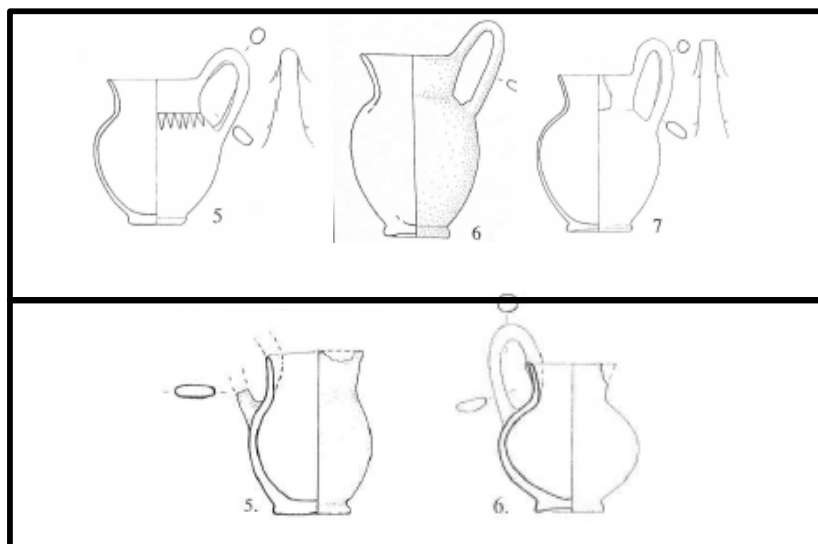


Figure 5.14: Examples of tazza-atingitoio brocche from Fossa (top, left to right t. 61, 116 and 278) and those from Campovalano (below, left to right t. 31 and 69)

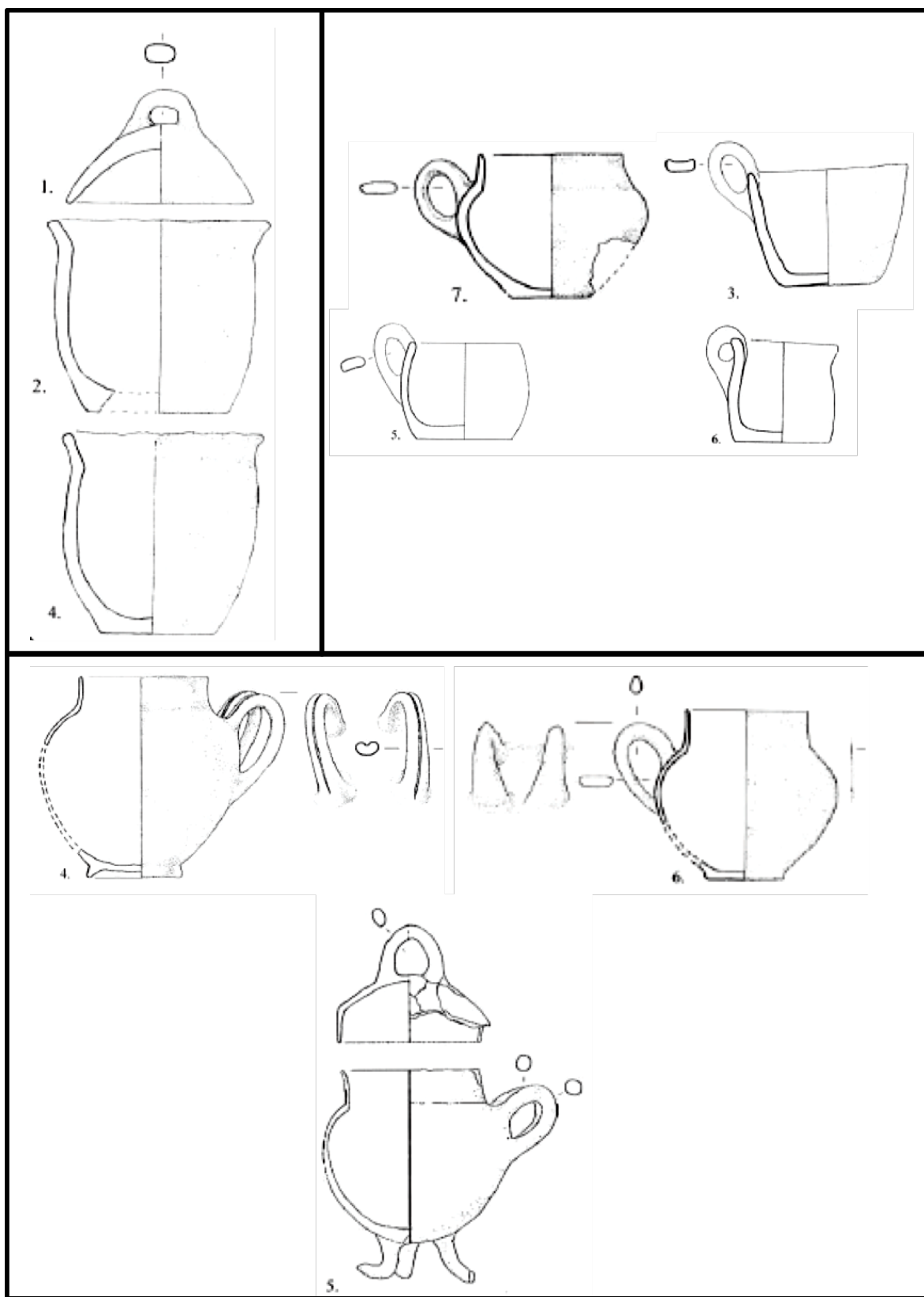


Figure 5.15: Three forms of tazze from Campovalano (no handle – top left t.66, single handle – top right t. 95, 172, and 223 (2 cups), double-handled – bottom t.100, 112, and 415 (includes three feet and cover))

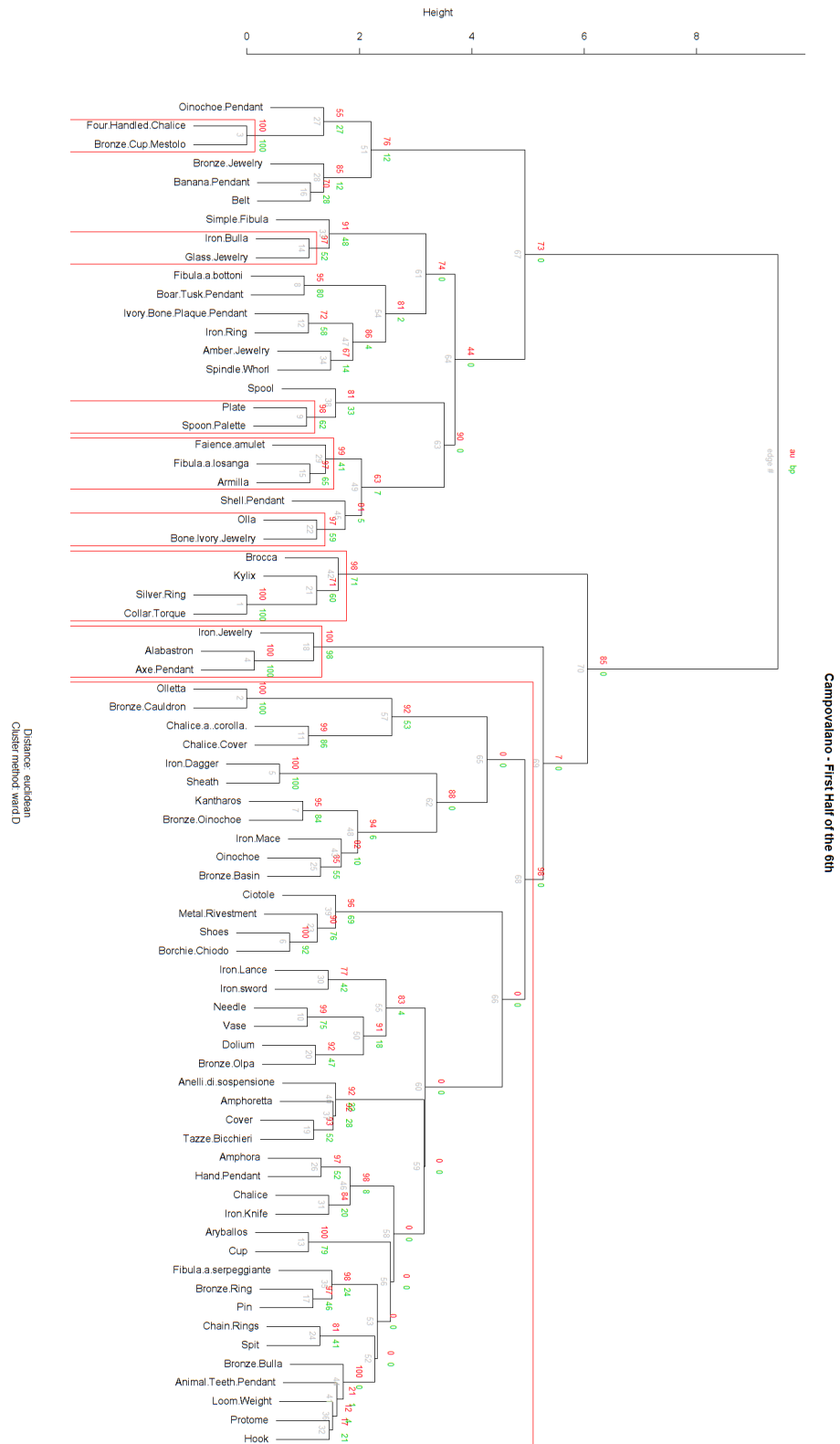


Figure 5.16: Dendrogram of object clusters at Campovalano from the first half of the 6th century BCE. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value above 95%.

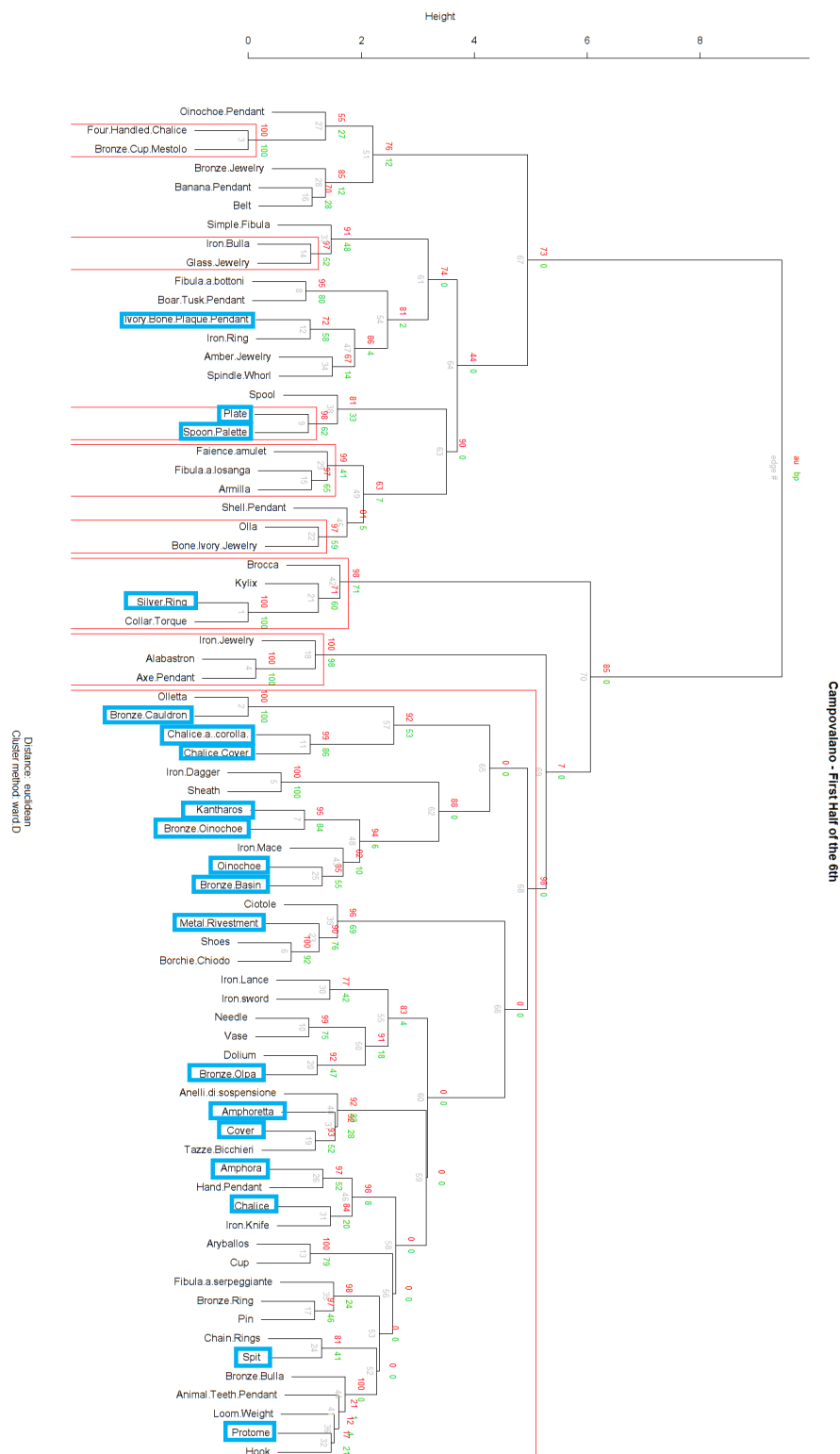


Figure 5.17: Dendrogram of object clusters at Campovalano from the first half of the 6th century BCE. Light blue outlines indicate objects clustered in the elite object branch from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th

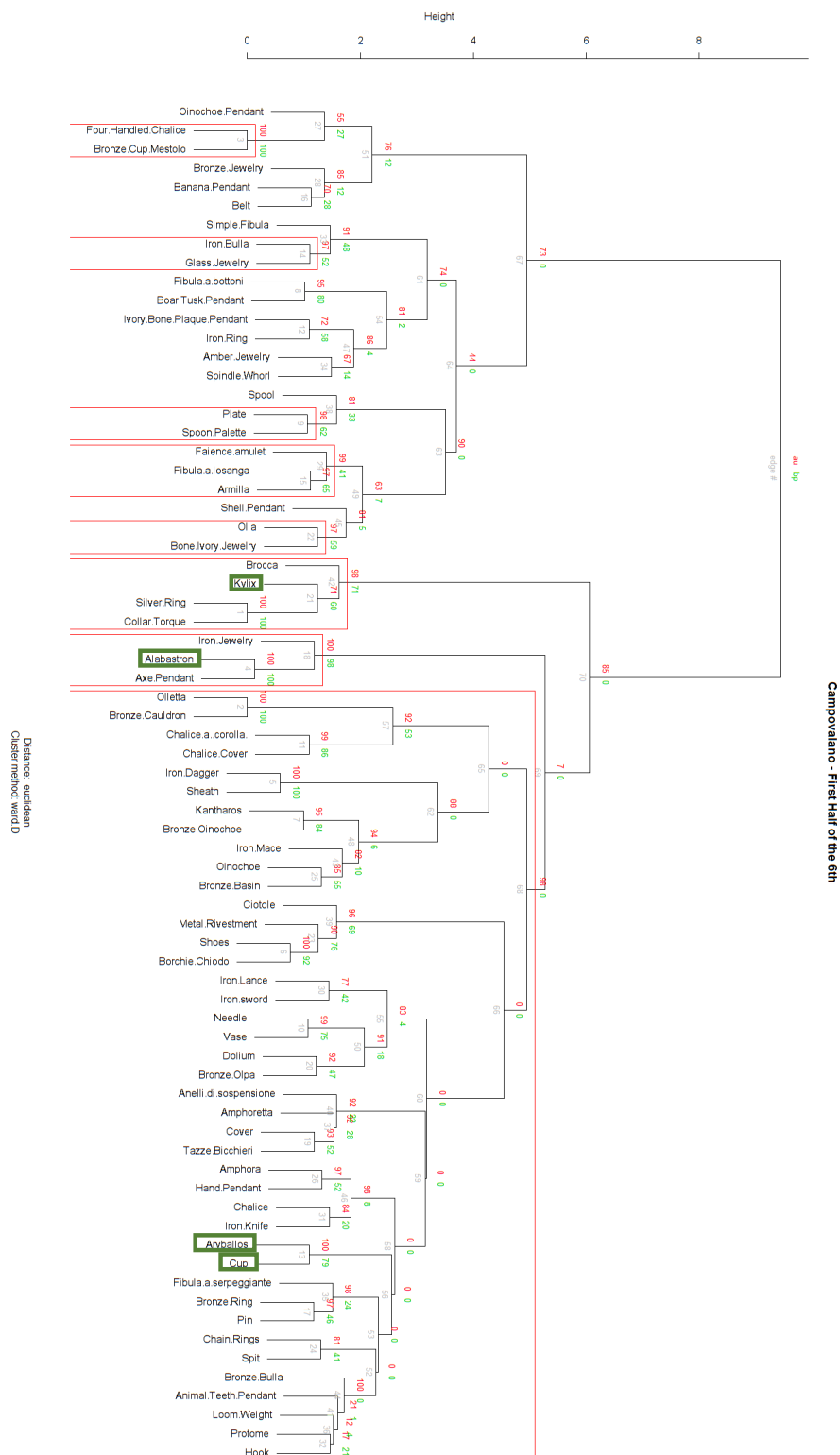


Figure 5.18: Dendrogram of object clusters at Campovalano from the first half of the 6th century BCE. Dark green outlines indicate imported ceramic vessel forms from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th

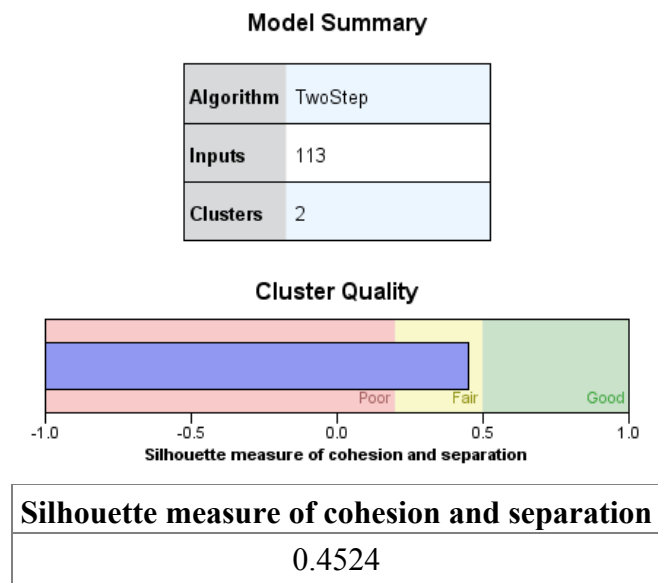


Figure 5.19: Silhouette result from BIC clustering criterion conducted on two-step cluster of all tombs and all object variables from Campovalano

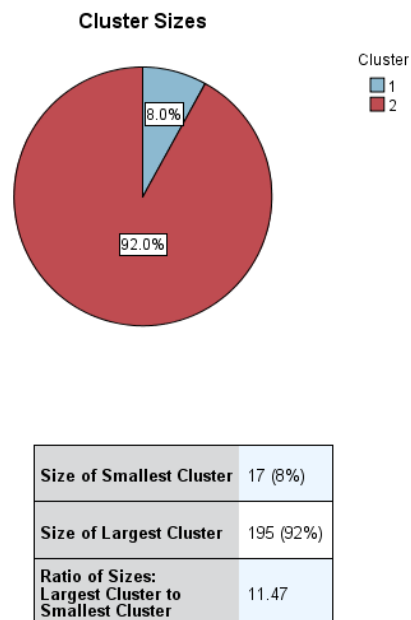


Figure 5.20: Cluster sizes of two-step clustering of all tombs and all object variables from Campovalano

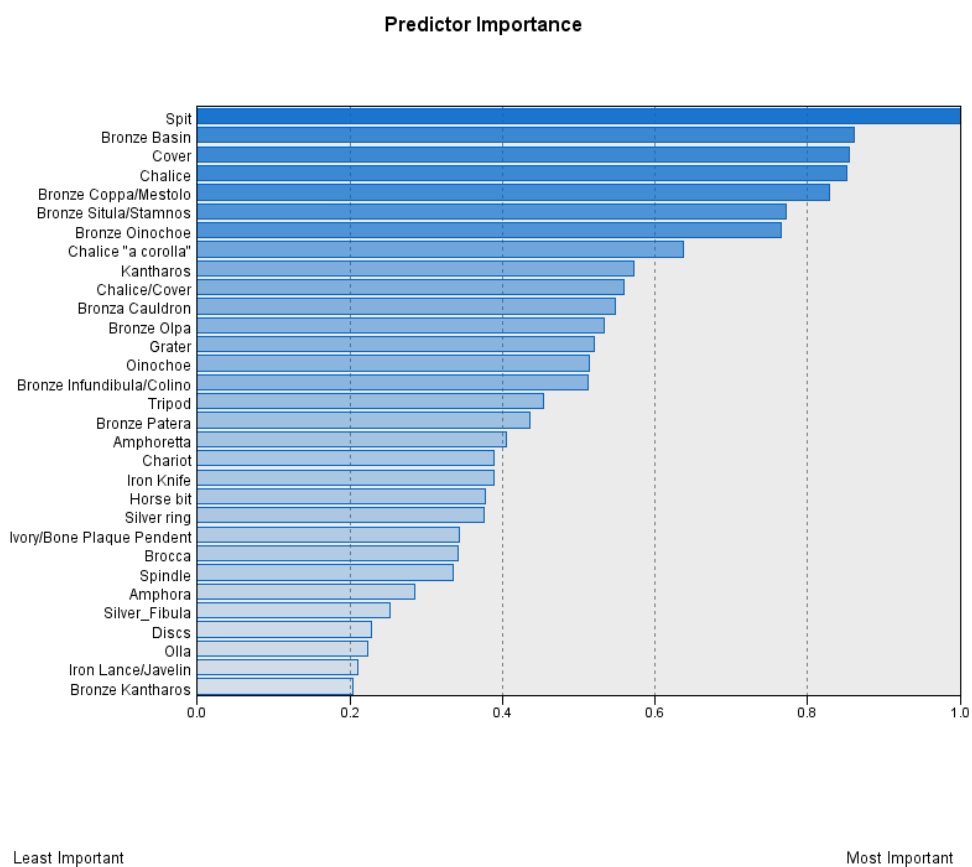


Figure 5.21: Bar chart showing the importance of variables to the clustering of the tombs. This is a selection of variables with a predictor importance of greater than 0.2, ordered from the most important indicator at the top of the chart

Chapter 6 - Continuity of Tradition: Fossa

6.1 Introduction

Whereas Campovalano provided evidence of a set of grave goods used by an elite to distinguish individuals from each other, the funerary remains at Fossa present a very different picture. The funerary ritual at Fossa was much more limited, both in number of objects and in their diversity, a quality that remained fairly constant for tombs at the cemetery throughout its history. The consistent prominence of the so-called *ripostiglio*, a rock enclosure at the lower end of the burial that contained a large storage vessel accompanied by a smaller dipping/drinking vessel, is the central feature of funerary practice that accompanied adult burials. Even as bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian vases are imported from Etruria, albeit in small numbers, this simple funerary ritual that centered on the offering of liquid libation forms the core of practice at Fossa. Fossa provides an example at the opposite end of the continuum from Campovalano: while residents from Campovalano sought to incorporate local forms into new funerary practices that originated from elsewhere, those at Fossa integrated imported objects into their already-existing and steadfastly held local customs.

Interpretations of the material at Fossa have matched this observation and therefore shown restraint in the way in which imported objects and materials are understood. There is an identified ‘orientalizing’ period at the site, although this moniker is used in almost a purely chronological sense rather than necessarily implying a greater

cultural change⁶⁷. The beginning of this period, the *orientalizzante antico*, corresponds to Phase 2A (730-680 BCE) at Fossa. In light of this, it is notable that the term ‘princely’ is used only twice for Fossa: once in reference to tomb 551, which “si può considerare senz’altro la piu ‘principesca’ del sito di Fossa”(Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209), and which dates to Phase 1 of the cemetery, corresponding to the late Iron Age; the second is in reference to tomb 365 of Phase 2A. The primary reason for identifying t.551 as ‘princely’ is that it contains two bronze basins as well as two unique bronze vessels that do not appear elsewhere at Fossa: a biconical bronze vase and a troncoconical bronze tazza, both of which are thought to have been imported from Etruria (Figure 6.1). The suite of bronze vessels has led the publishers of Fossa to identify t.551 as providing the first evidence for the ideology of the banquet. This is carried forward in the later ‘princely’ burial of t.365, which contains two bronze basins as well. For the publishers, the idea of the banquet, the practice of eating meat and wine together, derived within Italy from Greece which in turn had imported it from the Near East (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209). Acconcia views the bronze basins with a bit more nuance, seeing their use at Fossa as different from what would be considered the Homeric model of the banquet (Acconcia 2014a: 49). From both perspectives, however, bronze vessels are emblematic of an emerging elite, although the differences appear to be in whether or not this rank can be labelled as ‘princely’, to what degree the practice most closely adheres to a local,

⁶⁷ This is most likely due to the fact that few syntheses have been constructed for the region, meaning that it has not been fit into broader historical frameworks yet.

Tyrrhenian, or Homeric model, and the extent of change it elicits in the funerary ideology at Fossa.

In looking at which objects are most strongly associated with the designation of elevated rank within Fossa, it follows a similar pattern to Campovalano in that bronze vessels are interpreted as having a higher value, followed by imported painted vessels and some specific objects of personal ornamentation, such as decorated bronze and iron discs (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209; Acconcia 2014a: 56). These objects are varied in their appearance within the cemetery, with metal vessels holding greater prominence in the earlier phases, Etrusco-Corinthian ware being only sparsely present, and bucchero taking on much greater importance in Phase 3A (Figure 6.2). As such, there is not an obvious concentration of imported goods as there was at Campovalano. In fact, although the earliest period of the late Iron Age at Fossa has an association with a ‘princely’ burial and other wealthy emergent tombs, in subsequent periods, Acconcia has noted a leveling out of grave goods tied to a tendency to adhere to ‘rigid’ models of funerary ritual (Acconcia 2014a: 57).

For this chapter then, my central question is to determine if there is any discernible change in funerary practice as a result of increased contact with peoples and goods, particularly those along the Tyrrhenian coast, that have engaged in changes associated with a so-called ‘orientalizing’ culture. From what we know about the limited funerary ritual at Fossa, we would not expect to find a distinguished set of elite objects associated with traditional ‘orientalizing’ interpretations, or if it is present, we would expect to find it in the earliest period of use. As in the case of Campovalano, it will be critical to see what grave goods actually made up such a set of elite objects rather than

approaching the material with preconceived notions of value. Due to the general leveling of grave good variation and the strong continuity of funerary ritual, such distinctions are likely to be either statistically invisible or very subtle. It is because of this consistency of funerary practice that I have chosen to also employ a method drawn from network science to track what objects form the most fundamental elements of funerary ritual at Fossa over different periods. Core-periphery measures determine which objects are most critical to the structure of a network, in this case a network consisting of tombs and objects related to each other by the co-presence of grave goods.

These two methods, core-periphery analysis and objects clustering with multiscale bootstrapping, will help in understanding whether or not the so-called ‘orientalizing’ period prompted meaningful changes within the funerary culture of Fossa, or if the contact with foreign groups and imported objects from this period made up a more limited set of adaptations and modifications. In some senses this chapter also presents a test of method: since these methods were helpful in both finding and describing the set of elite objects that were employed at Campovalano, will they be as responsive in examining a case study that is characterized by more consistent and limited practices? I will begin by building an understanding of the standard funerary ritual for each period by examining core-periphery results, followed by an assessment of the degree of grave good patterning through object clustering with multiscalar bootstrapping.

6.2 Fossa: From the End of the Iron Age to the 6th century

Because of the consistency of funerary ritual at Fossa, it is necessary to simultaneously compare the results from core-periphery analysis, which highlights

objects that are central to the burial of the deceased, alongside those of the multiscale bootstrapping, which allows for the exploration of object relationships to each other, no matter their role in the fundamental make-up of burial practice. In this way core-periphery analysis is beneficial for describing the common funerary culture at Fossa while object clustering and multiscale bootstrap resampling assist in delving into the ways in which elites have chosen to represent themselves as distinct or not and how rare imported vessels fit within the material networks created through common deposition.

6.2.1 Phase 1 (780/770-730/720 BCE)

At the end of the Iron Age at Fossa, the type of objects that were buried alongside the deceased pertain to items of dress, adornment, a select number of personal items, as well as ritual items found within the *ripostiglio* at the lower end of the grave. The results from the core-periphery measures help to give us a sense of what objects were commonly included within tombs of this period, while the gender-specific cores show how gender roles shape the core status of objects buried with each individual.

	<i>All Tombs</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Bronze Ring</i>	1	1	1
<i>Bronze Finger Ring</i>	1	1	1
<i>Bronze Jewelry</i>	1	1	1
<i>Fibula Serpeggiante</i>	1	1	0
<i>Razor</i>	1	1	0
<i>Short Sword</i>	1	1	0
<i>Sheath</i>	1	1	0
<i>Lance/Javelin</i>	1	1	0
<i>Knife</i>	1	1	2
<i>Fibula Rivestito</i>	1	0	1
<i>Bone Jewelry</i>	1	0	1
<i>Orciolo</i>	1	2	1
<i>Tazza</i>	1	2	1

<i>Bronze Tazza-Attingitoio</i>	1	2	1
<i>Fibula Simple</i>	1	2	1
<i>Hooks</i>	1	2	1
<i>Iron Ring</i>	1	2	1
<i>Amber Jewelry</i>	1	2	1
<i>Olla</i>	1	2	2
<i>Iron Discs</i>	1	2	2
<i>Iron Stud</i>	1	2	2
<i>Iron Pin</i>	1	2	2
<i>Bronze Bracelet</i>	1	2	2
<i>Hair Spiral</i>	1	2	0
<i>Glass Jewelry</i>	2	0	1
<i>Amphoretta</i>	2	2	2
<i>Brocca</i>	2	2	2
<i>Bronze Falere</i>	2	2	2
<i>Comb Pendent</i>	2	2	2
<i>Bronze Disc Pendent</i>	2	2	2
<i>Iron Bracelet</i>	2	2	2
<i>Iron Jewelry</i>	2	2	2
<i>Bronze Basin</i>	2	2	0
<i>Tweezers</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Stud</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Belt</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Biconical Geometric Vase</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Troncoconical Tazza</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Cist</i>	2	0	2
<i>Fibula Sanguisuga</i>	2	0	2
<i>Decorated Iron Discs</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Pin</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Finger Ring</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Pectoral</i>	2	0	2
<i>Ivory</i>	2	0	2

Table 6.1: Core/Periphery measures for Phase 1 at Fossa. The first column includes all tombs dating to this period (no matter identified gender), the second all Male burials and the third all Female burials. 1 = core, 2 = periphery, 0 = not present within the sample

When burying an individual in this period, the most consistently present items across all genders are elements of bronze jewelry, as shown at the very top of Table 6.1. Other elements of personal adornment are differentiated by gender, as the fibula *a*

serpeggiante is prominent among male burials while female burials have a much wider array of objects used in personal dress and jewelry: simple fibula, fibula *ad arco rivestito* and hooks. Particularly noteworthy is the fibula *ad arco rivestito*, which is typically filled with pieces of amber and bone, showing the incorporation of an imported material within the adornment of female dress, and as a personal marker of connections to long-distance trade networks through the Adriatic that have long been established for central Italy in the trade of amber. Additionally, glass jewelry is an important piece of embellishment among adult and elderly female individuals, marking a difference from Campovalano in which glass frequently appeared in infant burials. The small number of infant burials, however, makes it difficult to say whether or not this is a true difference of use for these imported objects, or if it is purely a product of the archaeological record.

Alongside the dressing and adorning of the deceased, a few personal items are consistently part of the funerary kit. These personal items tend to be markers of gender, and therefore, while they are highlighted by the main core of objects, they tend to be exclusively paired with either males or females. In the case of males, they are accompanied by some of the standard objects associated with masculinity within central Italy for this time period: razor, short sword and sheath, and lance/javelin. For female graves of the main core, there are no personal items highlighted besides jewelry. This is notable for this period, and following into later phases, since the Iron Age marker of female gender for the coastal areas on either side of central Abruzzo saw the presence of weaving equipment, but that is largely absent from this cemetery and from other inland communities. An additional personal item is the knife, which appears within the overall core and although it is also associated with the male core, it is found in female tombs as

well. I have classified it as a personal item due to its placement within the tomb. In 13/15 instances from this period, the knife was placed at or near the hip of the deceased, while in the other two instances it was located near the *ripostiglio*. Since the knife is placed in 50% of tombs in this phase, the knife was most likely not associated with an exclusive class of burials, such as priests. In the cases in which it was associated with the *ripostiglio*, it may be associated with funerary sacrifice or the carving of meat, but in the majority of its finds from this period, it appears to be placed within the tomb as the small personal weapon or instrument of the deceased. It may, therefore, have been part of a more wide-spread practice of sacrifice, outside of a funerary context, among this group of individuals afforded the burial right. The fact that it appears to be in the role of a personal weapon or instrument for two female burials (t.22 and 414) blurs gender roles for the site, showing that cutting instruments were not exclusive to males.

The remaining objects that were placed alongside the deceased relate to the funerary ritual and are almost entirely variants of forms connected to the *ripostiglio*. The overall core (all tombs regardless of gender) contains two types of vessels that function for storage (orciolo and olla) and two types of dipping/drinking vessels (tazza and bronze tazza-attingitoio), as well as a knife. While the gendered cores show that these objects have some preference for placing certain types of vessels with certain genders, there is certainly no evidence of deliberate restriction based on gender. The two types of vessels were most likely used for libations to the deceased, and as they appear in over half of the tombs from this period, they form a critical element of particularly adult burial at Fossa. The practice that is associated with the vessels of the *ripostiglio* was libation. Such a practice dated from the very beginning of occupation at Fossa during the middle of the 8th

century, and it was seen in other cemeteries within central Italy beginning around the same time. Riva has noted that the *fossa con ripostiglio* is first found in the mid-8th century in the low and mid Tiber Valley, and in inland southern Etruria, Latium, and in Faliscan and Sabine territory (Riva 2007: 92). The nature of this practice of liquid offering is an important aspect to keep in mind as we explore later developments in funerary ritual at Fossa. The later communal drinking practices that were seen at Campovalano and were present along the Tyrrhenian coast are functionally very similar to the tradition seen at Fossa, and a change in ritual would not require a major material shift, however the residents of Fossa appear to show continual resistance to such types of ritualized communal drinking.

After placing the deceased in the tomb, laying out their personal items and performing the funerary ritual, one of the most fundamental features of burial at this period was the construction of a tumulus. There are a variety of tumulus types that vary based on the percentage of soil and stone inclusions, as well as the presence of a stone lining of either the top or edges of the tumulus, which the chart below displays (Figure 6.3). Overall, however, 90% of tombs from this period, regardless of gender, have a tumulus of some type. Of the three tombs that are not covered by a tumulus, two are infants and one is an adult. Another important trend that both the chart and the core/periphery numbers show is the very strong link between the placement of menhir leading away from the tumulus and male graves. This, like the inclusion of razors and military weapons, appears to be a marker of male gender, and since this marker would have been the only sign on the surface of the individual's identity, it shows the

importance of signaling this male identity beyond the instance of the burial of the deceased.

The core-periphery measures have helped to identify those objects central to the dressing, equipping and burial of the deceased, providing a clearer understanding of the most fundamental elements of funerary practice at Fossa during this period and establishing a baseline from which to assess changes in later periods. Since this phase provides the only instance of a so-called ‘princely’ tomb, however, we need to go beyond the standard funerary practice to see which objects are employed within it that might differentiate it from the rest of the community.

If we look to the object clustering, these results do in fact point to a distinct set of objects, set apart from the core objects noted above, that are exclusive to the ‘princely’ t.551 and other tombs that contain the objects categorized as elite by the publishers of Fossa. The dendrogram shown in figure 6.4 displays the grave goods from Phase 1 at Fossa broken up into three immediately recognizable branches (A, B and C). The objects from the lower two groups, B and C, are primarily made up of grave goods associated with the female and male cores respectively. These groups represent the standard objects buried with the deceased, and their division helps to indicate the heavily gendered nature of the deposition of many of these objects. Although all of the vessels associated with the libation ritual appear within the branch of female-related objects, they are also found within male tombs. Since these two branches have been briefly discussed within the core-periphery section, I will turn my attention to branch A, whose objects have a great deal of overlap with what has been considered elite goods.

First, it is notable that the objects within branch A have a p-value of 100%, meaning that we can reject the null hypothesis that these objects do not exist as a cluster based on the data presented. Second, although the group contains objects that Acconcia and the site publishers have listed as signaling emergent tombs, it also has more objects included in the branch. The objects that have already been designated as elite are the bronze basin, the combination of a bronze biconical vase and bronze troncoconical tazza, and iron discs. I will discuss each of these objects before turning to the other elements included in the branch.

The bronze basin, as we have seen at Campovalano as well, has been taken both as a marker of elite status and as a material sign of the arrival of the banquet. In the case of Fossa it is no different, as the publishers have tied the ideology of the banquet to the presence of bronze basins, particularly emphasizing their connection within t.551 to other items probably imported from Etruria, such as bronze vase and tazza (Figure 6.1). They emphasize that the combination of these bronze vessels signals the arrival of a new ideological patrimony, one whose origins can be tied originally to the Near East (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 209). However as bronze basins appear in many necropoleis in Abruzzo as additional elements to the *ripostiglio*, they have seen a number of different interpretations. At Campovalano, Alfedena and Opi bronze basins have been found with food remains inside, indicating at least a functional connection to banqueting (Acconcia 2014a: 48). In the case of Bazzano, the absence of such food remains combined with the nearby presence of razors, knives and other instruments of toiletry have led Joachim Weidig to conclude that basins of the 7th and 6th c. were used in preparing the deceased for burial rather than being connected to food or banqueting (Weidig 2014b: 257). At

Fossa, although no food remains have been found within the bronze basins, these food remains have been found within similarly placed open ceramic vessel forms, leading Acconcia to make a functional analogy between the two to hypothesize the possibility that the bronze basins were being used to make a food offering in a similar manner to the *tazza* making a liquid offering of libation (Acconcia 2014a: 49). In making this hypothesis, Acconcia distinguishes this type of food offering from the Homeric model of the banquet, connecting it instead to more local forms of funerary ritual.

In light of these possible interpretations, it seems plausible that each of these hypotheses may in fact be correct depending upon the context of each tomb. In the four tombs that contain bronze basins during Phase 1, two (t.551 and 361) are accompanied by the traditional combination of a storage vessel and dipping cup, possibly indicating a supplementary role for the bronze basin for providing a food offering, agreeing with Acconcia's interpretation. In the case of t.193, in which there are no other vessels besides the bronze basin, it appears more likely that the basin was used in the preparation of the body, as was seen at Bazzano, since it is located at the feet with a razor at the knees and a knife at the hip. This type of placement is repeated in t.192, in which the bronze basin is located at the feet with a razor just beside it, and a knife nearby just to the right of the *ripostiglio*, which is only made up of a single large vase with no dipping cup. In these two cases, a function as a tool for preparing the body appears to be more appropriate. For all four cases however, there does not appear to be any evidence of the use of bronze basins in any type of communal meal or banquet, since there are no instruments explicitly tied to food preparation and cooking (the placement of the knife marks it as a part of the costume of the deceased), and there are no other indications of multiple attendees of such

a communal event. This may change in later periods at Fossa, but it appears that the interpretation connecting this with banqueting ideology was originally and incorrectly based on its use within the context of Etruria and not its context locally.

One of the primary reasons such a connection had been made for both the bronze basins and t.551 specifically is due to the two Villanovan bronze vessels: a biconical bronze vase with a geometric design of zig-zags and fish spine motifs, and a troncoconical tazza with raised handle and a pointed triangle motif at the neck (Stillfried type). Both of these vessels have comparanda from Veii, which is part of the reason they have been thought of as representing an ideological transfer from southern Etruria to Fossa, and why Raffaella Papi has taken it further to state that the deceased is actually an immigrant from the Tyrrhenian coast (Papi 2014: 103). The Stillfried-type tazza however, has been linked by Iaia to itinerant craftsmen traveling from the Carpathian mountains to the Alps and eventually into the middle Tyrrhenian region, showing that this style of metalwork is not something that can be securely identified with Etruscan production (Iaia 2005: 238–242). The vessel forms of these two imports, however, bear greater resemblance to the well-established *ripostiglio* of large storage vessel and dipping cup that is so prominent at Fossa. And even though the large size of the tazza by comparison to the opening of the vase means that the pair are not functionally compatible⁶⁸, their forms provide a symbolic connection to the standard set of local forms at Fossa, while distinguishing the deceased by their material type, exaggerated tazza size and in their implied foreign connections. Rather than being indicative of a new ideology taking hold

⁶⁸ Rim diameter of the tazza is 22.4 cm while the rim diameter of the biconical vase is 15 cm.

at Fossa, these imported vessels instead mark the way in which a group at Fossa has chosen to work within their own ritual to distinguish themselves from the rest of the community. Imported vessels from t.551 then, are incorporated into existing ideas and practices, showing distinction through continuity rather than quest for a new ideology.

The final element established as a marker of elite status by the publishers of Fossa is the decorative ornament of iron discs (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004: 209). Within this branch of the dendrogram, there are other decorated discs, of both bronze and iron, that also appear to be a way of displaying status. Although the iron discs were stated to be a marker of status among women, both these and the other ornamental metal discs appear in both male and female dress. These discs were often woven into clothes, falling from one shoulder like a stole (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004: 180). The similarity of its form to the disc armor that is typical of defensive military items in Abruzzo shows the way in which such martial aspects were appropriated into everyday dress, for both males and females. The decorated discs in particular have very strong comparanda to bronze discs produced in the Fucine basin, and especially those found at Avezzano, where they are worn by females in stoles draping down in the center of their hips from their belt (Papi 2014: 103–113). Its prominent position in sites throughout the south-central Apennines establishes these metal discs as markers of distinction within a central Italian *koiné*, and therefore are not a new style of elite display imported from the Tyrrhenian coast or any other region.

In addition to the objects that have been characterized in the past as markers of status, there are a number of other objects within this cluster that bring out the ritual and material preferences of Fossa during this period. Among the rare ceramic imports of this period are two anforette of probable Veientine production from t.19 and 455 (Figure 6.5).

Both have different forms of decoration: the anforetta from t.19 has a combination of painted and metal applique geometric decoration while the anforetta from t.455 has vertical ribbing at the shoulder and a boss on either side. Another commonality is that a single handle has been broken from each in antiquity, altering the typically two-handled vessel to become much closer in form to the tazza-attingitoio prominent at Fossa. This appears to be another case, as in the bronze imported vessels discussed above, in which imported vessels were adapted into local ritual practice rather than being allowed to maintain their original function. Such modification begs the question of why it would be preferable to use a cup with a broken handle rather than simply continuing to use the local cups that were available. In the case of t.455, the decoration resembles styles that were already being produced locally, however the applied metal and painted decoration of the anforetta from t.19 may have been appealing enough to forget the formal difference of this vessel from the single-handled tazze. In addition to these anforette, all but one of the vessels that received such handle modification are decorated either with applied metal strips or painted decoration, all of which are done in geometric design. This signals that the decoration was the desirable aspect that led to the importation of the object, not necessarily its association with an Etruscan lifestyle.

Another notable divergence in value that Fossa takes from other sites of this period is its value of iron for its own material properties rather than as a lesser substitute for bronze. This can in part be demonstrated by the small iron cist present in t. 57 and within the elite branch of objects in the dendrogram. The high degree of wealth of this tomb, as indicated by the large bronze pectoral necklace, fibulae inlaid with amber and bone, and rich necklace filled with amber and glass, shows that the choice of iron in the

case of the cist was most likely not due to lack of access to bronze. As d'Ercole has noted, there appears to be an actual preference for iron, and an assignation of both functional and social value to the material (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004: 190). Such a preference is further demonstrated by the ornamental iron discs discussed above as well as a rare iron ring in t. 57. Since all of the weapons of this period are made of iron, the material value assigned to iron at Fossa does not appear to be one due to scarcity. Its value may lie in connection to its martial usage, however the personal toiletry item of the iron cist complicates such a simplistic interpretation. Whatever the reason, the use of iron within prestige symbols emphasizes the importance of building understandings of elite representation considering local value systems first rather than assuming certain objects have either universal or a particular intrinsic value.

The cluster of objects segmented by the hierarchical clustering as distinct from the core items of male and female burials, does in fact appear to correspond with those objects that more elaborate tombs at Fossa have utilized to differentiate themselves. After a closer examination of many of these objects, however, the tombs of the elite in which these objects are deposited maintain greater ties to standard forms of both funerary ritual and local means of ornamentation. The numerous bronze vessels of t.551, rather than indicating the first arrival of a new banqueting ideology, emphasize the importance of funerary libation through a more elaborate material used for the functional set. The added offering of food in the instances of a few tombs indicates an elaboration of the current funerary ritual, but in a way that compliments that ritual rather than overhauling it or completely replacing it. Imported ceramic vessels were also modified to fit existing funerary ritual, providing a physical analogue for the cultural processes at work during

this period. Imported objects, while valued for their aesthetic differences from the standard material culture at Fossa, must be ritually broken and fitted to a pre-existing conception of how vessels should be used in a funerary ritual. In short, while the results of object clustering clearly point to a set of grave goods that are associated with a wealthier category of burial, and one that cultivates contacts with the Tyrrhenian coast, this has not led to the kind of automatic influx of lifeways and practices that has so frequently been implied.

6.2.2 Phase 2A (730-680 BCE)

Phase 2A marks the beginning of the *orientalizzante antico* period at Fossa, however this does not indicate any truly recognizable shift in funerary practice. It is difficult to say this definitively since the sample from this phase of the cemetery is so small, only 14 tombs. Another unfortunate occurrence for my particular question is the flooding and brief cessation in occupation of the cemetery that occurs between this period and the next, Phase 2B. Such an interruption provides an added challenge for observing the types of changes that increased foreign contact might have had on the community of Fossa.

	<i>All Tombs</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Simple Fibula</i>	1	1	2
<i>Bronze Ring</i>	1	1	0
<i>Bronze Jewelry</i>	1	2	1
<i>Amber Jewelry</i>	1	2	1
<i>Bronze Bracelet</i>	1	2	0
<i>Iron Bracelet</i>	2	1	2
<i>Hooks</i>	2	2	1
<i>Orciolo</i>	2	2	2
<i>Tazza</i>	2	2	2

<i>Coltello</i>	2	2	2
<i>Fibula Navicella</i>	2	2	2
<i>Iron Ring</i>	2	2	2
<i>Bronze Finger Ring</i>	2	2	2
<i>Short Sword</i>	2	2	0
<i>Sheath</i>	2	2	0
<i>Lance/Javelin</i>	2	2	0
<i>Olla</i>	2	0	2
<i>Brocca</i>	2	0	2
<i>Cover</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Basin</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Tazza-Attingitoio</i>	2	0	2
<i>Fibula Sanguisuga</i>	2	0	2
<i>Fibula Rivestito</i>	2	0	2
<i>Fibula Serpeggiante</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Stud</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Decorated Disc</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Decorated Disc</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Disc Pendent</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Finger Ring</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Glass Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bone Jewelry</i>	2	0	2

Table 6.2: Core/Periphery measures for Phase 2A at Fossa. The first column includes all tombs dating to this period (no matter identified gender), the second all Male burials and the third all Female burials. 1 = core, 2 = periphery, 0 = not present within the sample

The tombs from Phase 2A at Fossa provide a wide range of levels of grave good accumulation, with the majority of the wealth found within young adult female graves, as opposed to the previous period in which the wealthiest graves were those of young adult males. Due to the small sample sizes of both periods, this may in fact be a result of the archaeological record that has been left to us rather than a concerted shift in the communal investment of wealth within burials. As will be seen, the nature of how wealth

is expressed within female graves has certainly not changed, but is instead heightened at this time.

If we look at the core-periphery results from this period, all objects except the iron bracelet were present within the core of the previous phase. The large reduction in the number of objects within the core is likely due to the fact that overall there is now greater variety in which forms were utilized for the *rispostiglio* and there is a great deal of variation in the type of jewelry and adornment that is placed with the deceased. The *rispostiglio* continues to be an important part of funerary ritual for this period, taking its traditional form as a storage + cup pairing with no variation. In addition to the maintenance of funerary ritual, the way of dressing and adorning the deceased follows the patterns and styles of the previous period. Amber jewelry, for instance, is still prominent within the core, appearing in six tombs, five of which are female. Amber appears in this period in many forms, similar to what was seen earlier: filling a fibula *ad arco rivestito* alongside bone, amber pendants belonging to a necklace, a necklace made completely of amber, and a large iron decorated disc whose center is filled with amber. The frequency of amber within the small number of tombs in this phase are most likely indicative of the high status of all of those buried, but additionally it shows the importance of this high value material as an indicator of wealth in the community. In its application to the decorated iron disc and its inclusion within the bronze fibula, amber was frequently used to amplify objects of dress and prestige already recognized within the community.

The differentiation between male and female graves in this phase is borne out in the results of the object clustering (Figure 6.6). The majority of the dendrogram is taken up by a large cluster of objects with 97% p-value that are predominately associated with

female graves. Below this is a much smaller group with 96% p-value consisting of the tazza, knife and a number of weapons, while the remaining items are general bronze and iron pieces of jewelry and clothing accessories, many of which are part of the core for this period. The large cluster of objects associated with female graves shows the wide variety of decorative pieces and material types that were used to adorn the deceased. The breadth and wealth of these female graves is best exemplified by t. 365, which was described in its publication as ‘princely’ due to the rich quantity of ornaments and of bronze and ceramic vessels (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004: 221).

The elaborate adornment of t. 365 (Figure 6.6) is evident in both the quantity of the decorative elements included in the burial and the quality of the material that is used. This female burial includes three belts: only one of which was actually worn by the deceased as a belt, the other two belts, one iron and one bronze, were draped like stoles. One of the iron fibulae included amber on the arch, and amber beads and small pendants were found on the chest as part of a necklace. There is a small circular pendant made out of bronze and electrum. And as discussed briefly before, the individual was adorned with two iron disc draping down from the center of one of the belts. The uppermost and largest of the iron discs was decorated with a pattern of point and teeth in concentric circles, while the center of the disc was divided into quadrants of inlaid amber. In this wealthy tomb the interplay of iron and amber highlights the social value given to iron at Fossa. The rich ornamentation indeed does fall in line with the norms of funerary dress at Fossa, as noted by the publishers, however it gives them greater embellishment (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004: 221). Such a combination of ornament is not alone even for this period,

however, as the combination of the amber necklace and the iron disc with amber inlaid in the center can also be seen in the female burial of t.190 (Figure 6.7).

In terms of the vessels that are buried within t.365, the traditional *ripostiglio* is maintained, although in different vessels forms, and bronze basins appear for the first time at Fossa in the burial of a female. The olla appears for the first time with a cover, decorated on the outside with painted swastikas and other geometric elements, and containing a miniature orciolo within it (Figure 6.8). Bronze basins were placed in a similar position to those described before, at the feet of the deceased and outside of the *ripostiglio*. As the knife is once again at the hip of the body, possibly as something that was worn, it is difficult to determine whether the bronze basins were part of the ritual preparation of the body or were involved in a food offering, possibly of portioned meat. Just as with the ‘princely’ tomb from the previous period, there is no denying that the tomb is wealthy, and by comparison to the other tombs of the period, it appears to be the wealthiest. The connotations that accompany ‘princely’, however, those of a new lifestyle inspired by eastern ideas, do not appear within this tomb. The method of burial and dress is consistent with the pattern that has been seen at Fossa in earlier periods. The designation as ‘princely’ seems based on the fact that it is the wealthiest burial from the ‘orientalizing’ period, and therefore would be the one most justified in gaining such a title. Without the concomitant change in funerary practice, however, such a description is misplaced, especially for a term whose continued use has already been highly questioned in other chapters.

Rather than the sheer accumulation of material, this tomb is important for the choice of imported materials and the way in which they were utilized. The selection of

the radiant electrum disc, surrounded by a full string of amber beads, along with the inclusion of an amber segmented circle within a large iron disc would seem to make a strong symbolic connection to the sun, something for which amber has long had a connection. That this solar connection, seen in the ornamentation of t.365 and 190, appears to be displayed only within female graves, marks it as a particular aspect of female identity at Fossa.

In the few tombs that date to this *orientalizzante antico* period, there is a strong continuity with the funerary ritual, patterns of display and levels of wealth that were seen in the previous period. The so-called ‘princely’ tomb, as in the previous phase, also shows stronger connections with local modes of representation and modes of burial rather than signaling the arrival of new practices or an ideological shift. The tombs from both periods show wealth disparity within grave goods, however the ways of displaying such wealth are all well-established within the community. In this phase there is increased emphasis on female burials, but as stated before, this may be an artifact of the archaeological record. The community represented in both of these early phases seems to establish a standard funerary rite, while emphasizing the adornment and ornamentation of women and the martial role of males, all while there is clear evidence of connections to both long distance exchange through Adriatic trade routes and close relations with the nearby Tyrrhenian coast.

6.2.3 Phase 2B (7th century)

After a break in occupation due to a flooding event, the cemetery of Fossa was reoccupied⁶⁹. This period of Fossa is marked by a change in tomb alignment and structures from the tumuli of Phase 1 and 2A, burials which were filled with a number of grave goods that have been characterized as exceptional, originating from outside of the Aquila basin (Benelli 2008: 91). In looking at the overall funerary ritual as represented through the core-periphery figures, the essential funerary ritual remains centered on the *ripostiglio*, in this period mainly represented through the olla and tazza, although as well will see, the choice of dipping cup is where many of the variations occur. Male gender is still expressed through weaponry, however the short sword of earlier periods has now been replaced by a dagger, accompanied by a lance/javelin. Female gender has also widened to include a symbol of weaving, the spindle whorl, alongside the traditional elements of adornment.

	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Olla</i>	1	1	1
<i>Fibula Raised Arch</i>	1	1	1
<i>Lance/Javelin</i>	1	1	0
<i>Fibula Simple</i>	1	2	1
<i>Hooks</i>	1	2	1
<i>Bronze Ring</i>	1	2	1
<i>Iron Jewelry</i>	1	2	1
<i>Bronze Jewelry</i>	1	0	1
<i>Bronze Finger Ring</i>	1	0	2
<i>Dagger</i>	2	1	0
<i>Iron Ring</i>	2	2	1
<i>Hair Spiral</i>	2	0	1
<i>Spindle Whorl</i>	2	0	1
<i>Tazza</i>	2	2	2
<i>Amphora</i>	2	2	0

⁶⁹ At the end of Phase 2A, a series flood occurs silting the cemetery in a large layer of accumulation and causing a break in occupation of the cemetery.

<i>Amphoretta</i>	2	2	0
<i>Attingitoio</i>	2	2	0
<i>Kotyle</i>	2	2	0
<i>Kantharos</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Basin</i>	2	2	0
<i>Knife</i>	2	2	0
<i>Razor</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Pin</i>	2	2	0
<i>Sheath</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Mace</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Amber Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Vase</i>	2	0	0
<i>Olletta</i>	2	0	0
<i>Orciolo</i>	2	0	0
<i>Ciotola</i>	2	0	0
<i>Fibula Losanga</i>	2	0	0
<i>Fibula Rivestito</i>	2	0	0
<i>Bronze Bracelet</i>	2	0	0
<i>Iron Bracelet</i>	2	0	0
<i>Glass Jewelry</i>	2	0	0
<i>Bone Jewelry</i>	2	0	0
<i>Bronze Breastplate</i>	2	0	0

Table 6.3: Core/Periphery measures for Phase 2B at Fossa. The first column includes all tombs dating to this period (no matter identified gender), the second all Male burials and the third all Female burials. 1 = core, 2 = periphery, 0 = not present within the sample

The results of object clustering provide a view of both the core funerary ritual and the ‘exceptional elements’ for this period (Figure 6.9). The lower half of the dendrogram is primarily made up of the core objects highlighted above: components of the *ripostiglio*, weapons, basic pieces of jewelry and adornment. The top half in contrast is composed of two separate, significant clusters, in which the top grouping consists primarily of objects of dress and adornment that have been seen in previous periods, while the lower cluster includes a number of new ceramic forms, new weapons (iron mace), and new weaving

equipment (spindle whorl) alongside some traditional items such as amber jewelry, razor and the bronze breastplate. Although many of these additions to the funerary assemblage are scattered throughout the cemetery and often appear random in the way in which they are deposited, this method of clustering has identified a significant pattern of use that brings them together. Even within this group, the cluster of new objects is segmented into two branches: the upper half is made up of grave goods more frequently associated with female tombs, while the objects from the bottom half appear in tombs in which all but one, an infant, include weapons. This cluster of new grave goods helps to focus the narrative that follows on some of the modest changes in funerary assemblages, such as the new forms of drinking vessels, the introduction of bucchero imports and locally made impasto buccheroide, the addition of a new weapon alongside a continuation of traditional representations of masculinity, as well as the beginning of incised impasto decorative work.

In the *ripostiglio*, it is in the dipping/drinking cup that we see a wide range of vessel variation of new forms being introduced. These new forms include the kotyle (t.97), anforetta (t.43 & 415), kantharos (t.43), and olletta (t.336)⁷⁰ (Figure 6.10). Functionally, all but the olletta⁷¹ served as drinking cups, however the presence of two-handles on each meant that they no longer could be used also as dipping cups. The exception to this is the bucchero kotyle, which had one of the handles sawed off, making it easier to dip the vessel into the accompanying olla and rendering it similar to the earlier

⁷⁰ The olletta is located outside of the cluster of new objects, although it represents a new form to the site. It is most likely isolated from the other new forms because the tomb that it is a part of only contains it and a simple fibula.

⁷¹ The olletta was found in an infant tomb, and therefore most likely represented the storage vessel of the *ripostiglio*, although in a proportionally smaller size.

tazze (Figure 6.11). These new forms also move the funerary ritual away from the practice of pouring libations, since the double handles emphasize an individual drinking from the vessel. This change represents the beginnings of a subtle shift in funerary ritual at Fossa among a limited number of tombs. While these vessels might be associated with communal drinking practices in other contexts, in each of these tombs they appear as single cups not sets, and almost all are paired with a larger storage vessel, following the pattern of earlier funerary ritual.

Although these new vessel forms appear to present only a slight variation from earlier funerary practice at Fossa, the material with which they were made is a slight departure from the standard *impasto bruno*, marking the arrival of both *bucchero* and *impasto buccheroide*⁷². The kotyle in t.97 is the only vessel of this period made out of *bucchero*, while the olletta from t.336, the ciotola and anforetta from t.415 and the attingitoio from t.320 are all composed of *impasto buccheroide*. With the exception of the imported *bucchero* kotyle, the other vessels made of *impasto buccheroide* were not only locally made, but have taken forms that were foreign to the Etruscan *bucchero* and *impasto* repertoire, and are more widely diffuse within the Aquila area (Acconcia 2012: 103–104). Since each of these forms most likely originated in the region, albeit with some reference to forms observed in the Sabine, Umbrian and Picene region, they may have been created due to a local need rather than necessarily outside influence. This shift to vessels more appropriate for solely drinking, then, appears to be internally driven. The

⁷² Benelli distinguishes between the two within the second publication volume of Fossa, describing the *bucchero* as being imported from Etruria and the *impasto buccheroide* as being a local imitation of *bucchero* (Benelli 2004: 275). Acconcia however believes that at Campovalano and Fossa, the distinction is not necessarily as important, downplaying the differences in color and instead focusing on the morphological aspects of each repertoire (Acconcia 2012: 102).

fact that these vessels appeared a short time after the first bucchero vessels began to be imported shows a quick transfer in the knowledge of production techniques for bucchero, directing this newly gained skill to local needs and preferences. In many ways this may be due to the fact that the forms that imported bucchero took, as seen by the modification of the kotyle, were unsuitable to local needs, however the material properties that these imports brought with them were in fact desirable.

In addition to the new ceramic type, a few of these vessels also provide evidence for a new style of decorating ceramic vessels, through incision. The painted and metal applique designs that were prevalent in the previous two phases have gone out of style, as have the geometric motifs. Instead, in the technique of incision, a distinctive bucchero decorative technique, we see a wider range of motifs and subjects portrayed on a number of different ceramic types. The impasto rosso kantharos from t.43 is incised with facing heraldic horses, typically of Faliscan incised horse imagery (Biella 2007); the olla from t.373 has a repeated pattern of waves and triangles; and the anforetta from t.415 is incised with a phytomorphic design. All of these vessels have stylistic ties to the Faliscan-Capenate region, in which this type of iconography is incredibly prominent.

The incised decoration from the impasto olla of t.97, however, is made up of a scene of three individuals, between which there are comb pendants (which are found in bronze in the cemetery) and a so-called dagger, and above all of these there are two bands of triangular points (Figure 6.12). D’Ercole has put forward the hypothesis that these individuals are warriors with X-shaped shields in front, holding their arms up as a gesture of laying down their weapons, all located in front of a village (represented as huts by the comb pendants) (D’Ercole 2014a: 42–43). He posits that these individuals are paying

homage, either to a deity in return for blessing on campaign, or to a deceased chief or companion killed in battle. This martial interpretation, although perhaps contextually sound as the olla was found in the burial of a male between 21-31 years old who was interred with two lances and a dagger, is founded on somewhat questionable interpretations of the imagery depicted. The idea that each individual is holding an X-shaped shield, for instance, seems odd since none of the figures are using arms to hold them, and additionally, although there are no preserved shields in the region, all of the defensive equipment found within the Abruzzo takes a circular form. Additionally, the interpretation of the comb pendants as huts disregards the actual comb pendants found in the tombs of both males and females, one of which has small circles within the triangular section, something that does not comport with a reading of these figures as huts (Figure 6.13). Indeed, the raised hands and exaggerated hips of the individuals depicted causes me to lean toward an interpretation of these figures as female mourners, however the unusual nature of this decoration makes finding suitable comparanda for either interpretation difficult. Whatever the correct interpretation, it is striking that this is the first time at Fossa that human figures are used as symbolically charged images within the funerary ritual, and are specifically placed on the central element of the libation ritual, the storage vessel.

In conjunction with these new vessel forms, the object clustering points out a few more new elements of personal equipment, for both males and females, that are introduced at this time. In the midst of the tactical change from short sword to dagger (and in the next period long sword), iron maces are also made part of the panoply for two tombs of young adult males in this period (t.43 and 55). The tombs in which the mace is

deposited are fairly plain, with grave goods primarily focused on weapons and the basic *ripostiglio*, although t.43 does include the kantharos with horse motifs. The maces found here at Fossa are more limited in number than what was found at Campovalano, however the lack of amassed grave goods seems to indicate that the mace has a purely weaponry role here at Fossa, rather than being a marker of monarchical power. While weaponry is changing at this time, there is some continuity in the defensive arms, as evidenced by the bronze breastplate present in t.118, and in the representation of male practice through the presence of the razor in four tombs of the period. The role of the male warrior continues to be a strong marker of identity at this time, and the iron mace appears to be just another additional element in this expression.

Within female graves, spindle whorls appear for the first time as a representation of the role of the deceased as a weaver. The two tombs that contain a spindle whorl each only have one, which is quite different than the large numbers that were deposited at Campovalano. This may indicate that a single spindle whorl was used as a representative for a role as a weaver, instead of an individual being buried with all of their weaving instruments. Such a difference may indicate that weaving material remained within the household, and the single spindle whorl served as a symbol. As mentioned previously, such a small emphasis on the importance of weaving is unusual for a community that relied so heavily on pastoralism. The minor use of spindle whorls in burials at this period, which is not a practice that ever sees widespread use at Fossa, may then have served as reminder of the particular individual being buried, rather than a proscriptive cultural norm that was being followed.

What we see then throughout Phase 2B is the subtle beginning of a change in funerary practice and material culture that is set alongside a strong connection to older practices. The presence of the *ripostiglio* continues to be a critical component of the funeral, and any shift away from the practices it represents requires slight and incremental changes that are paired with other established expressions of adornment and dress, male warrior identity, and symbols of female identity seen in jewelry composed of precious materials. The quick response to the importation of bucchero by local artisans is demonstrative of a community actively responding to new materials and ideas brought from other peoples, taking a hand in shaping the forms that are produced. Although the continued adherence to local practices may be seen as exemplary of a conservative community, the evidence presented from this period points to a community that is actively negotiating the role that new ideas, materials, and practices will play within their already-established customs, and incorporating what they viewed to be valuable.

6.2.4 Phase 3A (6th century)

This phase at Fossa marks the largest occupation of the cemetery, with a sample of 52 tombs. Nearly all of the tombs from this period are single *a fossa* inhumation burials that are spread through the cemetery going from southeast to northwest, with only five tumuli, interspersed in the empty places between those tumuli already present. Many of the *fossa* inhumations are cut into earlier tumuli, or placed at their edges, especially for the great ancestral tomb 300, the largest of the early cemetery.

	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Simple Fibula</i>	1	1	1
<i>Double Curve Fibula</i>	1	1	1

<i>Hooks</i>	1	1	2
<i>Bronze Finger Ring</i>	1	2	2
<i>Amphoretta</i>	1	2	2
<i>Olla</i>	1	2	2
<i>Attingitoio</i>	1	2	2
<i>Tweezers</i>	1	2	2
<i>Bronze Ring</i>	1	2	2
<i>Sheath</i>	1	2	0
<i>Raised Arch Fibula</i>	1	0	2
<i>Scodella</i>	1	0	2
<i>Amber Jewelry</i>	1	0	0
<i>Lance/Javelin</i>	2	1	0
<i>Spindle Whorl</i>	2	0	1
<i>Tazza</i>	2	2	2
<i>Kylix</i>	2	2	2
<i>Oinochoe</i>	2	2	2
<i>Bronze Jewelry</i>	2	2	2
<i>Iron Pin</i>	2	2	2
<i>Silver Finger Ring</i>	2	2	2
<i>Chalice</i>	2	2	0
<i>Knife</i>	2	2	0
<i>Bronze Bracelet</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Bracelet</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Shoes</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Long Sword</i>	2	2	0
<i>Dagger</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Harpoon</i>	2	2	0
<i>Iron Mace</i>	2	2	0
<i>Vase</i>	2	0	2
<i>Brocca</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Basin</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Bulla</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Ring</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Finger Ring</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Glass Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bone Jewelry</i>	2	0	2
<i>Ivory</i>	2	0	2
<i>Ciotola</i>	2	0	2
<i>Plate</i>	2	0	2
<i>Patera</i>	2	0	2

<i>Iron Spit</i>	2	0	2
<i>Comb Pendent</i>	2	0	2
<i>Iron Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Bronze Belt</i>	2	0	2
<i>Ivory Animal</i>	2	0	2
<i>Amphora</i>	2	0	0
<i>Olletta</i>	2	0	0
<i>Kotyle</i>	2	0	0
<i>Cup</i>	2	0	0
<i>Aryballos</i>	2	0	0
<i>Cover</i>	2	0	0
<i>Fibula preCertosa</i>	2	0	0
<i>Iron Bulla</i>	2	0	0

Table 6.4: Core/Periphery measures for Phase 3A at Fossa. The first column includes all tombs dating to this period (no matter identified gender), the second all Male burials and the third all Female burials. 1 = core, 2 = periphery, 0 = not present within the sample

The most notable change highlighted by the core-periphery figures is the modification of the ceramics used in funerary ritual. Although the *ripostiglio* continues as it had for centuries before, the preferred dipping vessel is now an attingitoio, which has a deeper basin and a more elevated handle to make drawing liquid easier. In addition, the tazza or attingitoio are in some cases replaced with an oinochoe (t.121 & 176), showing another instance in which an imported vessel form is incorporated into local practice. Now for the first time within the core another ceramic vessel is included with the *ripostiglio*, the anforetta, although this third additional vessel actually takes many different shapes. The third vessel, typically one associated with drinking, is consistently placed at the lower leg or feet of the deceased, slightly separate from the *ripostiglio*, in much the same position as the bronze basin from earlier periods (Figure 6.14). Acconcia has interpreted this pattern to mean an additional food offering, particularly in relation to the bronze basin, but also in later open ceramic forms, due to the finding of organic

remains (described as a whitish substance) within open forms (Acconcia 2014a: 50). As the organic remains come only from bowls and not from the many different types of drinking vessels found at the lower leg and feet, it is difficult to say whether or not the food remains are specific to the form or to the location of the offering in the burial. In the case of t. 382, in which an anforetta was found at the lower side, it would be difficult to see this vessel as one used in food offerings, particularly due to the way it is used elsewhere in the cemetery.

Regardless of the exact function of this additional third vessel, its position so close to the body and the high degree of variability of form indicates the perhaps highly personal nature of the vessel to the deceased. A vessel in this position has taken eight different ceramic forms, many of which in other contexts are used exclusively as drinking vessels, such as the kylix, kotyle and cup. Clearly, since all eight are open form vessels they could be used for either food or drink, however the traditional connection for forms like the kylix and kotyle with symposiastic drinking would make their use in a food offering quite a transformation. This emendation of the function of an imported vessel conforms to the pattern seen in the previous phase, showing the consistent adherence to a local form of funerary ritual, even as new objects arrived.

The one tomb which proves to be an exception to this is t. 168, which is unusual by comparison to the rest of the cemetery in that the deceased, of both unknown age and sex, is buried with eight anforette, four oinochoai, one kotyle, one attingitoio and a large number of simple and double curved fibula, as well as bronze finger rings (Figure 6.15). This vast quantity of ceramic vessels (bucchero, buccheroide and impasto) was unprecedented at Fossa. Such an abundant repetition of many drinking and pouring

vessels would naturally point to an interpretation of these as elements of communal drinking. The high number of oinochoai may be due to the fact that this burial contains no large storage vessel, and therefore any liquid involved in communal drinking may have been transported to the tomb in these oinochoai. This interpretation can be further pushed to be evidence of communal drinking at the funeral itself due to the position and condition of the remains of these vessels (Figure 6.16). The vessels, crushed in antiquity due to stones that surrounded the burial, were deposited not just at the feet where the *ripostiglio* would typically be placed, but at the feet, along the right side and to the left of the head (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004: 67–68). Such unusual placement may suggest a number of individuals engaged in ritual drinking around the burial ditch at the funeral, who at the end, placed the drinking and pouring vessels along the sides where they were standing.

Tomb 168 is one of the only tombs from Fossa that provides convincing evidence of communal drinking taking place at the funeral, along with a deliberate display and performance of such an act. As such, it is notable that it does not carry with it other grave goods that are typically associated with such a funerary practice connected with the Tyrrhenian coast. In fact, most of these supplementary elements of Tyrrhenian and ‘orientalizing’ practice are scattered throughout the cemetery, each in individual tombs. An iron spit and plate appear at this time only within t. 269, however there are no other vessels that accompany them, and there is indeed no knife which would be typically associated with apportioning the meat. There is only a single iron mace in this period, and this tomb (184) contains only fibulae and an armilla in addition to the weapon pairing of

a dagger in sheath and lance. The bronze basin occurs in only two tombs, and its placement follows the open vessels used in food offering discussed previously.

One tomb that encompasses many of the symbolic and decorative aspects connected with the ‘orientalizing’ style is t. 399 (Figure 6.17). The burial of this female between 44-53 years old contains the typical *ripostiglio* of olla and tazza, however the impasto olla is incised with a row of incised lotus buds, and at the top of the shoulder there are four impasto molded horse-griffin protomes. Both types of decoration have connections with the Faliscan-Capenate region, however the impasto protomes are prominent in much of the northern Abruzzo and Picene regions. The combination of the horse and griffin as a protome melds a figure used to ward off evil spirits, and perhaps prying hands, with a symbol of pride that is common to the community. The horse is a prominent figure in many of the decorated ceramics from Fossa, such as t. 43 in the previous phase and t. 309 from this current phase, in which the horse is decorated *ad incavo*. The protomes on the olla show how Fossa combines both the prestige of the horse at Fossa and the surrounding region with a symbol of protective force on an object that is central to the funerary ritual represented by the *ripostiglio*.

Returning to t. 399, the protome olla is accompanied in this tomb by another decorative item referencing an ‘orientalizing’ style, and in this instance, in a precious imported material. An ivory pendent disc with felines carved on the top two corners was found on the pelvis of the deceased, possibly indicating a similar piece of dress to the iron decorated discs from earlier phases. Such a connection demonstrates the continuation of rare, precious materials being incorporated into elements of dress and ornamentation within female attire, a role that was primarily held by amber in previous periods. In this

case the carved feline figures may indicate a connection between the deceased and a mythical world in which these animals, unknown from this region, would exist.

Overall, the most characteristic aspect of this phase of the cemetery is variability of choice and a lack of uniformity concerning the newly imported vessel forms that were briefly introduced in the previous phase. If we look at the object clustering for this period, the results are decidedly unhelpful (Figure 6.18). Although there are some clusters of objects identified within the core, the dendrogram, even with the significant clusters identified through multiscalar bootstrapping, is difficult to read and provides few archaeologically meaningful connections. Many of the individual objects associated with the Tyrrhenian idea of ‘orientalizing’ are grouped within the third cluster from the top, however the number of tombs that have multiple objects from this group within a single context is extremely limited. In some ways the confusion of the dendrogram and consistency presented in the core-periphery figures provides the perfect understanding of this period: a strong fostering of established funerary practices accompanied by a series of individual choices and subtle revisions to this practice that do not form any kind of communal consensus.

6.3 Conclusions

Over some nearly three centuries, the community utilizing the cemetery at Fossa maintained a consistency of grave goods, adornment and practice even as the way in which individuals were buried changed and as new imported objects arrived from the Tyrrhenian coast. In many ways Fossa contradicts many of the long held narratives about the effects of imported objects on those who receive them. The imported objects that

come to be buried at Fossa are excellent examples of how imports are actively adapted to their new local context. Some imports are actually modified to fit already-existing local forms, while the decorative and material characteristics of others, such as bucchero, quickly become part of the local ceramic repertoire. These adaptations do not, however, lead to a blind and thoughtless path of only seeking to adapt, there are clear instances in which some practices at Fossa do in fact change, and most likely these changes are in some part inspired by and the result of dialogue with a foreign people and foreign material culture. The accommodation of the *ripostiglio* to include drinking vessels rather than just those utilized in libation, as well as the inclusion of some form of food offering, show how those at Fossa were in fact open to some degree of change, albeit conducted within their own traditions and frameworks.

In her study of the material at Fossa, Acconcia notes some of the adaptations that were brought up here and recognizes that grave goods do not remain unchanged, however she emphasizes the rigor with which Fossa held to its traditions, and particularly the “extremely restrained ritual” (Acconcia 2014a: 33). It seems to me that such a reading inherently relies on comparing Fossa and the value of its grave goods to the wealthier cemeteries both within Abruzzo and particularly along the Tyrrhenian coast. Although in contrast to all of the other cemeteries that are explored within her study and those within the nearby regions, Fossa may appear to have a more limited set of objects, this does not mean that the inhabitants who buried their relatives at Fossa would have viewed the funerary ritual and means of adornment that they employed as restrained or inherently conservative. Almost implicitly, those burying at Fossa viewed what was being buried with their relatives and community members as suitable for the task of remembering and

properly passing the deceased beyond the world of the living, otherwise it would not have taken the form that it did.

Additionally, although Acconcia recognizes many of the small changes and adaptations that occurred among the grave goods at Fossa, and particularly those in bronze and ceramic vessels, not enough weight is given to the small differences in individual burials that actually show a break from such 'rigor'. While the overarching pattern of burial appears consistent throughout the history of Fossa, the small changes that are made on the individual level are important as well, and show that there is room for flexibility within, and sometimes beyond the norms of funerary practice.

What Fossa provides then, is a case study that demonstrates a very different reaction to the typical patterns of change observed for other sites that come into contact with so-called 'orientalizing' culture. Moreover, it exhibits ways in which we can see almost individualized responses to such foreign contacts, and responses that do not automatically seek to use this kind of material culture only as a means of self-aggrandizement and a demonstration of power. Within Fossa elements are chosen, and the idea of an 'orientalizing' package or burials that can truly be defined as 'princely' remain elusive.

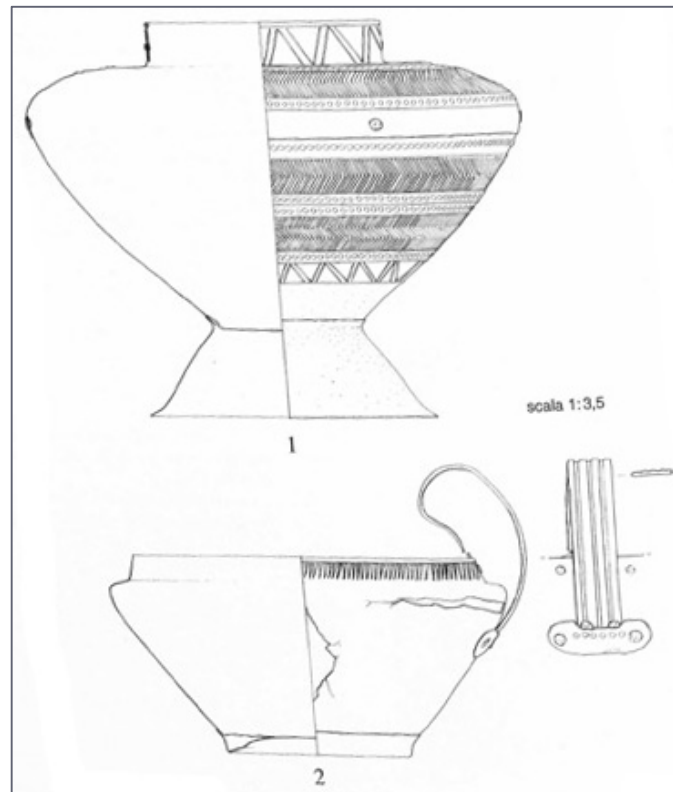


Figure 6.1: Biconical bronze vase and troncoconical bronze tazza from t.551 at Fossa (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 Tav. 190)

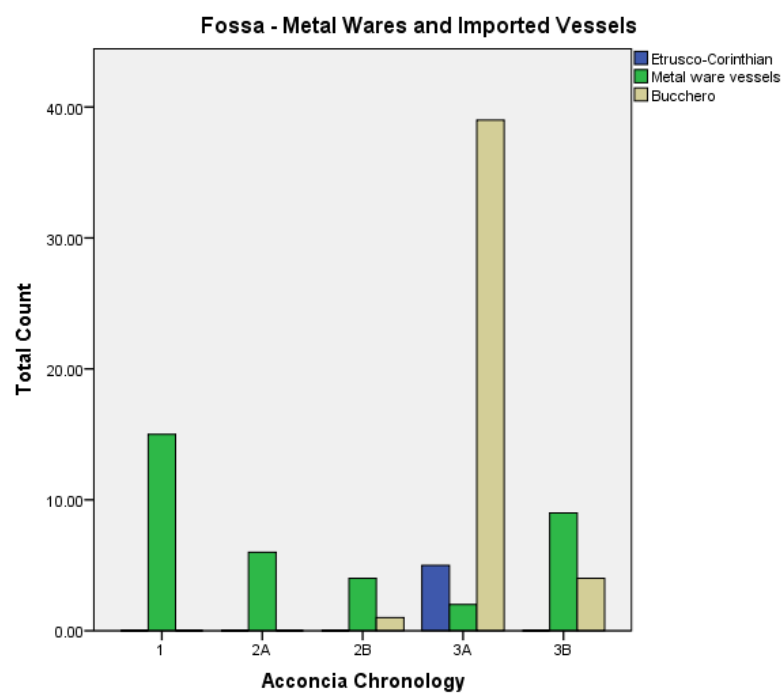


Figure 6.2: Total number of metal wares and imported vessels by period at Fossa

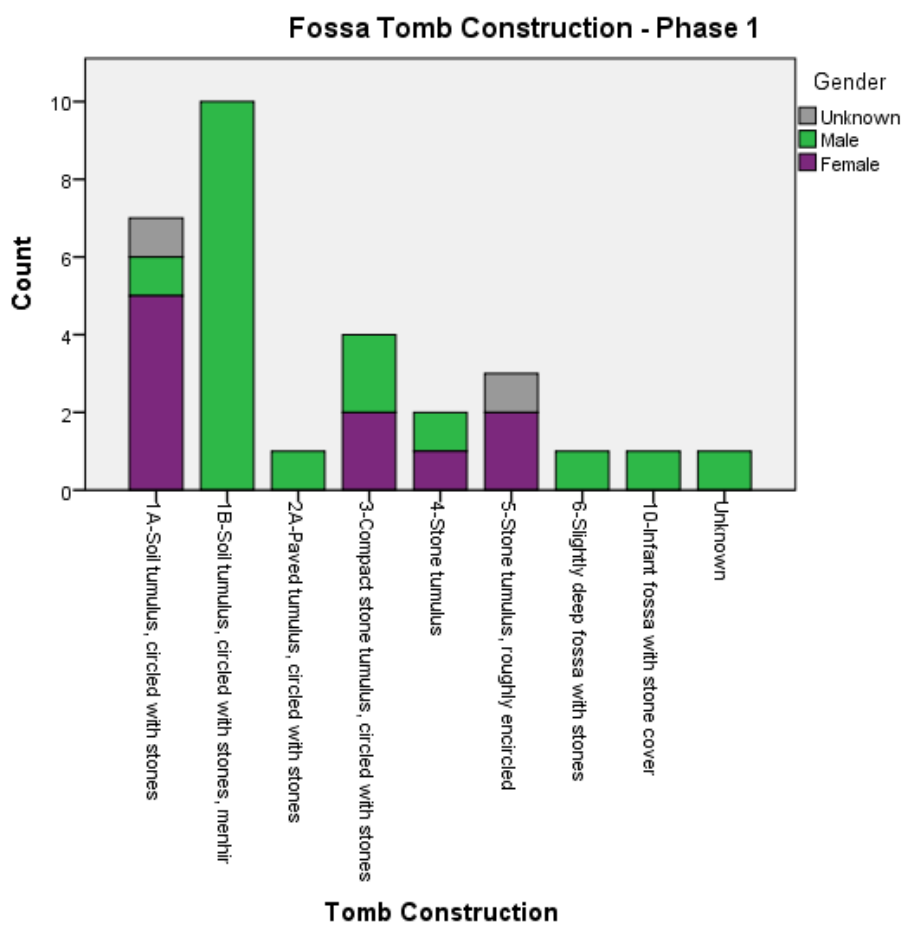


Figure 6.3: Bar chart of tomb construction types divided by gender at Fossa, Phase 1

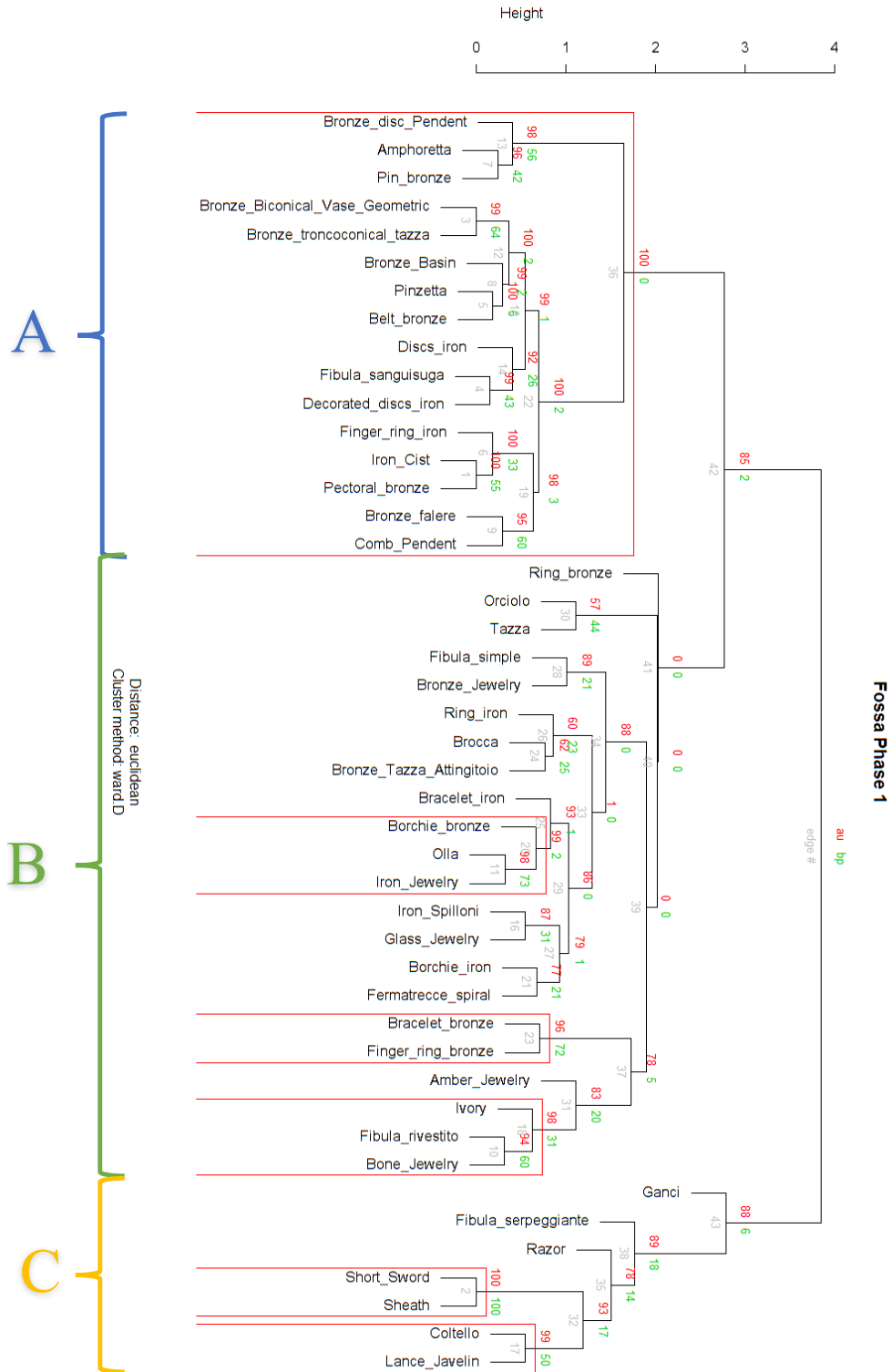


Figure 6.4: Dendrogram of object clusters at Fossa from all Phase 1. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value at or above 95%

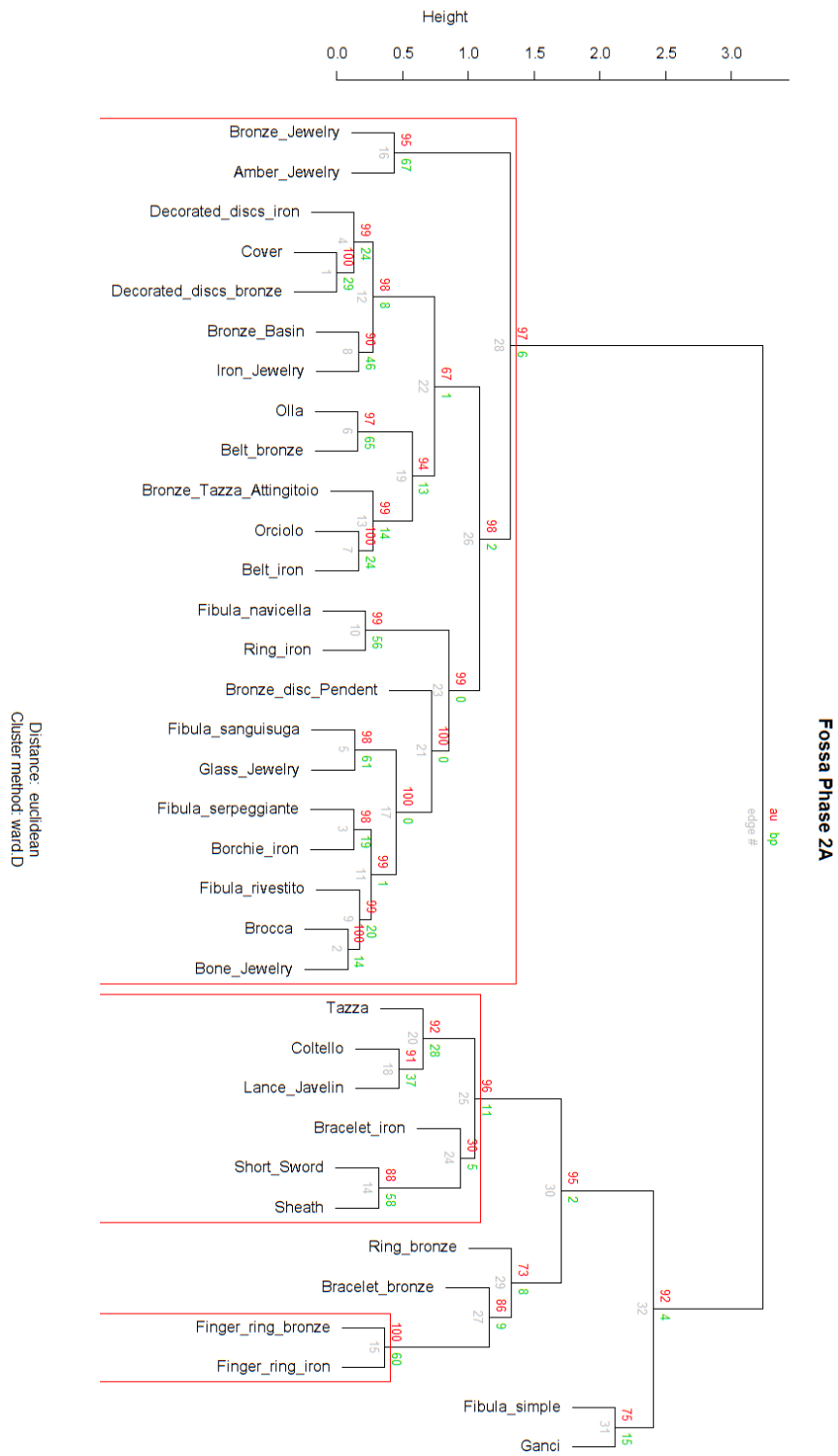


Figure 6.5: Dendrogram of object clusters at Fossa from all Phase 2A. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value at or above 95%

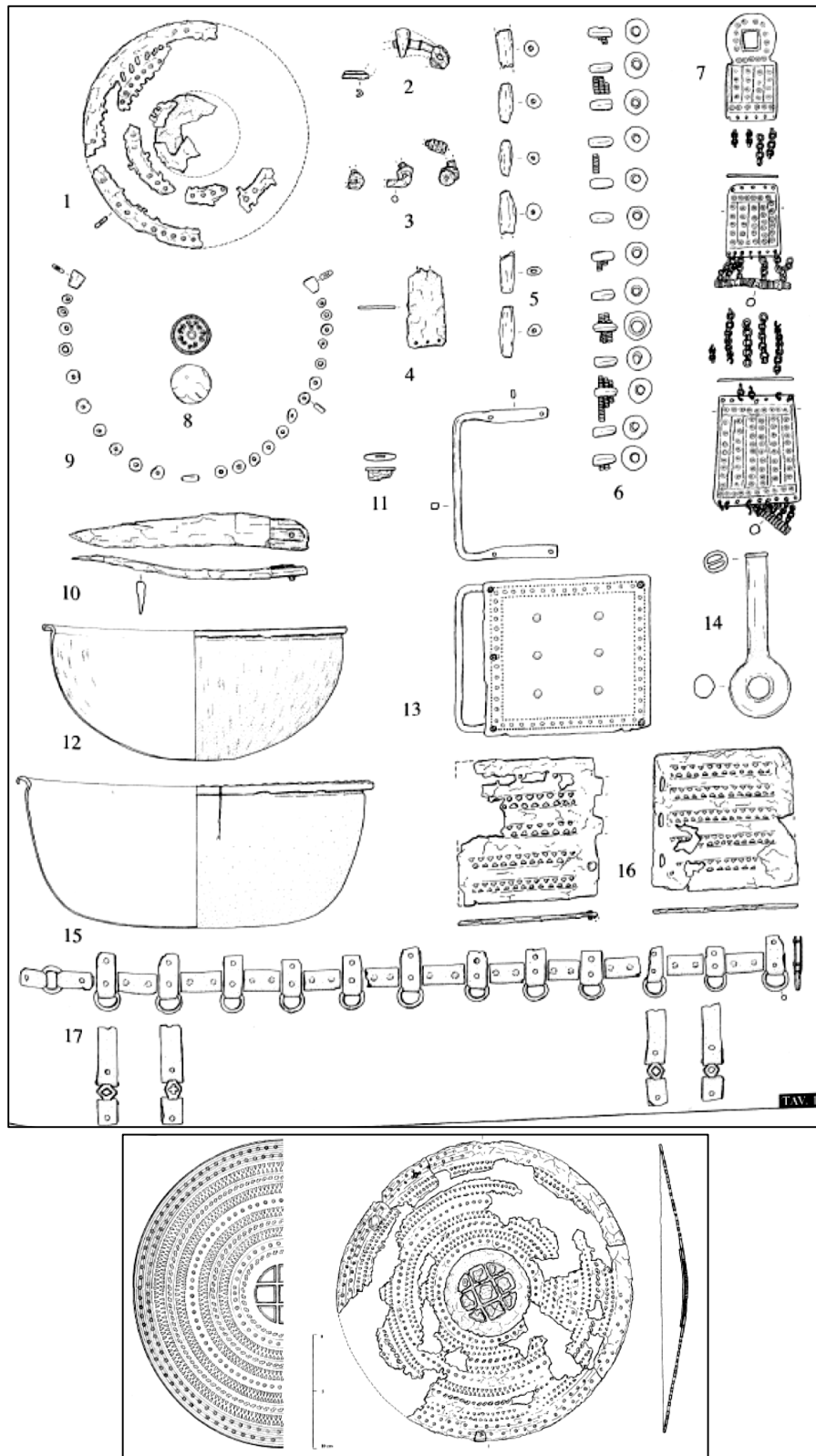


Figure 6.6: Tomb 365 – decorative elements and bronze basin; iron decorated disc with amber center (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 183 & 185)

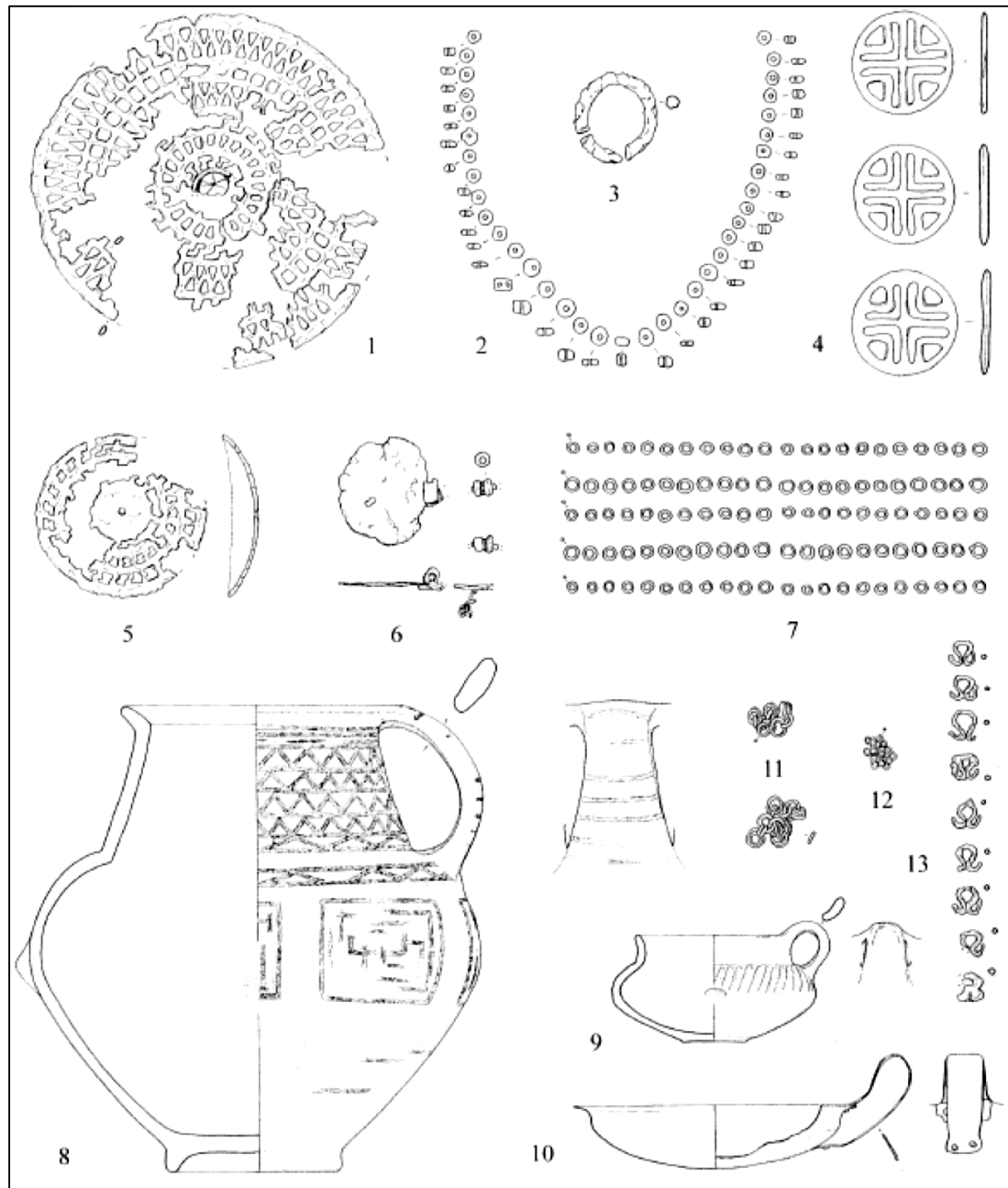


Figure 6.7: Grave goods from tomb 190 (Cosentino *et al.* 2001 tav. 35)

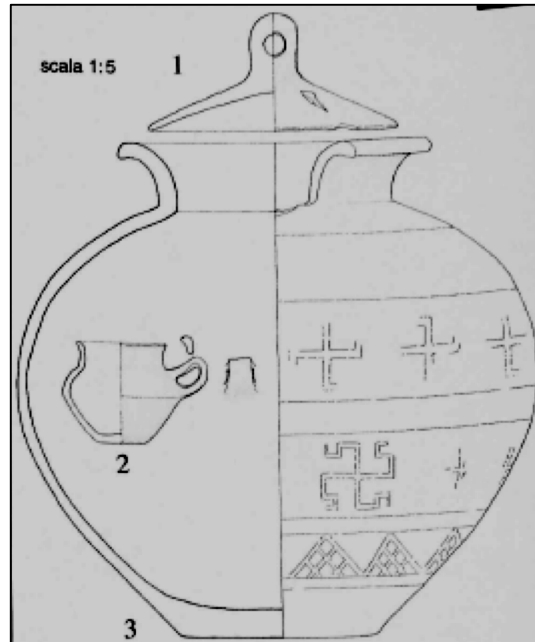


Figure 6.8: Painted olla with cover and miniature orciolo from t. 365 (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 184)

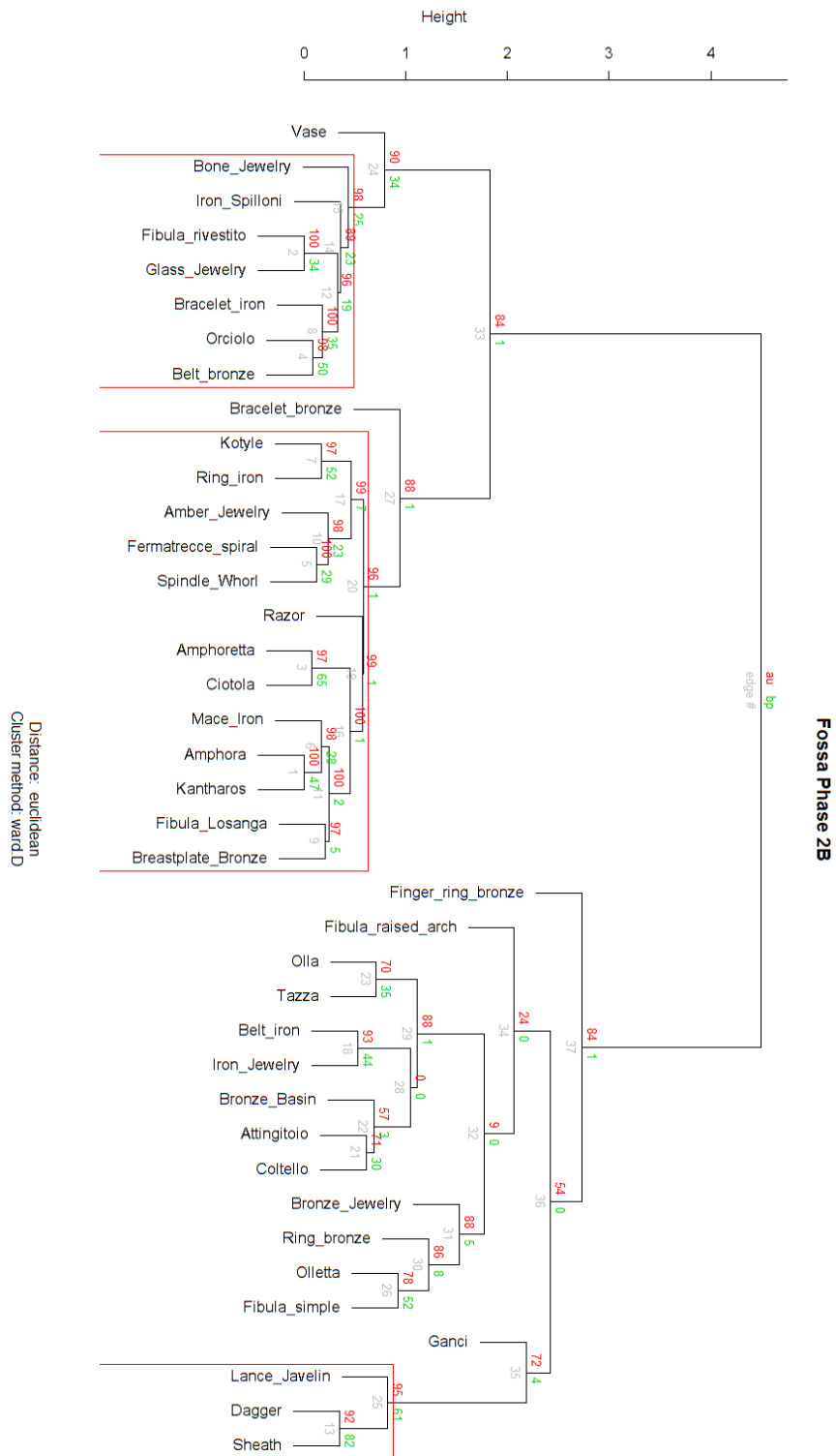


Figure 6.9: Dendrogram of object clusters at Fossa from all Phase 2B. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value at or above 95%

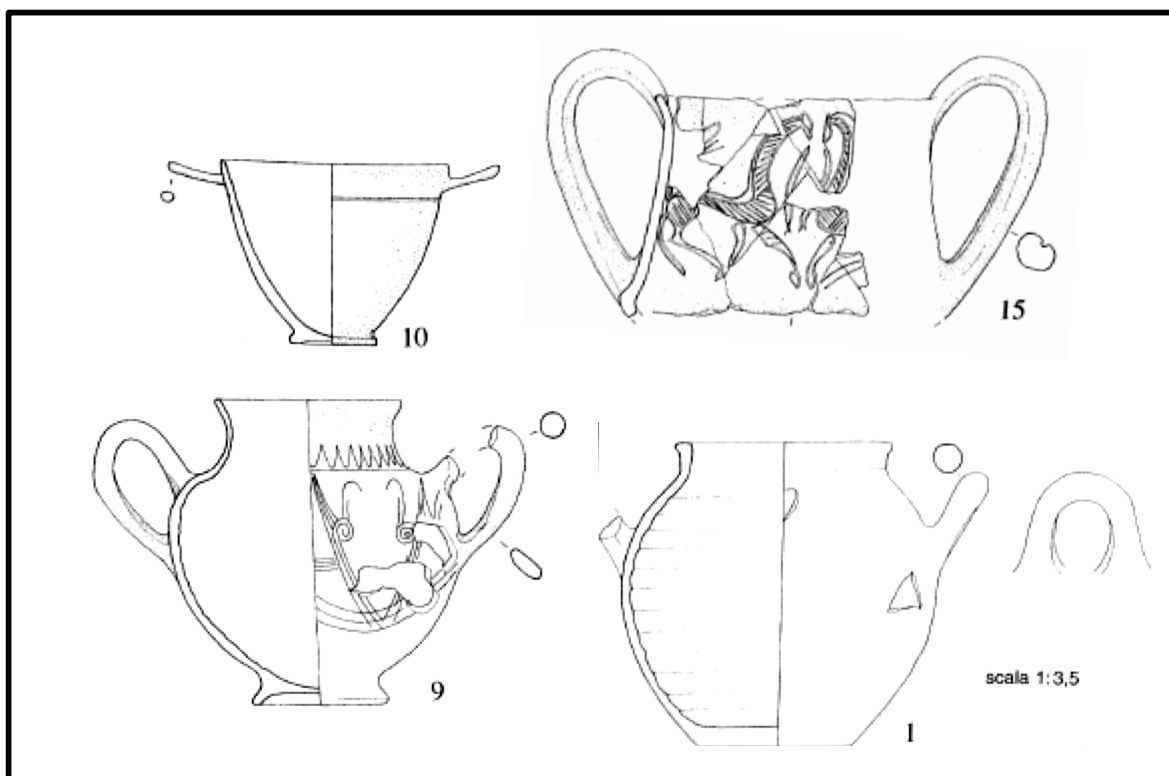


Figure 6.10: Imported vessel forms, from left to right, kotyle (t.97), kantharos (t.43), anforetta (t.415), olletta (t.336) (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004)

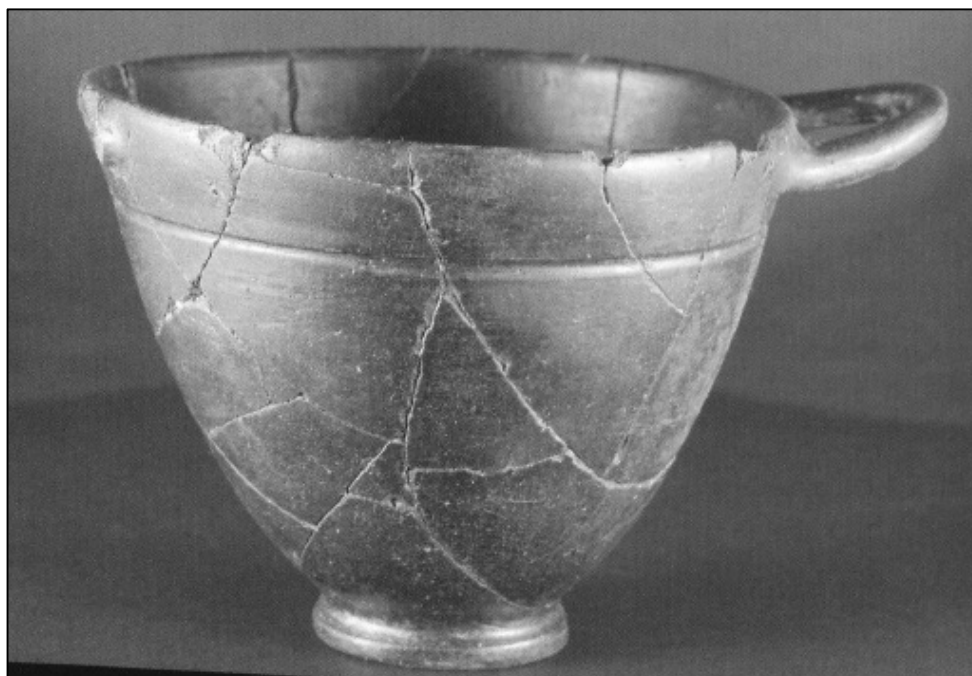


Figure 6.11: Kotyle from t.97, with one handle sawed off (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. VI)

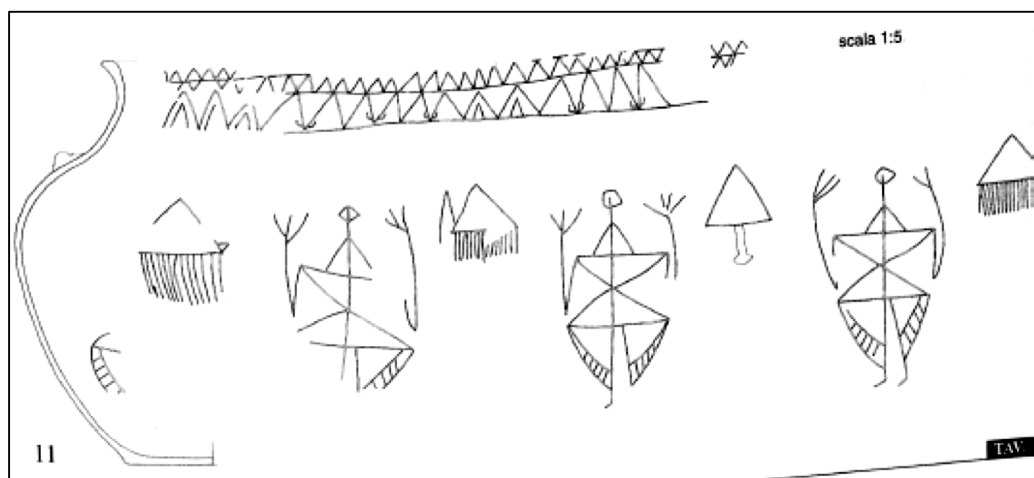


Figure 6.12: Incised decoration of an impasto olla from t.97 (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 23)

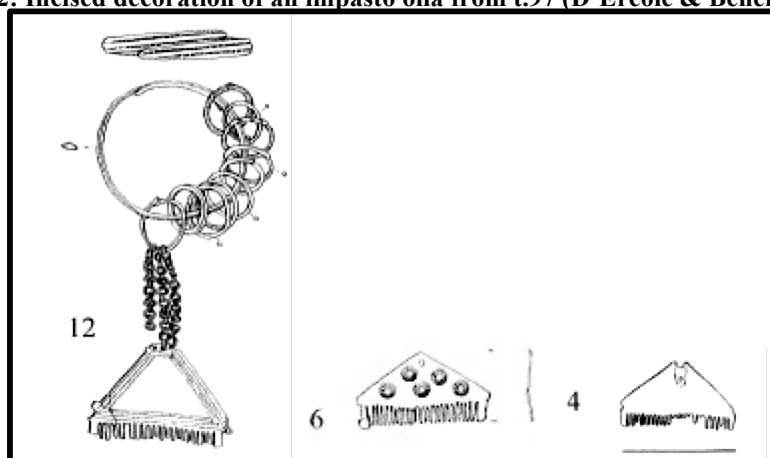


Figure 6.13: Comb Pendants at Fossa, from left to right, tombs 11, 57 and 86 (Cosentino *et al.* 2001)

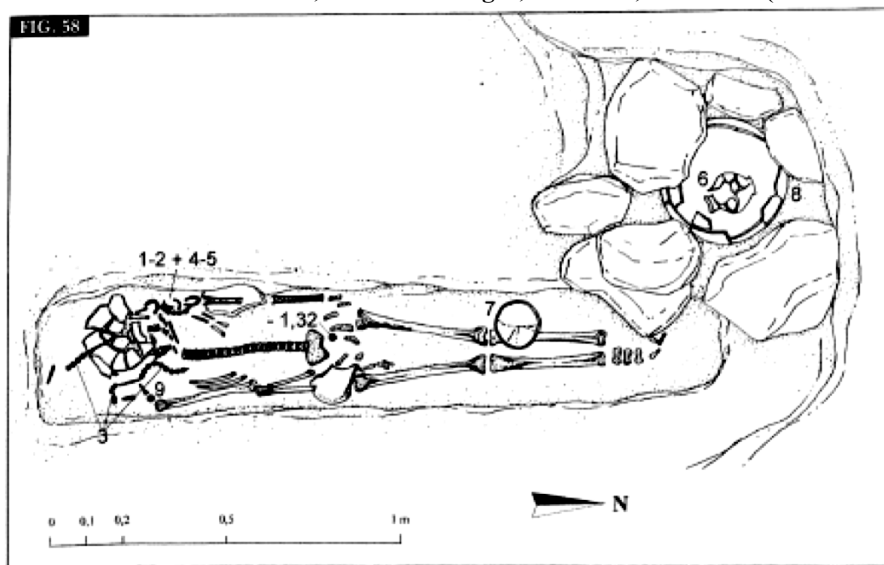


Figure 6.14: Example of the expanded *ripostiglio* plus additional drinking vessel in Phase 3A, t.272. 6 = attingitoio, 7 = chalice, 8 = olla (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 58)

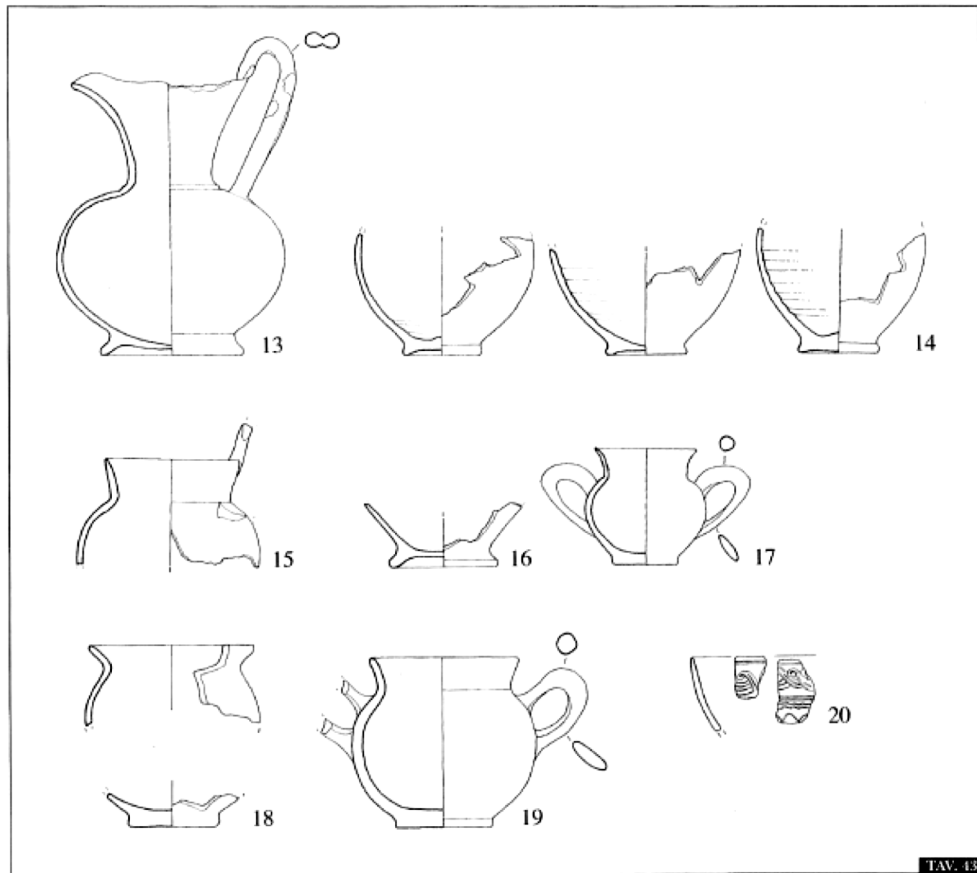


Figure 6.15: Vessels from Tomb 168 (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 43)

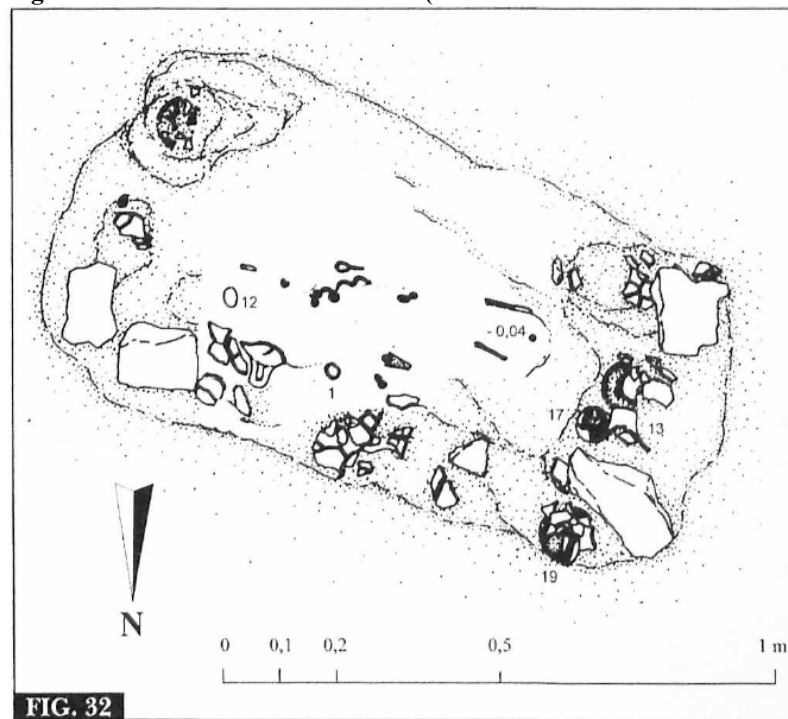


FIG. 32

Figure 6.16: Plan of Tomb 168, in which the ceramic assemblage is scattered around the deceased

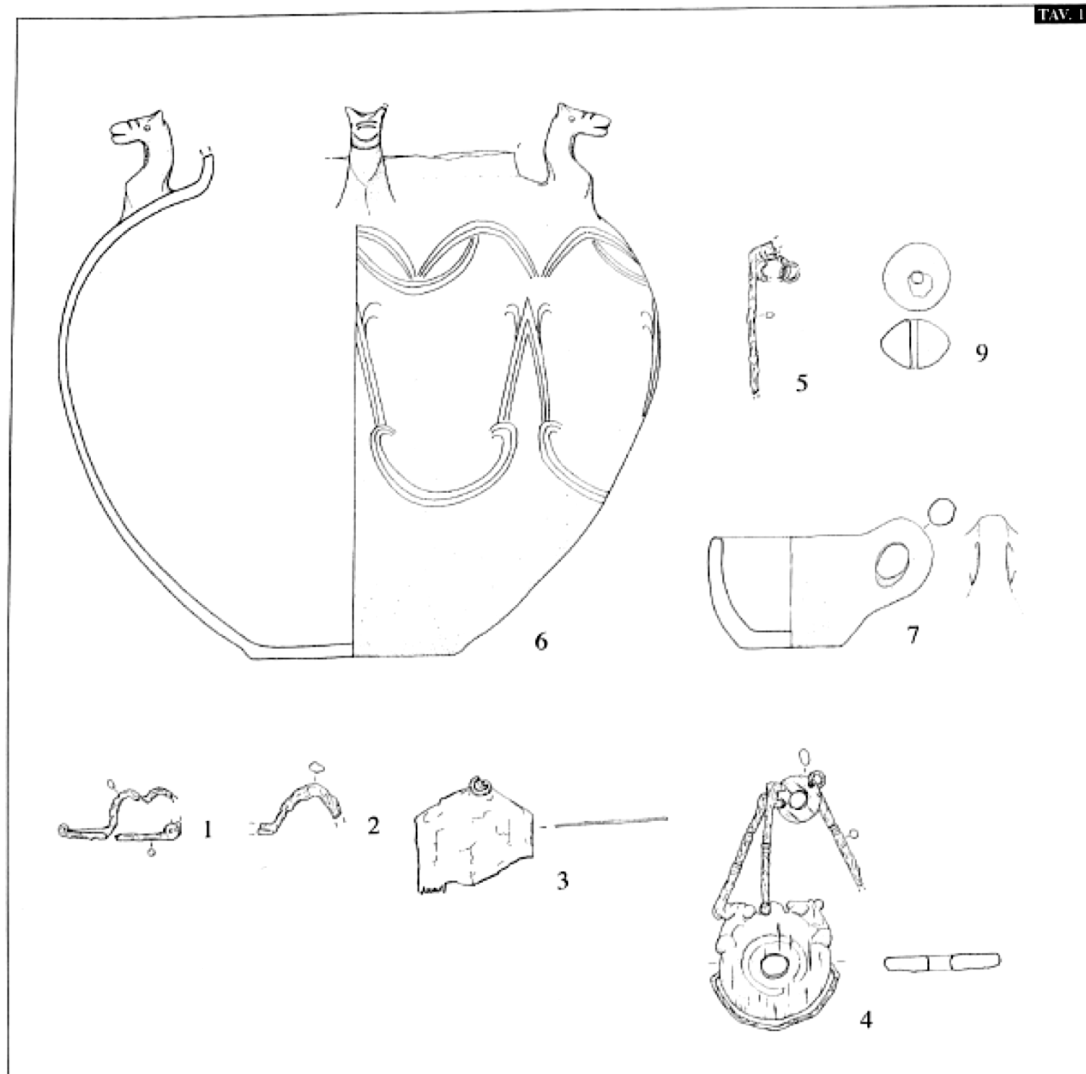


Figure 6.17: Grave goods from Tomb 399 (D'Ercole & Benelli 2004 tav. 130)

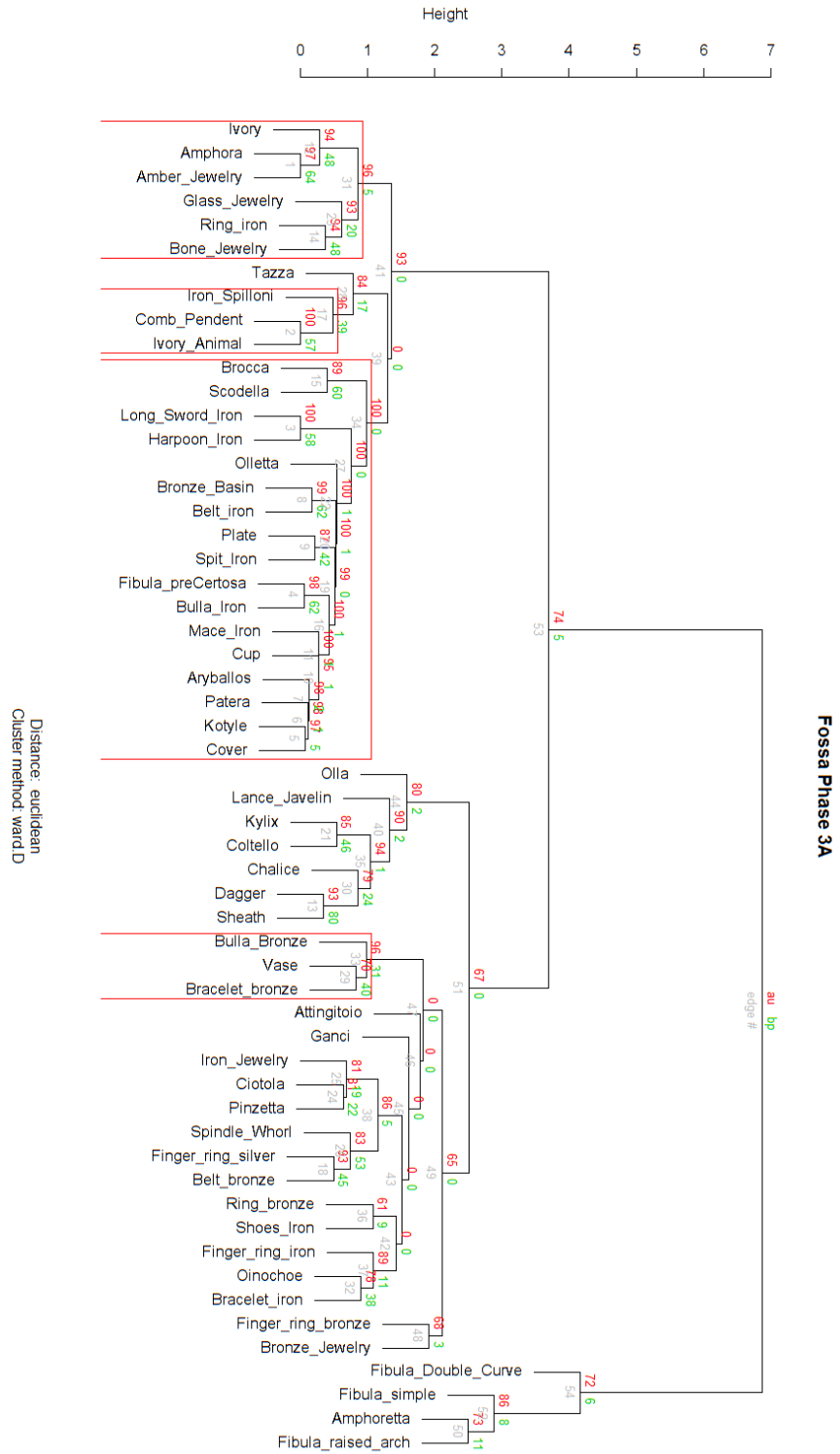


Figure 6.18: Dendrogram of object clusters at Fossa from all Phase 3A. Red boxes signify significant clusters with a p-value at or above 95%

Chapter 7 – Decorative Style and the Emergence of Monsters

7.1 Style and Composites in Social Networks

Although the previous two chapters focused on the functional purpose of grave goods at both Campovalano and Fossa, one of the greatest hallmarks of the ‘orientalizing’ period is the decorative imagery and style that spreads throughout the Mediterranean during the first half of the first millennium BCE. In some ways the representations of fantastic monsters, floral and vegetal backdrops, and active human figures are the most immediately identifiable characteristics of the period. As was noted in the first chapter, these images were one of the most important factors for initially drawing connections between Italy and the Near East and Egypt when objects with these motifs were first unearthed in the mid-19th century. Ever since that point, art historical assessments of these motifs have shifted from studying distinct markers or attributes, to recognizing and classifying particular regional styles, and more recently, to attempting to approach this Mediterranean stylistic phenomenon more holistically. In this case the emphasis lies in understanding the function of a style that intentionally blends a large range of elements, motifs and imagery and purposely obscures any recognizable origin.

This has been investigated to some extent by Ann Gunter for this type of art in the Greek and Assyrian context (Gunter 2009), but the scholar who has dedicated the greatest emphasis to materiality and the relationship between people and objects in the interpretation of style is Marian Feldman. She utilized this approach for understanding the diplomatic use of an international artistic style within the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean (Feldman 2006), as well as later for the Iron Age Levant and the objects

typically thought to be produced in this region (Feldman 2014). In her latest work in particular, Feldman develops a framework for examining this type of complex style in a way that moves beyond attribution studies and geographic sourcing. Instead she looks at the way in which “style serves to establish and structure communities through the engagement of human participants with material subjects”, contending that “visual and physical form constitutes meaning in its relational existence with other things and people through time and space” (Feldman 2014: 6, 176). This way of framing style intertwines it in a process of community formation rather than reducing its sole importance to being a sign of the interactions a particular site had with foreign peoples.

Such an approach is a clear departure from how style has traditionally been studied in Etruria and Italy for this period. ‘Orientalizing’ style, as was seen for the broader suite of objects and practices, has been conceived as primarily a decorative language of the elites. Indeed, the abundant visual imagery that forms the building blocks of this style has been used to describe its material culture as luxurious and opulent, as if its visual richness presupposes a direct reflection of the wealth of the people possessing these objects. Since this style is associated with typically ‘orientalizing’ objects, it is understood to be limited to elites and more specifically, as part of the language of aristocratic communication that demonstrates their participation within this broader realm of Mediterranean aristocracy. In some ways, for Etruria more specifically, the shift to a ‘lifestyle’ approach for studying the ‘orientalizing’ period has meant less emphasis on interpreting the social purpose of this type of style and imagery. Very little art-historical work has been done to contextually situate the reasons for employing particular styles or imagery since it is assumed to be part of the ‘orientalizing’ brand and suite of objects.

Even within the context of elite representation, it is possible to explore the nuanced ways in which power is expressed, validated and recognized within each community. These visual styles could not have been employed simply to communicate with foreign elites when they are part of local burial ceremonies; they are speaking to local communities as well, and therefore must adopt strategies for addressing these groups. Among many more reasons, elites are considered elites in part because they can speak to multiple constituencies at the same time, navigating between each without radically alienating particular factions. Additionally, these strategies of representation change over time, and the meaning of and relationship with certain sets of images shifts, making the particular chronological moment within each community crucial to understanding the role of such styles. It is these considerations of how style works to constitute communities, and the desire to tease out the nuances of the way in which this takes place within different communities that are in contact with ‘orientalizing’ styles, that guide my exploration of stylistic trends at both Campovalano and Fossa. While Feldman takes the interconnection of materials, people and objects from a theoretical point of view as part of the construction of the social, I have chosen to approach this entangled perspective quite literally, by materializing these relationships within formal networks. As introduced at the end of chapter 4, I have employed social network analysis as a way to visualize and conceptualize the way in which new forms of decorative styles and motifs are either integrated within or rejected from the communities of Campovalano and Fossa.

Indeed, it is impossible to reduce all of the intricacies of object, human and person-to-person connections to any kind of comprehensible network; however, networks

can be built to highlight specific types of relationships. In this case I am exploring the relationship between grave goods and the people with whom they are buried, and how style maps onto this. In building this network, the weight of the links between tombs is based on Jaccard similarity, and nodes have been scaled based on the appearance of five categories of decoration or representations that form the building blocks of Iron Age and ‘orientalizing’ style: geometric, vegetal, animal, composite or human. By composite, I am employing David Wengrow’s concept that looks at the combination of elements from different animals and humans in visual and technical terms rather than “monsters” (Wengrow 2013: chap. 2), a word which contains both a more moral and psychological valence, and in the construction of the notion of ‘orientalizing’, bolsters the conception of a barbaric and monstrous “Other” that originated in the East. In addition to these elements of iconography, I also consider the style used to depict them, where there are notable differences. Since the appearance of these visual motifs is relatively limited for Campovalano, and especially for Fossa, it was more informative to view where these different types of imagery were located within the network rather than to build a network based on the common appearance of particular images or styles.

A common topic of social network analysis has been how information flows through a network. Within archaeology this is most often done on a regional scale to observe the flow of imported objects and raw materials, and to note the structural reasons for particular distributions. At the site level, this is not done as frequently because we cannot directly observe interpersonal relationships. In the case of tombs, however, we do have an artifact of community action directed at an individual, and in this case, the similarities in practices and grave goods provide a way of linking nodes of tombs based

on shared material culture attributes⁷³. So how do these commonalities in practice and material culture facilitate the spread of information, or in this case style, throughout the community? Unfortunately, we as archaeologists are not able to observe the actual flow of information through these networks in real time, but rather, in the single moments of the tombs themselves, and in the chronological periods that I have grouped them within, as a way to provide snapshots. I am working from the hypothesis that new uses of iconography and style are more likely to be distributed among tombs that also share material practices. In the case of ‘orientalizing’ material culture, the style of the period is intricately linked to the objects and packages that are imported, but does this continue to hold through time? These iconographies and styles are most frequently associated with elites, but is that how these styles became introduced to the community? If they are in fact linked with these elite tombs, are these styles restricted to such tombs or do they spread through the community, as has often been conceived as a trickle-down process driven by emulation of the elite. I will briefly outline some of the main trends that are visible for both Campovalano and Fossa before contextualizing these stylistic choices within the broader understanding of an ‘orientalizing’ style.

7.2 Campovalano

Since there are only five tombs from the second half of the 7th century, looking at the network placement of decorative styles within this period would not be informative. As the first observable phase for the cemetery, however, it is worth briefly mentioning

⁷³ I have found only one reference to date that employs social network analysis at the site level for cemetery data (Sosna *et al.* 2012).

two objects with animal and composite motifs. The first is the collection of iron revetment pieces that belonged to the exterior decoration of a chariot (Figure 7.1). These linear strips were embossed with repeated images of inclined felines, winged lions, horses, deer, vegetation and other unidentifiable composites. The motifs represented here fall into the standard language of the ‘orientalizing’ period, and are frequently seen in Etruscan and other central Italic contexts (Romualdi *et al.* 1997). Zamboni describes the exaggeration seen in certain anatomical features such as the horse’s hooves or the tail and horns of the deer as being more stylized and abstract than accurate⁷⁴ (one of the characteristics of incised and plastic decoration at Campovalano), and as “provincialism” by comparison to what was seen at Populonia (Zamboni 2010: 252). Such language privileges the Etruscan context as a center to which art within the “periphery” of the inland regions is viewed as less refined, rather than being thought of as an active artistic choice that helped to define this region as distinct from the Tyrrhenian coast. In fact the animals that are more explicitly tied to an ‘orientalizing’ iconography, the felines and winged lions, are executed in a style that more closely resembles a Tyrrhenian ‘orientalizing’, rather than local style. The chariot, then, both in the function of the object itself and in the choice of animals and composites represented on its revetment, was engaging with the stylistic language of Tyrrhenian elites and their symbols of power. The abstract artistic deviations, then, are not flaws or failures of execution, but rather ways of localizing these symbols within the style familiar at Campovalano, showing the ability to speak to multiple audiences at once.

⁷⁴ It is actually quite difficult to tell how stylized these features are since the iron has been heavily corroded.

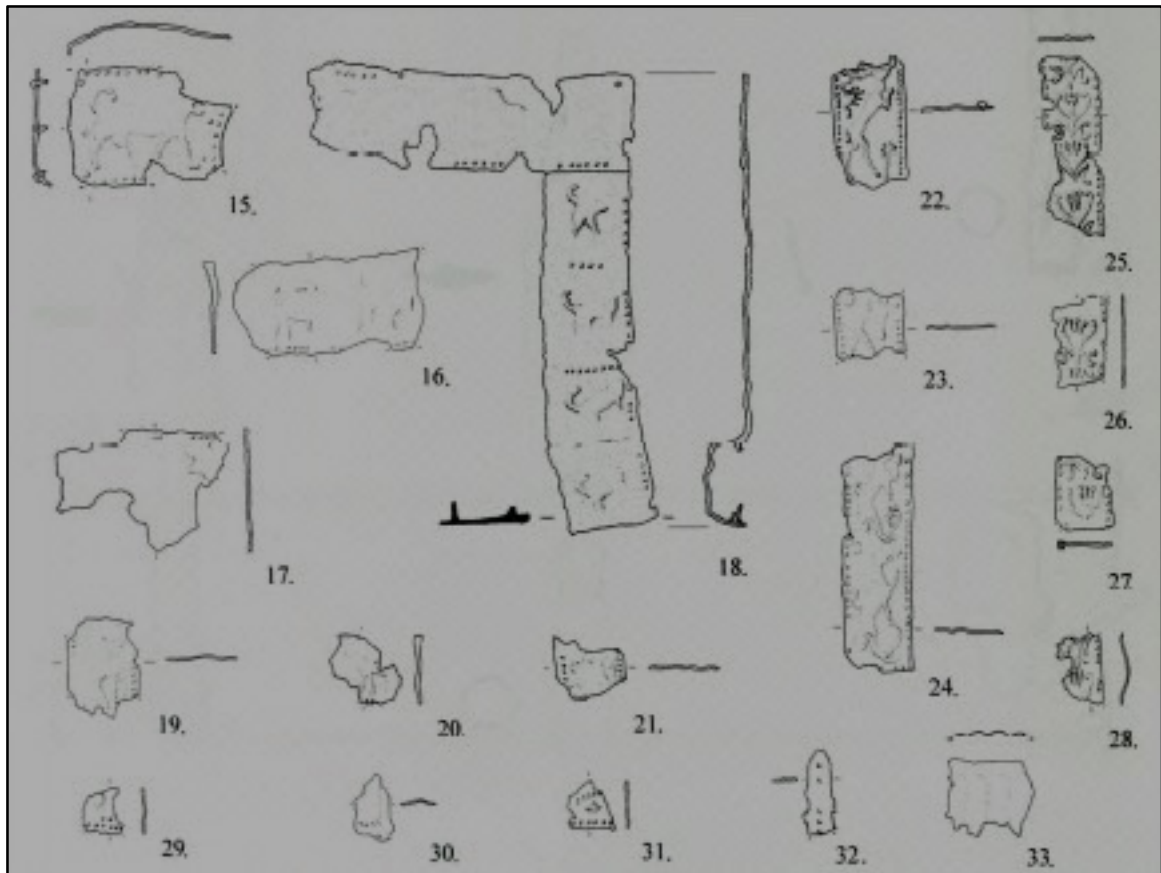


Figure 7.1: Iron sheets of chariot decoration from t.121 (Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010 Tav. 60)

The second notable piece is a chalice lid from t.110 that is incised with three panthers prowling around the rim, two of which have some kind of elaborate tail or tongue coming from their mouths, while the third has a thin, curved element attached to its head (Figure 7.2). Even though it is not possible accurately to determine what other characteristics were being included with these panthers, I have categorized this kind of image as a composite due to its ability to provide “a few striking violations with otherwise conformity to ordinary expectation” (Sperber & Hirschfeld 2004). Additionally, the stylized silhouette of the panther obscures anatomical correctness, making it difficult to determine the actual animal represented. These added elements cause the viewer to look more closely and reassess what they think they see. Since this

cover would have been placed on top of a chalice “a corolla”, the stalking panthers both serve to protect the contents of the chalice and cause the person partaking of its contents to proceed with caution. As has been noted, this type of incised decoration has stylistic similarities to material found at Capena, as the forms of the cats are more abstract and place less emphasis on recognizable anatomical features (Scotti 2010: 166). This and many other composites produced in styles from Capena, Falerii and Etruria show that the creation of composites was adopted from the broader Mediterranean phenomenon to suit Italic preferences of animals and styles. In the next two phases at Campovalano, we will see more instances of incised decoration of composites, especially on covers and the exteriors of large storage vessels.

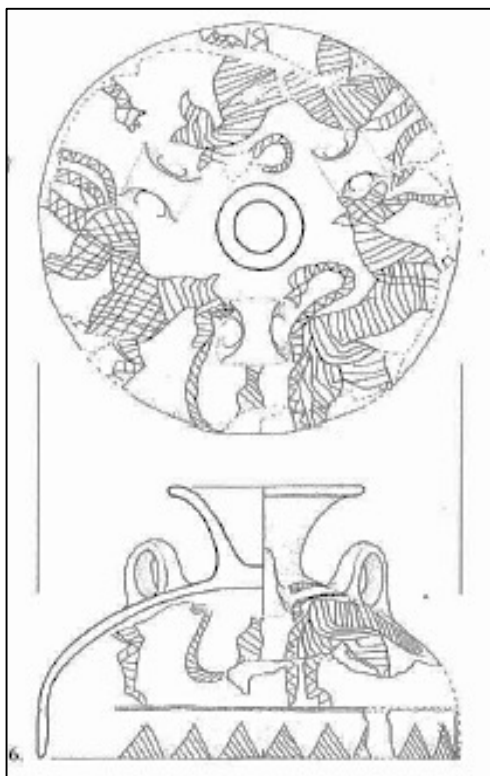


Figure 7.2: Chalice lid from t.110, second half of the 7th century BCE (Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010 Tav. 43)

These two examples provide in some ways a framework for considering the animal and composite imagery that will be seen in the next two phases. The representations depicted on the exterior of the chariot, to the extent that they are readable, show figures in scaled, anatomical proportions, with vegetal motifs derived from Phoenician-Cypriot patterns, and consist of subjects commonly found in both Etruscan and more broadly Mediterranean imagery of the period. These composites are comprised of some elements that are easily recognizable and anatomically coherent, which facilitates their ability to be understood across cultural boundaries, making them powerful tools of cultural connection⁷⁵. These images are intended to be able to speak to peoples beyond the range of immediate neighbors, conversing in an international style that is being broadly circulated throughout the Mediterranean at this time. The most essential quality of this chariot is its mobility, meaning that it very well may have been seen by the other foreign elites to which it was speaking. The chalice decoration, on the other hand, is using a style that has closer ties to Campovalano and its immediate surrounding regions. While it is using the composite animals that are so prominent in this period, the stylization of the form makes its reading more locally situated within a central Apennine context. This enmeshing of international composites within a regionally-specific style provides material evidence for an elite grounding new concepts within a recognized framework. Both uses of composites are speaking to multiple audiences at the same time;

⁷⁵ Wengrow ties the successful messaging of these composite images to human cognition and the thought that everyday perception is shaped by a mental module that “sorts living kinds into categories on the basis of morphological difference” (Wengrow 2013: 22). Since this ability exists in infants in a way that is far beyond what can be absorbed by exposure or social learning, Wengrow sees this as a possible reason why animal species and components of species may be recognized even when peoples may have not had actual exposure to such animals.

the difference in their stylistic emphasis, however, provides some clues as to the constituencies they are aiming at most strongly. As two of the wealthiest burials within the first phase of Campovalano, both heavily emphasize their own status through their warrior panoplies, tumuli and placement along the road. Unfortunately, the incomplete nature of the grave goods from t.121 makes it impossible to say anything more about the nature of feasting vessels placed with the dead, but it is safe to say that these two burials, at the founding of the necropolis, were actively constructing the nature of elite identity within this community as they themselves were being assembled, and that these two ways of using imagery were part of this effort as well.

As we move on to the next phases, I will focus on how particular motifs spread, or did not spread, through the tomb network, category by category, in order to gain a better understanding of how different messages were employed and received. Before going into the specifics of particular decorative styles, however, it is important to explain the structure and centrality for the networks for each phase. Figures 7.3 and 4 show the networks by phase, and a few things are immediately apparent. The gender division is relatively strong in both periods, but it becomes much more pronounced in the first half of the 6th century. There is greater centralization among the male tombs, but this is much more apparent during the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century. These findings appear to match the presence of a set of elite tombs that was found in chapter 5. In fact, the Eigenvector centrality scores for each tomb provide a strong proxy for grave good accumulation, popularity and diversity, as this measure factors in both the number and strength of tomb connections that a node has, as well as the centrality of the other tombs to which the node is connected (Figures 7.5 and 6 show nodes sized based on their

Eigenvector scores). Archaeologically, this means that tombs with high Eigenvector centrality not only share a large quantity and diversity of grave goods with other tombs, but that the tombs with which they share these items also contain large numbers of commonly-shared grave goods⁷⁶. These are tombs that are heavily enmeshed in the funerary customs of the cemetery at this time and show tombs that were furnished by people with access to a wide array of material culture.

For the first half of the 6th, however, there is a different trend in centrality measures and the types of tombs that are located at the centers of each gender-differentiated side. Instead of the center consisting of those tombs with the greatest accumulation and variety of grave goods, the most central tombs for both genders instead take their position from the consistency of the grave good set that they share with other tombs. In the male case, central tombs contain an amphora, chalice, a number of simple fibulae, a lance and a dagger, while female central tombs are accompanied by a dolium, squat tazza, ciotola or chalice, spindle whorl and a high number of fibulae, rings and pendants. Those tombs with more elaborate grave good assemblages, which may have this package with added bronze basins, spits, maces or simply larger numbers of one these core elements, are in this period located on the outside edges of the network. This speaks to the increased rarity of this kind of display within funerary assemblages in this period, and to the lack of consistency in the objects used by those who sought to differentiate themselves through burials. These differences in network structure, and the

⁷⁶ Eigenvector centrality shows a correlation with the label 'princely' for the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th through binary logistic regression, indicating that in this case, Eigenvector centrality serves as a numeric corollary for tombs that have been categorized as being at the top of the social hierarchy based on grave goods.

actual implications for the materials found within these tombs, are important to keep in mind throughout the following discussion of decorative styles.

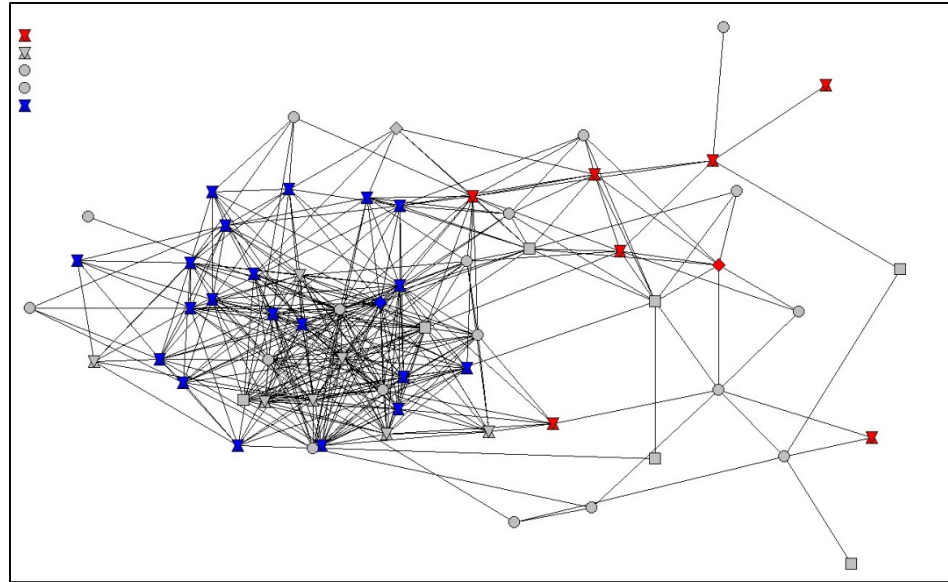


Figure 7.3: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Ties are calculated based on Jaccard similarity of grave goods and reduced to those with a strength greater than 0.25. Layout is a Graph Theoretic Layout (Spring Embedding) with proximity based on geodesic distances. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

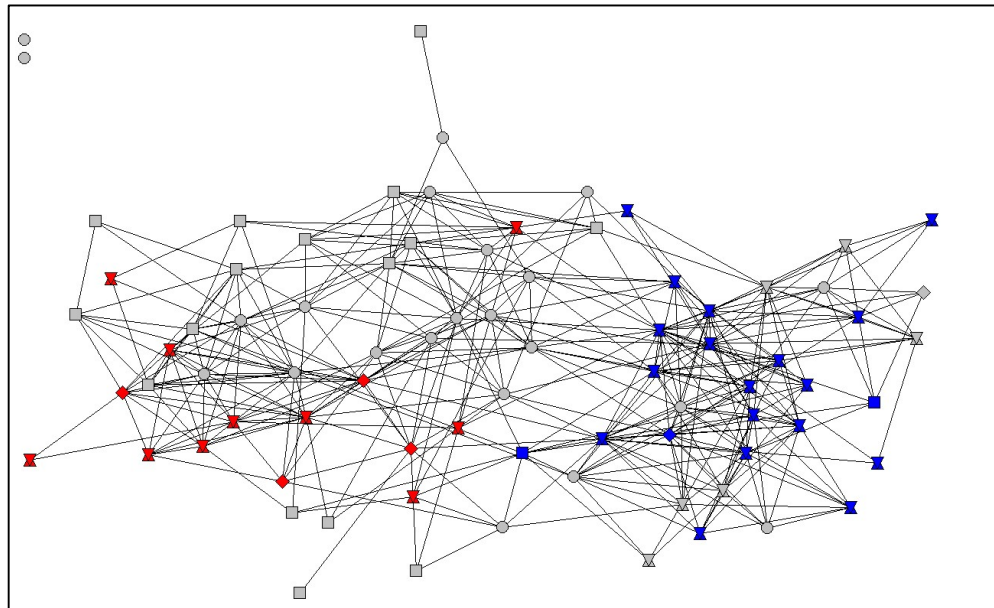


Figure 7.4: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Ties are calculated based on Jaccard similarity of grave goods and reduced to those with a strength greater than 0.25. Layout is a Graph Theoretic Layout (Spring Embedding) with proximity based on geodesic distances. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

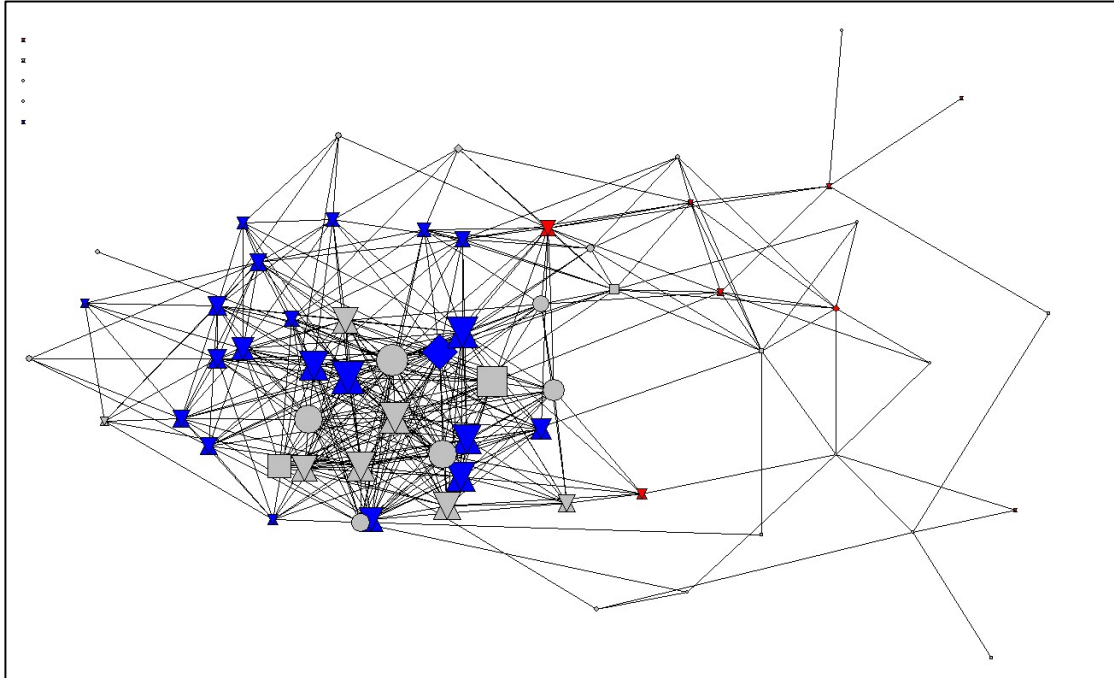


Figure 7.5: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by Eigenvector centrality. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

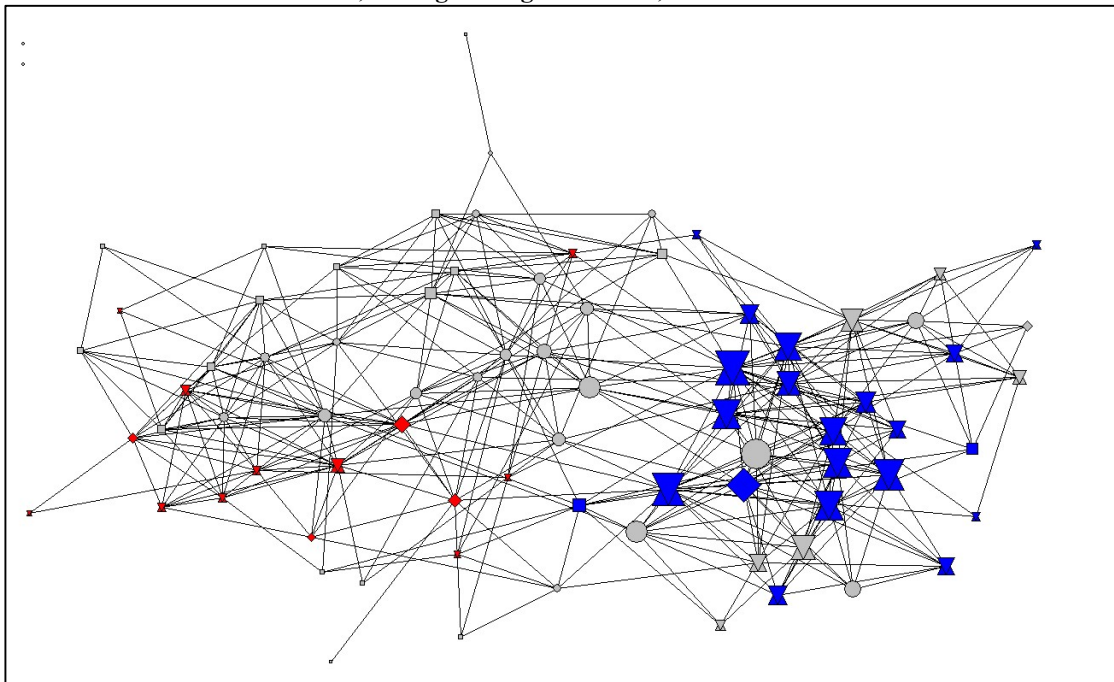


Figure 7.6: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by Eigenvector centrality. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

The most popular decorative style in the region from the Iron Age consisted of a variety of geometric elements, often depicted on bronze or impasto. This is a helpful benchmark since this style has such a long tradition in the region, even though during these phases at Campovalano, the use of the geometric motifs has shifted from central elements of the composition to bordering and framing devices. At the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, the position of tombs with geometric elements is focused on the area where we saw the highest Eigenvector centrality, although it is not limited to this set of tombs, and instead reaches out to other female, infant and unknown graves as well (Figure 7.7). This kind of decorative motif is being used by those with broad access to material culture who are employing it within tombs for signaling status; however, its use is not restricted by age or gender, and it has wider popularity than solely the so-called ‘princely’ tombs. In contrast to the concentration of this first phase, the distribution from the first half of the 6th shows that as the network shifts to being focused around two gender/age-based poles, the tombs with geometric motifs also move from being centrally located in the network to appearing on the exterior (Figure 7.8). As mentioned earlier, in some ways this is because those tombs still engaging in the aggregation of grave goods are located on the outside of the network; however, geometric designs also appear in tombs with less emphasis on grave good accumulations (t. 63, 170, 177, 467 and 470). During both periods, it appears that geometric motifs continue to be employed in similar ways – both within the visual repertoire of those at the top of the social hierarchy and those outside of it – but it is not incorporated within the core set of funerary materials.

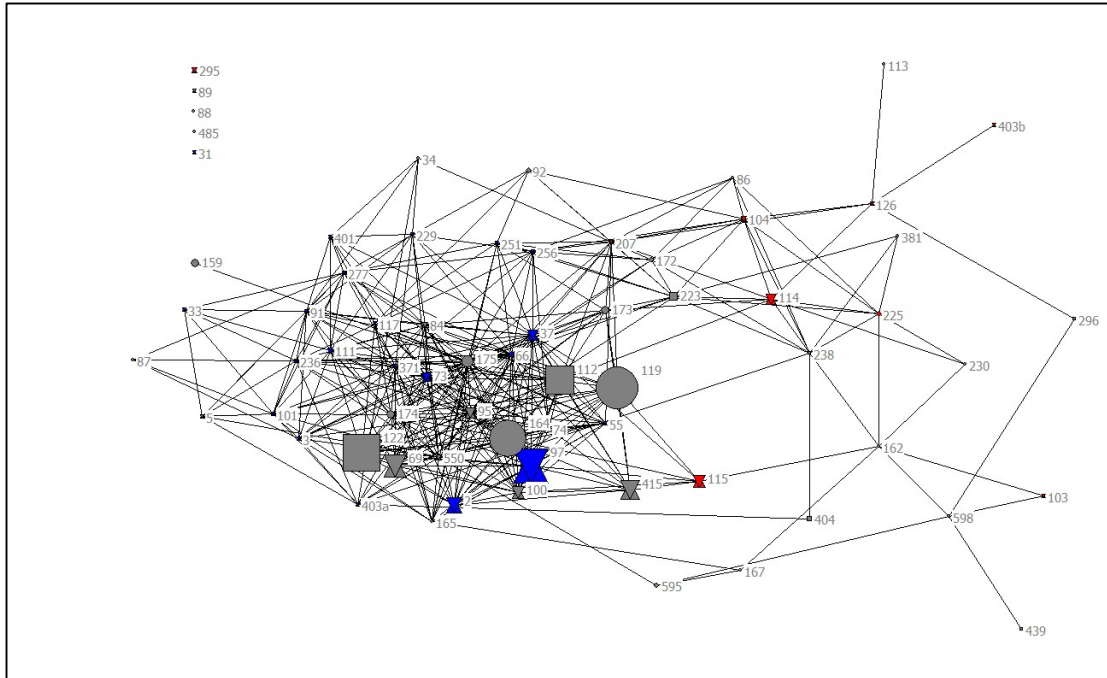


Figure 7.7: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with geometric motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

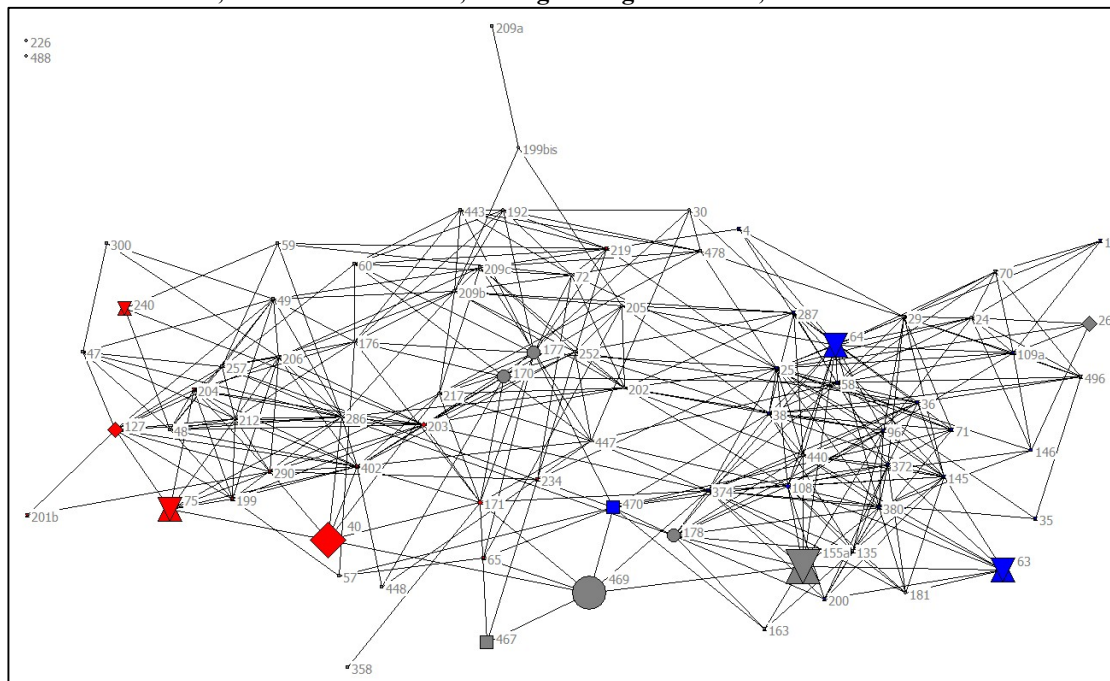


Figure 7.8: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with geometric motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

The next category is broadly classified as vegetal –any decorative element that represents a plant, flower, or stylized version of either. Just as was seen with the composites, there are different types of vegetal motifs that have to do with local versus international styles. In t.121 there were Phoenician-Cypriot palmettes and in t.119 the shoes were decorated with small rosettes used to fill in the background of an animal and composite frieze. By contrast, the common central Apennine way of depicting certain plant motifs such as lotus blossoms and palmettes employed abstract forms and stylization in order to generalize the subject, in this way making it a distinctly local form. Figure 7.9 provides a few examples of this type of vegetal style, which comprises the vast majority of items I have classified as containing vegetal motifs, while the five objects that do not fit this style match the more international design of vegetal elements.

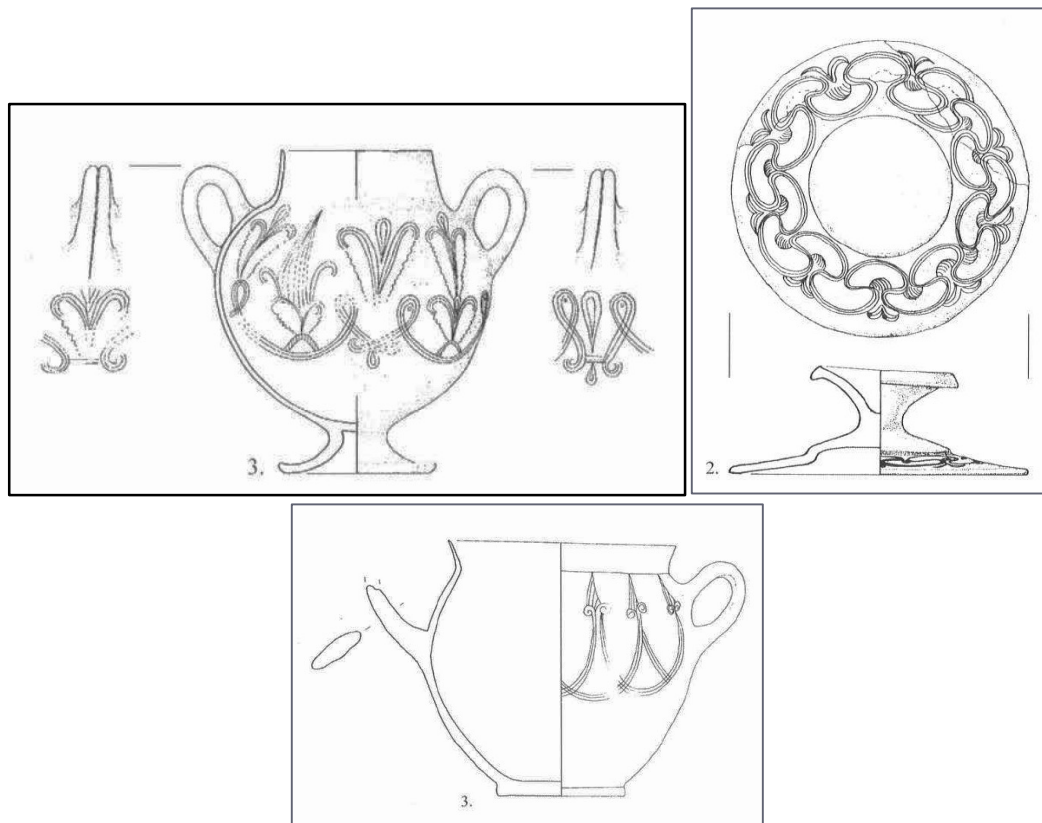


Figure 7.9: Vegetal motifs from t.73, 112 and 415 (Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010)

The position of vegetal motifs for the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th shows a similar pattern to that of geometric decoration: instances of vegetal motifs correspond with tombs that have high Eigenvector values (Figure 7.10). This restricts their appearance primarily to adult male tombs, although they are present within the well-appointed female t.415. Those tombs with the greatest number of vegetal motifs, t.112 and 164, were created in the local style, and are part of tombs with a high number of ceramic and bronze feasting vessels. Even in a tomb located on the exterior of this well-connected male core such as t.173, the vegetal motif was placed on a cover meant to be placed on a chalice, and the tomb also contained another chalice, bronze basins and spits. This brings up the point that all but three of these vegetal motifs were inscribed in impasto, meaning that most of the objects with which they were associated were storage vessels, covers and chalices. As such, it makes functional sense that these motifs would appear in tombs with more items associated with feasting. The exact role of these vegetation representations is unclear, and their stylistic similarity to the other central Italian imagery of the period may mean that it serves as a more general reference to the style of the period.

By the first half of the 6th century, there is a sharp decline in vegetal motifs, with only two instances, both of which were amphora decoration amid juvenile (t.40) and adult (t.75) female tombs. These two tombs present a relatively high degree of wealth in jewelry and personal ornamentation, and t.75 has numerous elements of feasting. The positioning of these tombs within the network shows similarities to what was seen in the geometric decoration, however the exclusivity to females is a notable difference (Figure

7.11). As was seen in the distribution of certain pieces of feasting equipment, there may have been a restriction against female individuals that gradually began to fall away.

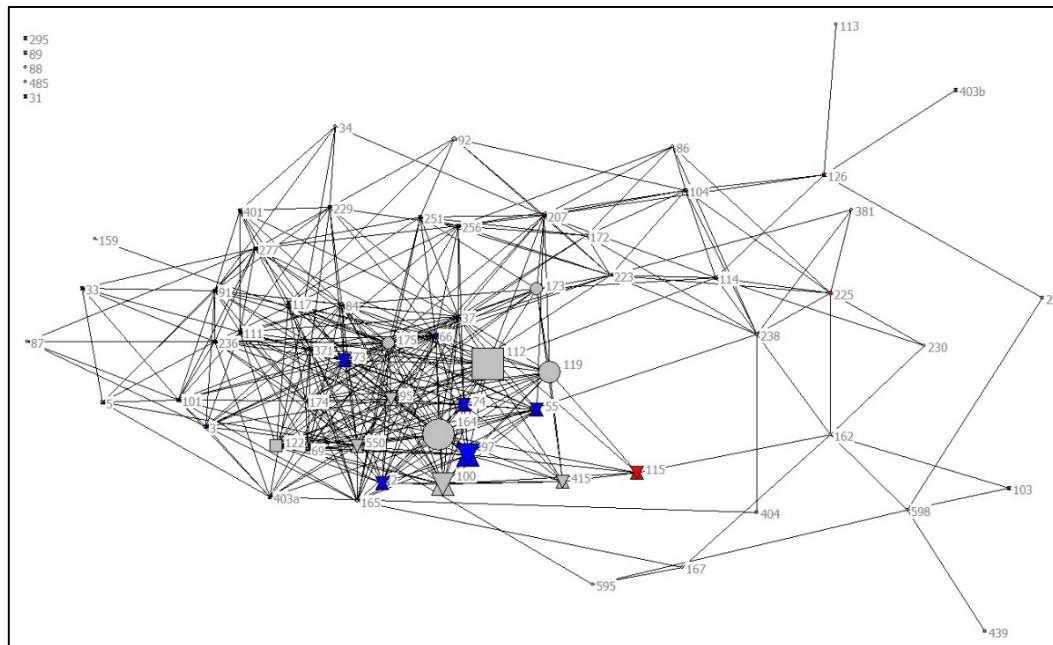


Figure 7.10: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with vegetal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

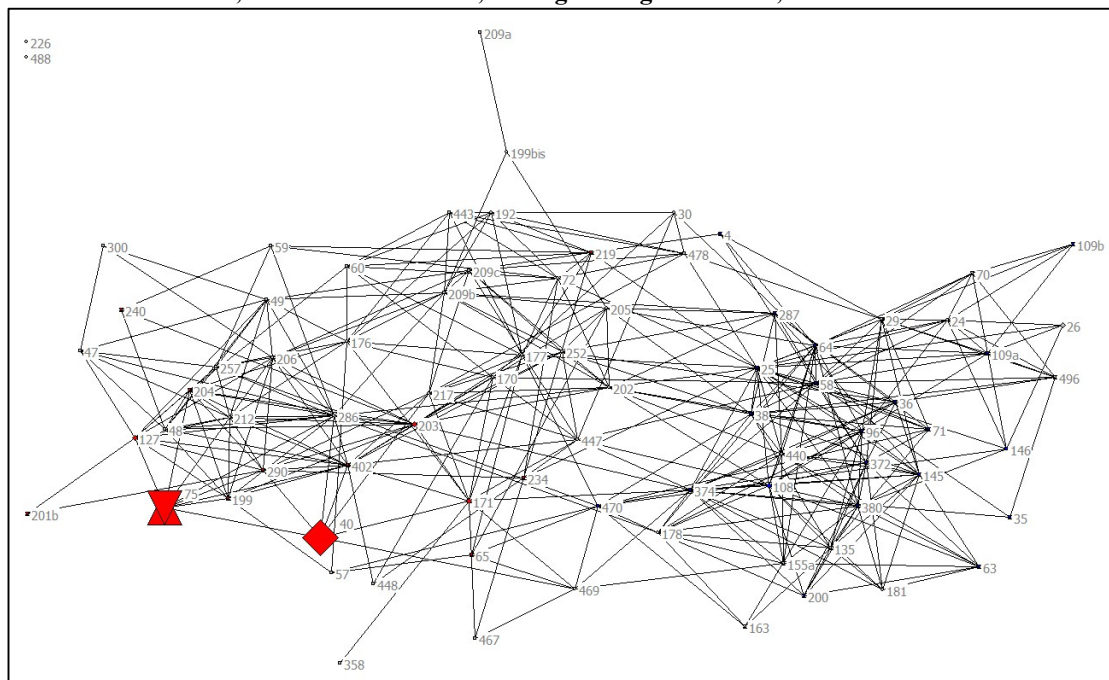


Figure 7.11: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with vegetal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

Turning now to the figural representations, the pattern of the distribution of animals within the network of both periods is very similar to that of geometric decoration. At the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, the most well-connected central tombs have the greatest concentration of animal representations – but there are two outliers, t. 92 and t.162 (Figure 7.12). These are two tombs, one infant and one juvenile, without any significant aspects of feasting, which is why they both appear on the outside of the network. T. 92 contains a two-handled chalice with horses on the edges of the handles, in the local style of silhouetted animal figures, and since it is located within the tumulus of prominent t.95, this horse-handled chalice is possibly part of the presentation of this juvenile as elite. The infant in t. 162 is buried with a small bone token carved in the figure of a bird, and the tumulus of which it is a part is located on the exterior of the central concentration of elite burials, in some ways showing a spatial correlation to its network placement. The two other burials that are part of this tumulus t. 167 and 165, show no signs of shifting toward a display of wealth through feasting, and instead display continued interest in the body and its ornamentation, through this small token and the glass and amber beads that were also part of the funerary costume. The token of t.162, likely used as personal adornment, provides an instance in which animal figures are being integrated into already existing values within this community that emphasized ornamentation of the body. There are more examples of this in some of the central tombs that contain bronze belts decorated with horses (t.115 and 119). Otherwise, the animals tend to be integrated into the most ceremonially central components of the feast: the large

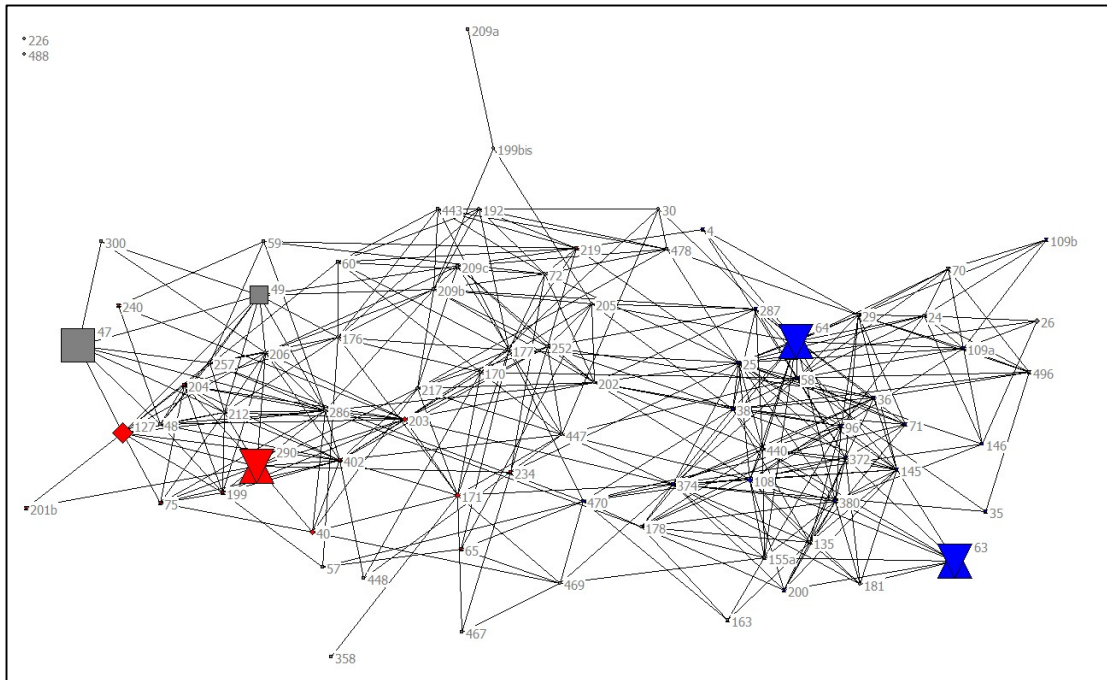


Figure 7.13: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with vegetal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

In the case of composites, the placement within the network for the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th is no different than the other motifs in that it is focused on the center; however, composites do not show any diffusion beyond the most central tombs (Figure 7.14). Many of the same tombs shown within the previous networks for having vegetal, animal and geometric decoration are also shown to have composite images. In some instances, such as the shoes from t.119, this is because all of these elements are collected on the same object. For t.69, however, animal and composite protomes combine on the same amphora. In the case of tombs 66 and 37, which both have composite figures but are located in the network outside of those tombs that show continuous use of different decorative motifs, the physical placement of the tombs themselves are spatially located just on the edges of the main concentration of established tumuli. Both tombs are furnished with numerous pieces of feasting equipment, so it is perhaps no surprise that

the composite decoration appears on a bronze oinochoe in t. 66 and on an olla lid in t.37. These tombs are both engaging in a new practice of associating feasting with the tomb, and they have incorporated composite imagery in central elements of the presentation and dispensing of the feast. In the following phase, composites decrease in occurrence, and while three tombs show a similar pattern of placement on the outside of the network, t.96 is located at the heart of the core group of male tombs (Figure 7.15). By comparison to some of the more vessel-rich tombs of the first half of the 6th century, t.96 has a modest set of grave goods: an amphora, chalice, bronze basin and spit, all the most common elements of the male core in this period. Where t.96 shows elaboration, however, is in the decoration of the amphora, which has at least 17 protomes with griffin-like necks and heads of either rams, horses or an unidentifiable animal. This tomb is using the language established by the elite in the previous period and applying it to the standard set of funerary grave goods for this period.

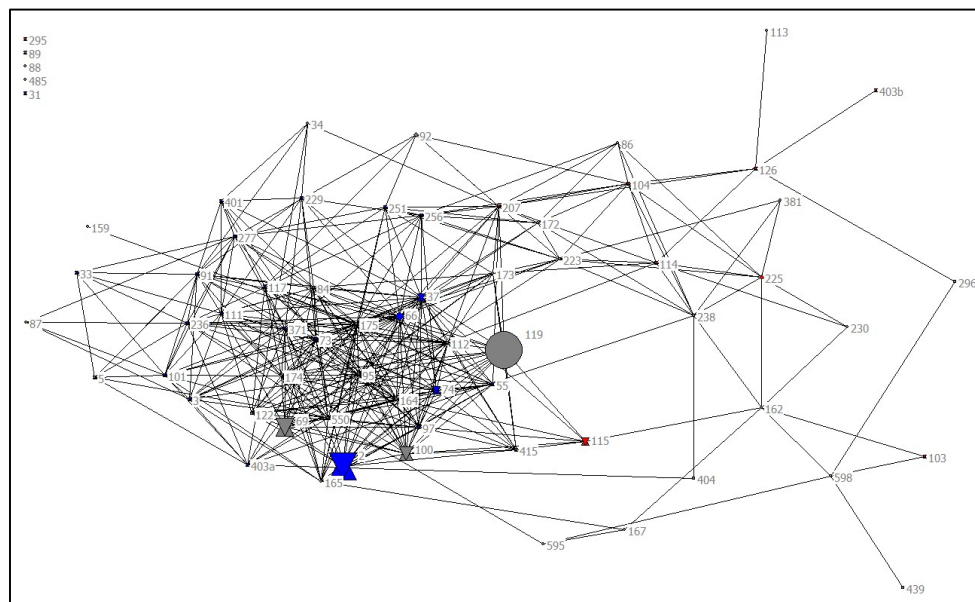


Figure 7.14: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

Of the international composites, three are animal or human composites that create the handle of a bronze oinochoe while t.119 contains many different composites: an ivory griffin token and a pair of shoes with a number of different composites on an elaborate frieze (Figure 7.16). These shoes, which were most likely produced in Etruria (Boccolini 2003: 159), provide the greatest contrast to the motifs of local composites that will be discussed shortly. The chimera, siren and sphinx are more reminiscent of motifs seen throughout the Mediterranean in this period, as the composites contain anatomical details that make it possible to identify securely which well-known figure they are representing. In combination with a bronze belt, a few ivory plaques and a single necklace of glass, amber, bone and silver, the presentation of the female body in this tomb appears to be more concerned with a smaller number of highly-charged items referencing long-distance connections of many kinds, both Tyrrhenian and Adriatic or Baltic. This is in strong contrast to a tomb such as t.115 (Figure 7.16), which contains one instance of a local composite, but most notably has a high number of pendants with local symbolic value: axe, wild boar-tusk, conch shell and hand pendants. There is a high degree of visual difference in the representation of the body in each tomb, and in the symbolic motifs they are referencing. Within t. 119, the necklace full of imported materials and the shoes, whose violent imagery and figure of a woman gripping two snakes in a chthonic reference, each tie the person to contact with foreign lands, but also to the dangers of traveling within unfamiliar, otherworldly realms. The ivory griffin pendant, on the other hand, which has similarities to a *tessera hospitalis*, may have had a role as a guest token of mutual hospitality that would have been a signal of access and safe passage within these regions. The more than fifteen symbolic pendants from t.115 would have covered

the majority of the body, dangling from fibulae, and each type referenced local symbols of power (such as the axe) or those of the immediate region (through the boar tusk and shell). These two tombs represent two different ways of representing wealth and power on the female body, each using different methods and styles.

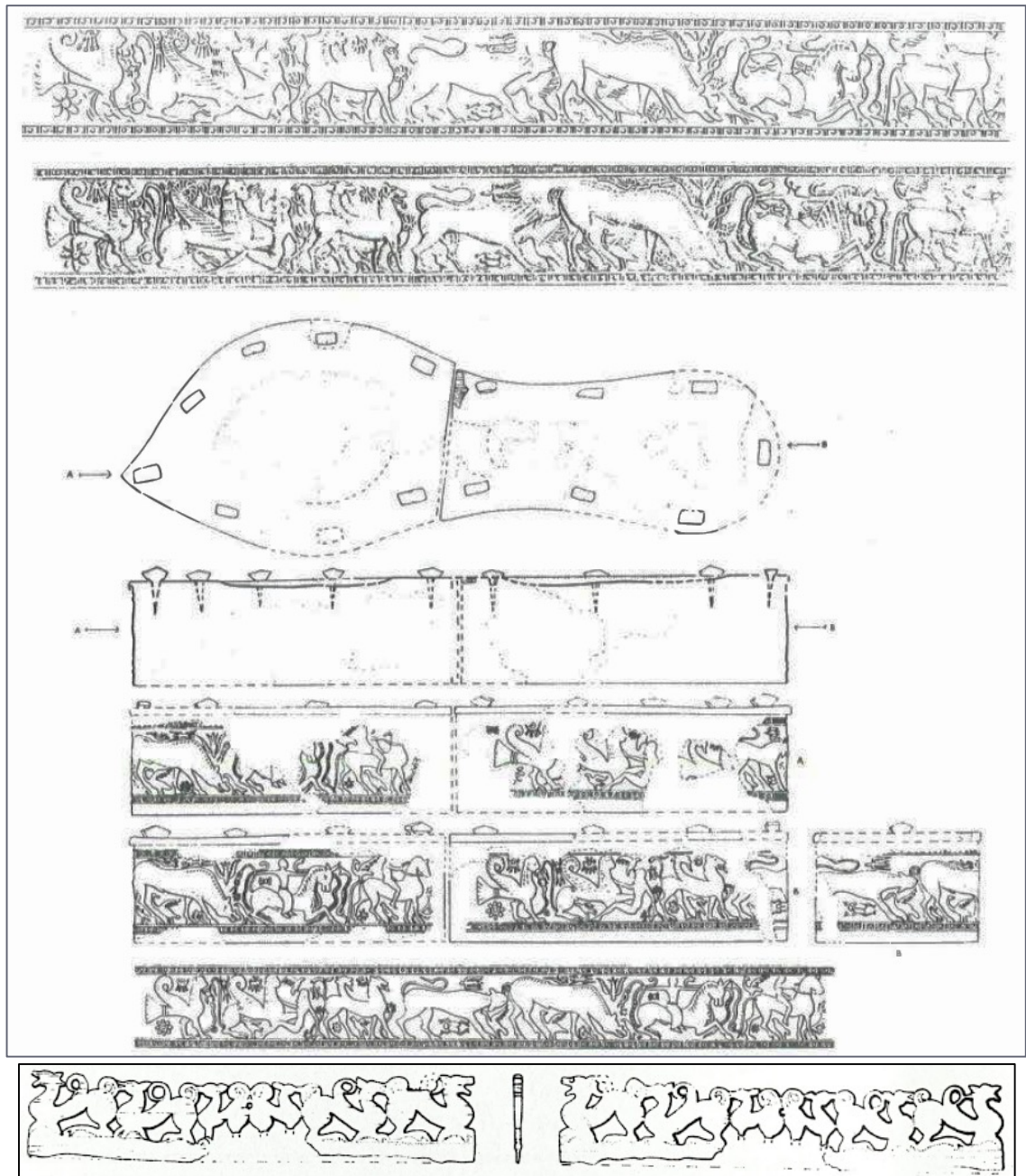


Figure 7.15: Bronze shoes and a griffin ivory token from t.119 (Chiaramonte Treré & D'Ercole 2003 Tav 79 & 80)

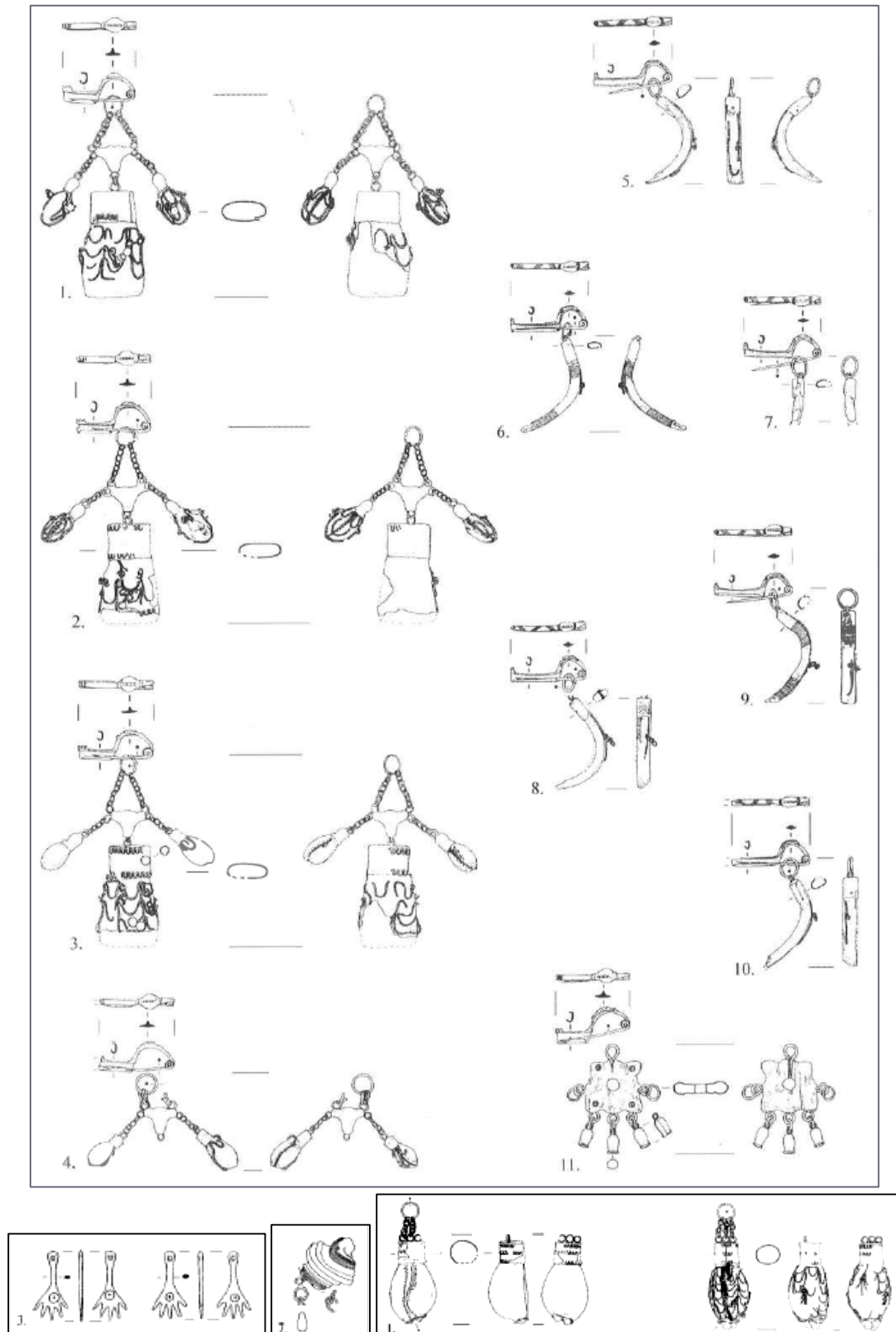


Figure 7.16: Axe, boar tusk, shell and hand pendants from t.115

Returning to the actual networks of international and local style for this period, although both styles appear within tombs that are highly interconnected and central or connected to the male core at the bottom right, there are a few key differences in the types of grave goods within these tombs (Figure 7.17 and 7.18). Those tombs containing items with international composite style have large numbers of ceramic vessels associated with feasting, and particularly use anforette in multiples as the primary drinking vessel. In this context it makes some sense then that two of these international composites are handles of bronze oinochoai in the shape of lions with either monkeys or rams for hands that are gripping the lip of the vessel. As liquid would be poured from them, the composite would appear to the participant in the feast who is receiving their beverage, creating an alternative mode of representation to the bodily display seen earlier in tombs 115 and 119. For those tombs with local composites, accumulation of feasting equipment is an important component, but in these tombs the chalice is the predominant form of drinking cup. In both styles of composites, males are the chief recipient and each tomb contains the standard panoply; however, among those with local composites, three of the four males are also buried with a chariot. These chariots lack decoration, although the earlier appearance of a decorated chariot within t.121 and their association with high levels of grave good accumulation show these vehicles as a marker of status. It is interesting, then, that these markers of status identified as exclusive from object clustering are more associated with local composites rather than international.

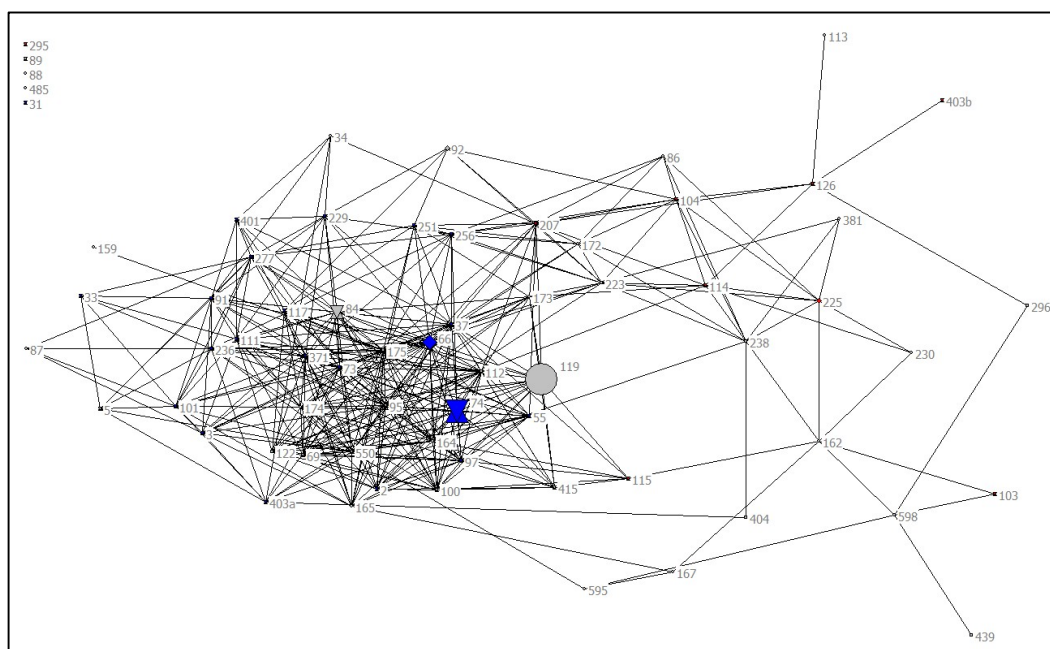


Figure 7.17: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with international composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

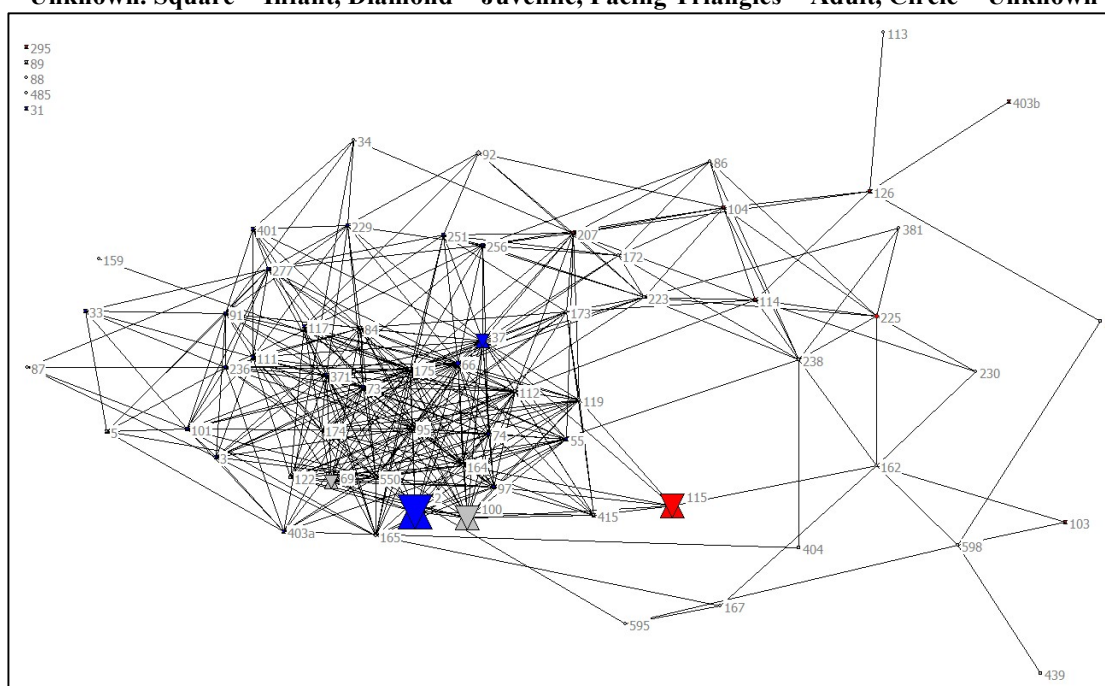


Figure 7.18: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with local composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

Among the group of local composites, all are associated with impasto vessels, either as protome attachments, figured lid handles or incised lid decoration. All,

therefore, are connected with either large storage vessels or a chalice “a corolla”, marking these vessels as the ceremonial centerpieces of the feast. In fact, the local composites highlight the ways in which the feast at Campovalano differed from that found in the Tyrrhenian and broader Mediterranean. I have interpreted the chalice “a corolla” as a vessel which provided for the communal passing of meat rather than direct and controlled apportionment from the spit (see section 5.2.1). In the case of t.100, however, its lid contains both inscribed composites of herons with added elements and a carved inscription on its base in south Picene reading “A-pies esum”, or “I belong to A-pies” (Figure 7.19) (Rocca 2010: 145–155). For this chalice “a corolla”, the inscription paired with the protective herons located on the top may be reserving this typically shared vessel of meat for the deceased. The impasto griffin and horse-swan protomes on the sides and top of the impasto amphora show not only the material transferal of the protome from cast or beaten bronze to hand-molded impasto, but also highlight a very different characteristic: these protomes are detachable and changeable, since they are slotted into holes in the impasto. The presence of holes in the amphora itself may indicate that these vessels were used for incense instead of liquid, showing another way in which the function of typical elements of the feast are altered at Campovalano, and highlighted by the choice of local decorative patterns.

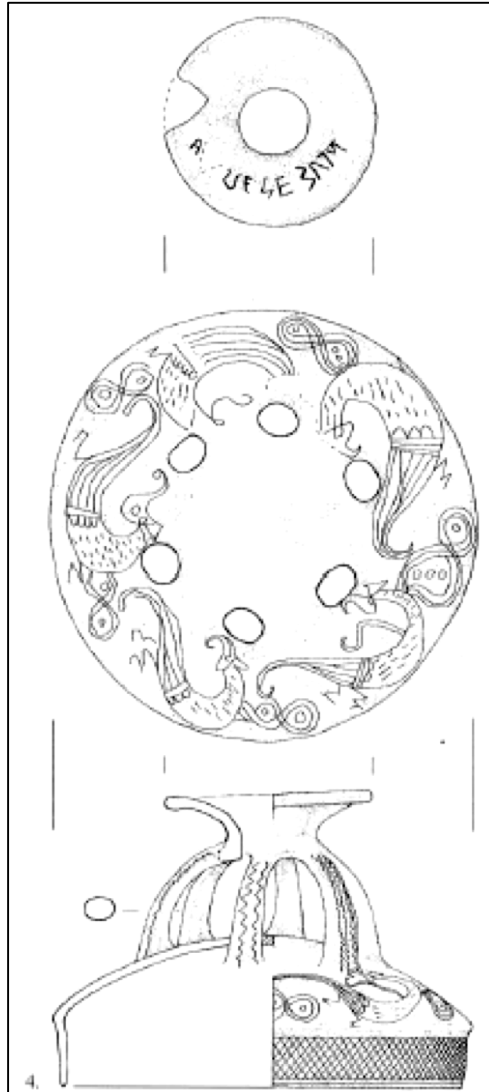


Figure 7.19: Chalice cover from t.100 with composite herons and south Picene inscription (Chiaramonte Treré *et al.* 2010 tav. 35)

The two types of composite style help to highlight the different ways of constructing elite identity at Campovalano, through different expressions of feasting and through the way in which the body is adorned. This can be further bolstered by the spatial distribution of the tombs. Figure 7.20 shows the location of tombs with international and local composites, while figure 7.21 focuses on the older core of the cemetery. Here we can see that the general orientation of tombs with local composite styles gravitates toward

the main road, where the older wealthy tombs from the second half of the 7th century are also located, while the tombs with international composites are positioned slightly further from the road. In this sense, those tombs with local composites claim pride of place in their positioning near the main road and near already-established ancestral tombs. The one exception to this is t.119, a most likely female burial whose use of international composites focused on bodily adornment, representing a different display of wealth that was not in opposition to the tombs with local composites which surround it. Rather, as one of two female tumuli burials within this central core of tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, as mentioned previously it marks a difference in female adornment to t.115, which is positioned closer to the earlier ancestral tombs and which displays types and numbers of pendants that are more aligned with traditional forms of female adornment at the site. Another deviation in tomb positioning is that of t.69, which although it displays elements of local style, is positioned far from the core of tombs. In this case it may be that this tomb represents a different kin group than those of the main core that is attempting to establish a new familial locus for funerary activity at the site. It is notable that this tomb represents its accumulated wealth through established forms of elite display: chariot, panoply of weapons, chalice “a corolla” and an impasto amphora with removable swan protomes and local composite griffins. The positioning of the tomb is the primary way in which it is seeking to distinguish itself.

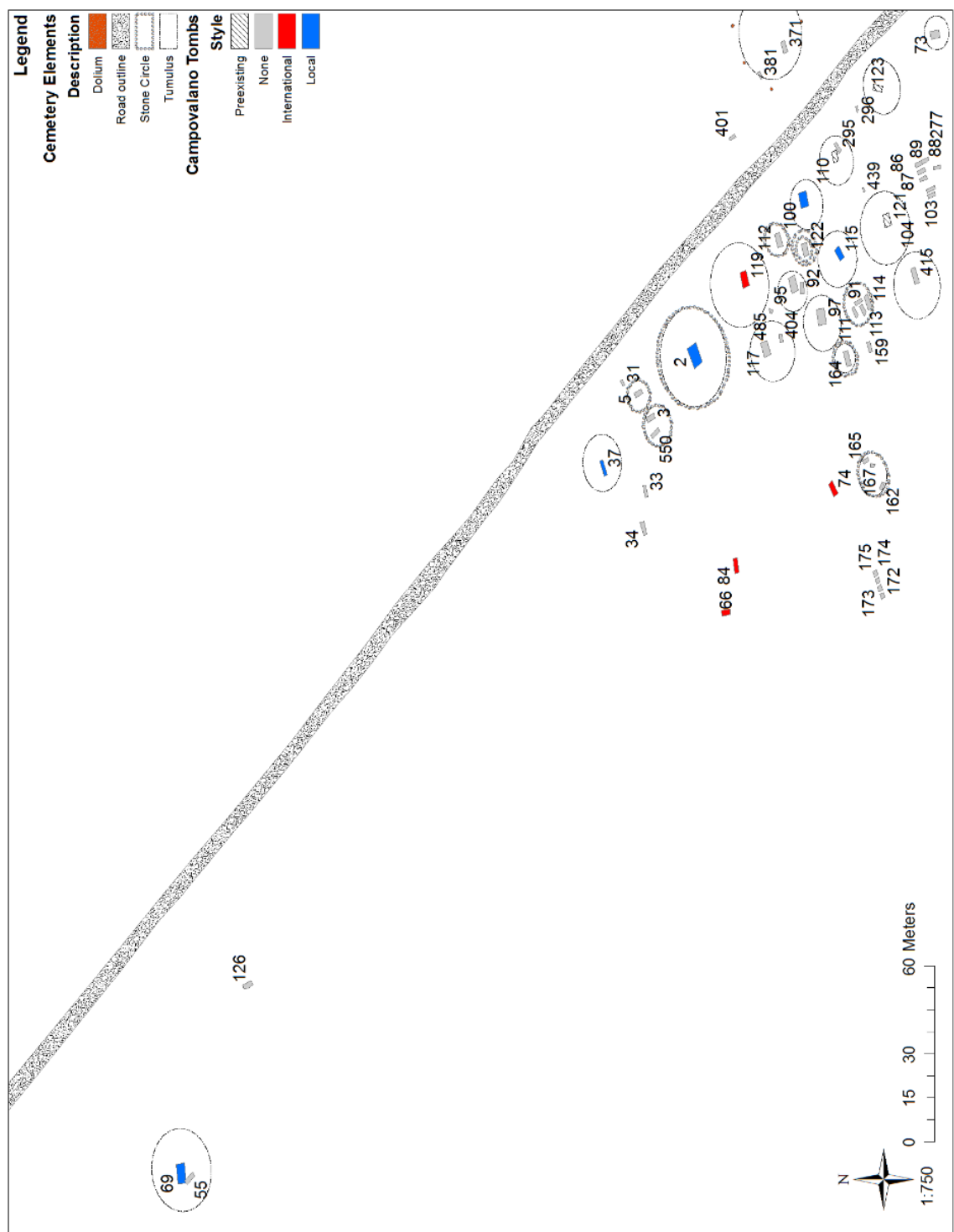


Figure 7.20: Map of the distribution of international and local composite styles within Campovalano at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th

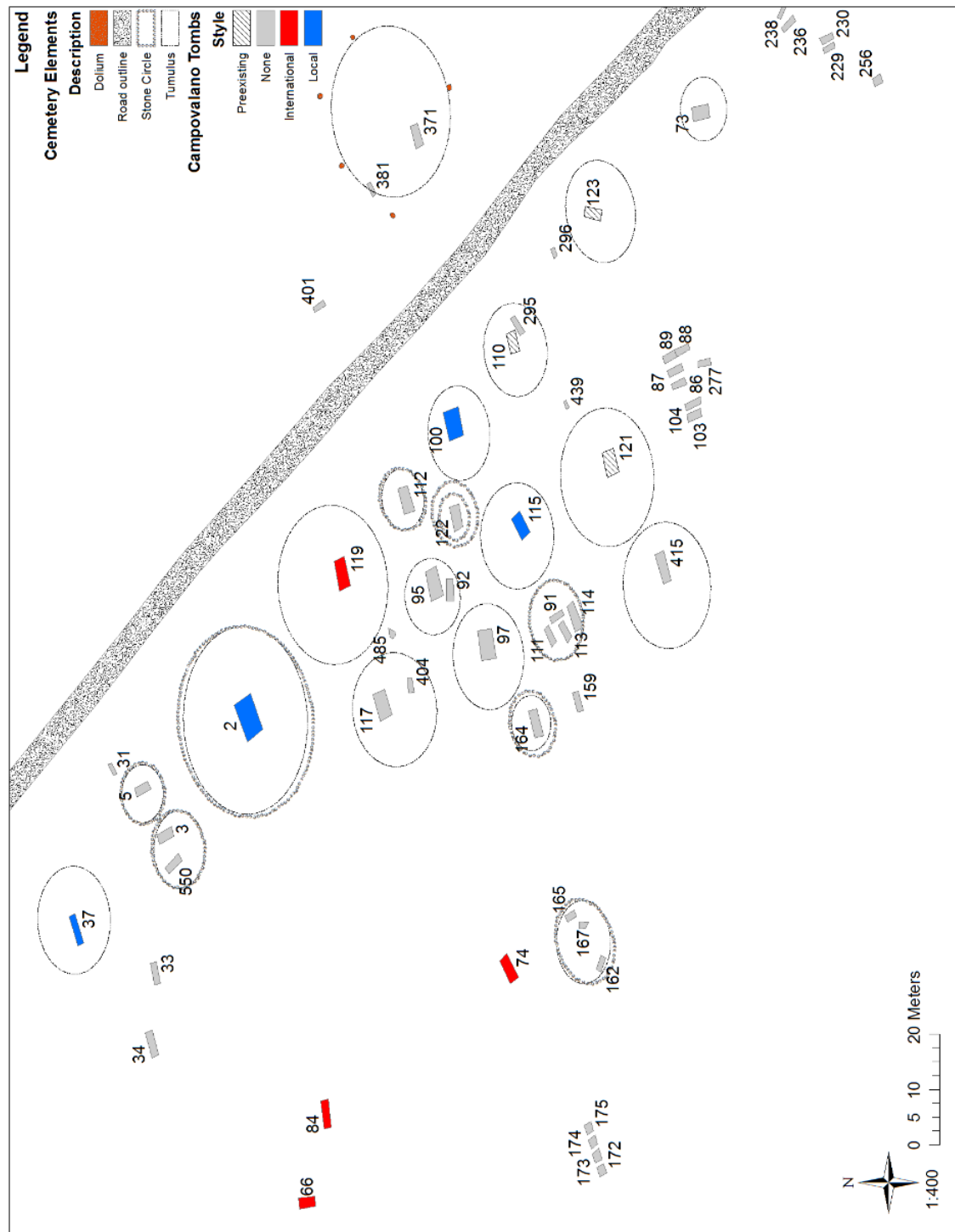


Figure 7.21: Map of the distribution of international and local composite styles within Campovalano at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, focused on the core area

As we move into the next phase, the first half of the 6th, local and international composites show different network and spatial positioning. In the case of local

composites, there is only one instance, that of t.96 and the composite protomes mentioned previously, which is located within the male core of the network, sharing many common material choices with other tombs in this period (Figure 7.22), and spatially it is enmeshed around other male tombs that show similar focus on local styles of composites (Figure 7.23). International composites, by contrast, show a continued pattern of appearing in tombs located on the exterior of the network due to the fact that these are part of tombs with an unusual degree of grave good accumulation for this period (Figure 7.24). Spatially, the placement of tombs with this type of international style follow two different patterns: the juvenile female (t.127) and infant burial (t.47) are located in close proximity to an older, prominent male tumulus burial with expressions of local composite style; the second shows that the male tomb (t.163) is placed in close proximity to other male tombs also displaying elements of international style from the previous period (Figure 7.25). In fact, all of these tombs (66, 74, 84 and 163) show international composites as the handles of bronze oinochoai, and all are placed on the northwestern outskirts of the central core of burial.

This spatial evidence helps to corroborate two different ways of performing the feast within the community: either by taking this new practice and molding its associated symbolism and imagery into a local style that speaks to the broader community, or alternatively maintaining some of its foreign characteristics of international style and using this as a way of emphasizing the newness of such a practice within the local community and speaking to elites across cultural boundaries beyond the central Apennines. In the broader context of the feast, the composites of both varieties appear to be employed as imagery meant to protect the contents of larger storage vessels, pouring

vessels or special chalices. The utilization of such composites within the feast can be tied to a possible ambivalence toward the acceptance of such a new practice within the funerary ceremony. Drawing on Mary Douglas's ideas of impurity and danger, Smits establishes a "monster theory" of new technology as being at the same time fear-inducing or fascinating, due to technology's ability to blur the lines between previously clear-cut categories (Smits 2006). "Special confusion arises when a phenomenon fits into two categories simultaneously that are considered to be mutually exclusive" (Smits 2006). In the case of the feast, it purposefully blurs the line between the living and the dead, either by the actual eating and drinking on the part of funerary participants at the funeral⁷⁸, in the presence of the dead, or in the association of feasting, an act meant to give sustenance and nourishment to the living, now with the dead. The melding of the worlds of the living and the dead through communal feasting may have elicited either fear and anxiety or reverence and captivation depending on each individual participant; and the safe-guarding presence of composites, who also speak to numerous worlds, would have perhaps served an ameliorative role toward negative sentiments. Indeed, the combination of protomes of griffins and either birds or horse-swans on amphorae appear to materialize this ambivalence through the dangerous implications of the open-mouthed griffin and the more protective role of the bird, whose Bronze Age usage connects this image with the shepherding of the dead. In the case of Campovalano, the ceremonial mixing of the living

⁷⁸ Organic remains were found within bronze basins at Campovalano (Acconcia 2014a: 48) and some tombs at Colfiorito contain pig bone remains, poultry and egg shells in bowls and plates (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 82).

and dead through a new practice of funerary feasting was paired with the incorporation of composites in order to ease the integration of this new “technology”.

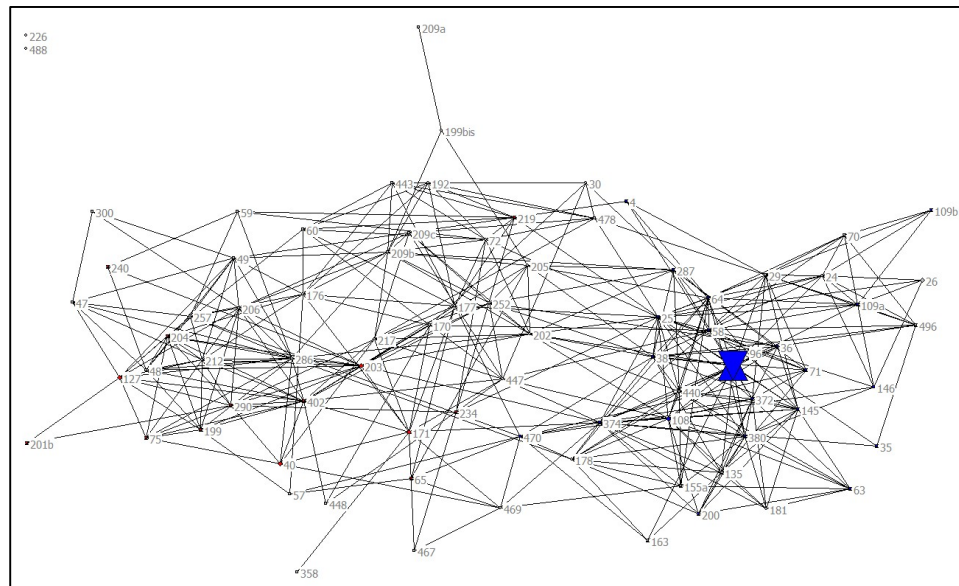


Figure 7.22: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with local composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

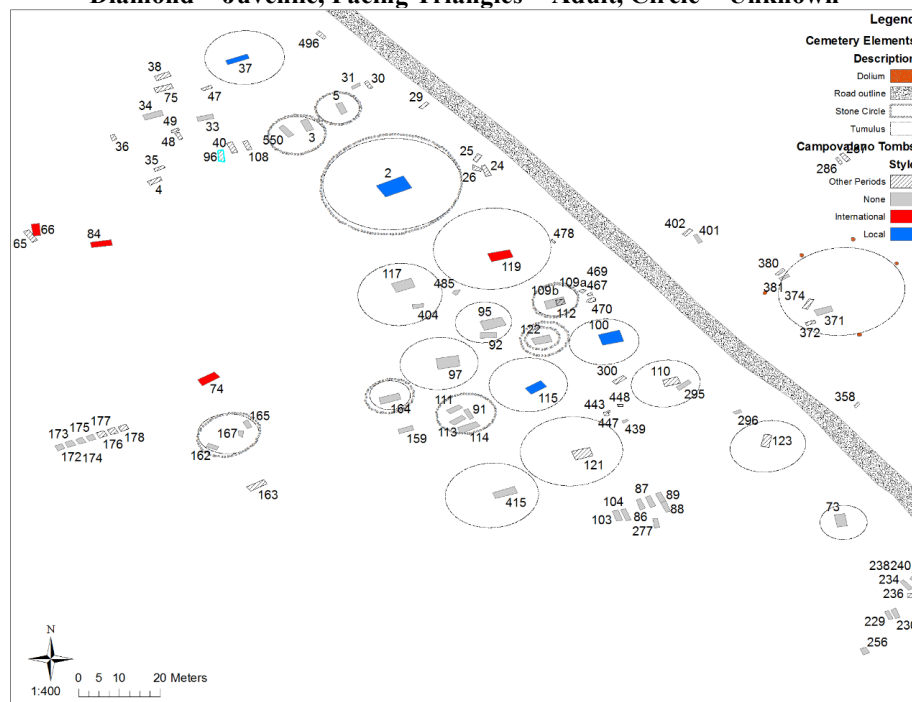


Figure 7.23: Map of the distribution of international and local composite styles within Campovalano at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, with tombs from the first half of the 6th, focused on the core area of the cemetery. T.96 is highlighted in the upper left, showing the position of a tomb with local style in the first half of the 6th century BCE

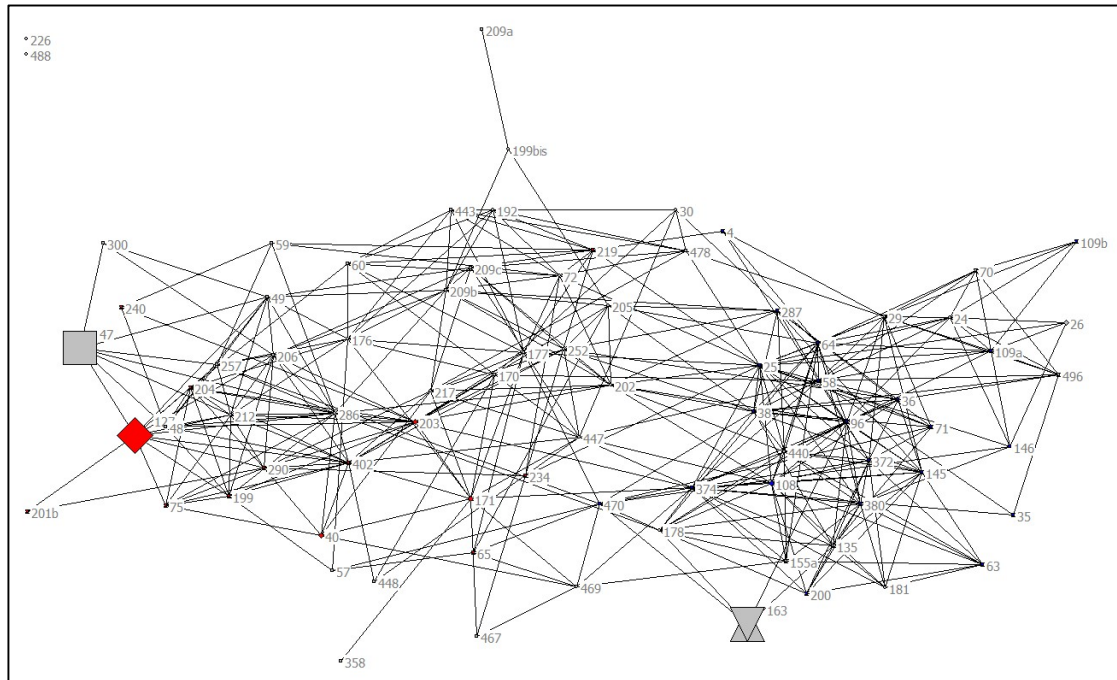


Figure 7.24: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the first half of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with international composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

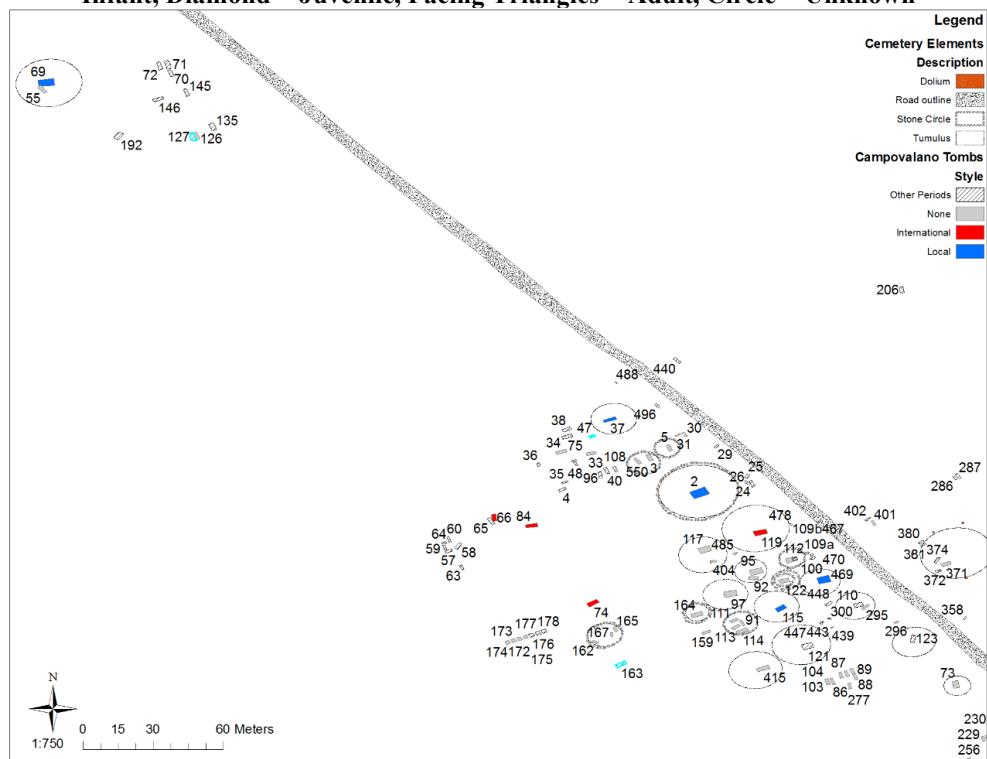


Figure 7.25: Map of the distribution of international and local composite styles within Campovalano at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, with tombs from the first half of the 6th, focused on the core area of the cemetery. Tombs 127, 47 and 163 are highlighted showing the position of tombs with local style in the first half of the 6th century BCE

The final category for consideration is that of the representation of humans, either on objects, or as is often the case, objects shaped into the form of human figures. Within the network of the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century, use of the human form is actually fairly widespread (Figure 7.26). There are of course many tombs within the center of the network that include human representation, many of which have already been spoken of either in this chapter (t.84 & 119) or in chapter 5 (t.2). In fact, spatially all of these tombs are also located near the center of the cemetery. There is one tomb (t.598) that is located outside of the network center which has two small bronze pendants lightly embossed with the face of a person. The gender and age of this individual is unknown, however there is a great deal of jewelry buried with the body, such as bone pendants, amber and glass beads, and numerous fibulae. The tomb is located on the exterior of the network because it lacks any ceramic material, and the higher emphasis on personal ornamentation links it to patterns seen in female and infant burials, which are more proximate in network terms. The use of the human form in personal ornamentation is matched by the figures on shoes in t.119 and the silver Hathor pendant and the small ivory human statuette in t.115.

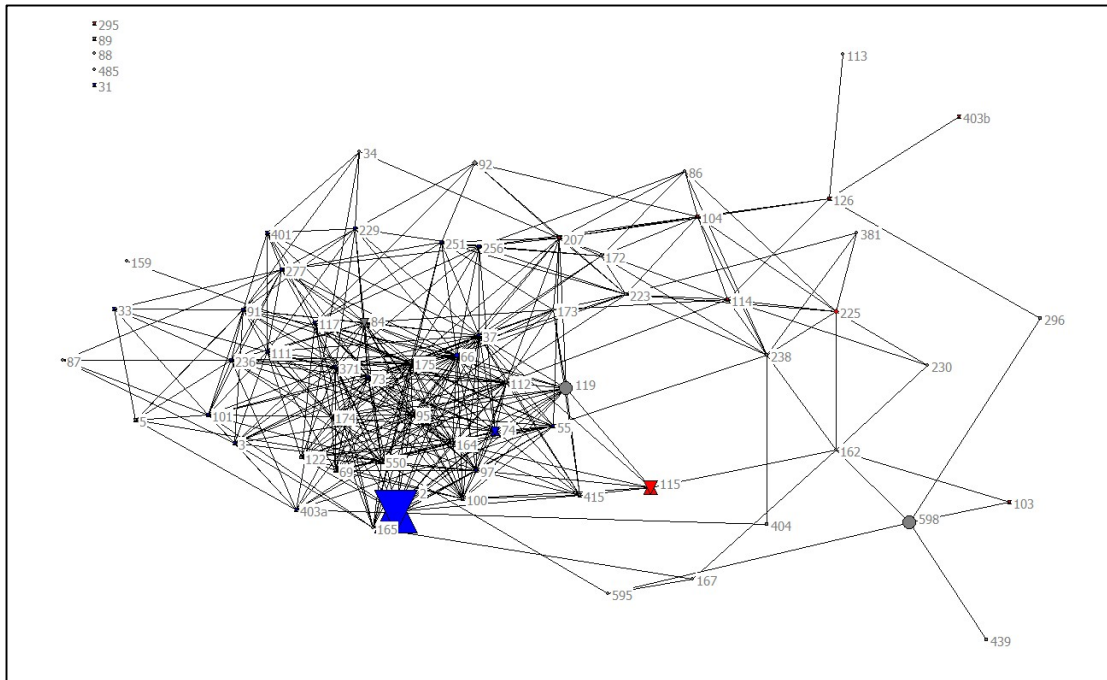


Figure 7.26: Graph of Campovalano tombs from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th. Nodes scaled by number of items with human motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

By contrast, the human forms associated with male graves appear in objects connected to feasting: the Hathor face on a bronze oinochoe in t.84, a bronze cup with an umbilicus that has partial features of a human arm and hand within a larger frieze of animals and a ship, and the inscribed soldiers and mourning figurines in t.2. Of these three, the mourning figurines and inscribed soldiers from t.2 would have been the most visible within the funeral, since the placement of the face on the oinochoe faces the pourer rather than the receiver, and the decorative frieze in the cup would have been covered by any liquid used in libation. In the case of these human representations, they appear to be materializations of the community in impasto, meant to accompany the deceased. With the exception of the ivory figurine in t.115, whose form is not very well preserved, the impasto figures in t.2 are also the only forms that were treated in a similar

manner to the local composites: stylized in their form with only the most essential anatomical features detailed⁷⁹.

In the following period, this human form is restricted to a single instance: the representation of an individual riding a horse in a hunting scene on an amphora from t.63. In contrast to the human figure riding a horse on the shoes of t.119, this human rider follows the form of the other incised impasto decorations in its emphasis of general silhouette over anatomically scaled details (Figure 7.27). This seems to follow a similar pattern as the composite images that were gradually incorporated into the local stylistic repertoire.

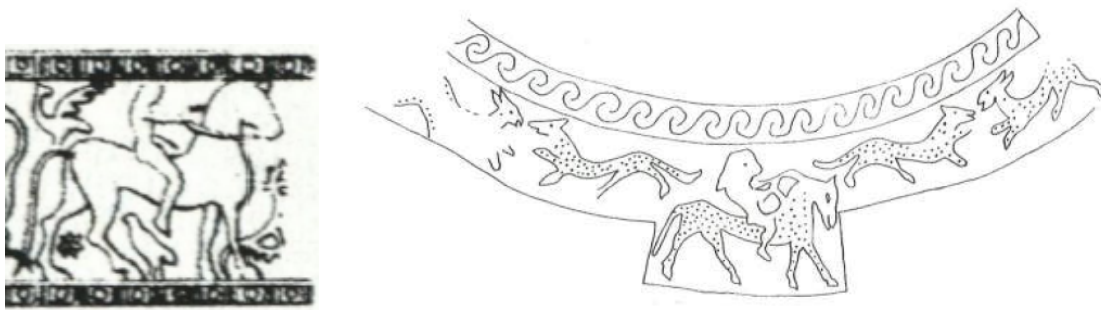


Figure 7.27: Left: horse and rider on bronze shoes in t.119; Right: horse and rider on amphora in t. 63

The overall network results for all types of decorative motifs and stylistic forms show a limited number of examples within the entire cemetery from the second half of the 7th until the middle of the 6th century. The greatest extent of tombs with decorative motifs occurs within the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th, and all categories of decoration fall in number after this period. The concentration of imagery is located within

⁷⁹ Although figurines from Tarquinia and Cerveteri are similar figures of mourners made of impasto, they have considerably more anatomical detail included, indicating some degree of carving, whereas the figures from Campovalano appear to be entirely hand-molded.

the most centralized, most well-equipped tombs that share a high degree of material culture with the rest of the cemetery through large levels of accumulation. In later periods this imagery tends to stay concentrated within those burials that seek to show wealth through the aggregation of grave goods, even as the majority of the cemetery is shifting away from this form of funerary treatment. Thus although it appears that those at the top of the social hierarchy are the predominant employers of decoration and particularly figurative imagery, its use does not spread far beyond this segment of the population. Rather than there being a trickle-down effect, there is in fact no trickle at all. Instead, much of this imagery appears to have been used to help establish elites in the early period of the cemetery's use, and it failed to find broader applications.

7.3 Fossa

Even though Fossa has a much longer history of occupation than Campovalano, the number of objects with decoration and imagery are greatly reduced by comparison to Campovalano, particularly in the realm of figurative imagery. The networks for each phase tend to divide fairly evenly between male and female, even though the similarity ties do not include gender as a defining category. This tendency of gender differentiation holds throughout the occupation of the cemetery at Fossa, although Fossa has less emphasis on female-specific gender markers, such as weaving equipment. One difference from the networks seen at Campovalano is that Fossa shows no high level of centralization as was seen at the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th for Campovalano. Instead, each gendered side of the network appears to be fairly evenly spaced. As was seen in the core-periphery measures from chapter 6, the high level of consistency in grave

goods and funerary ritual means that the actual level of differences between tombs at Fossa is much less than what was seen at Campovalano, and that those tombs with a higher number of grave goods appear along the outside of the network for Fossa rather than in the center. In Phase 1 for example, tombs 551 and 361 have been described as ‘princely’, and tombs 192 and 193 have been characterized as wealthy as well, but they are on the edges of the male side of the network (Figure 7.28). The very center of the male core of the network is occupied by an elder, while the elders of the female side are located in closer proximity to the male side of the network, showing that these individuals had more funerary privileges due to their age, such as the addition of a bronze tazza-atingitoio and iron decorative discs.

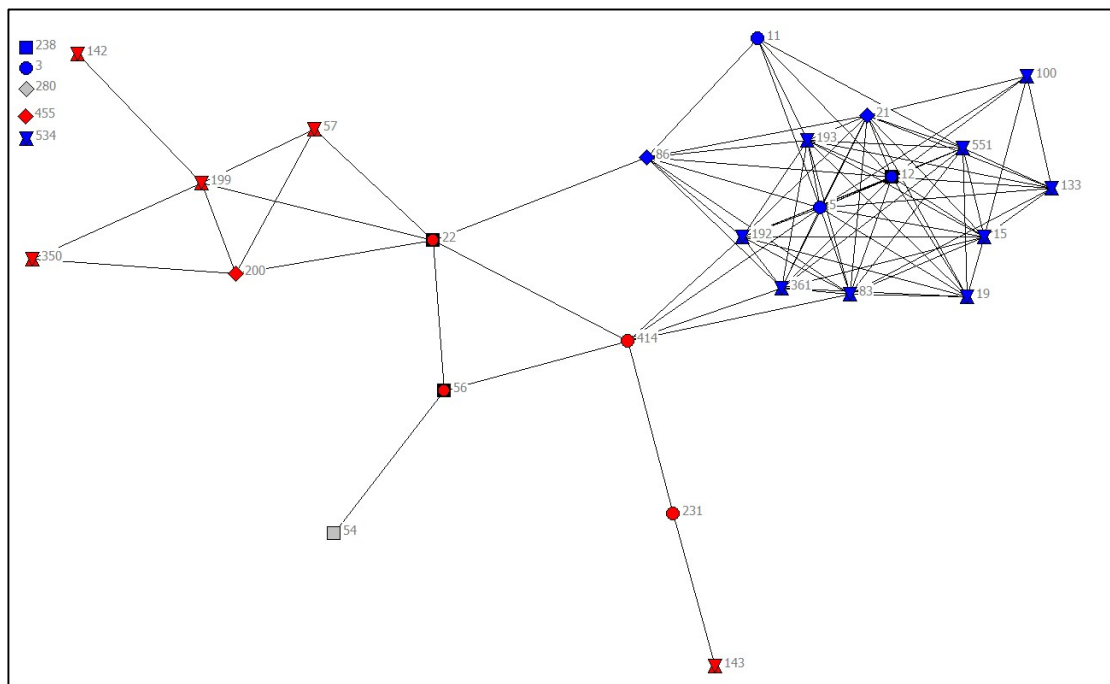


Figure 7.28: Graph of Fossa tombs from Phase 1. Ties are calculated based on Jaccard similarity of grave goods and reduced to those with a strength greater than 0.25. Layout is a Graph Theoretic Layout (Spring Embedding) with proximity based on geodesic distances. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle-in-Square = Elderly, Circle = Unknown

In the earliest period at Fossa, Phases 1 and 2A (both before the chronological break of the flooding incident that briefly halts the utilization of the cemetery), geometric elements form the exclusive repertoire of decoration for this period. When we look at the network for Phase 1, we can see just how prominent this type of decoration is, spanning almost all of the tombs within the network, male and female (Figure 7.29). Obviously the objects on which the geometric designs appeared were different, ranging from orcioli and brocche to decorated bronze or iron discs and other elements of jewelry. What is striking, however, is how wide-ranging such a decorative style is and how it reaches far beyond what have been characterized as the most elite tombs of the period (t. 551 and 361). In this instance, we can see that within the community at Fossa the application of decorative styles was not necessarily a restricted practice, at least at the onset of the cemetery. The main restriction appears to be from infant tombs, which are very poorly represented in both this period and the following phase, likely indicating a broader restriction against infant inclusion in the cemetery. In the following Phase 2A, these popular motifs begin to reduce in number and are more concentrated within female tombs, where a greater amount of grave good accumulation is centered in this phase. After the chronological break, the style of geometric motifs that may appear on vessels takes on a different appearance, and is typically reduced to creating a border for other decorative elements. The example of these geometric motifs from the end of the Iron Age and the beginning of the ‘orientalizing’ period is intended to provide a framework for examining the later phases: even among the consistent set of funerary practices, this kind of decoration garnered great popularity and became a common decorative language among the majority of the community buried at this cemetery.

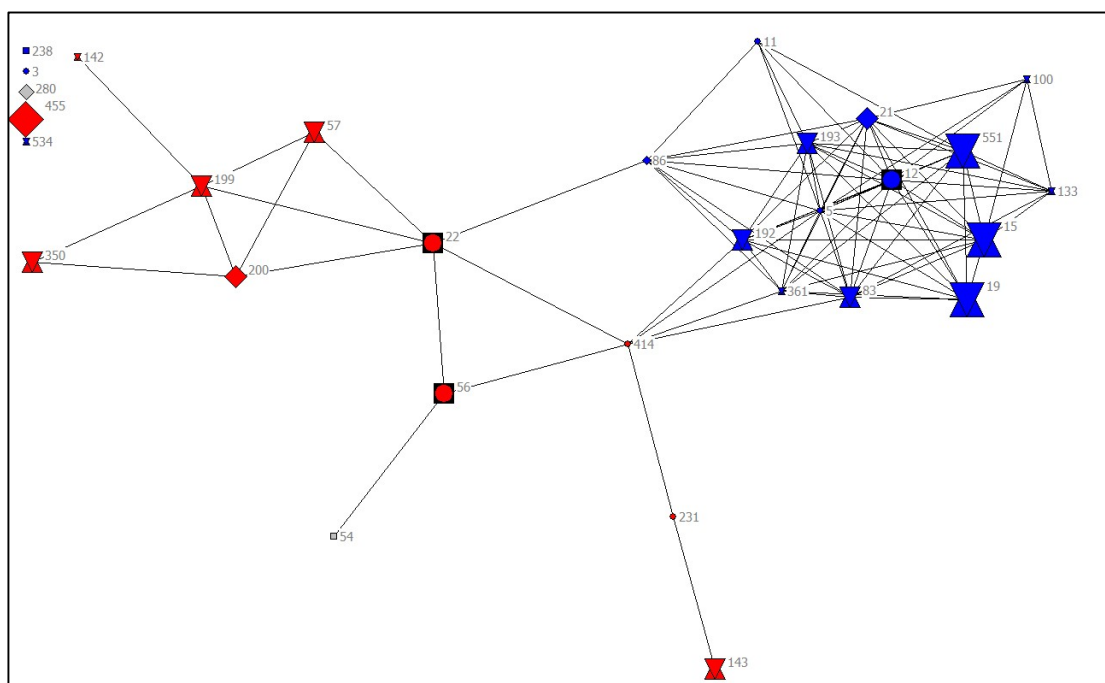


Figure 7.29: Graph of Fossa tombs Phase 1. Nodes scaled by number of items with geometric motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle-in-Square = Elderly, Circle = Unknown

In light of this, the relatively lower numbers of vegetal and decorative motifs over the following period provide a much different view of the incorporation of new decorative styles within the community. For vegetal motifs, the first appearance was on an anforetta in t.415, the burial of a juvenile between 4-8 years of age. This tomb is located on the edge of the network and separate from the other juveniles, likely due to the fact that it is the only juvenile with weapons and likely to have been male (Figure 7.30). The *ripostiglio* that is present within this tomb shows a miniature version of the typical vessel forms: an anforetta and a small chalice. The vegetal form present on this anforetta is one that has been identified by Benelli and Weidig as one typical of the Aquila basin (Benelli & Weidig 2006). As both a new form of anforetta and a new style of decoration, this object was easily incorporated into a younger individual's burial as the miniature

substitute for the larger storage vessel. In this case, both new vessel form and decoration were incorporated into already existing practice.

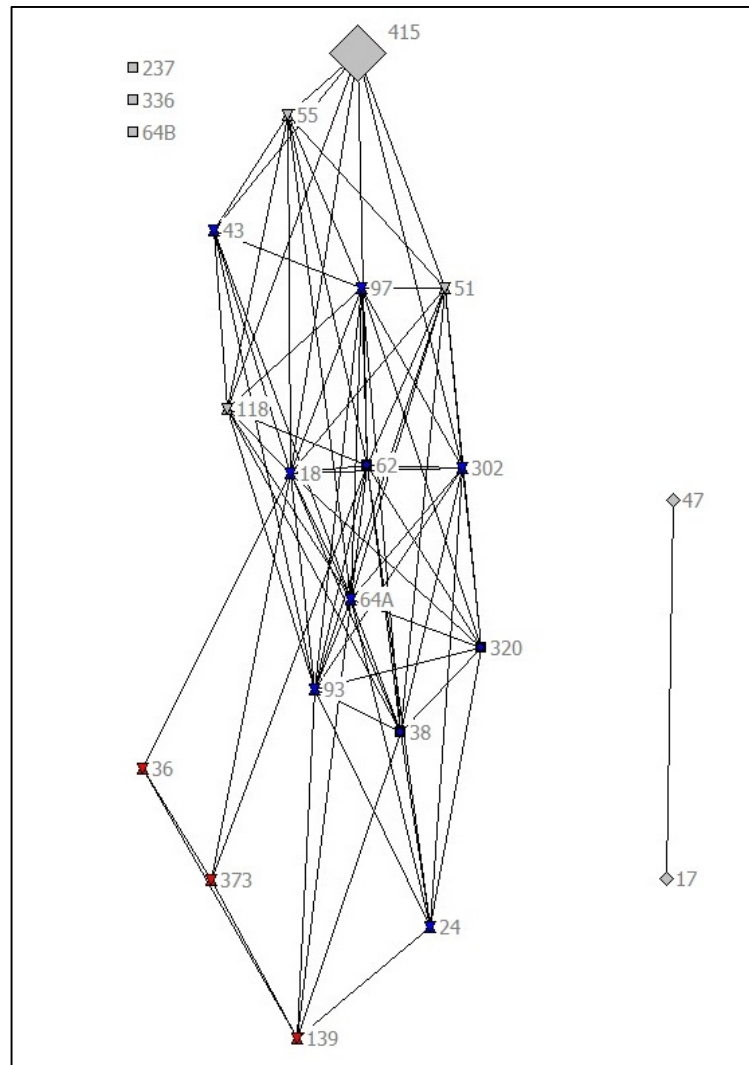


Figure 7.30: Graph of Fossa tombs Phase 2B. Nodes scaled by number of items with vegetal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle-in-Square = Elderly, Circle = Unknown

In the next period, Phase 3A, this specific form of vegetal motif highlights two different paths of funerary practice at Fossa: the continuation of the *ripostiglio* and the shift to greater numbers of drinking vessels, without a large storage vessel. In the case of the former, the vegetal motif was incorporated onto a large olla (t.399), also topped with

horse-like protomes, and paired with a tazza, forming the standard *ripostiglio*. For the latter, these anforette with vegetal motifs appear in two tombs (t. 363 and 175), and were accompanied by more undecorated anforette, pointing to their role as drinking vessels. As these tombs have no large storage vessel, this combination of vessels represents an important departure in funerary practice. It is interesting, then, that the vegetal motif is present in both types of practice, showing that this new style is not implicitly tied with a new form of funerary drinking. The other tomb that incorporates elements of vegetation is a brocca in t. 448 which is stamped on the shoulder with rosettes. It is paired with a scodella, therefore recreating the practice associated with the *ripostiglio*, although through different forms. Unfortunately, the position of these tombs in the network tell us very little, as they are scattered in various points, in multiple age ranges and genders (Figure 7.31). After Phase 3A, the vegetal motifs are no longer present in the cemetery, showing a remarkably short-lived popularity for this motif. The anforetta on which it appears, however, is present in 18 more tombs, making the form much more popular than the vegetal motif.

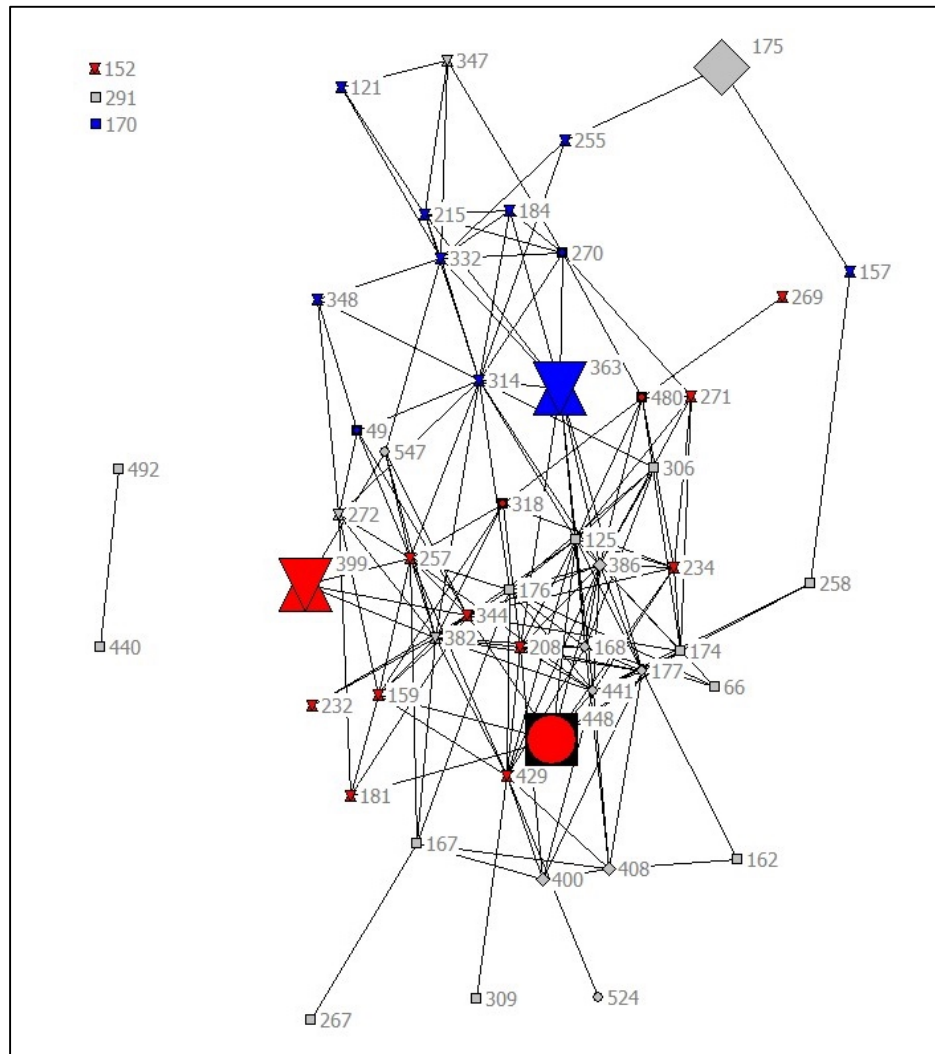


Figure 7.31: Graph of Fossa tombs Phase 3A. Nodes scaled by number of items with vegetal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle-in-Square = Elderly, Circle = Unknown

The instances of both animals and composites are even smaller than the vegetal motifs. Animal motifs do not appear until Phase 3A (only three of them), and their position within the network almost makes them appear to be representatives for each age and gender class of which they are part: adult male (t.215), adult female (t.399) and infant (t.309) (Figure 7.32). Although on the edges of the network, each tomb has a *ripostiglio*, making them connected to and participants in the standard funerary practice. In the case

of t.215, an Etrusco-Corinthian kylix depicting painted swans, and was positioned at the feet of the deceased male, and separate from the storage vessel that was sectioned off by stones. This kylix took the place that bronze basins commonly held in the burial, making it alternatively either a vessel for food offerings, in stark contrast to its original function, or the function of vessels in this position may have changed. T. 399 contained an ivory disc with crouching lions carved on the upper edges. The pendant was located on the pelvis, in the same position as earlier geometric iron discs which were a sign of female status and in the case of the disc inlaid with amber, may have also represented a connection to the sun. The ivory disc pendant found in t.399 provides a striking visual difference in materials, possibly representing the sun in a different state. In the combination of the circular form and place of display with the new material and design elements, this pendant encapsulated a link between the old tradition of female adornment and the arrival of new styles. This same ability to mix old and new can also be seen in the olla with horse-griffin protomes. Here the new element of impasto protomes is added to the standard olla vessel form, with local vegetal incised decoration, and used as part of the essential funerary component, the *ripostiglio*. The final animal present in this phase is a stylized horse from t.309 that was incised on an amphora with possibly vegetal swirls either as the backdrop or coming out of the animal itself. This amphora was found with an attingitoio inside, and located in the area for a *ripostiglio*.

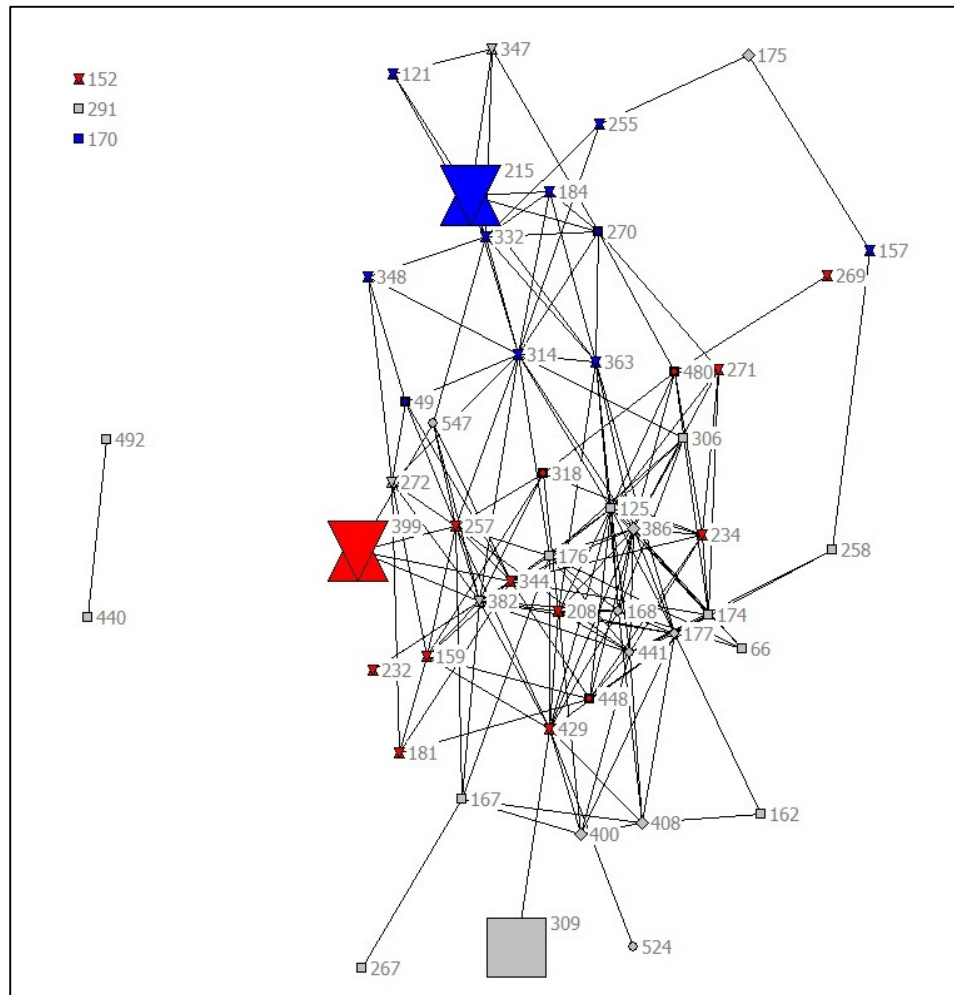


Figure 7.32: Graph of Fossa tombs Phase 3A. Nodes scaled by number of items with animal motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle-in-Square = Elderly, Circle = Unknown

Each of these instances shows the way in which certain new motifs were selectively incorporated into existing funerary practice and standard forms, either within the libation or the personal ornamentation of the deceased. The following phase only has a single instance of an animal, that of a lion at the end of a handle of a bronze oinochoe (t.227). Just as with the vegetal motif, the use of animal forms, either on vessels or jewelry, quickly vanishes.

Composite forms at Fossa are exclusively representative of the local composite style: abstract forms that are frequently stylized. There are only three instances and they all appear on impasto. In the first appearance in Phase 2B, t.43 contains a kantharos incised with heraldic facing horses, with what appear to be two tails and a long snake tongue coming from their mouths. The tomb is located on the exterior of the network, farther away from the male core, most likely because of the rarity of kantharoi in the cemetery, the unusual Faliscan style amphora and the inclusion of a mace along with the two lances and dagger (Figure 7.33). Although the forms deposited within this tomb are unusual, placing it outside of the core of male tombs, their use as a *ripostiglio* shows a practice that aligns with the standard funerary practice of libation. Additionally, although this phase of the cemetery marks a shift toward simple *a fossa* tombs, t.43 has a tumulus over it and is located in the middle of and with respect to the older tumuli, possibly indicating a desire to link this male burial to the older familial groups that guided the placement of burials in the previous phases. Here the appearance of the composite seems to be more connected to the new object itself rather than to a new funerary practice, as was seen at Campovalano.

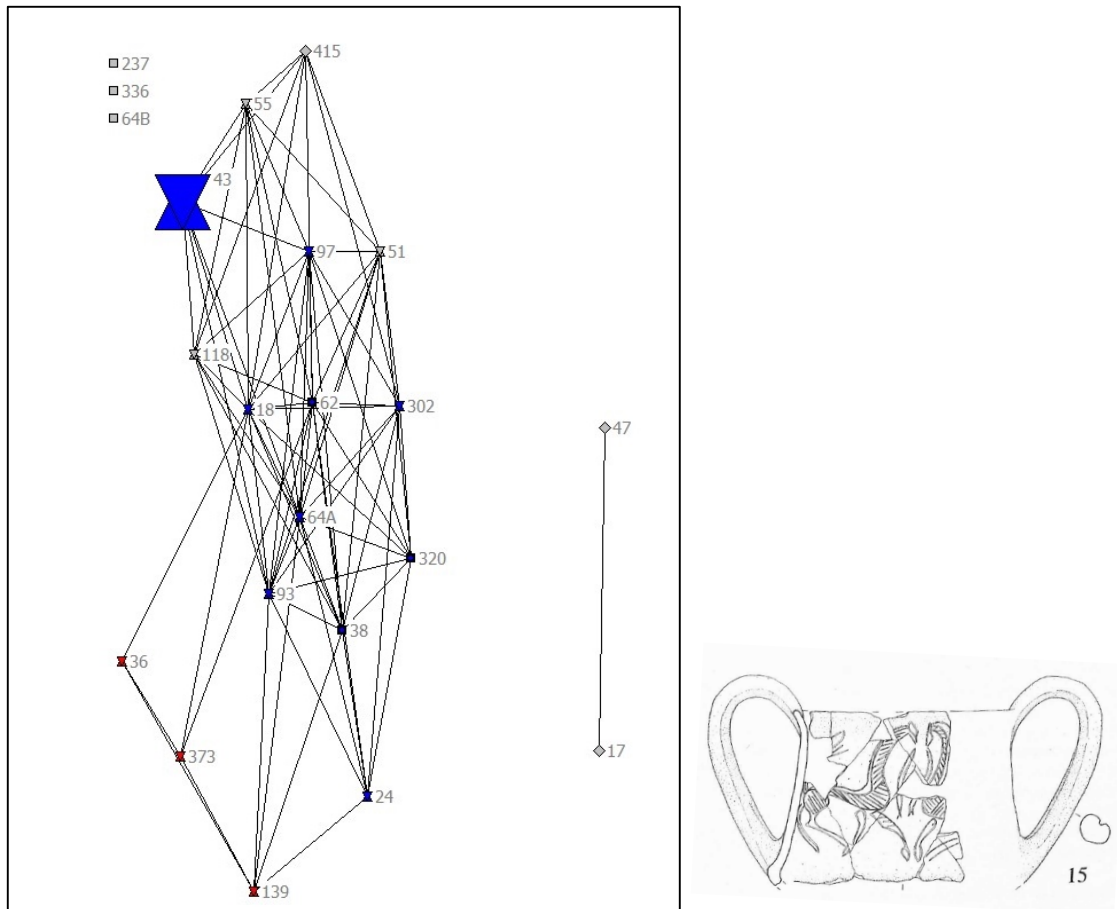


Figure 7.33: On the left, graph of Fossa tombs Phase 2B with nodes scaled by the number of items with composite motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown. On the right, kantharos of stylized horse composites (D’Ercole & Benelli 2004 Tav. 10)

The two composites from Phase 3A are similarly placed on the outside of the network and also are placed on pieces that are part of the typical *ripostiglio*. T.348 contains a chalice with a schematic, almost praying-mantis-like animal, while t.399 contains the olla with horse-griffin protomes mentioned earlier (see section 6.2.4). In both cases, these composite motifs are employed more for their protective qualities toward the liquid being used in libation rather than, as was seen at Campovalano, to ease the introduction of a new funerary practice. Both of these tombs also link themselves to established tradition at the site by being located right next to or within prominent tumuli

from the first phase of use at Fossa. After this phase, these composite forms disappear from the site, showing a similar type of brief popularity to animal motifs.

The final stylistic category to consider for Fossa is that of the human form. There is only one instance, in t.97 (which was discussed in Chapter 6): there was deposited an olla with a scene of possibly mourning human figures interspersed with what appear to be comb pendants and a dagger. These human figures are presented as abstract geometric shapes, tying them much more closely to the popular geometric motifs of the previous period. The comb shapes have great popularity as bronze pendants during the Iron Age, and therefore also a link within this design to older important symbols and styles. In this sense, the position of the tomb at the center of the network for Phase 2B makes sense then (Figure 7.34), as the tomb contains elements standard to male burials of the period: the *ripostiglio* and a panoply of weapons. Even though this tomb contained a great number of familiar elements, the cup of the *ripostiglio* was actually an imported bucchero kotyle, found within the olla itself. In this case, however, the kotyle had one of its two handles broken off in antiquity in an effort to amend the cup functionally to fit the traditional form of the single-handled dipper. Once again, this tomb shows how new figures, and even new vessels, were modified and integrated into an existing stylistic or functional repertoire.

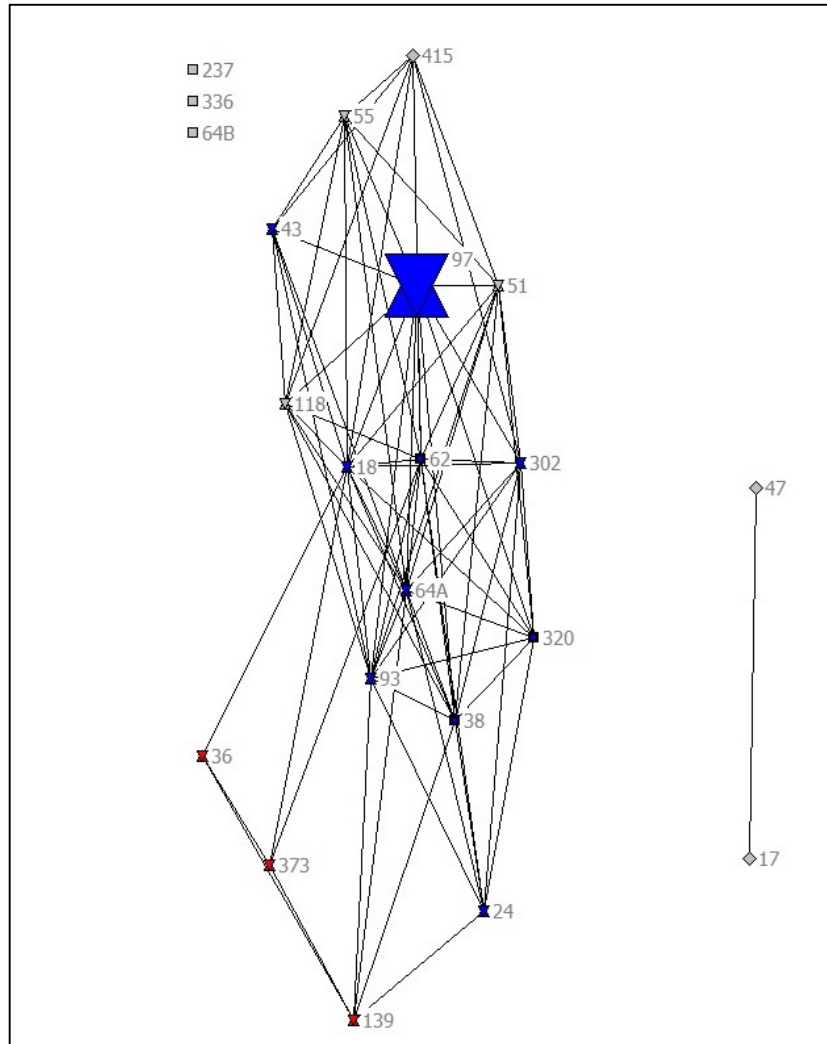


Figure 7.34: Graph of Fossa tombs Phase 2B. Nodes scaled by number of items with human motifs. Blue = Male, Red = Female, Grey = Unknown. Square = Infant, Diamond = Juvenile, Facing Triangles = Adult, Circle = Unknown

This then, is the overall picture that Fossa provides: one of a site in which new stylistic elements were certainly present and introduced (the site was not so isolated that it did not have access to this material), but these were quickly incorporated into existing practice and then soon vanished from the visual repertoire. From a network perspective, this may have been because the tombs of which they were part were located on the exterior of the network, as opposed to what was seen in the first two phases, in which

geometric motifs were spread practically throughout the entire network. In the case of the more locally developed vegetal style, this motif was used as a familiarizing way of incorporating a new practice centered on funerary drinking. Otherwise, the motifs appeared as singular instances within a small number of more elaborate tombs. In contrast to Campovalano, however, these new decorative motifs did not seem to be employed to further bolster elite identity within the site or speak to a broader Mediterranean elite interacting in a more international style. The use of figurative imagery at Fossa, then, was short-lived and found no significant, purposeful application within the context of the broader community. As such, it appears to have quickly vanished from use.

7.4 Conclusions

What we appear to be observing at Campovalano and Fossa are the limits of the reach of the so-called ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon, and how such a larger trend and phenomenon melds and transforms as it comes to an end in popularity. In the case of Campovalano, the style and motifs of the period were both incorporated into modes of personal display and feasting, as well as being physically transformed into a local style that spoke to the visual tradition of the region. It served to build elite identity through the creation of a common visual repertoire that spoke to multiple sets of elites and the broader community simultaneously. Fossa, on the other hand, showed both a remarkably limited employment of these new motifs and a desire to apply them to objects and practices that had a constructed history of practice. In some ways it appears that the lack of combining new imagery with new sets of practices made the decorative motifs less

desirable among the community. For both communities, it is the context of the application of these images that is key to understanding their limited success in popularity.

The results from the network analysis at Campovalano do in fact show that those tombs that have strong ties through shared material culture are more likely to also share similar types of imagery. When these tombs are looked at in greater detail, it can be seen that such imagery is employed for different strategies depending upon funerary practice. The concentration of shared material culture and shared imagery appears to dissolve greatly in the first half of the 6th century, as this follows the general acceptance of a new practice of funerary feasting within the cemetery. The greatest difference in the strategic use of the images appears to be in the difference between a style aimed at local audiences as distinct from more Mediterranean audiences. The network analysis of style shows a chronological difference in the social spread of imagery between the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th and the first half of the 6th, in which local figurative styles appear to have eased the introduction of a new form of funerary practice and an international style showed only brief and limited use. At Campovalano, the international, Mediterranean imagery is restricted to a limited number of pieces. Besides the composites present on oinochoai, the rest of the representations of this international style are by their material nature mobile, often pieces of personal adornment and therefore as mobile as the wearer might have been, and as such, presented a greater possibility that such objects would be in dialogue with other elites across the Italian peninsula and even the broader Mediterranean.

The vast majority of vegetal, animal, composite and human motifs employed within the burials at Campovalano, however, are of a style that speaks first and foremost to the local community, in a style that draws from its immediate neighbors in the Picene and Sabine region. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the elites of Campovalano were in conversation with a wider Italian and Mediterranean cultural milieu, and engaged with the visual language that facilitated these interactions; however the vast majority of their efforts (at least within this cemetery) were directed at the local community. In some ways, it is this pivot from a Mediterranean to a local focus that purposefully dissolves the effectiveness of the international style and shifts it from its original function: as composite and thematic styles that were easily recognizable and understandable beyond cultural boundaries. In making the animal selections and composites conform to local preferences, and depicting them within a local style that emphasizes silhouette and exaggerated features over anatomical correctness, those who created these images actively removed them from an international audience.

This local shift in style, however, does not seem to have satisfied the tastes of the broader community, as these themes of animals, composites and vegetal motifs did not gain traction outside of the wealthiest individuals and those connected to them. In this case, rather than observing the trickle-down effect of access to international goods or styles, Campovalano shows that these objects were primarily used by elites and did not find appeal outside of this group of people. In part this may be due the particular role that composites and other stylized, locally designed animals played: purposefully incorporated into new practices of funerary feasting and given a prominent place within the ceremony. Their primary role was to smooth social hesitations and anxieties over the

new funerary feasting practice that melded the worlds of the living and the dead which may have otherwise proven to be both physically and socially dangerous to its participants. Once the behavior became normalized within funerary ritual, however, such images and motifs were no longer a necessary element.

In the case of Fossa, the limited impact and spread of any figural imagery pushes us to consider the possibility that Fossa may have rejected the most recognizable facets of Mediterranean style. Just as we have seen in the nature of the ceramic material buried with these tombs, Fossa provides examples of different forms of animal, composite, vegetal and human imagery, but none of these motifs appears to be a catalyst for a long-term decorative trend. In the earliest period of its use, the cemetery of Fossa shows a strong preference for geometric designs, and even vegetal designs in later phases enjoy somewhat broader appeal. The lack of appeal of these figurative images does not appear to be an effect of social restriction, as may have been the case at Campovalano, since the social hierarchy expressed through funerary practice is low. As was seen within the networks at Fossa, there is little differentiation other than that based on gender, which does not appear to have been a restriction for decorative themes. In this case, the low barriers of social hierarchy do not appear to have facilitated the spread of this decorative style, which would have been expected in most networks. Instead it appears that the lack of pairing these images with a new social practice meant that the broader appeal and usefulness of such stylistic choices was not immediately obvious. The practice of funerary libations is one that continued over a number of centuries at Fossa, and the only places where new imagery did have some success was when vegetal forms were connected to a new practice of drinking with anforette. What Fossa demonstrates, then, is that style alone is not appealing in the absence

of a practical context for its use. What makes the trend of changes associated with increased contact during this phase such a powerful indicator of social change is when practice and imagery merge and serve to promote each other.

Chapter 8 – At the Fringes of a Phenomenon: Feasting, Power, and the Performance of Tradition

8.1 Introduction

The last three chapters have laid out a contrasting picture of community responses to foreign interaction during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, one which complicates any straightforward notions of universal cultural and social change in relation to the phenomenon of increased Mediterranean contact. For Campovalano, we can see the incorporation of new practices, most deliberately among a small group who used the changes of the world around them as a means of constructing their elite identity, and in a more selective manner among the other members of the community as well. In this case, a new style of imagery, and especially composites, were employed in a purposefully stylized, local form in order to relieve the ambivalence associated with the use of a new funerary practice: feasting. At Fossa, on the other hand, throughout the four century span that was considered here, the primary funerary ritual only saw minor changes around its core of personal ornamentation, weaponry, limited weaving equipment, and most critically the presence of the *ripostiglio*. Even amidst this continuity, however, there were subtle changes in practice: a shift in military tactics, the incorporation of imagery into some pieces of personal ornamentation, and the gradual change in forms and in the number of vessels that were part of the *ripostiglio*. At the same time, the decorative styles so frequently relied on to illustrate the spread of the ‘orientalizing’ period were actually quite limited in their presence at Fossa, and they disappeared from use relatively quickly. In both cases, at Campovalano and Fossa, we can clearly see that there is evidence of

interaction with a broader Italic and even Mediterranean world, yet the response of each site varies in manner and degree.

In light of the many of the issues raised in chapters 2 and 3 regarding historical problems with the conceptualization of this period within Italy, the results drawn from questioning some of the fundamental assumptions about the ‘orientalizing’ period for these two sites reveals either faulty inferences as to the scale and meaning of new cultural practices, or clear misinterpretations as to the social role of particular objects. If we think back to the three defining characteristics of ‘orientalizing’ culture within Etruria described in chapter 3 (aristocratic banquet, monarchy, and luxury), all of which are core components of what is thought to make up a ‘princely’ way of life, the research conducted in this dissertation brings up a number of problems with each. The notion of an aristocratic banquet whose solitary goal was elite competition does not fit the results that were found for Campovalano, and certainly not for Fossa, where there is only evidence of communal drinking among a limited number of tombs. Feasting at Campovalano consists of the communal consumption of meat and some alcoholic beverages, however the distribution of meat is shared and passed, rather than directly apportioned by the person in charge, and at least one tomb used the primary storage container for incense instead of liquid. Additionally, the vast majority of individuals at Campovalano were buried with at least one vessel associated with the feast, showing broader participation than the elite alone. The notion of the feast as a competitive arena among elites, however, misses the broader question of why and what elites were competing over, which will be explored in greater detail in a moment.

The other two components of the so-called 'princely way of life' are much more dubious in their appearance at either Campovalano or Fossa. In part this is because these two categories carry the heaviest baggage of the orientalist tradition, framing the East as the home of opulent luxury, and therefore such categories do not hold up to scrutiny when considered in their local context in Italy. In terms of monarchy, the traditional markers of such power associated with the 'orientalizing' period (such as the staff, mace, spindle or scepter) are either not present at either site or their contextual placement leads us to interpret these items differently. Items such as the mace at Campovalano are added to the traditional panoply of weapons as another tool of offensive arms and appear frequently. At Fossa they are rarer, although since they are not paired with other markers of status, it is difficult to interpret them as a marker of kingship. There are two spindles at Campovalano, and they are both part of the richest female tombs of the period, however their combination with other pieces of weaving equipment make it more likely that these were markers of identity and role within the household, rather than indicative of a governmental structure that is markedly different from what was seen previously.

Possibly most problematic is the notion that imported objects from this period are indicative of a desire for 'luxury' among these communities. The imported bronze vessels from Fossa and especially Campovalano, even though they increased in form and number, are not unusual in funerary ritual since there is a history of depositing bronze basins from the Iron Age. Beyond this, the only other realm in which the charge of 'luxury' may be made is for personal ornamentation such as carved ivory, silver pendants and bronze shoes. In the context of earlier types of ornamentation such as bone and amber fibulae, bronze belts, iron and bronze discs and the numerous types of pendants

that are particularly prominent at Campovalano, each of the items of imported jewelry fits within the preexisting style and degree of personal ornamentation. Rather than speaking of these items as pieces of ‘luxury’, it is much more helpful to consider how these elements embody the role and identity of the deceased whom they adorn.

In each of these cases, the combined types of changes present at Fossa and Campovalano do not appear to make up something that could be considered a change in ‘lifestyle’⁸⁰. There are clearly ties in funerary practice that connect the undeniable changes into preexisting traditions within each site. That being said, for the changes that do occur, it is the way in which these new practices, motifs and objects were incorporated into the funerary ritual of each site, or in the case of Fossa, perhaps deliberately resisted, that help us move beyond the simplistic ways of investigating the period that the concept of ‘orientalizing’ has restricted us to in the past. It is the question of *why* funerary ritual changed during this period, and drawing out the subtleties of these changes can help us in this effort. For the rest of the chapter, I would like to explore how certain key topics and divergences raised in the previous chapters factor into broader discussions of how we conceive of cultural change during this period, through how we approach variations in feasting, the social role of imports, ways of personal embodiment, and finally how all of this is used to either invent or further bolster a notion of tradition.

⁸⁰ However, it should be acknowledged that any assertion of lifestyle must be made with settlement contexts in mind. In this case, even funerary ‘lifestyle’ does not see

8.2 Distinctions in Libation and Feasting

8.2.1 The Social Role of Feasting and Commensality

Before exploring how Fossa and Campovalano can inform us about feasting, I think it is vitally important to define the terms for this discussion as exactly this: feasting. There are frequent discussions of feasting contexts within Italy whose results are fitted into the established narratives of either the Homeric banquet or the symposium, borrowing Greek and Near Eastern cultural frameworks to determine the meaning and role of communal feasting within an entirely different context. As seen in chapter 3, such direct transferal of cultural practices across time and space are too simplistic. Rather than employing the culturally specific term of banquet or symposium, I have chosen to consciously use the term feasting, which allows us to think of the more general social role of such activity.

The anthropological understanding of feasting provides a productive conceptual framework for both breaking down such communal eating and drinking into its most fundamental components and for extrapolating the kind of society-building work this feasting activity does. Through a compilation of Hayden and Dietler's definition, I define feasting as the commensal consumption of food and drink between two or more people for a special purpose or occasion (Dietler & Hayden 2001a: 28, 65). This is different from commensality in degree and type of event. Commensality is most basically the practice of eating and drinking together, although more fundamentally commensality is about the creating and reinforcing of social relations (Kerner *et al.* 2015: 1). Both feasting and commensality share the essential elements of food and drink, but the more important consideration for each is the degree to which each serves to create and maintain

social relations: either within a small core of participants who are regularly brought together for daily meals, or a larger ambit of relations that come together for a special occasion. Therefore, no matter what heading a communal act of eating and drinking may fall under, one of the most important considerations of either feasts or commensal acts is its social role, as a place where social relationships are created and contested, forged and maintained.

In consideration of the types of meals that are being discussed for Campovalano and Fossa, while the feast fits the evidence that we find for Campovalano, the more limited practice of libation at Fossa follows a pattern of enactment that may more accurately be described as a commensal act between the deceased and the living individual performing the libation. For both, it is the reference to everyday commensality that helps to form the unusual link between the deceased and either a single, co-present participant or a number of individuals participating in the feast (Pollock 2015: 13). This commensal reference provides a set of routinized practices that create a comfortable common ground for the participants, providing a framework for the co-presence of the living and the dead.

The role of the feast as a locus for fostering social relationships that extends beyond the habituated participants in daily meals, reaching both within and outside of kin groups, makes it a powerful occasion for both defining and expressing value. Returning to Graeber, his definition of value as a means of regulating the process of creating fully social individuals, a process in which the power to create social relations is ultimately key (Graeber 2001: 47, 142), marks feasts as a particularly important social node for such activity. In the creation of people as fully-realized social beings, the examples of

ancestors and those who have come before hold powerful demonstrative weight. One of the most central places for exhibiting and commemorating the lifelong roles of individuals in society is a funeral. This is not to say that this is the only thing that takes place at a funeral; it is important not to lose sight of the natural grieving and separation that must be worked through in any funerary situation. But weaved alongside this deeply emotional and often personal process is the healing that the community itself must achieve. To this end, events such as feasts assist in the reconciliation of individuals and groups, and in the reconstitution of the community without the living presence of the deceased.

It is this loss that makes the rebuilding and preservation of social relationships such an important task at this juncture. Funerals have a dual perspective on life, both looking back to the past in the life of the deceased and their role within the group, but also looking to the future, toward whoever may either take over the deceased's role or how their role may now be modified. The volatility inherent in such a transition makes statements of value particularly powerful at this time, and can have an important effect on the community as a whole. Funerals are where particular lineages can be created, defined and affirmed, with individuals and families either being purposefully included or excluded. They are often also where alliances and inter-group bonds are forged, reasserted, or possibly broken. In the case of the death of a group leader, succession also forms an important component, and the expression of intergenerational debts and obligations make up a key part of the funeral itself. It is thus at the funeral that community reconciliation and the social role of feasting align in purposes, both striving to reconnect individual, group and community bonds.

And although inter-elite competition may be one of the loudest messages produced from the funerary feast, it is clearly not the only role of such events. Whereas many scholars discuss the banquet as a place in which elites come together and display their status through competitive displays of wealth, there are other social actions that take place alongside this competition. That is not to say that elite competition does not take place at funerary feasts, this is surely an important component (Hayden 2001: 30). The context of the funeral, however, fundamentally changes the audience of such an act. There are other members of families and lineages who are in attendance for this rite, but who are not explicitly part of elite competition. The funerary feast must in some way speak to all in attendance. The sheer presence of these social relations, and the potential resources they bring (in many different forms of capital), are one of the most valuable parts of the funerary feast, and therefore must be addressed within the ceremony in some way. The message of the funerary feast, therefore, must be directed to a number of different actors, not only the most elite in attendance as a foil for competitive display.

Focusing on only the elite also misses the necessary collectivity that is part of actually enacting the funerary feast. Feasting requires expending a large surplus of foodstuffs, livestock and alcohol, and often requires cooking and serving implements that are not typically used in everyday food consumption. All of these items and supplies might be able to be furnished by an extremely wealthy family, but this is not always the case. Often, feast preparation requires community involvement and contributions, particularly in the case of a funerary feast, which can be unexpected and therefore difficult to plan dedicated surpluses in advance. This means that the feasting equipment that has so often been seen as a sign of an individual's wealth may in fact be more

accurately represented as a material manifestation of the social relations that the individual and their family had built over their lifetime, and the debt that these relations owed the family.

8.2.2 *Between Libation and Feast: Campovalano and Fossa*

It is with this social context in mind then, that we turn to the results from Fossa and Campovalano. Starting from Fossa, the practice that is associated with the vessels of the *ripostiglio* is that of libation, dating from the very beginning of occupation at Fossa during the middle of the 8th century, and is seen in other cemeteries within central Italy beginning around the same time. Riva has noted that the *fossa con ripostiglio* is first found in the mid-8th century in the low and mid Tiber Valley, and in inland southern Etruria, Latium, and in Faliscan and Sabine territory (Riva 2007: 92). On the Adriatic side, there are also instances of the *ripostiglio* within the Picene cemeteries of Recanati and Moie di Pollenza, although nowhere else within Picenum (Percossi Serenelli 2003). Since there are no earlier phases at Fossa predating the use of the *ripostiglio*, and its use within Italy generally begins at roughly the same time, it is safe to assume that when we first see this practice of libation accompanying the deceased, it represents a new practice at Fossa. Before this, Bronze Age burials from this part of central Abruzzo are made up of fossa inhumations, often in oak logs, surrounded by a circle of stones and accompanied by personal objects such as fibulae and razors, but no vases (Bietti Sestieri 2003: 311).

As such, the *ripostiglio* represents one of the first shifts in funerary ritual to include alcoholic beverages of any kind, in this case as a drink offering to the deceased. Its role appears to have been to honor the deceased through a practice that could have

been continued after the conclusion of the funeral since some of these vessels within the *ripostiglio* were accessible after the tomb was closed. From the limited number of vessels that are part of this practice, and the continued offering of libations to the tomb, it is clear that this practice is directed toward one person, the deceased, and that it involves a more limited form of commensality, one which does not extend to becoming a feast. It shows alcoholic beverages to be an important resource, however its limited scope of practice is directed toward a meeting between the deceased ancestor and a single living individual, engaging in commensality with deceased one at a time.

This illustrates a broader attitude toward the funeral during this period. The funeral at the burial site itself is primarily concerned with how the community remembers the dead, using commensality to create a social relation with deceased through a form of embodied experience that could be understood by both the living and the dead, but serves to create a different type of social relation for the new condition of the deceased. This kind of commensality focuses exclusively on creating social relations with the deceased rather than employing a more explicitly structured way of reconstituting society in their absence. The limited social role of libation is in some ways strategic: it reasserts the status of the deceased person, as they were viewed by society, which is why it is most frequently associated with wealthier burials, both in the Sabine and Picene regions (Acconcia 2014a: 213). At Fossa, it is associated with nearly every early burial, although since there are only thirty burials from the middle of the 8th century, it is likely that the mere presence of these individuals indicates their elevated status among the community. The ritual of libation is focused and concise, leaving little

room for negotiation of social roles or political undermining, and primarily directed at honoring the deceased.

This perhaps then provides some context for the lack of concrete amendment to the practice of libation over nearly three centuries of burial at Fossa. As a final legitimizing practice for acknowledging the value of the deceased, libation was viewed as central at Fossa. In the earliest period of occupation, imported vessels from the Tiber river area were physically modified to fit into this practice. Even imported bronze vessels, such as those from t.551, were selected so as to functionally fit the purpose of libation. As time passed, one could argue that continued remembrance of the dead through libation became even more important, since other features of tomb memorialization such as the construction of large tumuli and the placement of menhir alongside male tombs fell out of practice. Grave size reduced, making the ongoing remembrance of the deceased through libation a crucial element in affirming relational ties through the act of the living honoring the dead. The importance of this practice is easily demonstrated by the incorporation of new vessel forms such as the oinochoe into the *ripostiglio* and libation practice. Even when the type of libation vessel changed, from that of single-handled dipping cups to double-handled drinking vessels, the continuation of a single dipping/drinking/pouring vessel shows how the limited nature of the ritual continued amidst increasing possibilities for change.

If the change in vessel form, from single-handled to double-handled, did in fact indicate a shift from libation to drinking, such activity would have been restricted to either a single member, as the individual cup suggests, or such a vessel may have been passed around. In either case, neither possibility approaches an act of concurrent

communal drinking or feasting. Instead, even in these modifications, whether it is a libation to the deceased or a drink in honor of the deceased, the fundamental ritual does not seem to have instituted changes in the social role of the funeral. In this act of limited commensality, the living continued to affirm the value of the deceased through their act of remembrance, recognizing the importance of that individual's acts to the community. The deceased continues to be the central honoree and since the ritual does not involve the accumulation or distribution of resources in food or drink, as is the case in the feast, and the social order is neither overtly made explicit, reaffirmed nor contested. While social identities, particularly of the deceased, are reaffirmed, social relations and obligations that take into account the broader community, which would be seen in the feast, are not part of this kind of libation ceremony. In this case, the inclusion of feasting elements does not necessarily mean that such an associated practice is therefore accepted. Rather, the continued commensal interaction between single individuals and the deceased continues to be defined as an appropriate way to reflect the value of the deceased to the community.

Although this is the primary trajectory of funerary practice at Fossa, there are a few individual tombs in which it is clear that different choices were being made in terms of how to honor the deceased. In the case of t.168 and the practice of drinking vessel fragmentation, this tomb had no evidence of a *ripostiglio*, and was therefore engaged in an alternative practice of commemoration than that of libation. With at least eight anforette smashed around the fossa, there is evidence of communal drinking, however there is no large storage vessel that the liquid was drawn from, meaning that the distribution of the alcoholic beverage may have not taken place at the tomb, but participants may have carried it with them or in the four oinochoai. The tomb also lacked

any vessels or instruments associated with the consumption of food, making this explicitly different from versions of feasting observed at Campovalano, for instance⁸¹. In this instance, although there is communality of the living participants, the lack of a performative distribution of resources combined with the very physical placement of the drinking vessels around the body of the deceased makes such a ceremony still direct focus and social connections or obligations to the deceased, rather than toward the remaining members of society.

At no time between the mid 8th century and the mid 5th century is there conclusive evidence for feasting at Fossa. Even though there are items associated with such practice present within the cemetery – such as drinking equipment, bronze basins, and occasionally spits – in no tombs do these objects combine to represent a coherent set of practices that can be described as a feast. It is important here to be reminded that funerary data represents a reflection of society, and not society in its actual form, therefore the lack of funerary feasting at Fossa is not indicative of the absence of feasting within living society, or even a lack of social complexity or a failed achievement of a particular level of social evolution, as the terms ‘orientalizing’ or ‘princely’ have come to mean. Indeed, the nearby and likely associated site of Monte di Cerro, which was occupied from the Iron Age, and its two large circuit walls provide evidence of coordinated settlement and collective activity. This difference in funerary ritual should instead be viewed just as it is, as a difference in the way in which the dead was commemorated and removed from the social fabric, which was then reconstituted after their passing. The lack of feasting, then,

⁸¹ This practice of smashing vessels can also be seen more frequently at Bazzano (Weidig 2014a: 696)

is not due to a lack of social complexity, but rather the lack of desire or social reason to expend reserved resources and assert or contest social roles within the funeral. Since the cemetery does show some differences in social hierarchy at Fossa, such expressions of social standing may be taking place in other realms that we cannot, or have not, accessed yet archaeologically.

The lack of feasting and the concomitant expression of social differentiation through this practice is notable when considered in conjunction with the way in which the style so routinely associated with the ‘orientalizing’ period only makes a brief and impermanent appearance at Fossa. Although some motifs were integrated into pieces of personal adornment, those that were integrated into pottery decoration were in all cases part of forms that made up the standard *ripostiglio*. In this usage they matched the way in which new imported ceramic forms were integrated into the *ripostiglio*. Just as with the imported ceramic forms however, the decorative imagery of animals, composites and humans did not, at least from the data that we have, gain any acceptance within broader social groups or categories. When compared to Campovalano, where this new suite of imagery integrated itself alongside the new practice of funerary feasting, the lack of broader appeal for this decoration at Fossa may indicate how bound imagery and function are with each other. When function and imagery are united, and the reasons for such association is clear (as in Campovalano where composites served as dual guardians and guides of the deceased and living during the feast), individuals can find motive for employing this decoration. Its integration into already existing practices shows an effort to find a venue for this style and symbolism, although since libation is already well accepted within Fossa, it would have to find acceptance based on aesthetics and

symbolism alone. Additionally, since those buried at Fossa did not express great social distinctions in funerary objects, such distinguishing imagery would not have found its applicability solely within this purpose.

Campovalano stands in direct contrast to the situation presented for Fossa, in that feasting is both present and actively engaged by numerous members of the community. From the very beginning of occupation of the cemetery, there was evidence for feasting at the site that involved communal drinking and meat consumption. The dual appearance of feasting and prominent male burials makes it clear that the beginning of the cemetery at Campovalano marked a style of burial that included the celebration and honoring of the deceased through monumentalized tombs, and the negotiation of social relations in the context of a funerary feast. From the second half of the 7th century until the beginning of the 6th, both object clustering and tomb clustering showed that more elaborately organized forms of feasting were employed by individuals at the top of the social hierarchy in order to distinguish themselves while at the same time engaging in a broader social discourse. Although bronze vessels were highlighted as being the most distinguishing addition among elite tombs, in part this has more to do with how such objects further complicate the feast itself rather than just the rarer material type. The additional elements of wine straining, drawing, and large bronze containers for meat not only added prestige in the presentation of the vessels themselves, but also served to draw out the steps of the feast, creating more places of directed control of resources from the hosts to those that attended the feast. Another reason for the inclusion of the bronze elements as part of the feast was the very fact that other members of the community buried at Campovalano, who were not necessarily part of the most elite group, were also

buried with feasting equipment, meaning that the sheer ability to hold a feast was not enough to distinguish a particular individual within the group.

Within this prominent group of tombs, it appears that there were a number of different ways in which individuals were differentiated: through certain qualities of martial leadership, through specific reference to a regularized and established practice of wine consumption, through emphasis in personal ornamentation, and through the application of different styles of imagery on feasting equipment and personal ornamentation. I will discuss the two that concern feasting here.

In the case of the more specialized equipment typically used in wine preparation and consumption, the tombs that these items belong to are part of the spatial core of prominent male burials at Campovalano. Although these tombs contain bronze elements such as strainers, ladles, graters and oinochoai, the surrounding vessels that are part of the ceremony were impasto drinking cups and large storage vessels that take local forms. Therefore, the new elements related to a different style of communal drinking were incorporated alongside existing forms and materials, showing a dual process of continuation and change, more of which will be discussed in a moment. Martín explains such an outcome, stating that “a process of hybridization was involved in deciding which foreign materials were selected, appropriated and introduced by local populations into their own practices, thereby providing a new meaning related to their understanding of the world, their community and their rituals” (Martín 2013: 222–223). It is notable then, that the foreign elements that were selected to be integrated into communal drinking and feasting are neither the central vessel from which the beverages are being drawn, nor the individual cups participants would each be using, nor the vessels for food, but rather the

instruments of presentation, preparation and distribution of drinks. The effort to emphasize the service aspects of the feasting kit aligns with the social role of the feast as a venue for the allocation and sharing of resources. Such formalization of the distribution process crystalizes the position of participants and those hosting the feast, establishing social bonds and obligations that will eventually need to be fulfilled. The expansion of the service aspects of the feast make the future responsibility of obligated service more explicit.

Just as drinking preparation and distribution was one of the feasting components in which we can observe change in practices, the continued use of the *ripostiglio* for large storage vessels is a place in which the community maintains an established practice. There is a dolium at the feet of all of the tombs from the second half of the 7th century, and the practice continues into the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century as well. Since there was a great deal of agricultural destruction to some of these graves, and because the documentation from the excavations done in the 1970s and 80s is not as thorough, it is difficult to say whether or not small dipping cups were actually located within the dolia, although there is no record of it. Regardless of its physical placement in the tomb, the small, hand-made impasto cup that would have been part of the libation ritual is clearly still important since this kind of tazza appears even within the tombs with the most elaborate set of feasting equipment. Feasting at Campovalano, therefore, is an additional component to the standard libation to the dead, making explicit the kind of community building that needs to take place after the departure of the deceased individual from the living. As stated before, these two practices serve two separate goals: libation affirms and legitimizes the status of the deceased by honoring them with an

alcoholic offering, feasting works to forge and rebuild social ties through the communal observance and honoring of the person for whom the feast is being given, while simultaneously bolstering the social role of the kin and relations that survive them. In this case, we see the coordination of both practices, as the *tazza* joins the collection of other feasting vessels and the *dolium* remains in a *ripostiglio* at the feet of the deceased. The combination therefore, both serves to continue paying the customary respect to the deceased while making use of the funerary ceremony to negotiate social roles and obligations among the group and community.

Even though we do not have evidence of practices that predate the use of the feast in funerals at Campovalano, it is very likely that the initiation of the cemetery coincides with the beginning of the funerary feast since the feast appears in Picenum in the early 7th century (Riva 2007: 98). As a venue of social and ideological competition, identity formation and general negotiation of the social order, iconography and visual display are vitally important. In the early phases of feasting practice within the funerary context at Campovalano, there is a series of visual representations, which, as discussed in greater depth in chapter 7, served to ameliorate the new and possibly uncomfortable mixing of living and dead within the enactment of the feast at the burial site. Iconography of prominent animals, and particularly composites that combine dangerous animals with those meant to guide the deceased, were executed in a local style that placed these forms in the visual repertoire of the mid-Adriatic and the central Apennines. As such, it spoke to the participants of the feast, in whatever social class they may have belonged to, in a visual language that was familiar to them. The rare pieces of feasting decoration that were executed in a more international style typically accompanied items associated with

serving, and fit a visual repertoire traditionally seen on the Tyrrhenian coast. In light of the considerations addressed earlier regarding the prominence of serving equipment within the feast, it appears that these items functioned as charged materials for the conveyance of symbolic messages. For these specific items, the combination of a foreign style and unfamiliar composite animals may have meant that these symbols were intended to demonstrate the conversancy of that group with foreign realms.

In the vast majority of visual decoration associated with feasting equipment, however, the highly stylized depiction of animals, humans and locally meaningful composites formed the visual language connected with the feast. Although the subjects of some of these motifs, such as the griffin, were drawn from imported objects, they were quickly adapted to local materials, such as impasto, and to local vessel forms. In the context of the feast, these motifs were associated with prominent vessels meant to store food and drink, such as the olla, amphora or the chalice “a corolla”. Such vessels would have formed the center pieces of the feast, and therefore the symbols associated with them would have been especially powerful. The use of a local style in portraying these fantastical motifs shows an effort not to overwhelm the feast participants with the presence of unfamiliar visual imagery, but rather to communicate with a broader segment of the population who may have had greater recognition and connection with items decorated in a local style. As Feldman has noted in relation to the creation of a particular style: “the enactment of a consistently coherent set of stylistic practices contributed to a sense of community” (Feldman 2014: 80). Such conversancy within the local visual repertoire facilitated the acceptance of the new practice of feasting within already

established funerary norms and opened its relevance beyond the sphere of the highest echelons of the social strata.

This addressing of multiple audiences, combined with the politically contested context of the feast, in which different identities and power structures may be competing and negotiating with one another, means that the feast may have been one of the vessels for change in social structure at Campovalano (Dietler & Hayden 2001b: 16). Indeed, the very likely change from libation to feasting practice represents a shift in how value is expressed at the funeral and to whom such actions are directed toward, broadening the number of participants who were now able to contest the definition of value. As Acconcia demonstrated, those from lower social strata were not necessarily excluded from feasting activities, but may have been limited in their level of participation (Acconcia 2014a: 131). Such a structure for feasting sets up boundaries that can be broken or reconfigured. Therefore, the feast, originally a tool for elite display of accumulated wealth, gradually may have been subverted and guided to the use of others as a means of creating social relations outside of the preexisting power structures. This is in some ways evidenced by the fact that feasting, to various extents, becomes widespread throughout the individuals buried at Campovalano. In later periods, from as early as the middle of the 6th century, feasting sets become less elaborate than their early counterparts (as do the tombs themselves), hinting that the purpose of these events has shifted away from being a venue for elite competition and instead serves as a normalized way of expressing social obligation among groups during a stressful period of loss.

The different responses to interaction with feasting equipment by members of Fossa and Campovalano demonstrates how important it is to consider the local context,

attitude and reaction toward larger trends of cultural change. For the concept of ‘orientalization’, which is so heavily connected to elite competition on a Mediterranean-wide scale, it is important to remember that elites do not operate in a vacuum. Their actions have consequences within a broader social sphere, sometimes unforeseen or uncontrolled by them, which are just as important to consider when thinking of the full range of ramifications of cross-cultural contact. Each culture has different needs and preferences to which elite groups must speak, therefore the subtle differences of approach and appropriation are informative. This kind of diachronic and contextual micro-history of feasting practices in light of increased cultural interaction during the early first millennium has seen increased study⁸², often under the guiding theoretical frameworks of hybridity and/or consumption, however they are rarer within central Italy. As our understanding of such Mediterranean contact changes to include the multitude of diverse responses from particular groups, it is important for central Italy to also contribute to such dialogue.

The context of these imported practices within arenas of competition, such as the funerary feast does appear to have had an effect on the likelihood of their utilization by a community. In the case of Fossa, funerals were not the primary locus for competitive display, and feasting equipment was never integrated as a distinctly separate practice from that of libation. Rather than categorizing this lack of engagement with a new social technology as simply due to inland conservatism or holding on to ‘rigorous’ traditions, it is necessary to ask why these practices did not become employed at Fossa. In this case, it

⁸² (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008; Dietler 2010; G.A. Jiménez *et al.* 2011; Martín 2013)

is important to remember Graeber's understanding of the aim of politics, that is to define what value is and how different values relate to one another (Graeber 2013: 228). The slight modifications in libation practice over time at Fossa provide evidence of this contestation of what was to be the central value of the funeral: a commensal relationship with the deceased or feasting that built social relations primarily among the living. It was not simply a choice to continue libation practices rather than feasting since these two practices could have coexisted, just as was seen at Campovalano. Therefore, there was an active preference to keep feasting activity separate from the funeral itself and from depositing such funerary items with the deceased. Since we do not have settlement contexts to compare this to, we are not able to say whether feasting occurred within the home or in public spaces, but was simply restricted from being incorporated into the funeral itself⁸³.

The lack of feasting in a funerary context may have been due to the fraught and ambivalent nature of such an event, in which the worlds of the living and dead are melded in a communal feast and members of different social classes interact and negotiate positions within existing social structure. Although feasts are controlled and structured by the hosts, the mix of competition, negotiation of social relations, and the participation by many within the community holding different social roles creates the potential for social disruption in these venues. In the case of elites, therefore, it may have been seen as opening the door to something that presented undue risk. For people outside

⁸³ The appearance of individual elements associated with feasting in tombs at Fossa, however, does suggest that feasting is present somewhere within the community, either within the home or possibly as a communal event.

of the peak of social hierarchy, they may have not been able to compile the resources necessary for hosting such events. If we employ Graeber's notion of value emerging in action, feasts then require the materialization of hidden sources of power such as stored resources, material possessions and social relations, into concrete, perceptible forms. As such it requires an open expression of power that always has the potential to be undermined.

8.3 Imports and Practice

Another way in which we are able to see that the changes in funerary ritual made at both Campovalano and Fossa are active community choices and not simply a byproduct of larger, inevitable phenomena of contact is in the differences between the numbers of imported ceramic vessels and forms, as it compares to the beginning of new practices. A common line of thought when examining feasting and 'orientalizing' period phenomena in other parts of central Italy is that these practices were derivative of Etruscan practices (Naso 2000c), interpretations that often imply that Etruscans are more advanced than other Italic Iron Age peoples of the time. Part of this is due to the frequent appearance of bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery outside of Etruria, which when combined with evidence for feasting makes the latter appear to be naturally derivative of the former. Since the Italian peninsula is highly connected through a number of different groups and in a number of different regions at this time (Campania, Latium, Basilicata, Apulia and the entire Adriatic coast), however, there is no reason that Etruria should be the only place from which new ideas are diffused though the peninsula, nor that contact with Etruria necessarily means that changes in practice are inevitable.

As we saw from Campovalano, the practice of feasting is common in burials from the beginning of the cemetery. Imported metal wares, such as oinochoai and drinking utensils were frequent parts of the most elaborate and complete feasting sets. This was not met, however, by a similar use of imported ceramics. In total, the site of Campovalano has only provided evidence for one piece of bucchero and ten pieces of Etrusco-Corinthian ware. Even this single piece of bucchero is tentative, however, as the visual difference between bucchero and locally produced impasto pottery is not very great⁸⁴. In fact, any attempt at visual discernment between imported bucchero and locally produced impasto would be easily subject to possible errors since the vast majority of local impasto at Campovalano takes on the familiar qualities of dark black material with a slight sheen. By contrast, however, there are a large number of imported ceramic forms, such as kantharoi and kylikes, of which only one is Etrusco-Corinthian and two are black-gloss (from the 6th century), while the vast majority are made of local impasto. This shows that these new forms are for the most part locally produced rather than being imported. What Campovalano indicates, therefore, is that while the site is connected to Etruria, it is likely through a number of different actors, who have themselves produced imported vessel forms in local material, transmitting these forms to producers on the Adriatic. It also cannot be discounted that the very practice of feasting or some of these Greek vessel forms may have come from Greek contact along the Adriatic, since there is clear evidence of Greek trade in this area, although it would be difficult to know with

⁸⁴ Even though the publication describes the olletta from t.415 as bucchero (Chiamonte Treré *et al.* 2010: 113), the tag from the storeroom has labelled this item as bucceroide, showing how easily the distinction between the two often depends on individual perspective.

certainty. Either way, it is notable that neither the imported vessels of ‘bucchero’ or Etrusco-Corinthian ware, nor the new vessel forms, are treated in any different way in their placement within the tomb. All appear in a collection with other vessels devoted to feasting, often in close proximity to the *ripostiglio*. It is the new practice of feasting as a whole, therefore, that is highlighted in the funerary ceremony, rather than showcasing the imported or new vessels themselves for their implicit foreign connections. As such, it is not necessary that changes in practice imply an emulation of Etruria at Campovalano.

Fossa provides a different example of the relationship between imported objects and changes in practice. As discussed earlier, Fossa maintains a practice of libation, with a slight modification to add a third vessel during the first half of the 6th century. Although the site has fewer burials than Campovalano, Fossa has 44 bucchero vessels within 28 tombs, and five Etrusco-Corinthian vessels. Additionally, among these and among the locally produced impasto, there are also new vessel forms, such as kylikes, kotylai and kantharoi, although these are less frequent. Even though the number of Etruscan imports would imply greater contact, likely due to the closer geographic location of Fossa, the funerary practice did not experience a concomitant change toward feasting. Many of these imports and new vessel forms were drinking cups which were included in the libation practice as the third vessel, alongside the large storage vessel and dipping cup. This role as the third vessel is not reserved for imports or new vessel forms alone, as many different local forms (chalice, scodella, tazza, and ciotola) also fit into this supplementary role. All of these vessels, new or local, appear in the tomb at the feet of the deceased, in the same position of bronze basins from the earlier phases. This leads to two hypotheses: either the practice of providing a food offering to the deceased, as seen

in bronze basins from earlier periods, continued in these ceramic vessels, many of which were designed as drinking cups whose function would have therefore been altered; or this additional ceramic vessel represents a change in practice, from a food offering to a liquid offering, in which the vessel was placed at the feet of the deceased after the offering was given. The first hypothesis requires a shift in function for these vessels while the second proposes a change in practice. In this case, the first is more likely since among the many different types of ceramic vessels that are present at the feet, there are some bowls that would have functioned as part of food service, making it more likely that this wide variety of vessels forms were adapted to a previous practice of offering food. This would also fit with the pattern observed for the vessels of the *ripostiglio*, in which imported vessels were physically changed to fit already-established norms for vessels in this role.

From this evidence we can see that although Fossa may have had a larger number of imports and more direct contact with Etruria, this did not necessarily result in a change in funerary practice at the site. These new additions were melded into established practice, in some ways negating the role of imports as representations of social relations further afield. Both Campovalano and Fossa show that imported vessels and new vessel forms, at least in their placement within the grave, were not set apart as special from the primary collection of locally produced vessels for either feasting or liquid/food offering. In their submersion into larger sets of practices, both established and new, these imported ceramic vessels find common purpose with imported ornamentation, which will be explored in the following section.

8.4 Invisible versus visible forms of power: personal embodiment through time

While feasting may have been the most notable realm of change, or potential change, for both sites, it would be falling into the trap presented by the narrative of the ‘orientalizing’ term to focus on this alone. As can be seen from the very beginning of both cemeteries, the burial of personal ornamentation and private equipment with the deceased are critical components of identity expression within the grave. This is something that is generally true of cemeteries throughout Italy during the Iron Age. In the case of central Abruzzo, the most essential treatment of the deceased individual was dressing the body in clothes, accompanied by the ornaments that were part of their ceremonial costume, which were worn in a standard position (Scopacasa 2015: 80–81). From the Bronze Age until the 8th- 6th centuries, elements of personal ornamentation generally increased, showing an accumulation of objects and symbols that were worn on the body, often in multiples. This kind of accrual was not universal, however, but generally differed based on the gender of the deceased, with females wearing more jewelry than males.

This is one element that was consistent between both Fossa and Campovalano, and which can be similarly seen at other sites in Abruzzo and Picenum: personal adornment and dress were essential elements in the construction of gender (Colonna 1999: 63–64; Sørensen 2000). Females were adorned with multiple fibulae, bracelets, necklaces, hair spirals, rings, pendants and bronze belts, while males frequently were adorned with a more limited number of rings and fibulae. In addition, males at both sites were buried with their weaponry, and in some cases, their defensive arms as well, while females were often accompanied by weaving equipment, although less so at Fossa. The

opposition between female expressions of wealth and power through the display of weaving equipment and numerous elements of jewelry, imported and precious materials, and highly symbolic pendants, versus male display of power through both the accumulation of feasting equipment and the latent power and physical force of weaponry is a contrast that, which has been seen as combining into a new warrior ideology, contributes to the narrative that connects 'orientalizing' culture to effeminate luxury and *tryphé*. As was seen particularly at Campovalano, the pendants, shoes and other pieces of jewelry that expressed elements of an international style were primarily associated with either women or infants, feeding into a narrative that seeks to contrast ornaments linked to eastern influence from this period, to that of feasting and particularly drinking equipment, which is typically associated with a Greek influence in an Italian context (and typically privileges male participants). The differential preference in the types of power displayed through these two methods lay at the heart of how Orientalism has influenced our view of this period. Pieces of ornamentation are often dismissed as trinkets or baubles, rather than being treated simply as another method of displaying power and social relations.

The juxtaposition of ornamentation and military prowess lies at the heart of questions of the proper expression of power: the former represents a kind of power which was accumulated and prominently displayed on the person themselves, and therefore made visible, while the latter is indicative of a type of power that was held in reserve, shown on the person but viewed as potential action (with the potential for an aggressive act), and only used when necessary. In reality, as Graeber notes, these are really two sides of the same coin, differentiated by timing rather than any substantial difference in the notion of

power. Graeber states that male clothing implies the “capacity for action”, while female clothing displays a kind of “persuasive power” that appeals for action, “calling on others to imitate actions that are implicitly being said to have already been carried out in the past” (Graeber 2001: 98–99).

In the case of males, dress and ornamentation was downplayed in favor of expressions of identity, articulated through weaponry and elements of warfare. The presence of these weapons highlighted a “readiness for violence”, establishing power and constructing social relations through their promised potential for action (Harris *et al.* 2013: 77). Female dress, by contrast, shows the accumulation and assembly of ornaments, and thereby, the “ensemble would thus represent an assemblage of relations, virtually a social biography” (Harris *et al.* 2013: 81). As such, this accumulation of ornaments represents both an accumulation of action and a call for future action from others to treat the wearer as past actions would dictate, therefore revealing these items as conduits for value. This would be particularly true of the amber, glass and ivory ornaments that needed to be imported, and therefore their own materiality expressed the social relations required for their acquisition. It is important to remember, however, that this kind of importation and display began well before the beginning of the arrival of so-called ‘orientalizing’ objects and styles. Ornamental accumulation and social differentiation through dress were already well established by the 7th and 6th centuries, even for imports like glass and amber whose arrival dated to earlier periods, therefore this new phase of imported material and the different sets of social relations they may have been connected to does not represent a change in the way in which power was displayed among females within the community. Even among those who were accompanied by

feasting equipment at Campovalano, they still engaged with this method of social display. In fact, the actual metamorphosis of feasting equipment into oinochoe pendants within female adult and juvenile tombs at Campovalano shows that this strategy of displaying social roles through the accumulation of ornamentation was still one that was being actively engaged in while feasting became prominent, and the wearing of jewelry was not simply a matter of unquestioned tradition or handed-down heirlooms.

In the case of the divide between invisible power and action for male dress and visible and accumulated action for female dress, the social function introduced by the feast provides males with a more material and visible form of power which can be conveyed to the community. Making martial power visible within a community, in some way other than in military combat with external groups would be untenable (if they wanted to remain within the group!), therefore the feast provided an effective way to transfer invisible to visible power through a different medium of actualization other than warfare. Such a communal event provided an opportunity for the invisible resources that an individual or kin group possessed (either reserved foodstuffs, alcohol and meat or the social relations and obligations that could provide these resources) to then be materialized and distributed among an invited group of participants, as a way of making their own latent power visible. The process of making hidden power visible requires the participation of others, since it is only through the presence of an audience that such values can be confirmed (Graeber 2001: 141, 250). In the semi-public forum of a funerary feast, families are able to materialize the once hidden power associated with the warrior being buried, and communicate this through the alimentary resources and the social relations and obligations they had built over their lifetime. This then serves as a

materialization of an individual's value, and marks the feast as an act of value construction. In this context, the social role of the feast was to make the power of the male warrior publically visible, something that would have not been necessary for a female, whose accumulated power was constantly on display, from birth until the grave.

8.5 The Invention and Fostering of Tradition

Although Fossa and Campovalano present contrasting pictures as to what occurs in funerary ritual during the period of increased contact with the Italian peninsula and the rest of the Mediterranean, it is too simplistic to depict such a contrast as the difference between open and closed societies in which one is freely accepting of new ideas and the other is strictly opposed to change. In discussions of the changes, or lack of discernible change, at both sites, Acconcia describes Fossa as having “a ritual that is rigorous and elusive of references to luxury and rank”, while Campovalano “reflects a willingness of local elites to receive new ideological models” (Acconcia 2014a: 54; 135). Although she explores the details of shifts in funerary practice in detail at both sites, Acconcia's broader interpretations from the functional analysis make reference to a larger pattern in earlier studies of Abruzzo and particularly Samnium that frames these mountain groups as conservative warlike peoples whose cultural values strongly contrast with the wealthy and receptive cultures along the coast, such as Etruria (Dench 1995 for a critique of this). In this respect, Acconcia makes frequent reference to “Tyrrhenian models” as a comparative tool for understanding the nature of funerary ritual, while describing the social model within Abruzzo as “clearly projected to reaffirm traditional roles and virtues, above all for male individuals, reflected also in literary sources regarding a

character that is dedicated to war, savage, and aggressive of italic descent”(Acconcia 2014a: 187).

Part of the issue in taking the nuanced changes that were recognized in Acconcia’s study and fitting them into predetermined, often literarily-derived categories of austerity versus luxury is that the local changes and emendations necessarily must fade away. Therefore, the ways in which local elements were included in the feast, or the way that new vessel forms were incorporated into preexisting practices, dissolves to fit a more succinct narrative. In real fact, these subtle changes and preservations of particular items or practices records the contestations of value, and to fold these local nuances into a grand narrative would be to miss the political effort to define value in these communities in a time of chance. Instead of such a focus on the larger trends either toward or away from social complexity, as has been taken to be represented in this period through the Tyrrhenian banquet, these subtle choices in the midst of broader social change should be highlighted as centerpieces of a post-colonial shift to recognize the agency of local communities. In the context of the ‘orientalizing’ period for these central Apennine communities, this means moving away from attempts to determine whether certain sites were either engaged in or removed from the overall trend of change, and instead defining *how* and *why* each community reacted in the way that it did to new ideas. It is only by building up a bigger mosaic of community reactions to change that we will truly be able to understand the multivalent ways in which contact in the first half of the first millennium shaped the Mediterranean.

In the case of Campovalano and Fossa, I have discussed the details of how each site integrated changes into their community, however great or small, but the purpose and

goal of such modifications has been left unsaid. In this effort to explain the situated role of changes at each, it is important to state that in both cases, explicitly post-colonial frameworks are unsuitable since in neither instance do we have an example of sustained interaction through the co-presence of two different groups. Instead, Acconcia hints at a possible framework for exploring the nature and role of changes at each site, however the topic, tradition, was left solely as an explanation in and of itself for the continuity in funerary ritual at Fossa rather than exploring the implications and complexities involved in such a concept for each site. At Fossa, the tradition and the rigorous adherence to a set funerary ritual are emphasized as the reasons that Tyrrhenian style banqueting did not appear at the site. In stating this, however, particularly for a cemetery that sees over three centuries of occupation, the idea that tradition would be upheld and serve as the cause for the lack of change is taken for granted. The preservation of a particular tradition, even in the notoriously conservative realm of funerary ritual, requires repeated practice along with social and political maintenance to ensure that the tradition continues and reserves the same role even as generations change. As Pauketat succinctly puts it: “continuity demands an explanation” (Pauketat 2001: 5).

The definition of tradition that I would like to employ here is that which Pauketat links to Bourdieu’s (1977) practice theory and Giddens’s (1979) agency theory as being continuously constituted. “Traditions are not passive and benign ways of doing things but are malleable, subject to politicization, and always ‘negotiated’ between persons and among peoples at multiple scales. Tradition in this sense is part of the dynamic and contingent ‘cultural construction’ process, a fluid ‘reactualization’ of the past” (Pauketat 2001: 2–3). Such a definition makes it necessary to go beyond the identification of a

tradition and delve into how such a tradition was initially enacted, continuously recreated and preserved over time, especially when it is clear that the population encountered alternative possibilities. Indeed, this perspective is not often engaged with for considerations of Mediterranean cultural interaction during this period since the majority of the focus centers on the process of change itself, and the maintenance of tradition would be contrary to this⁸⁵. The concept of the ‘invention of tradition’ established by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), however, in which an fictitious continuity is created by selecting elements from the past to invent a tradition, has been employed by Cuozzo and Colivicchi on the Italian peninsula to investigate colonial encounters with Greek and Roman peoples (Colivicchi 2003; Cuozzo 2015). For the two case studies under consideration here, it is possible to see evidence of both the maintenance of tradition at Fossa and the invention of tradition at Campovalano.

In the middle of the 8th century at Fossa, the vessels of the *ripostiglio* and their associated practice of libation began, when the cemetery itself begins to be occupied⁸⁶. It is the consistent presence of this tradition, the process of libation and the incorporation of the vessels into the burial itself, that is seen as the centerpiece of a ‘conservative’ community. Over the history of this tradition, however, the practice of libation sees changes in the make up, enactment, and the range of individuals included within the tradition. The tradition of honoring ancestors through a drink offering began during Phase 1 and 2A, and after the break in occupation caused by the flooding event, changes began

⁸⁵ There is, however, recent work that engages with the concept of tradition in the context of Roman and indigenous interaction (Boschung *et al.* 2015).

⁸⁶ Indeed, as this practice of libation starts alongside the establishment of the cemetery itself, it might also be considered under the framework of the “invention of tradition”.

to take place. The arrival of a new series of ceramic imports from Etruria and the Faliscan and Capenate regions changed both the vessel repertoire and ceramic materials through which the libation practice would be constituted. Local pottery producers quickly incorporated the techniques of creating bucchero within their own production, creating forms that could be used in the practice of libation. The dipping vessel, once a shallow bowl with an elongated and elevated handle made of impasto now lengthens, incorporating the shape of imported pouring vessels such as oinochoai, but maintaining the same dipping size and function.

Along with these changes to how the libation practice was constructed, the practice itself shifts its form, while maintaining the tradition of providing a final offering to the deceased. The standard two vessels set of storage and dipping cup, sometimes with a bronze basin, expands to include a third ceramic vessel, often a drinking cup or bowl. The third vessel is typically placed on the legs of the deceased, where the food offering of the bronze basin was normally placed, showing that the once more exclusive food offering expanded to become more standard practice. Such an expansion of the tradition from one that typically includes a drink offering to one in which food is also offered to the deceased does not radically change the tradition from the primary goal, a final commensal meal to honor the deceased, but rather expands how such a goal can be achieved. Another way in which the tradition expands is in the opening of the practice of food and drink offerings to non-adult members of the community. In doing this, the vessels that make up the practice shift as well, often taking miniature forms of the larger storage and dipping vessels in order to fit the smaller and younger deceased individual.

Although there are places in which it is possible to see the practices that make up this tradition shift, we also have evidence of instances in which individuals are actively shaping the changes that are occurring around them into their own tradition. Imported two-handled vessels such as a bucchero kotyle are physically altered to fit the function of dipping cups in the physical alteration of imported vessels to become dipping cups. As the practice of offering food expands, imported vessel forms such as kylikes and kantharoi take the place of the bronze basin alongside other local open vessel forms. Both of these uses of imported vessels and vessel forms demonstrates that the arrival of imports does not always necessitate changes in practice. Alternatively, their appearance also provides evidence that rather than showing a form of open resistance to change, the community at Fossa is actively reworking new objects and practices, folding these elements into an already established tradition. Each of these nuances in libation practice in particular show that Fossa was in fact engaging with the wider Italian and Mediterranean world, however this tradition of honoring the ancestor through a single poured and food offering adapts to these changes.

In the case of Campovalano, although the site is known for its evidence of the acceptance of the feast, this change is part of a larger process in the invention of tradition. As mentioned briefly earlier, the ‘invented tradition’ is a term employed by Hobsbawm and Ranger to mean “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to *inculcate certain values* and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 1 italics my own). Within the context of Campovalano, the institution of a communal funerary feast is part of a broader process of the invention of

tradition, which was instituted by enmeshing this new practice among a series of both older traditions and markers of status and authority designed to lend the new practice legitimacy. Although there is some evidence of earlier occupation at Campovalano through scattered and more limited tombs, in the middle of the 7th century the cemetery begins to be used as a means of making explicit statements on the structure and political organization of society. The first and most obvious way in which this was done was the use of monumental tumuli, whose placement within the landscape served as permanent marker of memory for those buried and a statement of their authority. Another marker of their role within society and their power expressed in the form of potential action is the presence of numerous types of weapons, each accompanying these initial tombs of prominent warrior males.

Alongside these methods of authorizing a new tradition through forms of overt control of landscape and implied power through military prowess, those groups that established a new funerary tradition also grounded the feast locally by incorporating previously recognized practices of libation and funerary symbols. Vessels that were typically associated with the practice of pouring libations, particularly the single-handled *tazza*, were frequently buried alongside the feasting set while the large storage vessel in the lower corner, often delimited in a *ripostiglio*, continued to be included. While the presence of feasting signals an effort to include a communal event within the funeral, honor was still paid to the deceased through a specific libation offering, showing continued respect for older traditions while establishing a new one. In the establishment of a new tradition, symbols serve an important role in signaling its aim and association with particular groups. On the sides and the lids of the principal vessels for carrying

alcoholic beverages, the most prominent tombs of the end of the 7th century employed Bronze Age symbols associated with death, such as the duck or swan, and combined them with current visual signs of prestige, such as the horse, or imagery associated with foreign interaction, such as griffins. The incorporation of these older symbols lent legitimacy to the new, and the execution of all of these decorative elements within a familiar medium, local impasto, and a familiar style, abstracted figures lacking in anatomical detail, further inculcated the tradition to which they were attached within the local community.

Each of these strategies further the institution of a new tradition of feasting by associating it with individuals who assert legitimacy through new and old ways of proclaiming status, by linking it with old practices of libation, and connecting new symbols used in the feast with older imagery of death. Although this is the way in which the tradition of funerary feasting became established at Campovalano, the history of the site in the 6th century provides details for how this tradition became even more greatly embedded in the broader community. First, some of the strategies that were so central to proclaiming the legitimacy of this new tradition faded away, such as the monumentalized tombs and specialized, transitional imagery. Once associated with only high status males and a small number of females, the tradition of feasting expanded to a greater number of males and females, and in some cases, infants, although in more limited form. Part of the reason for its quick expansion into broader groups of people than the foremost elite was that the very nature of the feast, and the way in which the feast was practiced at Campovalano, included a greater subset of the community. In this broadening of practice, however, the ritual of the feast became more limited and generic, since the once

distinguishing elements that characterized the foundation of it as a tradition were no longer necessary. Therefore, although the tradition was instituted by the most elite members of society, the work of normalizing such a tradition required wider participation.

As has been shown, conceiving of tradition as requiring constant negotiation and engagement through practice provides a framework for understanding the more subtle shifts and changes in funerary ritual at Campovalano and Fossa. Rather than subsuming them under an unhelpful explanatory tool such as ‘orientalizing’, these details are critical for truly dissecting the reactions of local communities to increased interaction with foreign concepts and peoples. When communities such as Fossa are excluded from discussions of an ‘orientalizing’ phenomenon because there are no obvious changes of practice or large collections of imported objects, we lose the nuance at the edges of these periods of heightened connectivity. Maintenance of tradition, although not always visible at the archaeological scale, requires the manipulation of practice in order for there to be continuity in the context of a changing world. Sites such as these fall in the gaps, unconsidered by those looking for examples of change and cultural interaction. Campovalano shows the importance of situating change within each community over the *longue durée*. Alterations of practice and creations of new traditions do not simply occur because of an overwhelming cultural influence from outside groups, especially when they are not necessarily in direct contact. Instead, the reasons for these changes must be contextualized and considered in light of the reasons that a community may seek to remake and establish new traditions.

For both Campovalano and Fossa, the accumulation of actions that served to either create or maintain a tradition were the main focal points of funerary practice. As such, they bolstered two different ways of honoring the deceased and building the community, values that were in play at each site; however, in the changes in funerary tradition over time we are able to see the way in which these values “dominate, encompass, or otherwise relate to one another” (Graeber 2013: 228). In the commensal libation shared with the deceased at Fossa, the value of honoring the actions of the deceased individual took precedence in funerary ritual; by contrast, the feasting at Campovalano elevated the value of community reconciliation and the expansion of social relations beyond an immediate network. Both values, to varying degrees, were being contested within the funerary ritual at each site, and it is this contestation of values that forms the backbone of our understanding of the results of cross-cultural interaction. As Graeber stated, politics is not simply about the accumulation of value, as has been asserted through the designation of ‘princely’ tombs, but is instead concerned with the ability to define what value is. For Campovalano, the invention of tradition is a tangible way in which a new value is being asserted, attempting to place communal interconnection and social relations as fundamental to human experience. At Fossa, the maintenance of a tradition, which emphasized the close and even continuing relationship between the deceased and their immediate kin, continued to assert the value of these exclusive social relations even as new possibilities for funerary ritual were introduced. Value, then, is not concerned with the imported objects or the accumulation of prestige, but instead value is fundamental to how communities define the way in which they must

continually reconstitute themselves, and the negotiation of the key values expressed within funerary ritual are essential to this process.

8.6 Zooming Out: The nature of funerary ritual in the central Apennines

The sites of Fossa and Campovalano provide an example of the benefits that can be gained from the kind of micro-historical, diachronic reading of changes in funerary ritual presented within this dissertation. Each site, however, does not exist in a vacuum, and can be contextualized within the larger context of central Italic and Adriatic sites. As was considered in chapter 4, both Fossa and Campovalano were considered as part of the central Italian *koiné* at the beginning of the Iron Age for certain similarities in material culture and funerary structure. As we move through the first half of the first millennium, however, the variety of local reactions to increased Italian contact with the broader Mediterranean helps to shape the way in which regional identities begin to take shape as distinct from one another. One particular characteristic of this appears to be a relatively strong divide between communities north and south of Mount Sasso, whose position in the middle of the central Apennines seems to have a greater impact during this increased contact than in previous periods (Bietti Sestieri 2010). This may have been due to increased trade between the coasts and the upland mountains, for which trade would have occurred laterally across the peninsula between the coasts, rather than among communities of the central Italian *koiné*, in which interaction would have stayed relatively at elevation within the mountains.

The difference in the community reactions between Fossa and Campovalano each serve as exempla for the two overarching patterns in funerary ritual between sites north

and south of Mount Sasso. Campovalano has similarities to trends that can be seen in the northern section of the central Italian *koiné*, in which feasting becomes incorporated to varying degrees within Umbria and Picenum; Fossa more closely resembles sites in inland and southern Abruzzo, in which the tradition of libation is maintained with slight shifts specific to individual communities. In Picenum, the tombs of Villa Clara at Matelica (Colonna 1999: 76–78) and Passo Gabella near Fabriano (Riva 2007: 98) show the first evidence of feasting in the region at the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century, while there is further evidence at Pitino di San Severino (t.14 & 31; Colonna 1999: 79–81) in the final years of the 7th century. These Picene tombs show a similar lack of actual imported vessels as Campovalano, indicating that the practice of feasting was quickly incorporated into local ceramic producing traditions and rapidly employed by these Picene elites (Riva 2007: 98). Additionally, the further inland site of Colfiorito presents evidence of the funerary feast from at least the beginning of the 6th century, among both male and female tombs, showing slightly later integration of this practice, but a similar use of primarily locally made impasto vessels as compared to imported ceramics (Bonomi Ponzi 1997: 93). Campovalano therefore, appears to be on a border zone between Picenum and Abruzzo, negotiating multiple cultural identities (Acconcia 2014a: 203): expressing funerary similarities with Abruzzo in the continued placement of the *ripostiglio* in the lower corner of the grave and laying the body in a supine position⁸⁷, while also presenting traits from the Picene region, such as the incorporation of funerary

⁸⁷ The burial of individuals in a supine position is in contrast to the nearby site of Colle Badetta a Tortoreto, just east of Campovalano and closer to the coast, in which individuals were buried in the crouched position, as is common in Picene communities (Iezzi 2006).

feasting, the rapid integration of imported forms into local ceramic production, and the presence of a south-Picene inscription.

The presence of communal feasting vessels appears in cemeteries as far south as Pescara, showing a preferential reach along the coast for such practices. It is difficult to say whether or not the cemeteries in which we have evidence for feasting utilized this practice as part of the invention of a new tradition, as was seen at Campovalano, since the evidence south of the site tends to begin from the 6th century and is found in cemeteries that have a more limited number of tombs. In the vast majority of these Adriatic sites, however, although bronze vessels are typically imported, the ceramic vessels that make up the larger suite of feasting equipment are typically made locally. This calls into question the assumption that individuals engaged in funerary feasting are explicitly attempting to adhere to a Tyrrhenian brand of banquet. The feasting that appears at these sites has been specifically situated within a local material set, frequently alongside local existing traditions, therefore it is not being promoted to other community members as a distinctly foreign practice, but one that simply shifts the focus of the funeral from the deceased alone, to including the wider community as well.

Fossa is situated amid a large number of sites within the Aquila basin that show a similar pattern of overall continuity, each with its own slight variations in practice, vessel forms and placement of pieces that show how communities distinguished themselves from each other through context-specific adaptations (Acconcia 2014a: 214). The site of Bazzano presents the most similar pattern in funerary ritual to Fossa, in that the *ripostiglio* remains the most common element, particularly among the more elevated classes. It also shows similar variations to those seen at Fossa, such as the practice of

vessel fragmentation, which was only seen in one tomb at Fossa, but many more, of male, female and infant tombs at Bazzano (Weidig 2014a: 696). This practice of smashing vessels at the end of the funeral, as the tomb is being closed, has also been seen in primarily Sabine and Latial contexts (Weidig 2014a: 697 provides a list of sites), offering evidence of an alternative practice to both the *ripostiglio* and the placement of feasting vessels at the foot or alongside the deceased. Many of the vessels that are crushed in this practice are imported vessels or forms, demonstrating that such new objects are not always employed in the way in which they were originally intended.

Overall, however, the *ripostiglio* and the placement of vessels at the feet of the deceased remains the most common element of graves within inland Abruzzo. In the smaller sites where there is evidence of this, the presence and the scale of the vessels in the *ripostiglio* have a greater connection with the wealthier burials, and more frequently appear as a complete set among male warrior burials. There are slight variations by site, and individual explorations of each, as has been done in this dissertation, would be able to reveal particular community preferences for how offerings were enacted, what substances they contained, whether or not they continued at the same burial even after the funeral had concluded, and how accessible this tradition was to members of different age classes and genders. Overall, however, the range of variation shows that it would be incorrect to write these inland communities off as representatives of conservative or unchanging societies. There are clearly reactions to outside social pressures of change, and these pressures are mitigated by small shifts or alterations of practice to accommodate select new ideas while maintaining the traditions that are socially meaningful. The example of Fossa illustrates why it is important to look for these subtle

changes, and that these transformations can be informative for how cultural interaction is received, even on the outer edges.

Chapter 9 – General Conclusions

Within this dissertation I have sought explore the benefits of a detailed, micro-historical examination of local context, in a diachronic approach, as a more inclusive way of understanding large scale social change within the ancient world. The nuances in practice that were brought out in each case study are not merely overwrought discussions of archaeological minutiae, but rather illustrate the wide variety of local responses and ways of recognition that each community gives to a changing world that surrounds them. These voices are critical to understanding social change brought about by interaction between foreign groups of people, particularly for some of the responses elicited at Fossa in which outside forces are brought within the acceptable bounds of local practice, since this represents a response that is not typically raised in the context increased interconnectivity. Rejection of new forms of practice should not be viewed as a refusal to accept progress or an amorphous concept of social evolution, as was conceived of by earlier definitions of the term ‘orientalizing’, but rather should be viewed as a valid and frankly understandable reaction to the possibility of social change. As the process of globalization currently demonstrates, increased interconnectivity produces social change that results in disruptions of power structures, creating winners and losers. Therefore, the choice to either engage with or reject imported objects and practices is always bound in potential risk.

In the case of Campovalano we have seen a choice by local elite group to utilize the new practice of funerary feasting alongside legitimizing forces and existing ritual in order to invent a new tradition. The broader application in later periods shows this to

have been a successful strategy for these groups, one which continued on after they passed. Fossa similarly shows a successful strategy of managing increased outside contact, in that the possible changes that were presented to the community were folded into already existing practices, with some expansion of the tradition. These accommodations and transformations of outside influence demonstrate the intentional effort required to maintain tradition, and the continued appearance of this tradition over four centuries expresses the success that such activities had within the community.

The varieties of responses to interconnectivity that this dissertation has brought forth elucidate the benefits of building an understanding of change that begins from the ground up, through the actions and practices that make up these larger phenomena. As demonstrated within Chapters 2 and 3, the historical context of the initiation and utilization of the term ‘orientalizing’ has led to the loading of biased assumptions and evolutionary perspectives on this period of interaction that have obscured its study. The quantitative methods employed in this dissertation have enabled an interrogation of many of the biases that form the building blocks of the concept of ‘orientalizing’. Additionally, these quantitative methods make explicit my own assumptions as to how I have interpreted the material, hopefully guiding future researchers to question my own latent political biases that have shaped my understanding of this phase of the interpretation of contact. As I hope that I have demonstrated, I have not sought to use these quantitative methods to provide “answers”, but rather to provide an exploratory framework for investigating contact within these two sites in a way that is different from that which the term ‘orientalizing’ inherently carries with it.

The method of object clustering helped illustrate unnoticed patterns in the way in which grave goods were being deposited. Additionally, the application of multiscale bootstrap sampling made it possible to move beyond a simple assignation of a set number of object clusters and investigate different groups of associated objects that varied in scale based on significance. This kind of bootstrapping provides more room for the uncertainties of human behavior while still providing clarity in the patterns that can be observed, and as such, may be helpful for other types of archaeological research. The two-step clustering method was helpful for combining different types of data, categorical and numerical, and the AIC and BIC criterion did help confirm one hypothesis for the tombs at Campovalano, but the data requirements for such a test may be too stringent for most archaeological contexts.

The application of network analysis and measures within a site, rather than a regional context, helped to clarify a number of different aspects about funerary practice and the role of new information within social hierarchy. The core-periphery measures, although too inconclusive for Campovalano, were instructive for determining the essential elements of funerary ritual at Fossa and for exploring how such objects and practices shifted over time. Additionally, they helped to demonstrate patterns in object usage that were contingent on gender. While determining these essential elements of funerary ritual may be achieved through years of careful study and work at the individual excavations and storerooms, these methods help to hasten the process and highlight patterns that are not immediately obvious. The comparison of tombs with certain types of imagery and artistic style to the structure of tomb networks assisted in the explication of

why certain decorative schemes succeeded within a site like Campovalano, while those that appeared within Fossa failed to find wider usage.

Overall, each of these methodologies presents good potential for application within archaeological research, although its usefulness will vary by context. The expansion of the methods used in this dissertation can and should be expanded to other sites within the central Italian *koiné*, particularly Bazzano, Colfiorito, and hopefully other similarly large funerary assemblages that are yet to be fully published with thorough documentation, such as Matelica and Novilara. It is only through the fuller publication of sites like this, beyond simply the most impressive or demonstrative tombs, that we can begin to build a picture of cultural change within the region that stretches beyond the actions of those at the top of the social hierarchy. Moreover, greater examples of large cemeteries from this time period within Abruzzo and Picenum can help to counterbalance the overemphasis that has been given to the Etruscan role in causing social change within the peninsula. This cemetery data could be further contextualized with greater investigations of settlements in Abruzzo and Picenum, allowing us to extend our knowledge of the impact of further connections abroad to daily life as well.

Throughout, this dissertation has sought to question the fundamental assumptions that lay at the root of considerations of cultural contact in the 8th and 6th centuries within central Italy. This reassessment of the processes at work in cultural interaction, from the view of local communities, examines the social reasoning for the degree to which they chose to engage with new peoples, objects and ideas. Future work will hopefully add to the mosaic of local reactions that make up this phenomenon of contact, building a picture of Mediterranean interaction that is inclusive of the large variety of voices around the sea.

Appendix I: Technical Terminology

Introduction

This technical appendix is first meant as a resource for those who may be unfamiliar with the technical language used within the quantitative methodology of this dissertation. I have chosen to provide greater detail within this appendix so as to avoid overly-technical language in the main body of the dissertation. Additionally, this appendix provides further explanation of the reasons behind the selection of certain methods, the preference of these methods over other well-known techniques, as well as greater detail as to how these methods were put into practice. I have listed each term in alphabetical order, nesting certain related terms together by subject.

Abundance Matrix – This is a numerical array arranged by rows and columns in which the numbers within the matrix represent abundance data. In the case of my own data, the abundance data is organized by the rows representing tombs and the columns representing grave goods. In contrast to incidence data, which records whether a particular object was either present or absent within a tomb, abundance data notes how many instances there were of a particular object. These matrices served as the core organizational structure for all of my data (although in some instances categorical variables such as sex, age, or tomb construction were added). Abundance matrices were particularly useful for object clustering, network analysis, and as part of the matrix used in tomb clustering. Data tables of abundance matrices served as the original organization of tomb and grave good data with which particular transformation, methods and analyses were conducted.

AIC and BIC Cluster Determination – These acronyms stand for the Akaike Information Criterion (Akaike 1974) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (Schwarz 1978). They both measure the likelihood of a statistical model to fit the data, finding the smallest distance between the model being tested and the unknown true likelihood function of the data. In addition, each penalizes the likelihood based on the number of parameters and the sample size (BIC), or simply the number of parameters (AIC).

I apply these criteria to determine the most appropriate number of clusters (k) to fit the data for tomb clustering, rather than basing the k value on predetermined knowledge, since both hierarchical clustering and k-means clustering require the initial input of a value for k . AIC and BIC help to determine the most appropriate number of clusters by calculating the likelihood measure for each number of cluster within a specified range, providing an initial estimate for the number of clusters, and then refining this estimate by finding the greatest change in distance between the two closest clusters (SPSS 2001). The results produced in SPSS then provide the appropriate estimate of clusters along with an overall silhouette value for this number of clusters.

In my own analysis, both AIC and BIC produced the same results, however there are differences between the two (Derryberry 2014: 106–108). As mentioned earlier, part of this has to do with how each criterion deals with the sample size and the number of parameters. Because of this, AIC has a tendency to overfit the data, making it a more efficient method, while BIC is susceptible to underfitting, however it is more consistent. AIC tries to find the most accurate model that adequately describes reality, even when none of the proposed models is “right”, while BIC tries to find the true model among the set of candidates. In the case of my own data, both criteria were tried during tomb clustering and they both produced the same results, making these differences negligible.

Binary Logistic Regression – Could also be described as simply logistic regression, since the binary or dichotomous outcome is what distinguishes logistic from linear regression. The goal of binary logistic regression is to describe the relationship between one binary dependent variable and a set of independent, quantitative variables. The dependence of one variable is what distinguishes this from something like chi-squared tests or correlation. In the case of my analysis, I investigated the relationship between the designation of tombs as ‘princely’ and Eigenvector centrality measures calculated based on shared sets of grave goods in a network.

Chord Transformation – This transformation is used to standardize abundance data, transforming raw totals of instances of grave goods into a vector between 0 and 1. After normalizing the abundance data using the chord transformation, the Euclidean distance between rows (tombs) would then result in the chord distance. The chord transformation is the first step in Concordance Analysis, which prepares the abundance matrix for use in Pearson correlation. Grave good abundances were transformed using the chord transformation in the *vegan* package, using the `decostand()` function with the method designated to “normalize” for a chord transformation. I chose a chord transformation because it is specifically designed for abundance data and it gives less weight to rare objects, which may have different and contextually specific reasons for being deposited.

Categorical Core-Periphery – Core-periphery is a concept within network science that describes the structure of a network (Borgatti & Everett 1999). In this structure, the nodes of a network are divided into two categories: a more densely connected core, in which core nodes are highly interconnected with each other, and a loosely connected periphery, where peripheral nodes are mostly linked to more peripheral nodes. The core nodes are the most essential components of the structure of the network; without these nodes, the network would collapse.

I chose this method of determining structural groups within the network because I was interested in determining which grave goods were the most essential components of funerary ritual. I performed core-periphery analysis on a bipartite network so as to preserve the identification of which grave goods were buried in which tombs, rather than simplifying the bipartite network into a one-mode network composed of only grave goods, which would only measure the similarity of deposition for grave goods rather than knowing if they were actually buried together. Using UCINET, the two-mode core-

periphery analysis utilized the abundance matrix with tombs as rows and grave goods as columns, grouping both tombs and grave goods into core and periphery nodes. In this case, core tombs utilized core grave goods, and peripheral tombs were buried with peripheral grave goods, with only some overlap. In addition to providing a designation of nodes as core or periphery, UCINET produces a fitness measure between 0 (bad fit) and 1 (excellent fit), making it possible to see how well this kind of dual model suits the data. For particularly small datasets (such as age categories in which there were only a few tombs), the final fitness reached 0, making it impossible to look at age-based differences in funerary ritual.

Concordance Analysis – This method is used to delineate groups of variables in abundance data that form statistically significant associations (Legendre 2012: 395). The analysis consists of a series of steps laid out by Pierre Legendre:

- Transform the abundance matrix (I chose a chord transformation)
- Compute a Pearson correlation matrix among the variables (R-mode)
- Turn resulting Pearson correlation matrix into a distance matrix by subtracting the results from 1
- Carry out Ward's hierarchical clustering on the resulting distance matrix
- Cut dendrogram into a series of groups (2,3,4,5, etc.)
- Compute global tests of significance on the resulting groups to determine which number of groups is most appropriate. This is done using the `kendall.global()` function in the `vegan` R package.
- After determining the most appropriate number of groups, it is possible to use the `kendall.post()` function to look at the level of concordance for each individual variable within their cluster. Although the overall concordance of a cluster might be statistically significant, this makes it possible to determine how concordant each variable is within each cluster.

In my own analysis, I used this process to look for statistically significant groupings of grave goods to determine which grave goods saw the same type of use within burial contexts. Initially, I followed all of the steps of this process, however I found it difficult to determine the appropriate number of clusters for grave goods since overly common items such as fibulae never achieved significant concordance with any cluster: in reality, a common item like this would fit in many clusters at once. For my own interest in understanding patterns in grave goods and funerary ritual, I was more concerned with how these objects related to each other than determining the most appropriate number of clusters into which grave goods should be grouped. Because of this, I decided to alter the final steps of the analysis, performing Ward's hierarchical clustering, but then determining the statistical significance of object groupings at each level of the dendrogram through the `pvclust` R package. This allowed for a greater multi-dimensional analysis of the grave good associations that was not constricted by the need to determine a fixed number of clusters.

Steps in R:

```
Data = Campovalano
Campovalano.chord <- decostand(Campovalano, method = "normalize")
Campovalano.cor <- cor(Campovalano.chord, method = "pearson")
Campovalano.dist <- as.dist(1-Campovalano.cor)
Campovalano.ward <- hclust(Campovalano.dist, "ward.D")
Campovalano.pv <- pvclust(Campovalano.chord, method.hclust="ward",
method.dist="Euclidean")
plot(Campovalano.pv)
pvrect(Campovalano.pv, alpha=0.95)
```

Dendrogram – Tree-like graph used to represent the results of hierarchical clustering. Individual segments of the dendrogram are often described as branches.

Eigenvector Centrality – This is one of a number of centrality measures employed in network science to identify and quantify the importance or prominence of nodes within the structure of a network (Knoke & Yang 2008: 62). Eigenvector centrality is a variation of degree centrality, which measures the number of ties of a given node to other nodes. Within Eigenvector centrality, the node's centrality is calculated by counting the number of nodes it is connected to and weighting it by the centrality of each adjacent node (Borgatti *et al.* 2013: 168). Therefore, it is not simply the number of nodes that a single node is connected to that is important, but also how connected those connected nodes are.

Graph Theoretic Layout (Spring Embedding) – This is the type of layout I have chosen for representing network data. This is a layout option within UCINET's NetDraw application: Layout > Graph Theoretic Layout > Spring Embedding. The Graph Theoretic Layout describes a class of layouts that base the distances between nodes on their "similarity". This similarity means that nodes have similar shortest paths (geodesic/graph theoretic distances). This means that the distances between nodes are interpretable and not just random: nodes that are closer together have similar ties while those at greater distances are more dissimilar from the other nodes. I have chosen this particular layout for networks of tombs so that those tombs that have similar assemblages will be more closely connected to each other, making the graph more immediately interpretable. I have also added a "node-repulsion" option to avoid node overlapping.

Hierarchical Clustering – This is a method of hard clustering that either divides or agglomerates objects together nested partitions. Divisive clustering places all objects within a single cluster and then splits the cluster until all objects are part of their own cluster; agglomerative clustering starts with all objects as individual clusters and combines them until there is one, overarching cluster that contains all objects. Both result in a series of nested cluster that are traditionally displayed as a dendrogram. Overall, it was the nested nature of the results that led to me selecting this method of clustering over others, such as k-means. The nested results produced in the dendrogram helped illustrate how grave goods were associated with each other rather than simply splitting them into distinct groups. Additionally, the data was not rich enough to provide meaningful results for fuzzy clustering: the clustering results from this method were too fuzzy, often

showing low cluster membership for particular grave goods, but not showing how they related to each of the other grave goods with and outside of the cluster.

Within hierarchical clustering, there are a number of different choices that need to be made regarding exactly how the clusters will be determined:

- Distance method – This is used to measure the distance between observations. Euclidean distance was used since the Pearson correlation matrix that was converted into a distance matrix places the data into Euclidean space.
- Linkage criteria – Determines how observations are either added to a cluster or divided from a cluster based on the distance between sets of observations. Ward's criterion, an agglomerative method, was used because it strives to minimize the total within-cluster variance when merging clusters.
- Cluster determination – Hierarchical clustering simply determines the structure of nested clusters from one to the total number of observations. Therefore, the determination of the actual number of clusters is conducted by cutting the dendrogram at a particular point. There are a number of ways in which to determine the appropriate number of clusters for the data, such as calculations of SSE (Sum of Squared Error) and silhouette measures. I have avoided the need to select the most appropriate number of clusters (since specific numbers of grave good clusters were not part of my question) by looking at the statistical significance of every branch of the dendrogram through the `pvclust` package.

Jaccard Similarity – This measure was used to convert a two-mode network of tomb and grave good abundance data into a one-mode network linking only tombs. The edges linking tombs were determined by Jaccard similarity. I chose Jaccard similarity because it ignores absent-absent matches, which is important in a matrix in which there a large number of zeros. I was interested in instances in which the same objects were being used, not in where one grave good was missing from the same tombs, since that would frequently be a large number of objects. The Jaccard similarity measure ranges between 0 (completely dissimilar) and 1 (equal), meaning that the resulting one-mode network is weighted by the degree of similarity between tombs.

Log-likelihood Distance Measure – This is a distance measure used in two-step clustering that makes it possible to use both continuous and categorical variables in determining clusters. It is a probability measure that correlates the distance between two clusters based on the decrease in the log-likelihood as they are grouped into one cluster (SPSS 2001). I chose this distance measure since the other option, Euclidean distance, was not appropriate for the kind of abundance data I was using.

Multiscale Bootstrap Resampling – This is a version of a common resampling technique called bootstrapping. It samples from the original data set with replacement, randomly omitting different cases and including multiples of other cases (Drennan 2009: 136). This is typically done 1,000 times. In multiscale bootstrap resampling, conducted through the R package `pvclust`, p-values of probability are calculated for all clusters using bootstrap resampling techniques within hierarchical clustering as a way to

determine the uncertainty of each cluster (R. Suzuki & Shimodaira 2006). Rather than calculating cluster probability for a set number of clusters, *pvc* calculates the probability for clusters at every level of the dendrogram hierarchy. There are two measures of probability: AU (Approximately Unbiased) and BP (Bootstrap Probability). The AU p-value is computed through multiscale bootstrap resampling and is a better approximation of unbiased p-value (and is the value used throughout this dissertation), while BP is computed using normal bootstrapping (R. Suzuki & Shimodaira 2006: 1540).

Networks – These are graphs made up of nodes and edges which represent the structural relationships between discrete objects. Nodes, often called actors, are discrete objects within the network and edges, often called relations or ties, describe the relationship between nodes. In addition to nodes having relationships with other nodes, they can also have attributes, such as gender, age or quantitative attributes about their placement in the network. Edges can also vary in their description, being able to be either directed or nondirected, weighted or unweighted. In both of the instances in which I employed networks, the edges were nondirected and weighted: for core-periphery analysis, the edges were weighted by grave good abundance, in the analysis of iconography and style, edges between tombs were weighted by the similarity of grave good assemblages.

In addition to being composed of nodes and edges, there are different modes of networks, depending upon the ability to access knowledge of the relationship between actors. In one-mode networks, ties between a single set of actors are measured directly. The tomb network in Chapter 7 is an example of a one-mode network that measures the relationship between tombs based on the similarity of the grave goods that they contain. When relationships need to be inferred based on common interests or affiliations, this is represented as two-mode or bipartite networks. In this case nodes of one class, for instance students, may be connected to another class of nodes, such as classes. In this case students would be connected to classes which they attend. Therefore, inferences could be made about students who attend the same classes or classes that are attended by a particular group of students. In my own work, I created a two-mode network that consisted of one class of nodes (tombs) that were connected to another class of nodes (grave goods) based on which grave goods appeared in which tombs. In the instance of core-periphery analysis, this two-mode network was analyzed directly, something that is currently a unique function of UCINET. In the analysis of iconography and style, this two-mode network was converted into a one-mode network, using Jaccard similarity to determine the weight of the edges connecting one mode of nodes, tombs.

Pearson's Correlation Matrix – This is a matrix of dependence coefficients computed on the variables of a tomb by grave good matrix. Pearson's correlation is conducted on the R-mode (variables) in order to determine the degree of dependence of the two variables on each other, and it produces a value between -1 (perfect decreasing linear relationship (anticorrelation)) and 1 (perfect direct correlation). It requires the dataset to be normally distributed and measures linear correlation, the transformed abundance matrix fits these requirements.

R Mode – This is a type of analysis that explores the relationships among variables within a matrix. In the instance of a tomb by grave good matrix, the grave goods form the variables that are analyzed within R mode analysis.

Silhouette – This can be calculated on object, clusters and the overall data set in order to determine the goodness of fit for a particular choice of clustering. The silhouette measures the average distance between an object and all of the other objects within its cluster. The silhouette is calculated between -1 and 1, with 1 showing that a point is well matched within its cluster. This number can then be averaged for each cluster and for the entire data set overall. This measurement is used in the evaluation of tomb clustering conducted in two-step clustering.

Two-Step Clustering – This is a clustering method that can consider both continuous and categorical data, making the clustering particularly appealing for being able to incorporate both grave good abundance data and ways of burial (orientation, tomb construction, etc.). Distance between cases is measured by log-likelihood distance and the number of clusters is determined automatically through either AIC or BIC criteria. This means that I was able to let the data determine the appropriate number of clusters rather than prescribing the number of clusters that I wished to find. The resulting clusters of tombs produced by this method allow a determination of which variables were most important in configuring clusters.

Two-tailed Correlation – This tests the significance of correlation between variables, in this case conducted through chi-squared analysis. The two-tailed significance tests for both a positive and a negative relationship between variables to a level of 0.025 in both directions.

Ward's Hierarchical Clustering – This is a method of agglomerative hierarchical clustering that seeks to define clusters by minimizing the sum of squared error when combining clusters. It operates based on a Euclidean model. This method of clustering was preferred for grave good clustering because it seeks to minimize the level of variance within a cluster, reducing the degree to which particular grave goods would be misplaced within the cluster they were assigned.

R Packages Used in Analysis

vegan package – A package that provides tools primarily used in descriptive community ecology that contains functions for diversity analysis, community ordination and dissimilarity analysis (Oksanen *et al.* 2016). It was used to perform a chord transformation.

```
[decostand()], method = "normalize"
```

cluster package – This package contains a large number of different clustering methods (Maechler *et al.* 2016). The method used in this dissertation was Ward's hierarchical clustering.

```
[hclust()], method = "ward.D"
```

`pvclust` package – A package designed specifically for implementing multiscale bootstrap resampling in order to assess uncertainty in hierarchical cluster analysis (Ryota Suzuki & Shimodaira 2015).
`[pvclust()]` and `[pvrect()]`

Appendix II: Italian Terminology

Anforetta (pl. –e) – Small amphora containing two vertical handles on the shoulder of the vessel. Served as either a storage container or drinking cup depending upon context.

Attingitoio (pl. –oi) – Small dipping vessel, with a raised handle stretching from shoulder to rim, with the top of the handle elevated well-over the rim. Frequently associated with storage vessels into which they would be dipped, strongly suggesting that these vessels were used with liquid.

Bicchiere (pl. –i) – Cup, frequently made of rough impasto, either with a small vertical handle from shoulder to rim or with no handle at all.

Boccale (pl. –i) – Small, mug-like jug with a handle and spout. In form, often takes the shape of a larger bicchiere.

Brocca (pl. –che) – Container with handle and spout, used to hold and pour liquid. Local form of a pouring vessel.

Chalice ‘a corolla’ – Special type of chalice known from the Campovalano region. The chalice is surrounded by a continuous ring of handles as the carination, as an elaboration of the four-handled chalice. Frequently paired with a chalice cover, it most likely served to hold hot food.

Corredo (pl. –i) – Specifically the *corredo funebre*, this refers to the grave goods, personal dress and adornment and accompanying items that are buried with the deceased in the grave.

Decoration ad incavo – This type of decoration is made by incising an outline of the figure into impasto before firing and hollowing the interior of the figure, creating a form that is recessed to the exterior surface of the vessel. It is most common in the Faliscan/Capenate region.

Fibula

Ad arco serpeggiante – A fibula that has two coils on the arch with a straight staff. Common element of dress in the central-Italic *koine*.

Ad arco a bottoni – Fibula with two buttons projecting perpendicularly from the top of the arch.

Ad arco revistito – Fibula whose arch is filled with precious materials for aesthetic effect: glass, amber, bone, ivory, etc.

Holmos – Rounded vase, typically made of impasto within the Etruscan or Italic context, with a downward-facing conical base that supports a spherical middle section linking to

an upward-facing conical top, which would be used to hold another vessel. This form has ties to bronze versions in the Greek world.

Infundibula/colino – Tapered funnel/strainer, typically made of bronze with a long handle.

Kantharos – Drinking cup, often footed, with two elongated vertical handles that rise above the rim, and attach to the vessel at the carination and rim. Frequently found in Etruscan bucchero.

Mestolo (pl. -i) – Bronze ladle used for drawing liquid or semi-liquid food.

Olla (pl. -e) – Large storage vessel, either globular or stamnoid, with horizontal handles attached between the belly and the shoulder.

Olletta (pl. -e) – Smaller version of the olla, taking the same forms with horizontal handles. Serves as a storage vessel, often as a miniature version of an olla in infant graves.

Olpe – (pl. -ai) – Tall jug with vertical handle stretching from shoulder to rim and with a slight spout. Examples in both bronze and impasto, used to pour liquids.

Orciolo (pl. -i) – Single vertical handled vessel, either biconical or globular in form, with the handle placed on the shoulder. The single handle and the slight lip at the rim indicates a possible usage as a pouring vessel, however its prominent use in substitution of an olla suggests that storage was another primary function.

Ripostiglio (pl. -gli) – A close translation would be closet, but this refers to the small storage area at the foot of graves that typically contains a large storage vessel and a small dipping/drinking cup.

Scodella (pl. -e) – Flat bottom bowl, typically a local Italic form made of impasto. Open vessel that serves as a container for food.

Tazza (pl. -e) – Small cup, made of either bronze or impasto. The bronze tazze typically have a single vertical handle while those of impasto have either a single vertical handle, two twin vertical handles, or no handle at all. The impasto tazze are often hand-made. These vessels are frequently found as part of the *ripostiglio* and are used in libation.

Tomba

a fossa – Tomb characterized by a ditch dug in a rectangular oval shape for inhumation burial.

hypogean – A semi-subterranean tomb which at Fossa also has limestone slabs that make up the above-ground superstructure.

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