

Panel I: Historical and Epigraphical Studies

Petra Amann (University of Vienna, Austria), The Etruscans – a Society of Masters and Servants? A Modern *Topos* and its Origins

Ever since the early scholarly works on the Etruscans, a social order with rigid class divisions and sharp separation between ruling elites and largely subjugated, dependent strata of the population has been assumed for them. The lecture examines the development of this modern *topos* from the 19th century – starting with classical works on the Etruscans such as those by Karl Otfried Müller and George Dennis – through important stages of the 20th century, as represented among others by the studies of the French etruscologist Jacques Heurgon, to the present day. By doing so, especially the motivations and arguments for such an assumption will be clearly worked out and critically questioned in their actual meaning. It becomes apparent that originally, above all, the various ideas about the „origins“ of the Etruscans and their supposed immigration played an important role, flanked by a few and short passages in ancient Graeco-Roman literature, which are, however, problematic as sources.

In order to detach the discussion of the (undoubtedly) hierarchical structures of Etruscan societies from these less productive contexts, some further considerations based on the epigraphic and archaeological material of Etruria will be briefly presented in conclusion.

Enrico Benelli (CNR, Naples, Italy), Slaves, Freedpeople and Non-Citizens in the Etruscan World. Evidence from Epigraphy

Etruscan epigraphy is the primary evidence for the existence of individuals whose nomenclature differed from that belonging to full citizens. Nonetheless, the Etruscan epigraphic habits make it not always easy to recognize them, with the only exception of freedpeople, who always recorded their condition, at least in funerary and votive inscriptions. Slaves, whose presence is postulated at least by the very existence of the institution of manumission, are, not surprisingly, extremely hard to identify, especially because it can be expected that only very few of them were able to attain epigraphic visibility. Similar limits may have conditioned other groups of non-citizens, like foreigners or mercenaries, whose appearance in the epigraphic record is often disputed.

The aim of this paper, after addressing some methodological issues about the identification of non-citizens in Etruscan epigraphic evidence, will be an attempt to recognize some recurrent patterns of behavior, which can help to understand the relationship between dependent or marginal social groups and the other components of the Etruscan society.

Panel II: The Iconography of Dependency in Visual Art

Bouke van der Meer (University of Leiden, Netherlands), Social Inequality at Volterra

This paper examines the cemeteries at Badia, Portone, and Ulimeto, grave types (chamber-, niche-, fossa- and circular tombs with a central pillar), grave goods, funerary inscriptions, *tabulae defixionis*, and semi-realistic representations like voyages to the Underworld on cinerary urns of alabaster and tuff in order to cast light upon social inequality, elite and non-elite persons, patrons and dependants, *lautni* and slaves. In addition, attention will be paid to the function and status of hooded persons (*cucullati*), particularly to mules leading, hooded boys in the series of urns showing the funeral cortege of a *carpentum*: were they slaves (according to M. Cristofani), *genii* (according to A. Maggiani) or assistants at a funerary

sacrifice and symposium? Some urn reliefs show executions of magistrates by hooded *sicarii*, executions that may have taken place just after Sulla conquered the city in 80 or 79 BC.

Patrick Zeidler (University of Bonn, Germany), (Not Only) Defeated and Enslaved. The Iconography of Captives in Etruscan Art and their Ambivalent Meaning

Pictorial representations of captivated persons appear in Etruscan art in high numbers and in many different types of material culture such as sarcophagi, urns, mural and vase paintings, mirrors and figurines. Many of these objects derive from funerary contexts. While scenes of 'daily life' with representations of captives are very scarce, most of the images are embedded in narratives from Greek mythology.

There are various iconographic conventions in Etruscan pictorial art for depicting captives. For example, the captured Trojans who are sacrificed by Achilles are depicted naked, wounded and helpless. But there are other examples like Andromeda and Orestes, who are fully clothed and sometimes adorned with jewelry or other status symbols and therefore are not depicted as humiliated, dependent prisoners, but as persons with a high social status, who only got temporarily into captivity due to unfortunate circumstances. In addition, it has to be considered, that there are also representations of prisoners, who are not depicted explicitly with chains, but can only be identified by the context. Sometimes, the shackle motif is not directly related to prisoners, but can be linked with a magical or religious meaning, for example in the case of curse figurines, as an allusion to someone's imminent death or in connection to sexual potency. Due to the mythological setting of most of the images and the influence of Greek iconography, it seems to be difficult to deduce historical information about the situation of captives in Etruria.

Cornelia Weber-Lehmann (University of Bochum, Germany), Dependencies in Etruscan Tomb Painting

Etruscan tomb painting is an art of the elites, which primarily serves for their self-representation. Therefore, it is almost impossible to recognize within their imagery the many slaves and other dependents by whom such a society could be kept alive and from which the sparse written sources of Greece occasionally report that the Etruscans had a particularly high number of them. But how can you tell whether the figures depicted in the painting are slaves or free or in some other way dependent?

The lecture aims to give an overview of the various groups of possible dependencies and to shed light on some details in the paintings that perhaps allow us a more precise classification of them.

Panel III: Dependencies and Status Differences in Sacral Spaces

Robinson Krämer (University of Rostock, Germany), Plebeian Rituals and Peasant Cults? Religious Transformations in Etruria during the Late 6th/Early 5th Century BCE and their Socio-Political Context

The Etruscan sacred landscape changed profoundly during the 6th and early 5th centuries BCE in Central Etruria. In this period, the number of attested sanctuaries and votive findings, pottery in particular, increased significantly. Votive practices seem to have become less prestigious and exclusive, while dedicatory inscriptions change from long, formulaic texts (e.g. dedications with *mul-/mulvanice*) to short consecrations and indications of property without *verba*

donandi. Additionally, ‘monumentalizations’ of sanctuaries and intensified building activities are well documented for the period of ca. 570–480 BCE, while some deities, such as the *Thusyva* or *Vei*, became popular toward the end of the 6th/early 5th cent. BCE.

Scholars have observed these religious transformations for a long time and often interpreted them as signs for intensified participations of lower social classes in Etruscan religion or even as some kind of peasant religion (‘*culto plebeo*’). These ‘Plebeians’ would dedicate cheap and simple votive offerings in clay (pottery, figurines), sometimes with short inscriptions, and venerate popular deities that were particularly connected with healing cults, fertility and agriculture. At the same time, some sanctuaries (e.g. Pyrgi or Caere, Vigna Parrocchiale) and political buildings, such as *regiae* and *anaktoriae*, were radically reorganized or even destroyed. In this contribution, I give an overview of religious transformations in Etruria during the 6th/early 5th cent. BCE and analyze the socio-political context of developments in the Etruscan sacred landscape. The result is an evaluation if and how the paradigm of plebeian cults might be the reason behind developments in Etruscan religion during the 6th/early 5th centuries BCE.

Stephan Steingraber (University Roma Tre, Italy): The Etruscan-Italic Votive Heads and Anatomical Terracottas – a Class-Specific Phenomenon?

Only since the Seventies of the last century archeologists, etruscologists and other scholars became more interested in the field of the Etruscan-Italic anatomical votive terracottas – an important but too often neglected aspect of Etruscan religion - and didn’t research only the structural, stylistic and chronological but also the social, economic and religious aspects of this phenomenon publishing a remarkable amount of catalogues, books and articles. One of the most recent very interesting but however for me not completely convincing interpretations we owe to the French colleague M.-L. Haack who interprets the society of Hellenistic Etruria as a kind of “body” and sees in the phenomenon of anatomical votives the fear of the dismemberment of the Etruscan territory.

Anatomical votives – mostly in terracotta – such as heads, busts, statues and statuettes, arms, legs, feets, breasts, intestines ecc. were found mainly in Western Central Italy (Southern Etruria, Latium vetus and Northern Campania) and can be dated from the 5th to the 1st cent. B.C. with a main concentration between the second half of the 4th and the 2nd cent. B.C. They are mostly mass products and were accessible for large sections of the society.

Most of these votives were dedicated to female gods such as Mater Matuta, Vei-Demeter, Feronia and Fortuna being connected with healing, motherhood, birth, fertility and growth but partly with chthonic characteristics too. Some of these gods as Vei-Demeter, Fortuna and Feronia were particularly popular between lower class people (plebei and slaves) as it is documented by some dedicatory inscriptions.

The votive heads represent in most cases the dedicating person – interestingly more females than males - and not the gods as in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

Panel IV: Dependencies and Status Differences in Urban and Nonurban Spaces

Erich Kistler (University of Innsbruck, Austria), De-Monumentalization and De-Powerment of the Chiefly House at Late Archaic Monte Iato (Western Sicily, 460/50 BC)

In the decade from 460 to 450 BC, amidst the mountainous inland of western Sicily, the power centre on Monte Iato at the so-called Aphrodite Temple was ritually abandoned and de-

monumentalised. To the west of the temple, the existence of the Late Archaic house as the palace-like residence came to an end in an extensive termination ritual. At the same time, the large, open-air square directly north of this chiefly building, which had served as an area of meetings and festivals, as well as adjacent hydraulic structures to protect the Aphrodite temple from flooding, were ritually closed. Furthermore, around 460/50 BC, the club and feasting houses (or dependencies) of foreign hosts to the east of the Aphrodite temple and the archaic houses on the southern edge of the Hellenistic-Roman agora were demolished. After this epochal act of de-monumentalization, no traces of settlement remained on Monte Iato until around 300 BC, when the mountain was resettled.

In my contribution I will argue that all these ritual destructions attest to a process of de-powering the Late Archaic 'House', rendering archaeologically visible a return of the Monte Iaitinians to a pre-hierarchical order and non-elitist authorities.

Massimiliano Di Fazio (University of Pavia, Italy), Herdsmen into Warriors. Pastoral Society in Ancient Central Italy

It is a commonplace to say that central Italy before the Roman conquest was a world running at different speeds. On the one hand, the Tyrrhenian area of the Etruscans and Latins was open to traffic and receptive to external stimuli, with politically advanced cities and an economic system essentially centered on agriculture, trade and crafts. On the other hand, the more inland areas of the Apennines up to the Adriatic coast seem to have moved more slowly towards this kind of reality, developing the idea of a city only quite late: consequently, it is usually stated that the primary economic resources of this side of Italy were mainly war (including pillage) and pastoralism. This is of course a schematic view of a reality in which agriculture and pastoralism were equally widespread and important.

The present contribution tries to focus on the sphere of pastoralism in ancient central Italy, with the help of different kinds of evidence: literary, epigraphic, iconographic, archaeological. The main objective is to reflect on the importance of pastoral activities not only from an economic point of view, but in a broader perspective as a means to reach a better understanding of the functioning of the social structure of the Italic 'tribes'.

Rafael Scopacasa (UFMG, Brazil): The Poor Side of the Tracks? Non-Urbanism, Funerary “Austerity” and the Making of Subaltern Space in Samnium, c. 400–100 BCE

Discussions about social inequality in pre-Roman Italy take a curious turn once we move into the nonurban and agriculturally marginal uplands of Samnium in the central Apennines. For most of the last four centuries BCE, this area is strongly associated with the Oscan-speaking Samnites noted for their intense warfare with Rome. This paper focuses on Samnium's archaeological record, more specifically its relative lack of outward signs of material prosperity, wealth concentration and/or display, which contrasts with many neighbouring regions during the period in question. Excavated and/or published tombs in Samnium are notable for their increasing simplicity in architecture and assemblage. The same can be said about sanctuaries, with important exceptions such as late-second century Pietrabbondante. Settlements with sophisticated public spaces and lavish private housing are conspicuous for their absence from the known material record. After indicating these trends from a diachronic perspective, in light of a sample of systematically excavated funerary, cult and inhabitation sites, I will consider some possible historical implications. Was this a clustering of communities with a long-term

cultural bias against overt wealth and/or private display, or are we looking at the development of a marginalized society (also in view of the geopolitical context of late fourth-early first century BCE Italy)? One overall aim is to contribute towards a reflection on the spectrum of social agents that the category “subaltern” may be applied to in the context of pre-Roman Italy, while noting challenges posed by the fragmentary material and written records.

Panel V: Anthropology and Bioarchaeology

John Robb (University of Cambridge, UK), Inequality, the Skeleton, and Treatment of the Dead. Basic Principles and Some Case Studies from Prehistoric Italy

Looking for evidence of social inequality in skeletons and their funerary treatment is a straightforward and obvious idea, and in some cases it works: skeletons buried with little ceremony show corresponding signs of lives of deprivation. But there are important theoretical reasons why lived social inequality may often not result in unequal health (health inequality), unequal skeletal or molecular records of health (palaeopathological inequality) or unequal burial treatment (funerary inequality). If archaeologists want to use burial and bioarchaeological evidence as sources on inequality, we need to think through such connections carefully. Indeed, patterns of disagreement between these forms of inequality are often more informative and interesting than cases in which all the evidence agrees to present a simple picture -- particularly for exploring issues such as social mobility and the intersectionality of inequality and other forms of identity. This paper first presents the conceptual principles involved, and then briefly uses data from several case studies to show bioarchaeology's potential for reconstructing a nuanced picture of inequality.

Andrea Acosta (University of South Carolina, USA), In Search of the Roman *Gens*. A Bioarchaeological Study of Family Structure and Social Change in Iron Age Italy (900–700 BCE)

Many structural changes are observed in the Italic peninsula from the Iron Age (9th c. to 7th c. BCE) through the Archaic Period (6th c. to 5th c. BCE). As different cultural groups settled in the region and expanded their network, a domino effect occurred, resulting in the urbanization of the region of Latium in west-central Italy. At the heart of this process was the family unit, or *gens*, which became the basis for both the social and political organization that grew to be increasingly important during the Roman Republic (4th - 1st centuries BCE).

This study employed stable isotope analysis from the Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell’Osa and Archaic Period Gabii to reconstruct migration and dietary patterns. Using these bioarchaeological techniques and classical and anthropological theory, I explored how the people that settled around the Castiglione crater defined kinship culturally, how much this was informed by biological concepts, and the implications these notions had for the overall community structure and the sociopolitical organization of Latium.

Giorgio Baratti (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy) – Cristina Cattaneo (Anthropological and Odontological Lab – Università degli Studi, Milan, Italy) – Martina Sciortino – Laura Magnano (both Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy), The “Chained Man” from Populonia and the Issue of Etruscan *Servitus*

The latest discovery from the necropolis of Populonia – Centro Velico (Piombino – LI, 2016), of a inhumation referring to a man still restrained by a yoke and iron shackles, gave us the opportunity to start a study on the deprivation of individual freedom in Etruscan society complex system. In this extraordinary discover – dated back at least to Archaic or post-Archaic age, if not before – the presence of restraining tools suggests a condition of deprivation of freedom and likely the will to show this subordination post mortem. Current investigations focused on the reconstruction of the social environment of the man through a multidisciplinary approach, starting with the comparison of similar funeral contexts and restraining tools from the ancient Mediterranean area. Meanwhile, the research also involved the analysis of written sources, at first thanks to the recent advancements in the study of Etruscan epigraphy and then through Latin and Greek historiography, helping us – directly and indirectly – to better understand the different kinds of dependence or subordination in the Etruscan society.

Anthropological analysis on the skeleton, handled by the Labanof Laboratory of the Università degli Studi di Milano, directed by Cristina Cattaneo, offers additional suggestions concerning the context of discovery: the bones belonged to an adult male, age at death ranging between 35 and 44 years, and a mean stature of 173 cm, possibly of African ancestry. There are signs of occupational stress on the arms, shoulders and back as well as healed fractures of the fingers. In order to check these first results, an additional investigation of bone and tooth samples aimed to get isotope and DNA test is planned (data will be available by Winter 2022).

Our study aims to give a wider reconstruction of the Etruscan lowest class, also thanks to the contribution of cultural Anthropology, to analyze the finding taking in consideration the specific socio-economical context of Populonia, one of the most relevant center of iron production in the ancient Mediterranean Sea.

Elisa Perego (University College London, UK) – Rafael Scopacasa (UFMG, Brazil), Natural Disaster and Marginalized Social Agents in Pre-Roman Italy. Archaeological Case Studies from Veneto and Puglia

Discussions about crisis and collapse in the ancient Mediterranean have tended to focus on major centres of power and the elites. In contrast, relatively less attention has been given to how marginalized social segments were affected by situations of accelerated, abrupt or disruptive transformation. By turning the spotlight onto the non-elites and their experience of socio-political and/or environmental instability, our very understanding of “crisis” in the ancient Mediterranean becomes in need of unthinking. This paper connects with a bigger collaborative project on the agency of marginalized people in contexts of increased socio-environmental uncertainty in first-millennium BC Italy. It draws on our ongoing studies about communities exposed to severe flooding and drought in different contexts of pre-Roman Italy, to address questions about different types of (bio)archaeological evidence and what they can inform about the agency of non-elite people in potentially transformative contexts.

Mauro Rubini (Anthropological Service of SABAP-LAZIO Italian Ministry of Culture), The Greek Colonies of Sicily. Status of Health as Indicator of Social Inequality

During the first millennium BCE the Greek colonies of eastern Sicily were essentially commercial emporiums. In particular, Syracuse, built on the island of Ortigia, was a port overlooking the Mediterranean not far from Malta and the North African coasts. The health conditions evaluated through systemic pathologies and mortality curves, highlighted a

substantial diversity within the community. This was probably due to the quality of life linked to the commercial typology of the parental groups. The fact that there was a strong parental component was evidenced by a high degree of endogamy, however widespread during the pre-Roman period by virtue of keeping the assets acquired within the parental clan.

Panel VI: Dependencies and Status Differences within Necropoleis

Francesca Fulminante (University of Bristol, UK), Dependency and Social Inequality in Central Italy (1000–500 BC)

As correctly emphasised by the organizers of this conference, in the past, most studies on pre-Roman societies in Italy (1st millennium BCE) focused on the elites, their representation and cultural contacts. Recently, however, research on dependent and marginalized social groups has considerably increased especially in the Veneto Region (research by Elisa Perego).

By analysing the Latium Vetus database, comprising more than 1300 burials from the Latin region, this paper aims to look at these less visible social groups, which are often even difficult to define ('dependants', women, children etc.). Individual graves will be analysed to search for the deceased's 'social status', in relation to ritual, tomb size, the position within the necropolis, the number and kind of grave goods and the physical remains.

In particular richness indexes will be calculated on the burials, and a spatial analysis of the most numerous cemeteries (Osteria dell'Osa, Caracupa and potentially Rome) will be performed to illuminate the relative position of less wealthy tombs in relation to more wealthy tombs and try to understand the relationship between the two groups. This might help identify in the ground the relationship gentes/slaves/dependants about which we learn a lot from Latin and Greek literary sources.

Laura Nazim (University of Bochum, Germany), Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Investigations into Possible Social Differences in Etruscan Chamber Tombs with Sarcophagus Burials

The genre of the so-called *jüngeretruskische Steinsarkophage* of the Hellenistic period has so far been examined mainly in terms of stylistic and art-historical aspects. This approach has inevitably led to the formation of a group of high-quality individual pieces that stand out from the masses which represent these monuments and their significance within society and its burial rites.

However, it is precisely these few examples of particularly high-quality craftsmanship, often showing unique iconography, that lead to the question of social and hierarchical differences within the aristocratic class of Etruria from the 4th century BC onwards.

Did other differences exist within a *gens* besides the tomb founder, who is always regarded as the head of the family in research, and if so, can these be identified on the basis of the funerary context?

Beyond these isolated examinations of individual outstanding pieces, I would like to contribute to identify social differences on the basis of the sarcophagus burials in common contexts but also on the basis of different funerary contexts of a common social class. Thereby, the questions of the relation of sarcophagi with lid figures to 'simple' sarcophagi and other burial forms as well as the interior of the tombs are in the foreground.

Marina Micozzi (University of Viterbo, Italy), Age and Class Discrimination in Etruscan Necropoleis? Some Evidence from Cerveteri

The Banditaccia's so-called *Vecchio Recinto* thus far remains the only large sector of the Cerveteri necropolises to be completely reported in publication. Scattered around the mounds and cube tombs there are many shaft graves and cremation burials of children and adults. The current article considers the chronology and positioning, grave types and funerary goods associated with these specific burial practices, contributing to their further comprehension.

Claudio Negrini (University of Vienna, Austria), *Ultimus Inter Pares*. Inequality within the Italic Communities of Romagna (Italy). Child Burials between the 6th and 5th Century BC

By comparing anthropological and archaeological data, this study investigates the social inequalities existing within the Umbro-Italic communities settled in inner Romagna (Italy) from the mid-6th century to the 5th century BC. An analysis of the two main necropoleis of Montericco di Imola (BO) and San Martino in Gattara (RA) shows that the symbolic representation of the deceased reflects inequalities connected with gender and age within the community. In fact, the tombs stress the identity of the warrior for all adult males, overshadowing other aspects. Therefore, this work focuses on children's burials, which seem to belong to a lower class of society given the limited number and poverty of the objects retrieved in the tombs. The study analyses the composition of the grave goods and their disposition within burials that have been anthropologically attributed to pre-adult individuals. This method is usually employed by scholars to investigate the symbolic representation of the deceased, that is the complex communication system of self-representation used by ancient societies to stress existing inequalities and reaffirm power relationships during the funeral ritual. The differences to other pre-Roman necropoleis, which show a different representation of deceased children, are discussed.