

## ABSTRACT

Approaching the Dead: A Study of an Etruscan Cemetery

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This study focuses primarily on providing a report of the data gathered through the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project in regard to the survey of the Etruscan cemetery encompassing the perimeter of the site. I outline major themes of Etruscan burial practices and the uses of ceramics to provide chronologies for tomb burials. These specific factors function as a way to understand the changing social structures of the Etruscan society in regard to funerary ritual. Data collected from the last two field seasons will be analyzed for typologies and patterns in tomb layout. Implications of these finds will be discussed in regard to the future goals of the project for bettering our interpretation of the site of San Giuliano and the Etruscan approach to the dead.

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APPROACHING THE DEAD: A STUDY OF AN ETRUSCAN CEMETERY

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## I. CHAPTER ONE

### Approaching the Dead: A Study of an Etruscan Cemetery

#### *Etruscans*

The Etruscans were the dominant civilization in the Italian peninsula in the early to mid that would eventually be swallowed into the rising Roman state. Expectedly, much of the material evidence left behind is difficult to engage without meticulous excavation and careful historical reading. That being said, perhaps the most easily accessible pieces of evidence of the Etruscans are the cemeteries that are scattered throughout Etruria. The tomb evidence (including all that is found within) combined with the critical reading of the historical sources (mainly Greek and Roman) help to provide an excellent starting point for understanding Etruscan society. But who are they, and how did they get there? Debatable answers have been put forth, but a general overview is in order.

The Etruscan origin is an often-debated topic, although there seems to be a settling of sorts (or at least not as much of an uproar against) on an indigenous explanation.<sup>1</sup> I find Barker and Rasmussen's account most insightful for cohesively bringing together the contact with the Eastern world with the changing social

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<sup>1</sup> While the critiques of this stance are important, especially in regard to language, the true development for Etruscan society is not in question here, and an indigenous framework will be further adopted. The truth as to whether the Etruscans are at outgrowth of the earlier Villanovan society, or if they are migrants that came to dominate the landscape is not important for the full analysis in this study. See Barker and Rasmussen (2004) for a more detailed outline of the indigenous/migrant debate.

landscape in Etruria. In this way, the Etruscans culture can be explained as an evolutionary sequence of social intensification in Etruria. The Villanovan people came into contact with the Greeks and Phoenicians as early as the late ninth century BC. There appears to have been a more segmented and stratified Villanovan society that lead to the advances and development of trade with the Greeks. While there was no sustained domination of trade control, evidence suggest a structure of clientship based on mutual obligation of gifts, trade, labor, etc., in return for protection, communal service, foodstuffs, and so on. The groundwork for the Etruscan society was well established by the Villanovan-Etruscan transition and that the social intensification of the Villanovan period should be viewed as part of the cause of expansion and trade with the Greek colonies, not the other way around (Barker and Rasmussen 2004; 84).

From this point forward, the decline of Etruscan civilization does not see its full turn until the beginning of Romanization in the early third century BC (ibid; 263). Generally, from the early eighth to that of the third century BC, the Etruscan civilization saw the beginnings of both its rise and fall. It is between these frames that the present study will venture, ultimately to focus in on a specific site, San Giuliano, and a specific social structure, burial ritual.

### *Cemeteries: Tombs and Ceramics*

The use of social structure in this study is understood through Morris (1992), which is to say, “[it] consists of taken-for-granted norms about the roles and rules which make up society – relationships of power, affections, deference, rights, duties and so on” (3). Further, Morris argues, following Bloch, that the areas where social

structure is negotiated are the rituals of society, and the specific actions within said rituals are contextualized to carry specific meanings. The focus of Morris' study is on the relation of the living to the dead, with a ritual focus on funerals and material focus on burials. While his study focuses on Greek burials, much of the theoretical framework remains firm for this study. Cemeteries and tombs as a material manifestation of ritual practice provide abundant and repeatedly informative sources for contextual clues for social structure toward the dead.

As subsets of the tomb information there exist both grave goods and architectural design. Both of these categories are further examined in the following chapters as a foundational basis for understanding the site of San Giuliano. While much information in regard to general patterns of Etruscan material culture exist, even in regard to the site of San Giuliano itself, the present study focuses primarily on the data collected and presented by the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project. This is done to begin to create a specific frame for the site that contains as much support from within its own system as possible. That being said, the two primary sources of information are the architectural patterns found within the necropolis, as mentioned above, and the ceramic evidence found within the tombs excavated. Admittedly the evidence of the latter is less abundant in relative terms, however, the value and significance of the ceramic assemblages is difficult to overstate. This study will work to form a general picture of the layout of the San Giuliano necropolis as a starting point for future manipulation. Following Morris' example, the symbolic system presented by the data must be taken in as a whole, and as more data is added the contextually defined space becomes more and more

detailed. Abstraction aside, future data collection will only work to benefit the image of the necropolis, and it is this image that will inform our understanding of the Etruscan approach of the dead through funerary ritual.

### *San Giuliano*

The San Giuliano necropolis gets its name from the plateau on the interior of the site that it surrounds. The plateau itself covers just over 83,000 m<sup>2</sup> in a stretched, ovular shape. The longest side stretching from east to west measures roughly 710 meters, with the north-south measurement coming to little over 150 meters at its longest point (D. Zori 2017; 27). Today, the streams of water that were at one point responsible for the overall structure of the site run at very low levels, primarily from east to west.

The necropolis is located approximately 40-50 km from the western coast, where the cities of Tarquinia and Cerveteri held flexible levels of prominence for much of the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods. Functioning as the hinterland of these coastal powers, San Giuliano provides a unique insight into Etruscan culture and the funerary ritual associated with the afterlife. Today most of the site is covered in dense forest, cleared away where tourist and park visitors can wander around and enjoy the beauty where ancient culture and natural substance blend into one. The site is formed by four major hilltops, or “nuclei,” that surround the San Giuliano plateau, of which the tomb clusters are naturally constructed into, including: Poggio Castello, Greppo Cenale, Caiolo, and Chiusa Cima (Gargana 1931: 334-335). As the foundations of the site, these hilltops provide the all-encompassing and imposing embrace of the atmosphere in the park. Walking through the park one can feel the vibrant life that

still roams through the necropolis under the blanket covering that the forest provides, giving the sensation that there is an excess of mystery to uncover if only you fix your gaze long enough. Indeed, there is, and much of the beauty of the San Giuliano necropolis remains hidden under many years of natural processes.

While the habitation zone of the San Giuliano site has yet to be accurately located and uncovered, the most abundant resource the area provides is, undoubtedly, the tomb networks. As such, archaeological explorations into San Giuliano throughout the past century have mostly focused on this “city of the dead.” Extensive looting has occurred for some time now, and is one of the primary reasons the location has seen less archaeological activity. Archaeological studies that have been undertaken focus primarily on the tomb architectural patterns, which is presented in this study in order to help establish a more detailed layout later on.

## II. CHAPTER TWO

### Etruscan Cemeteries: Tombs

#### *Why Study a Cemetery?*

The value of a cemetery as a cultural product rests on the conception of death and how it integrates itself into the understanding of life in a specific culture. Treatment of the dead often provides insight to the worldview of daily life within a given society. Cemeteries offer a unique placement in cultural study as they provide that sense of worldview through the direct use of material culture. Spatially, a cemetery can inform the relationship of the dead to the living simply by its position relative to the areas of daily activity (Morris 1992; 26). Additionally, each cemetery contains a certain character of its own by the way in which it is spatially connected, as well as through architectural and decorative motifs throughout the site. Furthermore, cemeteries often contain grave goods, or artifacts intended to be placed with the dead for their transition into the afterlife and beyond. Common goods of this sort in the ancient world include ornate artistry in the form of offerings like, metal-working, ceramics (both painted and unpainted), sculptures, and certain types of tools and weapons, all of which are selected by those caring out the funerary rites (Barker and Rasmussen 2004; 131). Often, sites may contain food remnants from ritual activities of feasting or types of libations. These remnants are often burned or in other ways marred to show the ritual transition from the realm of life to that of afterlife (ibid;

251). This chapter provides an overview of Etruscan burial practices in the form of cemetery structures and their accompanying grave goods in the form of ceramic materials.

### *Etruscan Tombs and Cemetery Layout*

Perhaps more than any other material, tombs provide insight into the Etruscan view of the afterlife and the role that it played in everyday activity. Burial tombs in Etruria progress through architectural stages during the Iron Age before the rise of the Roman Republic, and can be seen to reflect certain shifts in the cultural perspective on death. From small hole-like tombs in the ground the first major shift in tomb structures appeared with the rise of large mounds with ornate styles of interior and exterior decoration, which eventually gave way to tombs cut directly from the soft bedrock in Etruria, called *tufa*, or tuff. The tomb organizational styles become more spatially coherent with the employment of rock-cut tombs, while also reflecting a general shift toward greater tomb access for the community. This functioned to form a type of “city of the dead,” where organized space functioned in a similar manner to that which governed the spaces of everyday life (places for eating, working, washing, etc.). This chapter reviews the general trends of tomb burials within Etruscan civilization and focuses on the rock cut style specifically. These tombs are the primary data that are examined in a later chapter about the necropolis of San Giuliano. Further, the development of the architectural style of the rock cut tombs will work as a means to understand the cultural change in the relationship that the Etruscans shared with those that have passed into the afterlife.

## *Tumuli*

Around the turn of the seventh century B.C. there was a noticeable change in the structuring of burials in Etruria. Marked by the use of a type of stone vault-like structure covered by mounds of dirt, these burial mounds are denoted *tumuli*, and become the dominant burial structure in the Orientalizing period. Before these tumuli appear there are examples of small pit or trench burials that were in use to house the cremated remains or bodies of the dead along with some small amount of grave goods. This has led some to argue that the appearance of the tumuli in the seventh century signifies a new hierarchical social structure beginning to take shape (Colonna 1986). This interpretation holds some weight because of the grand size and wealth found in the tumuli, compared to earlier pits or trench burials. The sharp contrast of the detail and richness of the burial mounds and the smaller, comparatively empty state of the burial trenches creates a convincing frame for visualizing social stratification of the communities. While certain power relationships are probable, they are not necessary for the existence of these new burial structures. New funerary structures can appear for many reasons, be it foreign contact, new resources, or simply innovation. However, what can be understood with certainty is the use of the tumuli to house the remains of connected families and/or socially bonded groups. Each tumulus covers one to four chambers that would house the remains of the dead. In this way, the tumulus allows the display of social and familial connections. These tumuli are utilized in Cerveteri and other places throughout the country, including, Cortona, Castellina, Vetulonia (Barker and Rasmussen 2004), San Giuliano (Villa D'Amelio 1963), Populonia (Fedeli 1983), and Tarquinia (Mandolesi 2010). Izzet

(2007) shows that each of these sites contains tumuli with varying dimensions of diameter and height, but all seem to contain a rather long entrance corridor called a *dromos*. The implications of these characteristics are discussed further below, but it is significant to note the general cohesive nature of the burial practice, and the typical features seen throughout the separate sites. As stated earlier, the tumuli are characterized by their wealth and grand size, but another common feature is the relatively small proportion that exist in relation to the smaller, rectangular tombs that arrive later. This further supports the claim that the well-connected and influential members of the communities constructed the tumuli. Towards the end of the sixth century there is a reduction of the grand size and richness of the burial mounds and a shift to the use of more spatially coherent rectangular tombs constructed with blocks of the cut volcanic tuff. This change is seen most explicitly in Cerveteri and Orvieto. The fifth and fourth centuries give rise to the broad use of rock-cut tombs found in other sites throughout Southern Etruria, such as Norchia, Castel d'Asso (Barker and Rasmussen 2004), and San Giuliano (Gargana 1931, Villa D'Amelio 1963).

### *Rock-Cut Tomb*

The term rock cut tomb is used to signify a broad spectrum of tomb styles. Whitehouse (1972) argues that rock-cut tombs are a style of burial that was practiced in Italy since the Copper Age (276). If so, Etrurian rock cut tombs have evolved from those mentioned earlier that housed the remains of the deceased in small trenches or pits, to the more spatially organized “cities” of rectangular cut tombs. The latter tombs, dated from as early as the late sixth to the early fifth century BC, signal a

change both in amount and design. These tombs are found in greater numbers and with greater degrees of spatial organization than the large, ornate tumuli found before them. These are most often found in organized rows on vertical faces of rocks, terraced so that access can be seen along a primary transport route. These rock-cut tombs are not as impressive in wealth as the former in terms of grave goods or chamber design. However, the larger number of rock-cut tombs signifies that “access in the necropolises was gradually opened up to wider and wider circles of families” (Barker and Rasmussen 2004; 234). While this could support an argument for general change in power dynamic or population increase, these broader conclusions do not need to be the focus to make the new style useful information for gaining insight to Etruscan funerary ritual. Steingräber (2009; 68) shows that the new styles communicate a multitude of cultural trends saying that “[i]nvesting in the Afterlife’ was one of the main messages transmitted by Etruscan rock-cut tombs, but it was not the only motive. Bearing witness to the owners’ grandeur and social importance before their descendants was another.” Izzet (2007: 97) shows that this alteration in tomb layout and design is evidenced in Cerveteri, Populonia, Blera, Tuscania, and Orvieto. While this lends itself to a comprehensible view of a cultural trend, not every site is the same and each community works with a degree of independence from the others, especially in terms of establishing ritual trends and funerary rites associated with the tomb structure. Further in the northern regions of Etruria, many sites continued in their use of larger tumuli, never quite making the transition to the smaller, more numerous rectangular tombs. However, since the rock-cut tombs exist

in greater numbers, the detail they provide is highly informative for a comprehensive view of Etruscan funerary practice and cultural perspective of the afterlife.

### *Tomb Placement and Spatial Organization*

Perhaps one of the most prominent features of the Etruscan rock cut tombs of the late Orientalizing period is the “city-like” layout and multifaceted organization of the cemeteries in southern Etruria. This functions to promote a perspective on the funerary practice as a continuance and possible mirror of the world of the living. The word “necropolis” utilized here is fitting for discussing the spatially ordered nature of the Etruscan burial grounds.

The tumuli that precede the rock cut tombs of the Etruscan necropolei provide an adequate background for understanding the emphasis that sits upon the cohesion so characteristic of the Etruscan funerary practice. As stated earlier, the tumuli are in relative small amounts in comparison to the mass cities constructed to house the dead. This lesser degree of appearance also comes with less connected nature of the cemetery. The tumuli throughout southern Etruria do not show the same degree of relation to one another that is found with the rock-cut cemeteries. While the entryways of the tumuli within a certain site often face toward the same or similar direction (Prayon (1975) argues for a religious motive for the general northwest orientation), there does not appear to be any other connecting characteristic. However, when the rock-cut necropolis becomes the most common form of construction, the connected nature of the individual tombs increases. Furthermore, the deciding factor of the direction of the entryways appears to be the ancient road into the site, rather than the directional bearing.

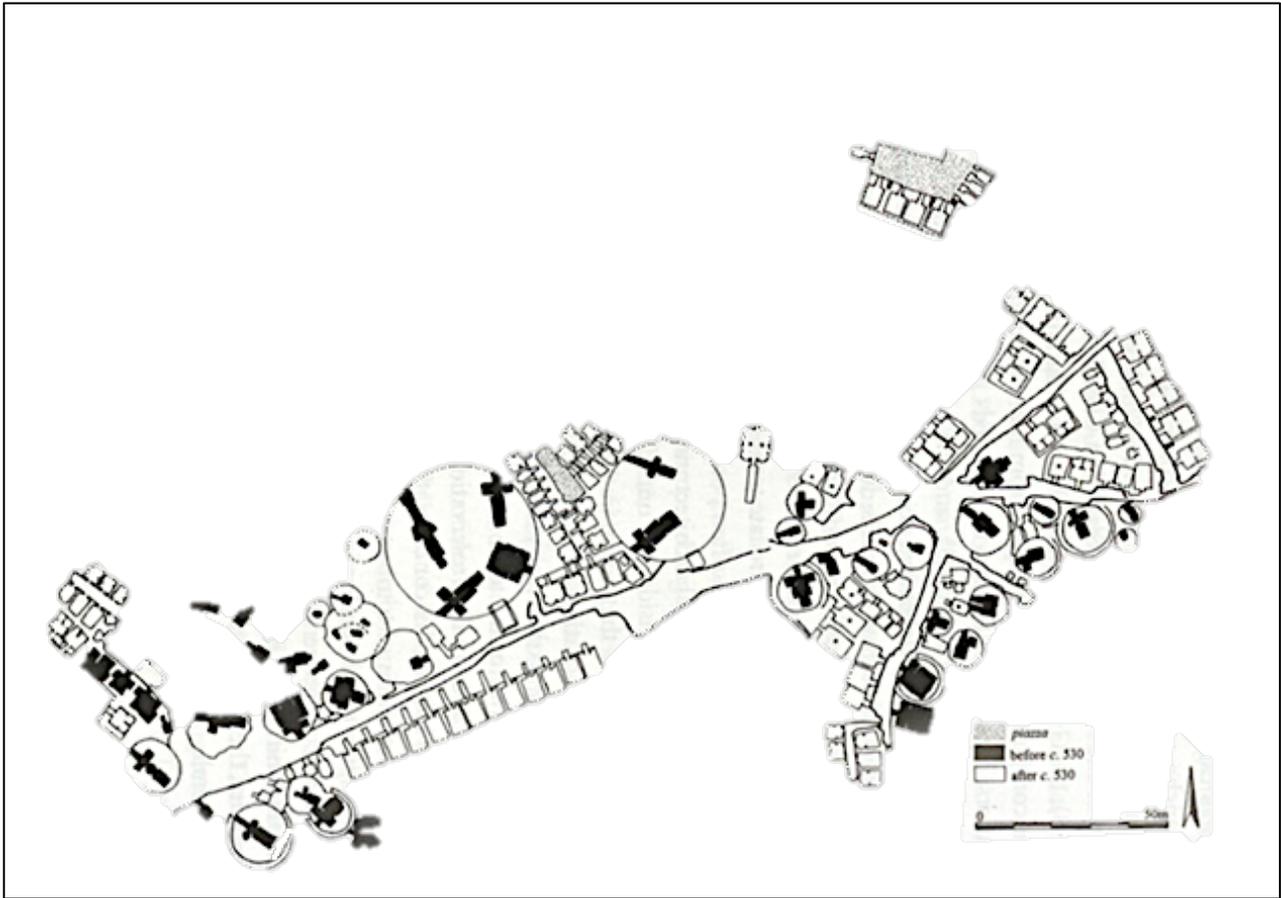


Figure 1 Banditaccia cemetery in Cerveteri. Notice the shaded tombs appear to have no defining pattern for orientation. These tombs are dated before 530 BC. The unshaded tombs coming after these show a more structure orientation toward the travelling paths. Adapted from Prayon (1975). Found in Izzet (2007)

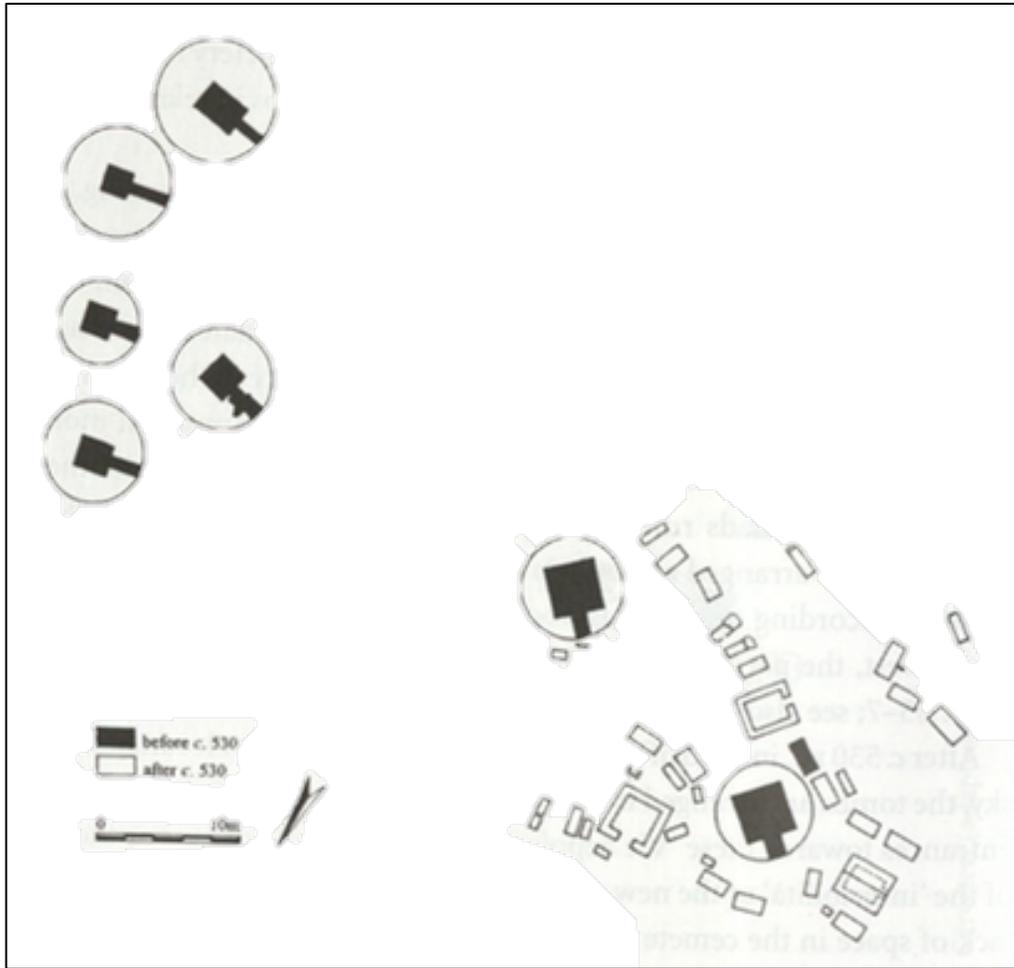


Figure 2 San Cerbone cemetery in Populonia. Again notice the clear shift from the orientation of the shaded to the unshaded tombs. In this instance the shaded tombs share a pattern of northwest orientation, though tombs after those are cohesively laid out in rows. Adapted from Fedeli (1983). Found in Izzet (2007).

These characteristics are laid out in Izzet (2007), who uses adapted versions of site maps from Prayon (1975) and Fedeli (1983) seen above. While the dating process of the tombs is examined more thoroughly below, what is clear at this point is that the transition from the general separate nature of the tumuli to the spatially ordered structure of the necropolis creates a different type of ritual setting for funerary practice. The map above shows the certain stippled areas where there are intentional spaces left untouched. These create a type of *piazzette* around which the tombs are

laid out, all with the entryways facing into the open space. Although there is a mimicking of the world of the living within in the realm of the dead, Izzet (2007: 119) argues that the necropolei's "distinct and characteristic form... helps define the cemetery as a distinct and separate space from that around it, especially the city of the living." This level of intentionality must be kept in mind when considering the general layout of the differing sites, as the use of space helps to display the perspective of the Etruscans when entering the land of the dead. More of Izzet's model is further examined and utilized for direct application to the San Giuliano necropolis in the later chapters.

### *Tomb Architecture*

There are two main features to consider when discussing Etruscan tomb design: entrance corridors, and chamber layout. These two features are prominent because they show variability within and across sites, but still offer evidence of certain typologies that show the general cohesive nature of tomb construction throughout Etruria. These two features specifically are some of the most salient factors in tomb usage. As such, they help draw insight into the cultural and ritual perspective of the funerary activities of the Etruscans.

To begin with, the entrance designs of tombs vary from the late seventh century to the early fourth century BC. Certainly, there are tomb-like structures before this, but they are primarily made up "simple circular or rectangular pits or trenches cut into the bedrock, known as *pozzi* and *fosse* respectively" (Izzet 2007; 91). These date back to the early eighth century BC and would be filled with either the cremated remains of the individuals or the bodies themselves, along with a few

grave goods. As stated earlier, the tumulus begins to make its appearance as early as the beginning of the seventh century, but it is not until the second half of this century that there appears to be significant changes. This comes in the form of greatly enlarged mounds of the tumuli, some measuring up to fifty meters in diameter at Cerveteri. With these giant tomb constructions there seems to be a shift in the approach (both literally and in a cultural sense) to burying the dead. With the older pits there is apparent concern for caring for the deceased after death, but the large tumuli show that the funerary act contains a much more prominent emphasis on creating a physical space within which to honor the dead. This shift in burial style does not appear to benefit any sort of resource or environmental allocation, as the tumuli take longer to construct and utilize more space. This supports the claim that the tumuli signal a significant cultural development into a view of the afterlife that took a more significant role in the Etruscan worldview. With this in mind, examining the changes that continue to occur throughout the centuries following the appearance of the tumuli can add detail into how the view of the afterlife changed and played out in Etruscan culture.

Izzet (2007) shows that the large tumuli at Cerveteri begin to appear during the late seventh century and contain a long corridor from the outside of the structure to the interior, ranging from 10-15 meters. This corridor functions as a transitional area to bring individuals, whether during a burial ceremony or for later funerary rituals, from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead. Izzet (2007: 95) points out that the significance of the distance cannot be overlooked, as "...the process of entering is prolonged, and impressed on to the consciousness of the entrant by the

period of time it takes to travel its extent: going down a corridor of 10-12 metres requires about 16-20 steps”. Also, tumuli throughout Etruria often contained sculptures or carvings at the entrance that functioned apotropaically, to guard the tombs from unwanted spirits. These were often hybrid creatures like griffins, centaurs, sphinxes, or other beasts of this kind. Izzet (2007; 93) points out that there is only one remaining example of this at Cerveteri, in the Tomba dei Dolii inside the Banditaccia necropolis where a sphinx sits at the entrance corridor.

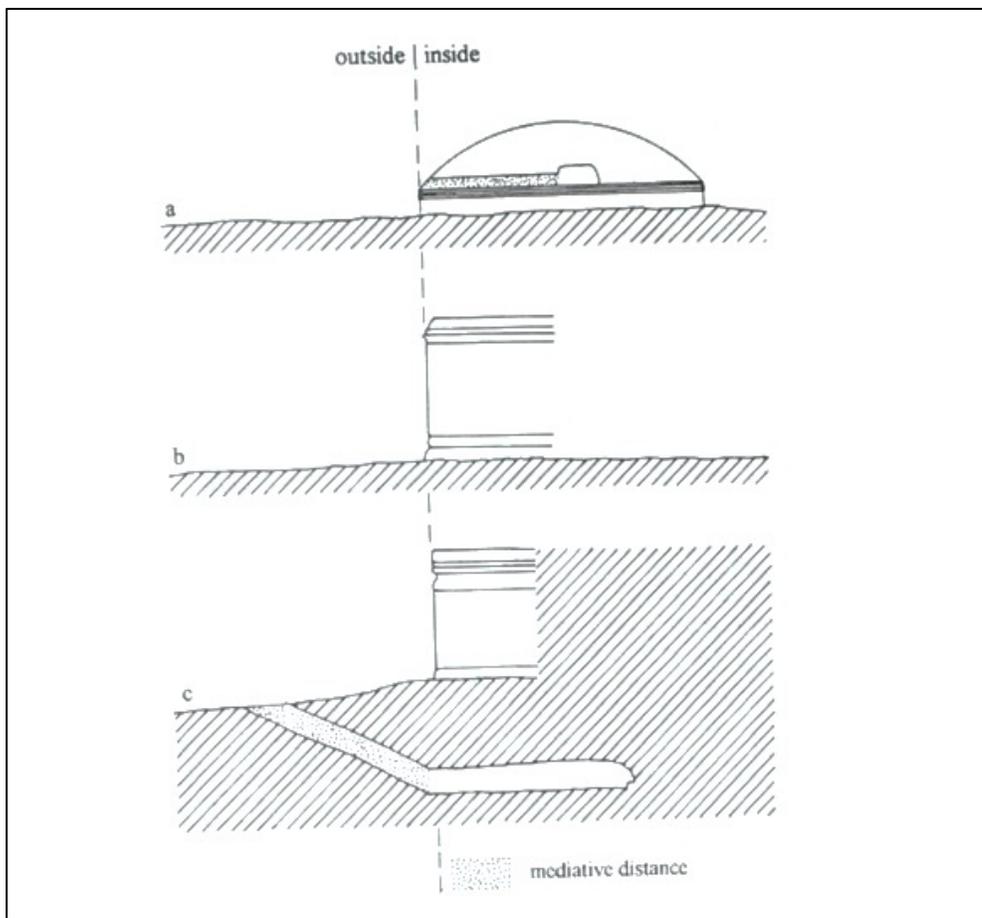


Figure 3 Diagram of the changes in mediative distance at Cerveteri from a) before c. 530 BC, b) c. 530 BC, and c) after 530 BC. Found in Izzet (2007).

As the necropolis develops into the rock cut era in the beginning of the sixth century BC, the entrance corridors signify an important shift as well. The need for a mediative

space does not disappear with the transition away from the tumuli. Rather it adapts to a different form in the entryways of the rock cut tombs. As outlined above, the rock cut tombs have a more spatially connected model that serves to provide a full atmosphere of the “city of the dead,” and each doorway into a tomb signifies the purpose of the environment. In the same way the long corridors of the tumuli would “impress” a change on to the entrant, by the turn of the sixth century the entry designs of the rock cut tombs are much more impactful, as the visible surface of the tomb becomes the marker for the official boundary between the living and the dead. However, this change does not happen immediately. There is a gradual shrinking of the transitional area from the long corridors of tumuli, to rock cut tombs with elongated entryways, and finally to those that have the ornate false door carvings on the surface. The final stage of the tomb entryways appears in the full inversion of the mediative passage to form what Izzet (100) calls a “negative entrance corridor”. Tombs with these entryways utilize a false door that is raised above the tomb’s entrance to give the appearance of entirely closed and impenetrable chamber. Figure 3 from Izzet’s study displays the change in tomb design over time. Ultimately, the importance of boundary marking is present in all of these changes, and serves to mediate the passage from life to death.

Another notable observation to be said of the architectural presentations is that they often appear to mimic the layouts of house plans. While the data discovered in regard to living quarters is relatively small in comparison to the large data contained in the necropolei, Cristofani (1979a: 30) shows that their general layouts are similar.

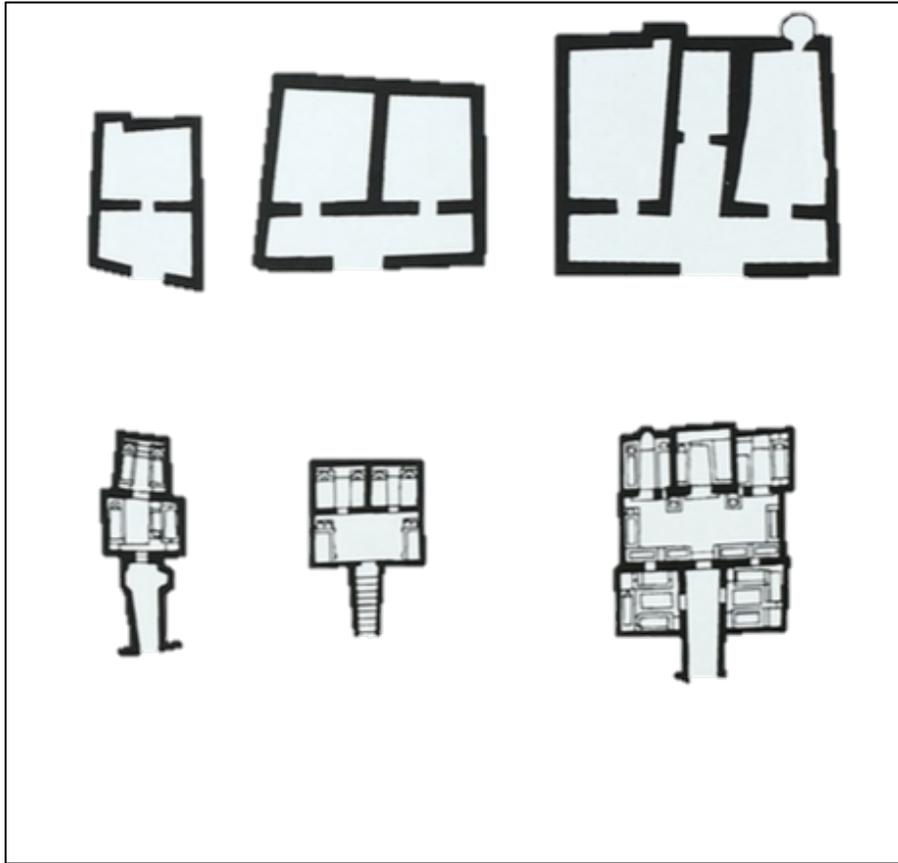


Figure 4 Etruscan burial layout compared to domestic structures. The top three figures are typical sixth century building structures. The bottom figures are burial from Cerveteri. Adapted from Cristofani (1979). Pulled from Barker and Rasmussen (2004)

Barker and Rasmussen point out that this presentation is seen from the rural settlements to larger, more populous one. As building layouts change, so too, do the burial layouts. However, there are some features that are not definite matches to the realm of the living, simply because no evidence for them exists. Features like the tumulus corbelling, where overlapping stone blocks are laid horizontally to make a pitched ceiling or false dome, or later ceiling carvings that show beams running from side to side or front to back to mimic roof structures are more difficult to match simply because their presence in the structures of the living are deteriorated. Unlike

the tomb structure, homes and other buildings were likely constructed out of the dense forest that covered much of Etruria throughout the seventh to third centuries. This highlights the permanent state the tombs occupied in these communities, which further supports the strong emphasis on the afterlife in Etruscan society, one that is enriched with the pleasures and indulgences that are only sampled in the present life.

### *Paintings and Interior*

Along with the exterior design, the interior of the tomb is perhaps the best lens for considering the Etruscan view of the afterlife. After leaving behind the world of the living, the realm of the dead is in part an expression of all the great pleasures that come in the joyous moments of life. There are some paintings depicting demons or spiritual beings of the afterlife, such as the winged figures of Vanth (a female, often depicted with lighter, white skin and carrying a torch) and Charun (a male, often seen with pale blue skin and carrying a large hammer). However, most of the tomb paintings do not necessarily have scenes that are as obviously understood as belonging to the afterlife, rather they show a type of continuation or celebration of the pleasantries of life before death. This is most apparent in the burial paintings found at Tarquinia. The tombs there are mostly dominated by depictions of sporting events, and banqueting. Because of this, sporting and banqueting activities are understood as being held as part of the funerary rituals upon the death of the entombed individual, an activity that many in the community would take part in, not just the members of the immediate family and clan. However, there is another view that these tomb paintings are in part pictures of what the expectation was upon entering the afterlife.

Unlike some other afterlife beliefs in the Mediterranean, the Etruscan view in this perspective would be a continuation of the pleasures found in life, on through eternity. With this in mind, the tomb paintings are meant to display a specific portion of the splendor that would come with entering into life after death. Whether the tomb paintings are meant to be specific portrayals of the afterlife or simply one of the celebrations commenced during the funerary rights, both show the relative celebratory nature and indulgence of pleasures that are associated with the funerary ritual. Of course, there is a strong possibility of a mixture of both, as each tomb and tomb painter had an expected degree of independence in design. Knowing this, the paintings often depict a mix of the individuals resting in the tombs along with other unknown figures that can easily be those that took part in celebratory activities during funerary rituals.

What should be considered when accounting for the tomb paintings in a larger comprehensive evaluation of Etruscan tombs is how they share or differ from tombs that do not have paintings. What value can the paintings add to understanding them as a funerary resource in light of other interior designs? Other sites, like San Giuliano, do not have tomb paintings of the type found at Tarquinia, although they do contain interior carvings that can achieve a similar funerary function. Many tombs throughout Etruscan sites contain beds or couches where the sarcophagi of tombs would be laid. These couches are shown to have intricately carved “legs” into the interior sides as a way of replicating a real-life piece of well-crafted furniture. Couches of this kind also have “pillows” at the ends commonly cut to place emphasis on the superior ends where the deceased body would be positioned so the head or end where the head

would rest. Furthermore, many tombs contain “roof beams,” most of which run parallel with the couches having a large single beam in the center, which is raised slightly higher than the rest of the roof of the tomb to resemble a wood built structure like a house. A similar type of depiction is seen in Tarquinia, with several paintings showing roof beams and what appear to be draping garments flowing from them in a manner not unlike the carvings found elsewhere. Truly, many of the carvings on the interior of the tombs resemble what are often considered structures for daily life. This shows more continuity toward the perspective that Etruscan burials were decorated with the belief that the afterlife would be a type of continuation of the previous one. However, it is very possible that the carvings both of the exterior and the interior are meant only to communicate a simple structural motif, and the evidence for celebratory activities, such as sporting events, and banqueting are of a more decompositional type. The carvings themselves do not appear to fully communicate continuance of the pleasures of the past life in the same way the paintings at Tarquinia could.

### *San Giuliano*

The characteristic Etruscan burial styles discussed above begin to emerge in San Giuliano around the early seventh century BC with the large tumuli that lie on the dominating hilltops of the park. Naturally, the rock-cut tombs appear later and continually develop into the spatially coherent structures that have, in some form, remained until today. The most prominent examples of the features discussed above will be described here, with a more in depth analysis of the tomb networks taken up in

chapter four. Specifically, the tumulus, exterior façades, and general tomb orientations will be discussed below.

### *Cima and other Tumuli*

The hilltop of Chuisa Cima holds the aptly named Cima tumulus, and is the clearest display of an Etruscan tumulus at the site today. While it has been a point of interest for many investigations, it was treated perhaps most directly in Steingraber's chapter from *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion: Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa* published in 2009. Steingraber dates this burial to the second half of the seventh century BC, following Prayon's typology in his (1975) work at Caere, for the layout of the main chamber, Tomba Cima (Steingraber 2009; 126). This tumulus contains a total of seven chambers and has a base that is cut most completely from the tufa bedrock, as many are at the sites in Caere (Steingraber 2009; 124). In total, the diameter of the tumulus measures about 35 meters, which would bring the entry passage to at most half of this distance, if any evidence of one remained. This length highlights the potential for the function of the mediative distance seen in the tumuli in Cerveteri discussed in Izzet (2007: 125). This transitional zone would have been an important factor for this tumulus if, as Steingraber says, the left dromos chamber was "clearly destined for the cult of the dead." The author later elaborates how there is a strong place for cult practice in/on the tumuli, which is reliant on architectural space and structural cohesion. These practices are best argued for in the sites at Caere and, given the connection between the Cima tumulus both in architecture and grave goods (discussed in next chapter), this could also hold an important place in funerary rites at San Giuliano. With this in

mind there seems to be a lens that exists to help examine the later structures of the rock cut tombs.

### *Orientation and Layout*

As stated before, the later rock cut tombs of the Archaic period show a significantly greater degree of organization and connectedness, both in overall site relations and to other tombs and tomb networks. San Giuliano is no exception. While the tumuli at the site are located atop the surrounding hills, the rock cut networks are scattered throughout the hillsides facing the inward regions of the park, as a way of providing watchful sight over the San Giuliano plateau. Many of these tombs follow the general pattern of interior layout that was outlined earlier (see figure 5 below for several examples). While not every tomb follows the exact structures seen in other sites, the exceptions seem to be just that. However, it should be noted that these exceptions (primarily those tombs that are asymmetrical, or somewhat incoherent in terms of interior layout of beds, altars, etc.) could help provide insight to the general usage and funerary rituals of the San Giuliano site. Gargana speaks of some tombs that exist with specific tomb-like structures adjacent to them, which contain no beds or couches for burials, but were meant for grave goods in the form of pottery or other burial gifts. The author also points out the broad orientation of the rock cut tombs is limited to the necessary requirements in the hillside, specifically the directional face and the relation to other tomb structures. This means that the choice of tomb orientation was primarily based on the quality of the rock material, and the proximity to the local habitation, with orientation toward preferred zones coming secondarily. With this lens, it seems the tumuli might make up the greatest weight of orientational

motives, as they have the greatest independence to be structurally orientated whichever direction the builders desired.

While this seems intuitive, it is significant to remember the tumuli still hold orientation preferences that are limited to the time of their completion, and the preferences of the owners of the tumuli need not be the preferences of the occupants of the rock cut tombs. Nonetheless, the tumuli hold an aesthetic position as domineering “towers” at the tops of the hillsides, which further give temptations to view them has hold more weight in the overall atmosphere of the site, a fact the constructors of the rock cut networks would have been aware of undoubtedly.

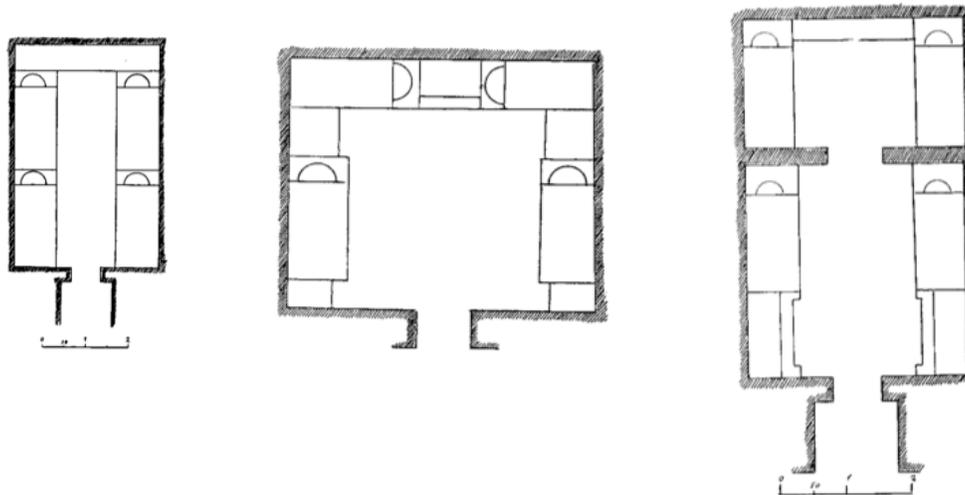


Figure 5 Various types of tomb layouts from Gargana (1931). Each of these tombs contains multiple couches for the dead. For most of San Giuliano, deviation past these designs seems to be the anomaly.

### *Exterior façades*

Perhaps the most informative features for the necropolis at San Giuliano are the façade carvings on the exterior of the tombs. These carvings cover over four hundred tombs documented at the site, each one following a pattern that helps to communicate the cultural shifts in the approach to the realm of the dead, both figuratively and in the physical sense. As shown from Izzet’s diagrams in her 2007

study, the differing entryways, whether in structural approach or aesthetic appeal, provide a lens for transitioning into the world of the afterlife. With this in mind, each change in tomb doorways gives light to a different cultural approach to the dead. Gargana (1931) outlines several different entryway types, and also shows overall structural designs and how they vary throughout the site. Figure 6 below shows differing entryways, including false doors and tomb platforms. These features themselves highlight the ritual and cultic nature that the necropolis inherits from the tumuli designs pointed out by Prayon and Steingräber. These new interconnected webs of rock-cut networks provide a new slate to approach the afterlife with, while also providing a more comprehensive level of communal interaction in the funerary ritual. Here it can be seen again that the cohesive nature of the necropolis is continually built upon, creating a more complex reflection between the life of the dead and the life of the living.

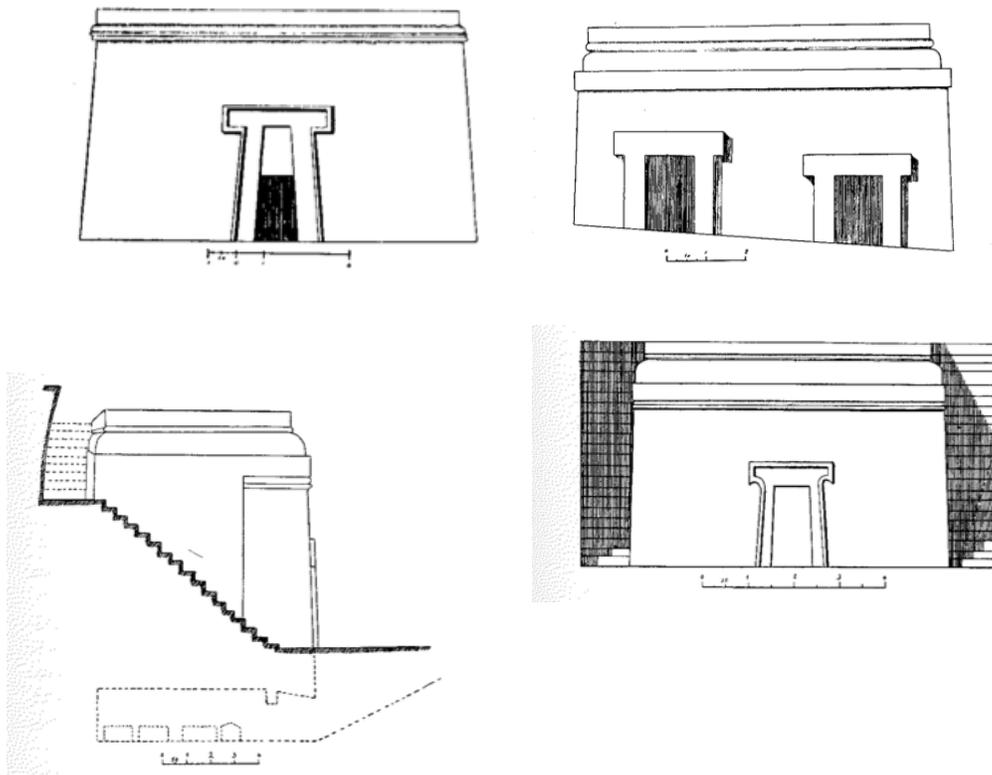


Figure 6 Multiple types of façades and exterior designs from Gargana (1931). Notice each façade helps to create varying approaches to the tomb exterior.

## *Conclusion*

Through the examination of burial structures it can be seen that the Etruscan funerary practice was focused on the presupposition that death can inform life, indeed it should. The Etruscan burial practice reached a peak stage of influence with the rock-cut tombs of the sixth and early fifth century BC, some continuing on into the early fourth century as well. These tombs were focused primarily on the exterior façade carvings that functioned to provide a statement of presence along with the clear spatial organization that defined the necropolis as a space in its own right, similar to but separate from the realm of the living. This can be seen clearly in the San Giuliano site as the necropolis develops into an encompassing presence throughout the area. Furthermore, the pottery production within Etruria from the Orientalizing period and onward helped to establish the funerary relationship of grave-goods and objects to the material realm of the necropolis. These ceramics in tandem with the architectural designs from the tomb exterior can serve to provide dated patterns for the burial sites throughout southern Etruria, and will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

### III. CHAPTER THREE

#### Etruscan Cemeteries: Ceramic Grave Goods

##### *Pottery*

For the Etruscan world, pottery possesses the biggest and most described organization of accessible resources. The well-known black-figure, red-figure, and relief decorated vases take up the majority of academic study, although they make up only a small fraction of all the pottery produced. In Etruria, the excavation of domestic settlements has shown that the utilitarian pottery of daily use was often undecorated and were made of coarse, poorly-levigated fabrics, while much of the famous fine wares and bucchero pieces are found the burials. It is believed that the production of pottery as an expert skill in Etruria began in the eighth century BC by way of transferring methods and techniques from Greek settlers (Barker and Rasmussen 2004; 136). As contact with the Eastern Mediterranean continued, many Etruscan cities had to meet the demand for pottery, which stemmed from the continuous stream of Greek vases into Etruria until the fourth century BC (Bloch 1965 35). Etruscan pottery became extensively traded on the coast, and its circulation shows outlines of trade that helped established Etruria as an economic power. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the major types of pottery found in Etruscan funerary practice, namely, impasto, red-figure, black-figure, and bucchero.

(Here it must be stated that the period of Etruscan art is often considered to primarily begin when the contact with the East becomes much more dominant, namely the

Greek traders and colonizers. This period precluding the Etruscans is referred to as the Villanovan, named after a small town near Bologna. Much can be said of the Villanovan cultural style, but for now it will suffice to cover the development of pottery creations in regard to the impasto materials.)

### *Impasto*

During the eighth century BC in Etruria, impasto was the primary ceramic fabric used for constructing vases (Martelli 2015: second paragraph). As an unpurified clay fired at low temperatures, it could be modeled by hand or turned slowly on a potter's wheel, air-dried, then smoothed and often decorated. Finally, it would be fired in a kiln at around 800°C. This created irregularly-shaped vessels, in a range of colors from black to red. Throughout this century, various types of cups, saucers, amphorae, jugs, and plates were produced for domestic use. Stoves and jars used for foodstuffs were also made of impasto, as were models of chariots, thrones, horse, and spindle whorls.

Impasto wares were sometimes decorated with incision or paint to create different motifs and patterns. Many vases were decorated with different kinds of incisive tools and combs to help create well-defined styles. Small punched impressions can also be found with other types of notched and grooved patterns. Many standard geometric patterns can be found such as concentric circles and zigzags along with these styles. Painted impasto ware has been found along with geometric designs at Veii, Tarquinia and Vulci (Martelli 2003).

Impasto vessels, like urns and votive offering plates were frequently placed in funerary contexts. Furthermore, it is the context of the find that ultimately determines its use, since the same types of vessels are often found in both domestic and funerary contexts. Certain hut styled urns and those with the helmet shaped lids were most commonly used in funerary rituals.

When the fast potter's wheel is introduced in Greece around 900 BC (Jansen et al. 1), it makes its way to Etruria not long after, providing even more consistent shapes, including spiral amphorae and chalices with carinated bowls. There is also the apparent influence of metallic vessels on pottery uses (Barker and Rasmussen 2004; 134). The lands of Etruria were rich in metal resources and, thus, were an important site of trade in precious metallic goods (ibid; 137). The popularity of such pieces could have influenced the pottery workshops in Etruria and around the Mediterranean trade system.

### *The Orientalizing Period*

The Orientalizing period in Etruria began in the late eighth century BC, with Greek settlers coming into the southern part of the Italian peninsula and further trading along the western coast of the Etruria. This lasted well into the beginning of the sixth century BC (Bloch 1965; 28). The subsequent parts of this section focus primarily on those examples of eastern pottery influence, specifically Greek styles of red figure and black figure, ultimately providing a foundation for informing our understanding of the burial ritual of the Etruscans through the interpretation of funerary assemblages.

### *Bucchero*

The name *bucchero* comes from the Spanish *búcaro* that was originally given to the black pottery of South America (De Puma 2013; 975). Early archaeologists applied the Italian version of this name when they discovered the black Etruscan style in the area of Southern Etruria. Rapid production of *bucchero* found beginning in the late seventh century BC. Perhaps most characteristically Etruscan, *bucchero* was made utilizing a clay very similar to that of *impasto* but much purer. It was in a reducing atmosphere to a black matrix and finish with a shimmering, nearly-metallic shine. The time frame of *bucchero*'s dominance can be divided into two main design styles following De Puma (2013): *bucchero sottile* (characterized by thin walls and simple motifs), and *bucchero pesante* (characterized by thicker walls and more prominent features and elaborate designs). The earliest *bucchero pesante* is seen around 575 BC, about a century after *bucchero sottile*. *Sottile* is also designed with a stouter shape, while *pesante* is normally taller and has elongated feet. Both styles share the quality of metallic shine that was sought after in *bucchero* production, and often these pieces were used as direct substitutes for metal vases (Martelli 2003; *bucchero* section). The remarkable resemblance to the metallic version of similar vessels created a unique market that made it the most common Etruscan traded item found in foreign emporia and found its way to Gaul, the Nile Delta, Asia Minor, Libya, and even Poland (De Puma (2013), See also figure 7).

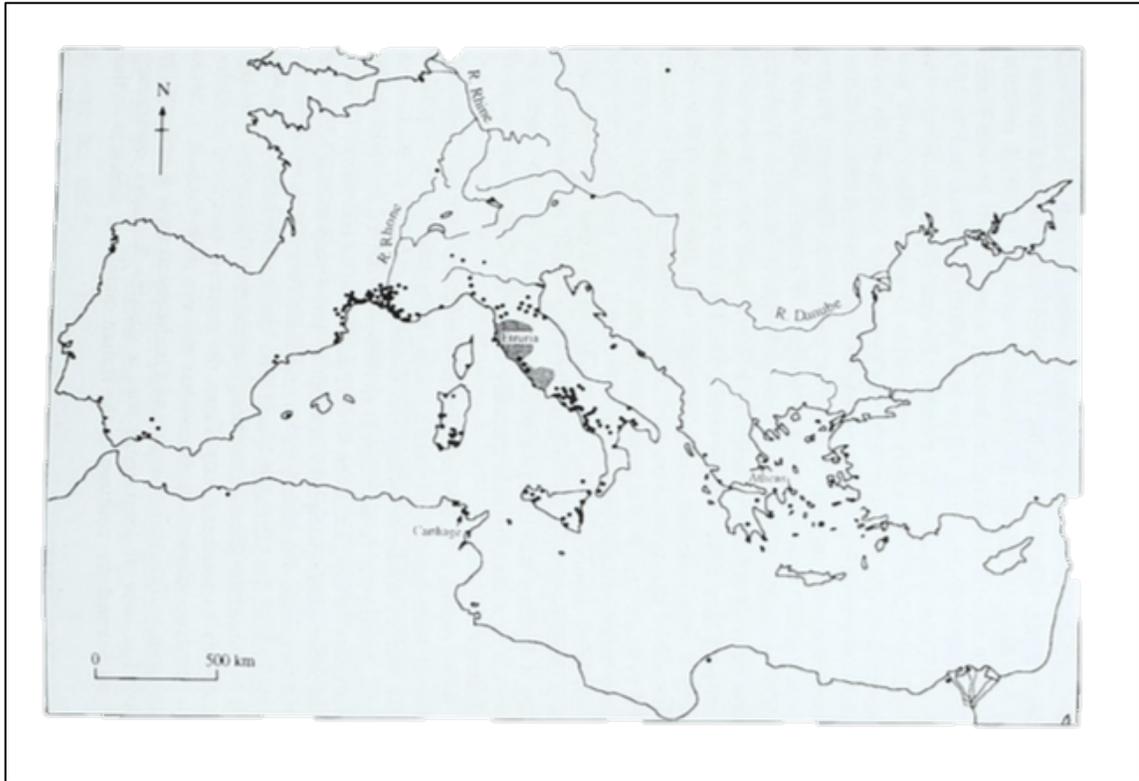


Figure 7 Bucchero distribution (from Barker and Rasmussen 2004; adapted from von Hase 1989).

*Bucchero sottile* production in southern Etruria began in Cerveteri, and quickly spread to places like Veii and Tarquinia. The vase shapes partly conformed to types established in the impasto repertory: double spiral amphorae, carinated chalices, plates, and kantharoi. The design style also mimicked impasto techniques like impressions, incisions, stamps, and sometimes carved. The thin *bucchero* pieces are also found to use decorative incisions of animals and other natural designs seen in many other forms of pottery of the time. The characteristic surface decorations on *bucchero sottile* are, patterns of open and closed fans and notching that underscores the carinations of a chalice, which are both seen in forms of metalwork.

*Bucchero* gradually develops its own repertoire of shapes, while also continually becoming more imitative of those found in metal works, and also ivory, while Greek shapes were also frequently added to workshop patterns. *Bucchero pesante* is understood as the robust, ornate, and thick nature of shape and form found to be developed out of the increasingly elaborate of the simple style of *sottile* designs. *Pesante* continues to carry the influence of metal forms, seeing resurgence in influence at Vulci, Tarquinia, and Chiusi. Decoration in the forms of human heads and animal relief motifs are apparent imitations of contemporary bronze work.

The dominance of *bucchero* sees its downturn with the improved availability of imported Greek painted pottery. This led to the use of *bucchero* in ordinary domestic contexts, except perhaps in certain circumstances where *bucchero* vessels served religious purposes, such as pieces dedicated to Minerva at the Portonaccio Sanctuary in Veii.

### *Etruscan Black-figure*

Etruscan black-figure ware was produced around the mid sixth century to the early fifth century BC (Bloch 1965 28). Greek settlers who migrated to Vulci around this time most likely introduced it to the Etruscan mainstream. At Vulci, around four thousand black- and red-figured vases have been discovered, which gives a glimpse to its prominence (Bloch 1965 10). The initial phase of Etruscan black-figure production appears to have adopted the Greek style referred to as “Tyrrhenian,” where the decoration on the shoulder of the amphora would often depicted a Greek myth while the body of the vase was filled with animal scenes and ornamental design

such as partridges, stars, leaves and lotus buds (Martelli 2003; black-figure section). Other Etruscan black-figure vases show a number of different categories of scenes including departures, the hunt, horsemen, fights, and symposia. The shape range may have been influenced by local *bucchero* to include chalices, kantharoi, and plates (Martelli 2003).

The second phase of production developed its own expression of styles lead by sphinxes, chimeras, and winged lions (Bloch 1965; 28). Depictions sometimes included mythological scenes of great heroes, but more often of athletes and chariot racing. There is a late phase that is considered to be of a less careful style, appearing to be reliant on models manufactured at sites like Vulci and Chiusi. It is suggested that some of the artists who trained at Vulci may have created inland workshops. The conformity of these products makes attribution challenging, as there are seldom more than three figures in depictions, and ornamental design is limited to specific motifs.

### *Red-figure*

Greek pottery in red-figure begins around 530 BC, and quickly begins to be imported for trade on the Etruscan coasts. Beginning in the mid-fifth century BC, Etruscan pottery is mainly based off of Attic models and begins to be developed along the prominent coastal cities, including prominent workshops at Vulci and Chiusi, commonly attributed to a famous artist known as Praxias (Beazley 1976, and Martelli 2003).

The most prominent production of red-figure slips was concentrated at Falerii once a more comprehensive industry was established in the beginning of the fourth century BC (Del Chiaro 1976). The vases found in Falerii are often associated with those found in the modern day city of Cerveteri, as the Faliscan type influenced the early development of the later Caeretan productions (Del Chiaro 107). These of the latter group often depict very simple narrative, usually contain women either sitting or standing receiving a gift from another figure (other women, satyrs, youths, etc.) (Del Chiaro 3). Many workshops in the northern lands of Etruria manufactured smaller vases decorated with routine figures typical of late fifth century BC Attic vases.

There appears to be an increase of production in the mid fourth century, and many workshops began to specialize in funerary vases. However, overall quality seems to decline. Many vases during this time were distributed to lands in Gaul, Corsica, Sardinia, Carthage, and Malta. From about 330 to 300 BC the complexity increases in decorative motifs and compositions. Perhaps the most characteristic of later Etruscan red figure is the concentration on smaller vessels decorated with erotic subjects, which then extended to large funerary kraters.

### *San Giuliano*

The San Giuliano necropolis, located in northern Lazio, provides a fresh lens that can be utilized for analyzing the tombs and the cultural change in which the community underwent. As stated earlier, this new lens may prove rather limited as the

thorough looting of the site only adds to the puzzle. However, each sherd found in the necropolis is another piece to the backdrop of Etruscan life slowly being uncovered at San Giuliano. Furthermore, these ceramics are most helpful in determining dates for the site and its development diachronically. With this in mind, each of the major Etruscan styles found through major investigations are reviewed in this section to help provide a cross-reference for approximating dates for tomb layouts and changes in burial processes.

### *Bucchero and Impasto*

As it is first in design and construction, the tumuli structure are examined first and then the remaining rock-cut tombs. Steingraber (2009) documents *bucchero* from the Cima Tumulus atop Chiusa Cima. Particularly, Steingraber refers to fragments of a bucchero chalices found within the chamber of the Cima Tumulus, along with other fragmentary pieces of bucchero. While these pieces are not discussed in detail of their position or context of find (as the finds themselves refer to other excavations not performed by Steingraber), they are mentioned as being found along with other forms of Etruscan ceramics, including some impasto vases with winged griffins painted in red on the side (Steingraber 126).

Moving into the hillsides of the necropolis, just below the Cima Tumulus, the salvage excavation of the tomb designated G13-001 by the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project (SGARP) contained some informative finds despite the poor condition of the tomb and high levels of looting in the area. Among these finds is a complete impasto bowl found just outside the tomb, which "...is consistent

with a pattern seen elsewhere at San Giuliano and in other necropolei, suggesting that looters scattered the contents of the tomb upon exit” (Livingston 122). Along with this, many *bucchero* objects were recovered within the tomb, including three spindle whorls, a small bead, and several diagnostic pieces dating between the first and third quarter of the sixth century BC (Ikeshoji-Orlati 150).

Moving directly north onto the corresponding plateau of Caiolo, the tomb designated E13-035 also yielded interesting *bucchero* finds. As Ikeshoji-Orlati reports, not all of the fabrics were able to be fully examined at the time of publication, although “65 diagnostic sherds were recovered, including rims, bases, handles, and body sherds of relief-decorated *bucchero* and *buccheroid* impasto closed-form vessels” (Ikeshoji-Orlati 153). Among these finds, a high-arched one handled jug was recovered that dates the tomb to around the turn of the sixth century (154).

### *Black-Figure*

In the Cima Tumulus, Steingraber reports the presence of Attic black-figure sherds within the tumulus. This observation, along with the identification of chambers connected with Tomba Cima, suggests that the tumulus was used and built upon for multiple generations (Steingraber 126), and continued to hold prominence at least partially throughout the period of San Giuliano’s inhabitation.

Villa D’Amelio (1963) shows that black-figure ceramics were popular in the form of Etrusco-Corinthian and imported Corinthian vessels during the initial flourishing of the site between the beginning of the seventh and the end of the sixth century BC (75). It is in this period that San Giuliano experiences the most influence

from Cerveteri, and where black-figure vessels appear most prominent at the site. Toward the latter end of this period (turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE), Attic black-figure begins to be the dominant form over Corinthian. In the SGARP 2017 excavation season, Ikeshoji-Orlati reports sixteen sherds of black-figure, most likely from several vessels of varying sizes, all of which appear to be closed-form. The assemblage “...securely dates to the middle of the 6th century BC and likely represents at least one proto-Corinthian vessel and at least two Attic vessels” (Ikeshoji-Orlati 148). Most outstanding of these sherds includes the small (only a couple of centimeters) piece that depicts a man’s legs down to the knee, found in tomb G13-001 mentioned earlier. While the find is only fragmentary, the association with the other pieces and its own design provide key insight for constructing the chronological backdrop of the necropolis just below the Cima Tumulus.

### *Red Figure*

In addition to the other finds in the Cima Tumulus, including the ceramics already discussed, Steingräber speaks about the discover of Attic red-figure fragments in the tumulus (Steingräber 126). Much like the black-figure sherds discussed above, the presence of red-figure vases shows the multi-generational use the tumulus came to provide, or at least the foundation it served for future tombs that came to share its space.

In Villa D’Amelio’s 1963 study of San Giuliano, evidence of red-figure vases is missing after the initial flourishing period (699-500 BC). Following this period is really where there is expected to be more red-figure pieces to inform the chronology

of the site, but none have been discovered matching this time frame. It is not until around the end of the fourth century BC that red-figure examples appear again. D'Amelio interprets this time frame as another period of prosperity for the San Giuliano necropolis, which is marked by the “porch” like tombs and red-figure Faliscan ceramics found inside them (75). In addition to Faliscan ceramics, the author also mentions seven plates that were discovered, five of which have a particular star design that seems to connect them to Cerveteri (75). The SGARP also has yet to produce any notable red-figure examples from the site, although the specific sections of the necropolis that have been excavated (directly under the hillsides of Cima and Caiolo) appear to produce fabrics from an older time period. Unless these tombs were used for many generations, the presence of red-figure pieces is not expected.

### *Conclusion*

Etruscan pottery provides a unique insight into the Etruscan world, and particularly helps by providing a way to form a chronology within burial contexts. As Etruscan trade with the East advanced in coastal cities, Etruscan pottery began to be traded extensively and Greek vessels became more accessible to the hinterland. The pottery production within Etruria itself created an industry that allowed for the funerary importance of the ceramics and the tomb networks of the necropolei to mature over time.

Different types of ceramics help to construct a broader understanding of the chronology of Etruscan funerary practices, particularly when combined with the study

of morphological shifts in the structural design of the tombs. With regard to San Giuliano, the utilization of both ceramic and tomb design can serve to provide dated patterns for the burial sites throughout the necropolis. Although the most recent finds are fragmentary in nature, they continue to assist in creating a backdrop to confirm the architectural pattern with chronologically based information. The tomb designs will be examined more specifically in San Giuliano, along with the ceramic finds mentioned above, in order to construct a more complete map of the development of the site across time.

#### IV. CHAPTER FOUR

##### San Giuliano: Survey Mapping

###### *Site Overview*

With the information gathered above, a return to the central question of the present study is expected: how did the Etruscans approach the dead? This has been examined in regard to the material evidence in a broad cultural sense, with aspects of the San Giuliano necropolis in view. Now it is suitable to create a more comprehensive image of this site specifically, and discuss the most proper way to account for the visible layout of the necropolis. Factors discussed in the preceding chapters are utilized to create this account, particularly: the chronological development of the entryways in terms of mediative distance, the major influences on tomb orientation, and the useful features of ceramic evidence at specific tombs. After these factors are considered, future areas of focus that could provide more information are suggested.

As described earlier, the tomb networks are constructed into the hillsides of the site, with the largest concentration appearing on the north facing side of Chiusa Cima and the corresponding south facing side of Caiolo. Comprehensively, the majority of the tomb networks appear on the eastern side of the necropolis, with very few tombs or networks being found in the western side of the San Giuliano plateau. It must be noted that the site itself has evidenced some geological shift over the last

century alone, not to mention the thousands of years before. This site is considered with relative caution to have maintained its overall integrity in regard to the general distribution of tombs and its visibility in that regard, until evidence shows otherwise. Surely, there remain some tombs throughout the park that have been buried or rendered inaccessible for the time being due to shifts in the landscape. Nonetheless, it would make sense that the overall proportion of tomb distribution holds in that the areas of the largest concentration remain the most visible through time, leading up into its present condition. This chapter will examine the major types of architectural designs in San Giuliano's necropolis, primarily focusing on tomb entryways and façade styles. With the understanding that the funerary practices in materials found throughout Cerveteri have a noticeable influence on those in San Giuliano, the general factors outlined in Izzet (2007) are utilized to infer general typologies for the San Giuliano tomb networks, namely, transitional zones. With this foundation of the site provided, other factors are considered to help bring a more concrete image of the necropolis and its position in the San Giuliano community. There is something to be said to explain the lack of tombs or funerary material in certain areas of the site, and that can be addressed more fully in this section. Furthermore, the ceramic evidence from the necropolis are utilized to give detail to the chronology of the tombs, so that a general survey map of the site can be brought into focus.

## *Façade Typology*

The following typology is based off of the tomb survey data collected from the SGARP in both excavation seasons of 2016 and 2017. The survey utilized a registration process in which every tomb fell within a position on the site within an overlaid sector map (see figure 8 below). Each sector was then surveyed for tombs

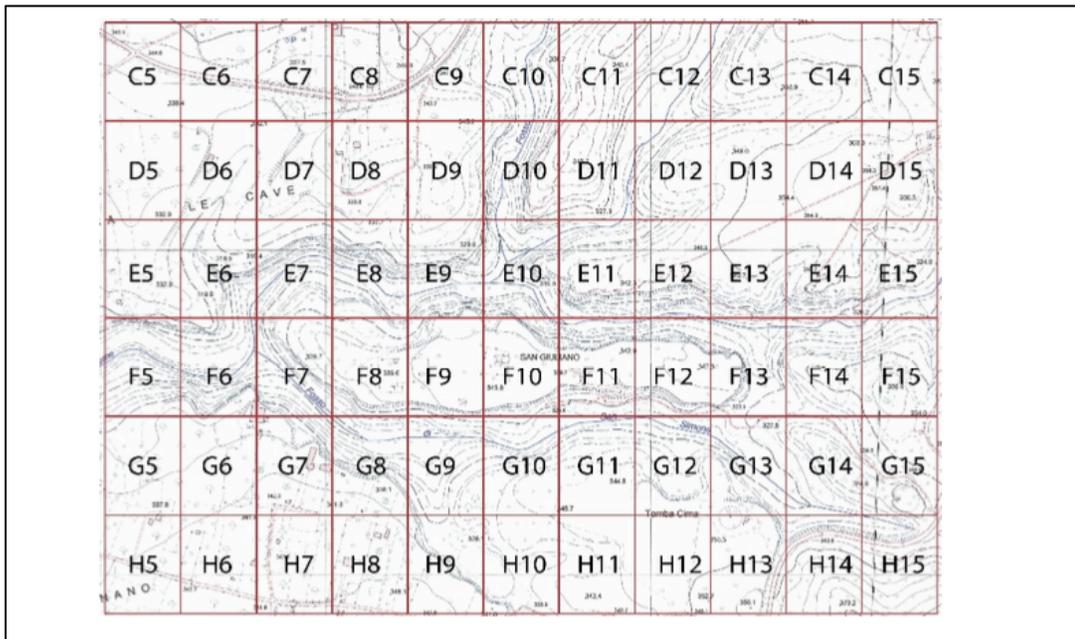


Figure 8 A sector grid composed of latitude and longitude coordinates was overlaid onto the site map for reference and survey purposes. Every sector that covered a piece of the necropolis was surveyed using GPS, written documentation, and photographic records.

by 2-3 project students who took GPS points, photos, and documented general survey information on the registration form.

While there are some discrepancies between the two seasons of the survey data, the tomb patterns that hold significant evidence for typology are the only ones evaluated in this study, and each season is considered specific to itself, while the overall patterns will be evaluated in tandem. This is done so that the discrepancies or methodological errors will not be compounded. This data are utilized in the remainder

of this section to construct an overall pattern for the tomb design. Based on Izzet's model mentioned earlier, the lens for understanding the tombs will focus on the entryways and façades of the tombs documented. As a general rule, the several tumuli on the site is mentioned later on, but are not analyzed within the typology, as they are considered to be the earliest of those constructed and have the least relation to the overall tomb networks in terms of original intent in design. While the tumuli do provide significant details to the comprehensive image of the site, the influence on the tomb network does not interfere with the façade evaluation, though it may provide a foundation for it in terms of the development of the mediative distance between the realm of life and the realm of death. The remainder of this section will take the tumulus as a basis to evolve from, which provides for the focus on the variation in the tomb approaches and entryways.

#### *Type 1 – The Empty Face*

The first typology found at San Giuliano launching the beginning of the rock cut tomb networks is marked by a small hallway (1-2 meters) between the initial entrance and the interior of the tomb. Following Izzet's outline in her (2007) study, these tombs date to before *c.* 530 BC, but after the transition away from the tumulus, which brings an expected date somewhere between the beginning and the middle of the sixth century BC. Tombs with this layout have no noticeable façade carvings and present a rather unmarked face to the exterior. While there are several tombs of this type that also contain a *dromos* leading up to the tomb entrance, its presence does not necessarily signify an early construction, although it may be likely. Like the tumuli that precede them, the tombs of this first typology that contain an initial *dromos* can

be understood to be mimicking the designs of the tumulus and further elongating the transitional zone between the exterior and interior of the tomb. However, the appearance of the *dromos* seems to be perhaps equally reliant on initial space as oppose to early period of construction, as some appear in the later typologies as well. This will be further discussed in the sections below, but for now it is sufficient to say that the major chronological markings of the tomb designs lie in the mediative distance represented by the interior hallways and the relatively empty tomb faces.

### *Type 2 – The Post and Lintel Foundation*

The second major typology is marked by the first appearance of façade carvings that come in a simple post and form, dating to around the middle of the sixth century BC, or just after *c.* 530 BC. These designs are often cut at very direct, right angles with straight, thick lines and contain interior measurements that equal those of the width of the tomb entrance. This happens because the entrance of the tomb occurs directly between the two carved posts, which function as a doorway permanently established into the volcanic tuff. As such, these façades are relied on to mark the entrance of the tombs, and are the material manifestations of the now shrunk transitional zone. Tombs within this type have a mediative distance of around a dozen centimeters, often covered within a single step. With the mediative distance reduced, the façade functions as the signal to all observers on the exterior that the realm of the dead lies just beyond its borders.

### *Type 3 – The False Door and The Negative Zone*

The third major typology in San Giuliano is dated to the end of the sixth/beginning of the fifth century (after *c.* 530 BC), and is distinct from the others as

it contains a raised façade carving above the true entrance to the tomb. This “false-door” is commonly found to have an exterior measurement that matches the full width of the entrance of the tomb. While these lines are also thick and made distinct in the volcanic tuff, the overall boldness of the carving is significantly less in degree when compared to the greater width of the preceding type. This can be understood as making up for the greater visibility provided by the raised position above the entrance that provides a uniquely visible marker for the transition between death and life. Several tombs in this category also contain what Izzet refers to as a negative transitional zone discussed in chapter two. With the false door on display high on the stone tuff, some tombs provide a path to go below the current level of orientation and approach the true entrance of the tomb through a downward walk that provide for a relatively hidden entrance. In this way, the mediative distance goes from being covered in a single step at the façade carving, to being traversed through before even reaching the façade itself. Often façades of this type are found with concavely curved edges, as opposed to the straight rectangular style of the previous type. It is arguable that this category can be broken into two separate types.

However, given the amount of conclusive data (see figure below), the distinction creates more confusion than clarity. The justification for keeping this as one single typology comes in the fact that the negative mediative distance is determined by the layout of the surface directly in front of the tomb, and for many tombs the original forward surface has experienced some geological shift over the years. This makes it difficult to determine whether the façade is approached through an intended negatively spaced hallway, or only raised above the entrance.

### *Site Reconstruction: Cluster Analysis*

With the typologies outlined above, many questions about the general layout of the site can be addressed in greater detail. As stated earlier, the general concentration of tombs is situated on the eastern side of the site, but what does this signify? It is difficult to answer this question without a full reconstruction of the site (with additional site information such as entry points, habitation layout, arboreal coverage, population size, etc.), but with the data collected so far a general pattern can be observed and inferred upon. Additionally, the cluster of tomb typologies can inform the understanding of the general burial pattern. For instance, do the tomb clusters represent specific time periods and/or familial clans, or are they clustered together and layered with multiple typologies and time periods? This question is examined first.

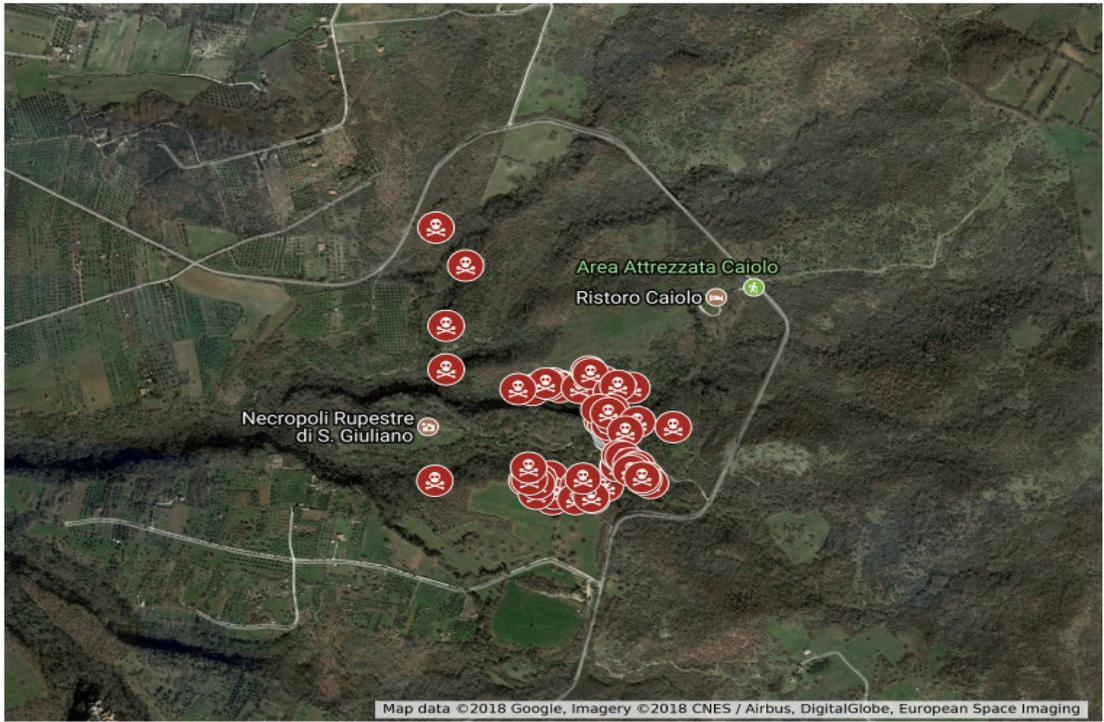


Figure 9 The red points above show the 82 tombs that were recorded within the first typology during the 2016 field season

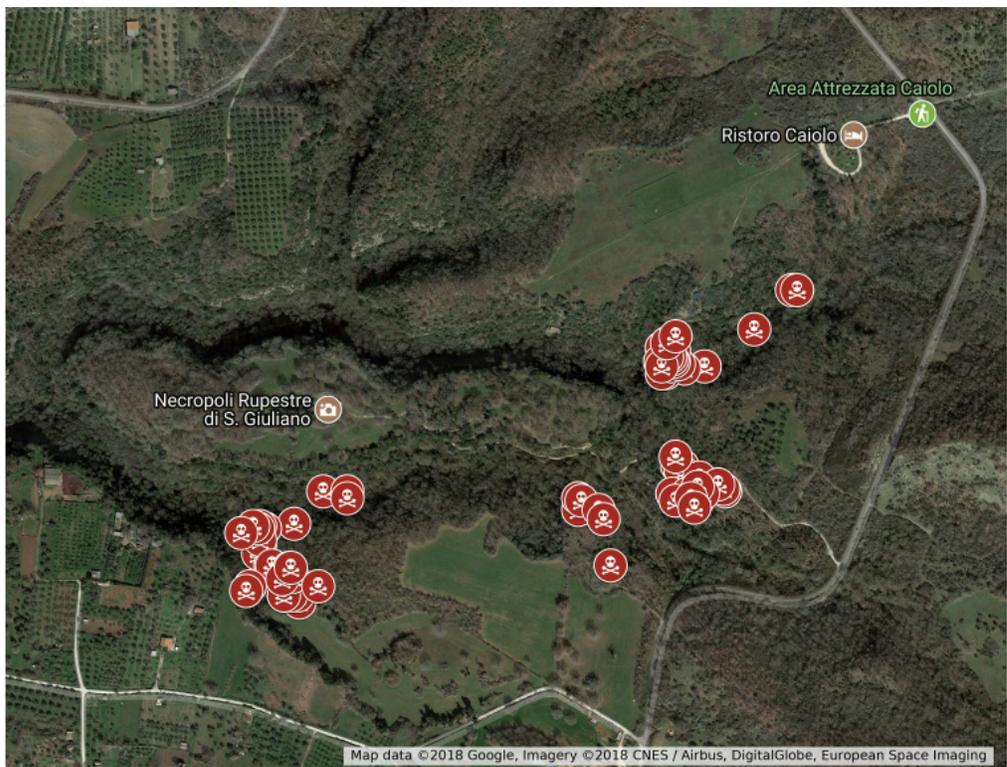


Figure 10 The red points above show the 74 tombs that were recorded within the first typology during the 2017 field season

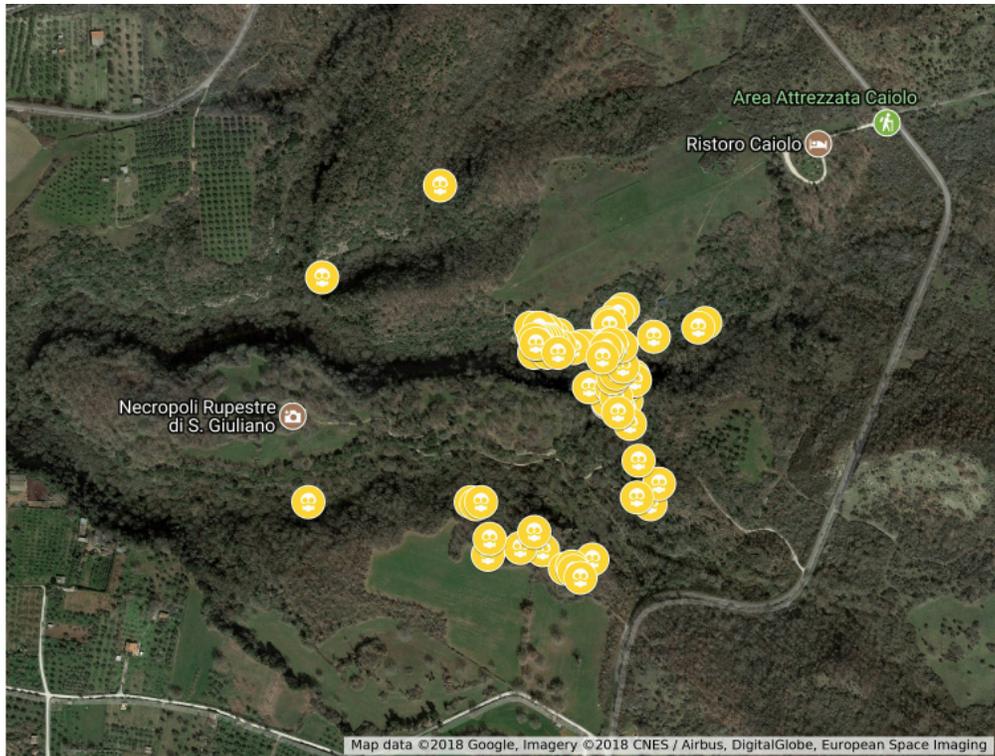


Figure 11 The yellow points above show the 90 tombs that were recorded in the second typology during the 2016 field season

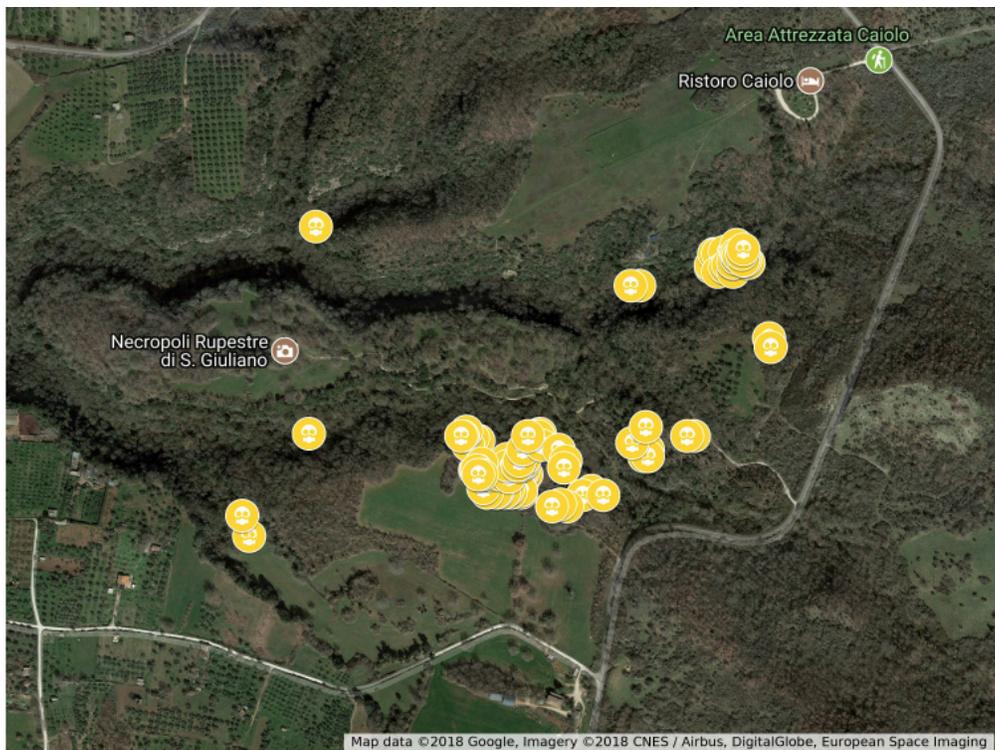


Figure 12 The yellow points above show the 111 tombs that were recorded in the second typology during the 2017 field season

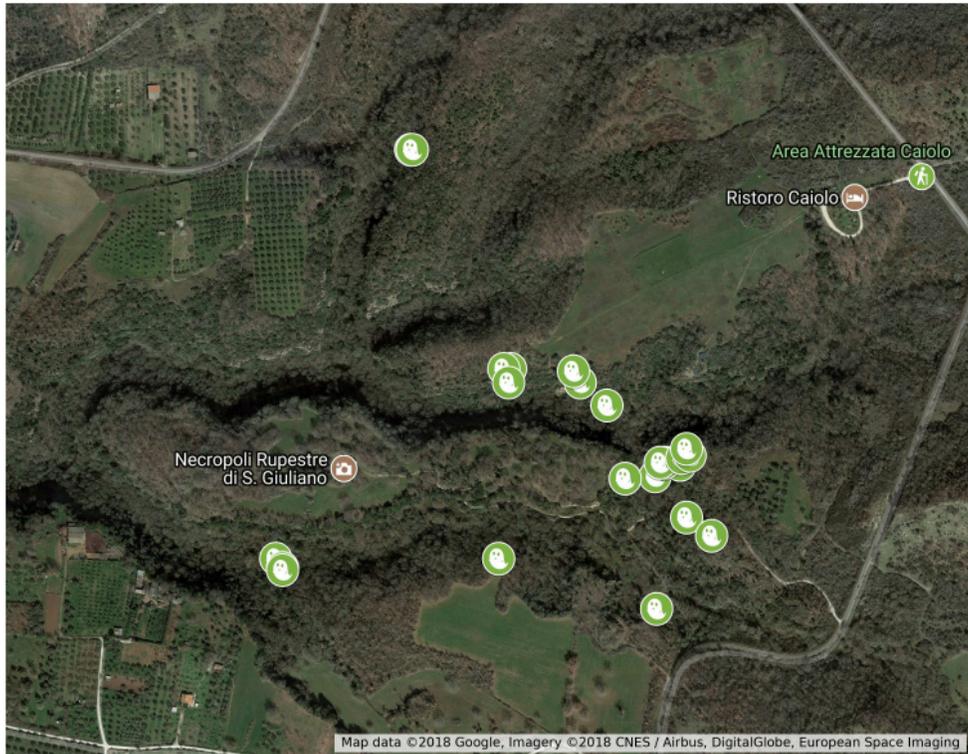


Figure 13 The green points above show the 23 tombs that were recorded in the second typology during the 2016 field season

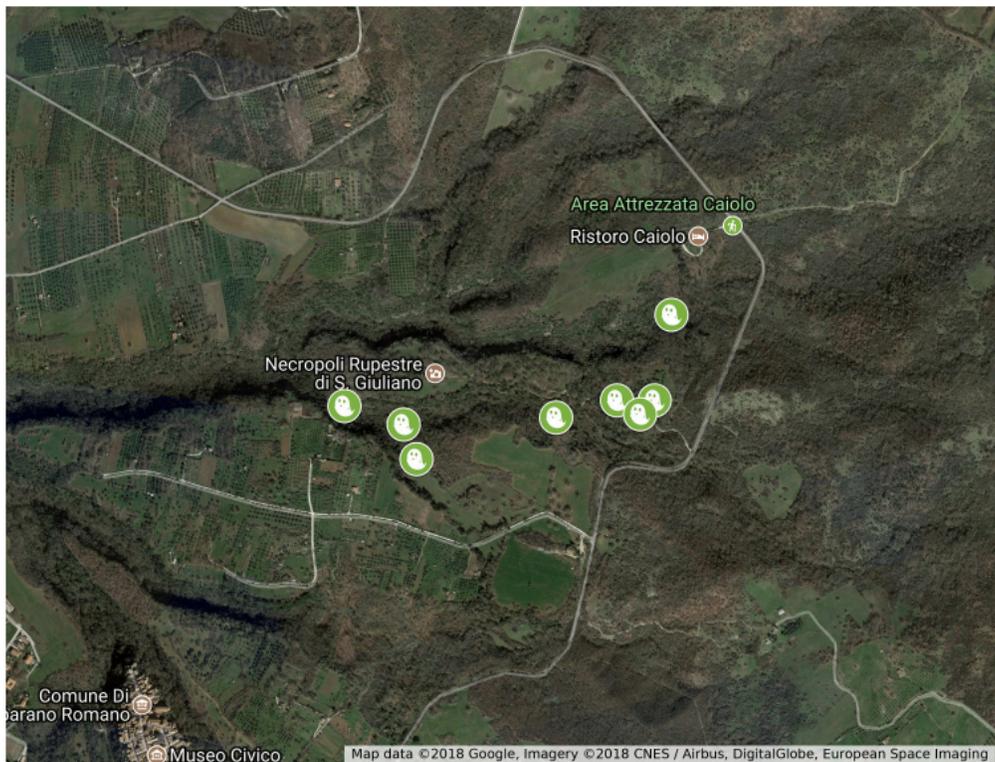
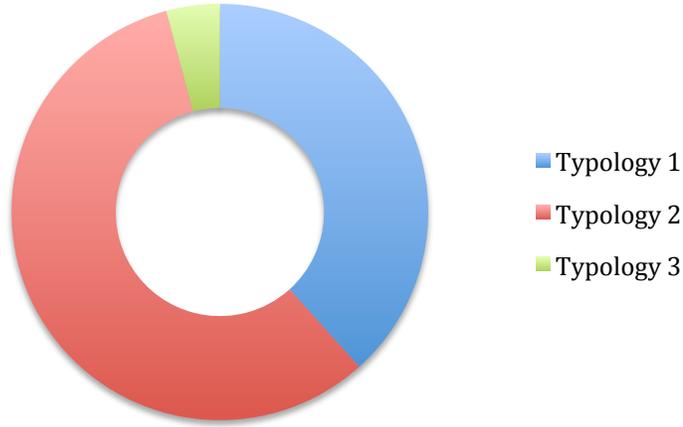


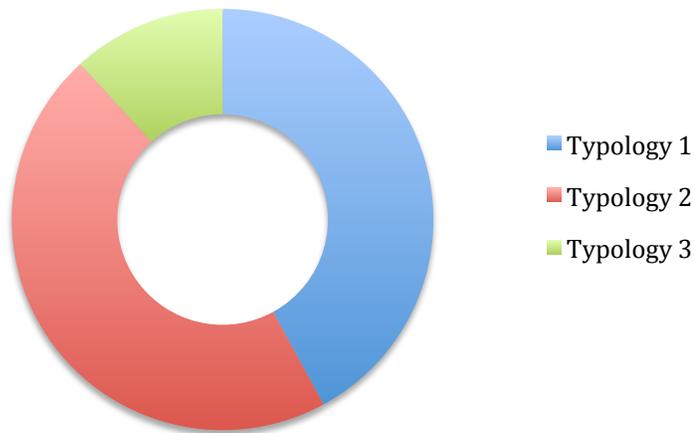
Figure 14 The green points above show the 8 tombs that were recorded in the second typology during the 2017 field season



**Tomb Typologies 2017**

Typology 1	74
Typology 2	111
Typology 3	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>193</b>

Figure 15 The table and graph above show the spread of typologies documented. For the 2017 season, 193 out of 291 tombs had conclusive data in regard to the tomb typology.



**Tomb Typologies 2016**

Typology 1	82
Typology 2	90
Typology 3	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>195</b>

Figure 16 The table and graph above show the spread of typologies documented. For the 2016 season, 195 out of 481 tombs had conclusive data in regard to the tomb typology.

Based on the typology maps above, it can be seen that the typology clusters overlap with one another and do not appear to be distinguished as separate sections. The clusters are layered chronologically. This shows that the tombs were most likely constructed throughout the site simultaneously, with first preference being given to the tops of the hillsides. This closeness to the tumuli on the top of the hills shows that there could remain some attachment to the tumulus, at least in terms of the layout organization, even as the tomb networks begin to appear. While the maps do not show elevation measurements, it is logical to infer that as the later tombs are constructed the next available space, whether that be on the same level as the previous tombs or on a terrace below it, would be selected for construction. This process gives more emphasis to resource availability as opposed to builder preference, or at least it takes builder preference to be consistent throughout the layers in regard to the location on the hillside. This interpretation is important in the discussion of orientation below.

Moving to the overall layout of tomb concentration on the eastside as opposed to the west, it seems that there must be some justification for this choice. While it is plausible that there is a geological justification for it, it is hard to definitively show the geological pattern or shift from this pattern with the current data on the site. That being said, it could be that the tree coverage on the west side of the site was kept to a high level of density, so no tomb networks were carved. However, Barker and Rasmussen (2004; 201) have shown that the surrounding wood in the Etruscan forests was a valuable resource for housing and habitation purposes; so choosing to not cut many tombs in this

sections would mean choosing to not cut the trees. Alas, this would not provide an adequate explanation.

Another explanation could involve the currently low leveled streams that cut the necropolis thousands of years ago into its current shape. The streams today flow generally from east to west, as mentioned above, which, if the same is assumed for period of Etruscan habitation, could have a significant influence on the location of tomb placement. Of course, all or none (or a combination in between) of these factors could have played a role. However, what should be considered is the role the habitation zone played to the tomb layout.

As stated earlier, the tombs with the earliest typology are cut into the tops of the hillsides, providing the most easily viewed location. Perhaps the tombs are organized to be most easily perceived from the habitation. My colleagues on the SGARP, lead by Lauren Sides, constructed a viewshed map of the site utilizing the ArcMap 10.5.1 software to generate figures 17 and 18 below. These maps show the overall visibility patterns of the site from the plateau (the most likely place for an Etruscan habitation), which, although not statistically certain, show the pattern of visibility to the plateau would account for many of the locations of the tomb networks on the site. This data cannot be ignored, however, it does not provide a fully explanatory account of all of the tomb locations. Perhaps, taken in tandem with further data, the visibility patterns that could have existed can be further justified by investigating the tomb orientations.

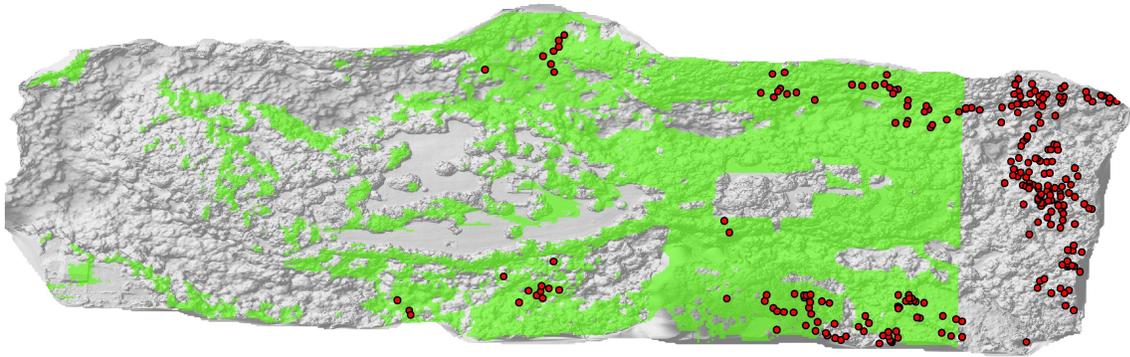


Figure 17 The figure above shows the overall visibility pattern; where the areas shaded green represent visible space, while the grey areas provide no visibility. Pulled from Sides and Owen (2017)

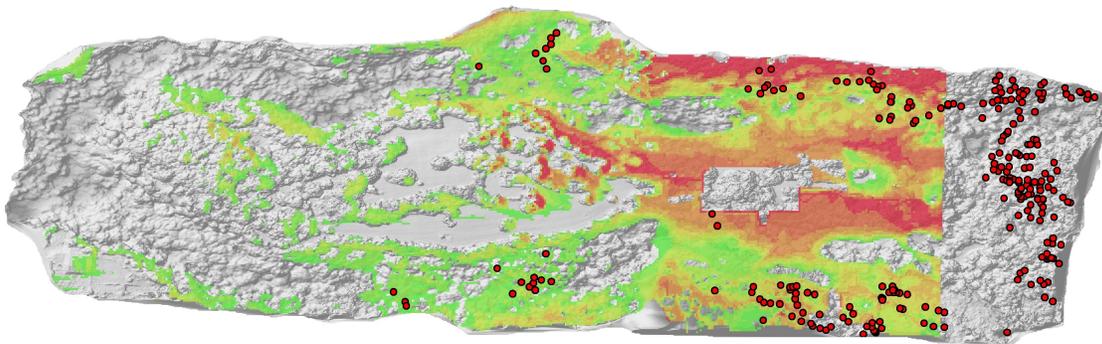


Figure 18 The figure above shows the level of visibility on a cumulative score. The darker red shades show a visibility score of up to 59 visible tombs, while the lightest shade of green shows between 1-4.

### *Tomb Orientation*

The direction a tomb faces provides many clues to the relationship it has to the surrounding environment, although at San Giuliano many of the tomb records indicate that there appears to be a general level of variation among tomb orientation, even among tombs coming within a couple of meters from each other. As discussed in chapter two, Prayon and others have considered the tomb orientation to play a significant role for

representing the religious beliefs or ritual practices of the local community. However, many of the later networks of tombs bear a stronger relational cohesion to one another, giving more preference to the overall orientation to a pathway or other road system. Furthermore, the typology maps show that there are certain cliff faces that do not particularly orient themselves well to the assumed habitation zone, while they may still be in relative view from the plateau. With this in mind, quality of rock material seems to be a strong candidate for determining tomb location and general orientation, in tandem with the nearness to a road system or pathway.

The evidence seen in Gallagher (2017) for an east-west road that cuts through the southern side of the San Giuliano plateau appears along a similar path of the tomb networks. If such a road did exist the orientational variation seen throughout the networks would be accounted for by the general network orientation to the road going through the site, along with the smaller paths leading up to the tombs. Additionally, this southern road would account for the general layout of the tombs being primarily concentrated on the eastern section of the site, as there does not appear to be evidence of a roadway in the areas containing fewer tombs. Furthermore, a roadway would also provide for the viewshed analysis, as any roadway cut would be most desirable if it was perceivable from the habitation, both for defense and trade purposes. Taken in tandem, the road is the vantage point for viewing the tomb networks as a whole. Walking through this path would allow for the overall network orientation to the central plateau to be visible, further emphasized by the domineering tumuli at the tops of the hillsides. This emphasis would have provided for a greater cultural presence at the site, making the communal identity

more unified and full-bodied. The necropolis would portray the presence of the ancestors within the site, while directing the attention of an observer to the central habitation, which in turn would have a perceptual emphasis on the surrounding hillsides following the road way. In this way, the varied tomb orientations are able to fit together cohesively with the habitation zone and the viewshed analysis in complementary ways, each one appearing in a way that corresponds to the other through the division of the road.

### *Ceramic Contribution*

So far the present analysis has taken an approach that allows for ceramic evidence to function more in a confirmation role than in a productive one. This is done because the current level of ceramic information has not covered the site in as broad a form as that of the tomb survey. However, it is acknowledged that the ceramic data can provide a more stable source for constructing date formations of the site, both in relation to tomb development and in trade with outside parties. That being said, further use of ceramic evidence should be utilized to mold and shift the typologies outlined above to bring to view patterns that are not only more detailed, but also grounded in more particularly dated phases. The remainder of this section will examine the most prominent data from the site as it relates to the tomb clusters outline.

### *Tomb G13-001 and the Surrounding Nucleus*

The tomb G13-001 from the SGARP 2017 season is classified to the first tomb typology outlined above with a relatively empty face and a hallway with a couple of meters between the interior and exterior (see figure 19 below). This typology would put the tomb between the start and the mid sixth century BC. The tomb contained finds that are mostly consistent with a mid-sixth century BC date. As mentioned earlier, many bucchero pieces were found within the tomb, and a complete impasto bowl was discovered just outside the entrance. The bucchero assemblages were determined by Ikeshoji-Orlati to belong to open form dining vessels, while the black-figure sherds all fit more accurately with closed form vessels (2017: 153). Further, she states that the ceramic evidence “suggests that the tomb was in use for multiple generations spanning c. 575-525 BC” (ibid).

This claim supports the date of the first typology as coming before the middle of the sixth century BC. The ceramic dating shows that tomb was likely in use for multiple generations, which also provides insight to the relative overlap in use of tombs between typologies.



Figure 19 The image above shows tomb G13-001 from the 2017 field season of the SGARP. Photo taken by Dr. Candace Weddle-Livingston

### *Tomb E13-035 and the Surrounding Nucleus*

The tomb E13-035 also finds itself firmly within the first typology outlined above (see figure 20 below). Although this one differs in design from G13-001, they both follow a relatively early pattern in the development of the transition zone. This tomb, however, would appear to be of an earlier date than G13-001, signified by the extended *dromos* and completely absent face above and around the entrance. However, both tombs fall into the first typology as the absence of a façade carving shows that the mediative distance had not yet reached development onto the face of the volcanic tuff at the point of construction of this tomb.

E13-035 also contained many bucchero sherds and a very significant bucchero jug, with a high arched handle. Ikeshoji-Orlati dated this piece to the end of the seventh - beginning of the sixth century BC (2017: 153), which matches the expected range of the first typology.



Figure 20 The image above shows tomb E13-035 at the end of the 2017 field season. Photo found in D. Zori (2017).

While the ceramic evidence found within the tombs is limited in terms of area coverage, the specific tombs above show that the typologies are best informed when paired with the information provided by the pottery assemblages. Further excavations of specific points throughout the sight would help to create a more focused image of the chronology of the tomb development, as well as provide information in regard to tomb interiors, which are not address in this study. The ceramics specifically provide the most stable resource for confirming and altering the chronology of the tomb typologies.

## *Conclusion*

With all of the data collected so far, it can be seen that the Etruscan approach to the afterlife was firmly grounded in the structural use of the surrounding environment. The material culture shows this by the encompassing presence of the dead around the central habitation zone, the tombs of which found in the surrounding hillsides evidence a consistent flow of trade and travel through ceramic pieces, to say the least. The dead are not simply located in terms of relation to the living, but are positioned to be displayed for the outside world to see upon entrance into the communal site. The chronology of these tombs comes in at least three notable types: an empty face, a post-lintel façade covering the tomb entrance, and a raised “false-door” façade. Each of these types experiences a sequential reduction in the mediative distance between the exterior (realm of the living) and the interior (realm of the dead). The tombs within the third typology often exhibit a negative transition zone, where the approach to the tomb is supported by a lowered ramp toward the often-unseen entrance. The most valuable piece of evidence to support and further define the tomb typologies in the future are the ceramic assemblages within the tombs. These pieces provide a stable assessment of the dates concerning the tombs use and initial construction.

Further information, in addition to the continued collection and analysis of ceramics, is beneficial to the understanding the tomb development as a whole throughout the site. The tomb interiors should also be carefully assessed for sign of patterns or developmental variations throughout the contrastive typologies. The site should also be considered for cautious maintenance in areas where much overgrowth has rendered

survey data severely limited. The site's overall integrity must be priority over potential data leads, however, the areas where negligence has become the norm can benefit the most from small upkeep. With this in mind, further survey of the northern sections of the site, specifically those areas that come between Greppo Cenale and Poggio Castello are of great interest as they show a high amount of plant coverage, and a considerable area for additional tomb placement. In tandem with tomb survey, the specific details of the road system through the site would highly benefit the overall understanding of the layout of the necropolis, and give insight into the location of the habitation zone(s). When these areas are properly located a greater analysis of burial practices and Etruscan death ritual can be evaluated at the site.

## V. CHAPTER FIVE

### *CONCLUSION*

One major aspect of this study included reporting on the data gathered during the 2016 and 2017 seasons of the tomb survey of the SGARP. To that end, the methodology of student lead collection has proven to provide a relatively strong starting point for developing a broad view of the necropolis. While the two seasons did not produce exact replications of data when sectors were re-surveyed, the approach can now be further tailored toward developing a more structure typology based on specific excavations within targeted tombs and tomb clusters. Additionally, surveys of areas with less conclusive data, particularly to the northern sides of the site should be more directly targeted for fresh survey, as a way of accounting for the full expanse of the site. Utilizing the orientational weight of the roadway through the site, more detailed tracking of these paths would help to create a informed survey moving forward.

Overall, the data show that there is a relative trend toward manifestations of ritual factors within the material culture by way of the development of more complex façade designs, as well as more developed applications of the mediative distance between the living and the dead. That is to say, the grandiose nature of the tumulus as a locus for funerary ritual, while reduced in physical size, does not disappear but changes in form to be represented in the material culture in a way that fits the changing social structure at the site itself. This is seen specifically through the development of the rock cut tombs and the overall cohesive network that surrounds the San Giuliano plateau.

### *Framing the Future Discussion*

With the survey data in mind, determining how the SGARP fits into the broader study of the San Giuliano necropolis and the study of Etruscan burial ritual is highly important for the future goals of the project. Truly, what makes San Giuliano a wonderful site is the fact that it contains abundant resources with relatively little information. The notable study by Gargana in 1931 was utilized multiple times in this study as a foundational basis for understanding the necropolis as a whole. This study is perhaps the most informative of at the site in regard to the rock cut tombs. However, the data collected must continually be tested against the most recent material to be collected, and the changing landscape of the site has created difficulty in verifying all that is suggested in the study, particularly concerning using it to understand and interpret the funeral ritual.

Another notable resource for understanding San Giuliano are the publications by Stephan Steingraber, mentioned in the chapters above and others in regard to the Etruscan tomb practices in general. In direct comment to San Giuliano, Steingraber claims that its two most defining features are the Cima tumulus and the funerary ritual evidence it holds for the site, and the Archaic, two-story so called portico tombs that are not seen anywhere else in Etruscan sites (Steingraber 1996; 94, 89). For each of these factors, while notably significant to San Giuliano as it relates to other sites in Etruria, the weight that they carry for understanding the overall trends in tomb development are seemingly as equal to the other, more nuanced tombs found throughout the necropolis. While Steingraber's focus on these two factors is

understandable, and justified within a specific conversation, to fully understand the funerary ritual at the specific site of San Giuliano, we must continue to focus effort on how the site can define itself in its own terms, not simply how it is seemingly alike or different to surrounding sites.

Furthermore, as San Giuliano becomes more defined through this type of study, the details that it provides to the overall conversation in regard to Etruscan death ritual and the development (including origin) of rock cut tombs becomes increasingly valuable. The details of how the transitions and variations in rock cut tombs are difficult to pin down at specific sites, let alone how they transferred around Etruria. An interior site like San Giuliano can give a further detailed account of how the cultural patterns and social structures at large in Etruria were able to travel and be molded and transferred by a specific community.

#### *Its Own Community*

Defining San Giuliano by its own material culture involves creating an adaptable structure dependent on informative data. It has been mentioned before, though the ceramic value can hardly be overstated, that pottery provides the most helpful evidence in tracking developments and changes through time, both in the necropolis and in other areas of the site. It is this tracking that enables one to differentiate between ritual patterns as shown in the material culture, in one instance: the tomb façades and design patterns. Ultimately, interpreting funerary ritual at the site in San Giuliano would prove to be one of the most fruitful products of any study of the site, as it provides for the further understanding of Etruscan funerary ritual at

large. In the specific instance examined in this study, identifying other places that provide insight and use in the funerary ritual to use in tandem with the tomb exteriors would be most informative. The interiors of the tombs (including layout and specific design pieces like carving and inscription) can create a more complex view of the funerary practice, helping to formulate an interpretation with multiple answers for understanding death ritual. Returning to the words of Morris in his 1992 book, “in the analysis of ritual action, to find *one* answer is usually to find a bad answer” (Morris 1992; 21, emphasis added). Moving forward in the archaeological study of San Giuliano requires similar action to that of a simple walk through its trails, deep breathes an open eyes. Looking to take in as many details as possible will be the ultimate key that unlocks the most informative framework for understanding the Etruscans in San Giuliano.

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