

ABSTRACT

A Study of the Burial Practices and the Treatment of Women in Etruscan Civilization

Arianna Cheney

Director: Lori Baker, Ph.D.

This paper seeks to analyze Etruscan burial and religious practices and determine how the treatment of women is reflected in these customs. Background information involving ceremonial rituals, cremation, ceramic, tomb construction, and human remains will be discussed to provide a wider context for understanding the Etruscan burial practices. This information will then be used to analyze data collected by the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project (SGARP) to determine the treatment of women, specifically at San Giuliano. This thesis draws on data from SGARP's 2016 and 2017 seasons, while emphasis will be placed on the 2016 tomb survey data and one of the two excavated tombs at the site.

APPROVED BY DIRECTOR OF HONORS THESIS:

Dr. Lori Baker, Department of Anthropology

APPROVED BY THE HONORS PROGRAM:

Dr. Elizabeth Corey, Director

DATE: _____

A STUDY OF THE BURIAL PRACTICES AND THE TREATMENT OF
WOMEN IN ETRUSCAN CIVILIZATION

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Arianna Cheney

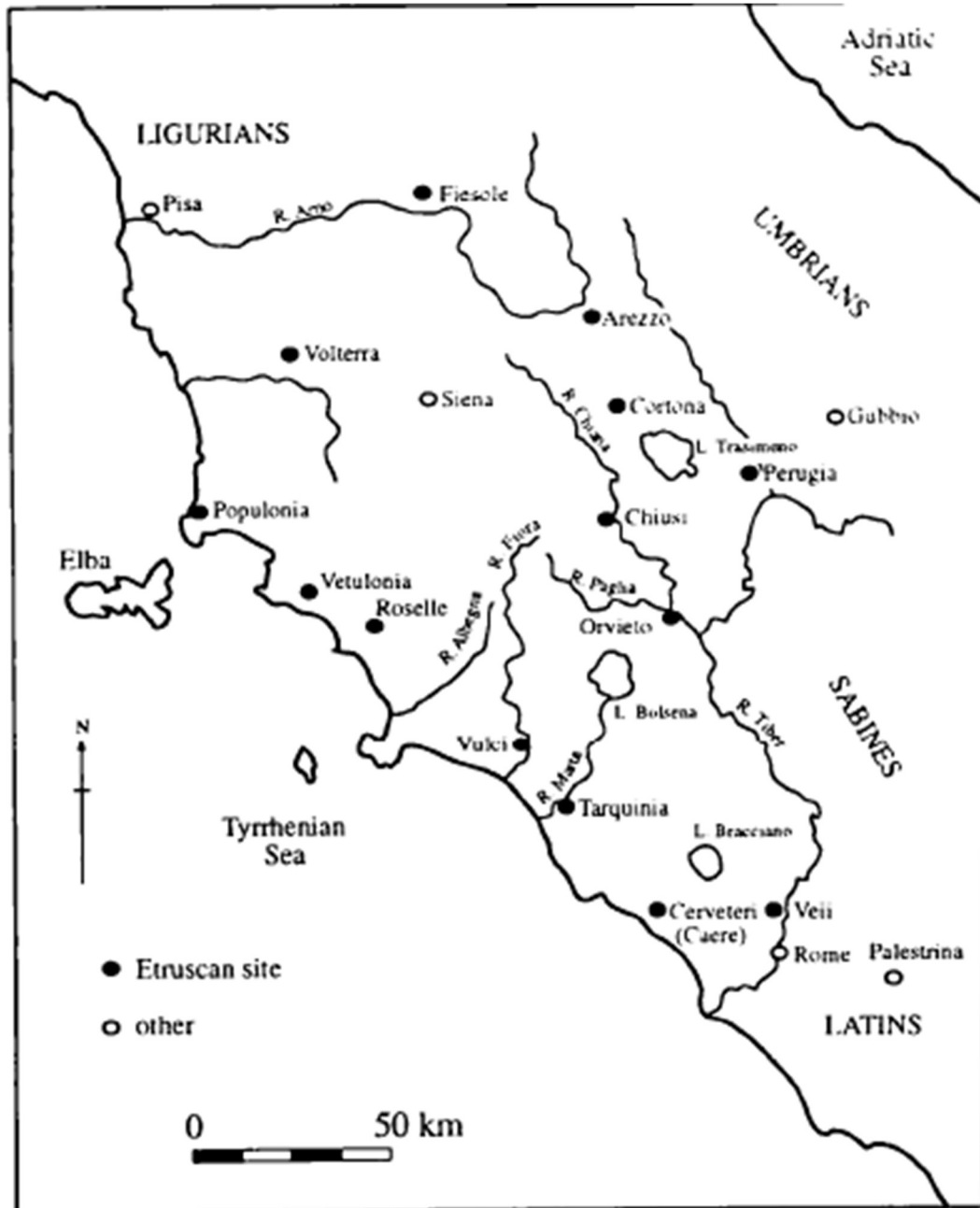
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Background

The San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project (SGARP) began in summer 2016 in collaboration with Baylor University's Baylor in Italy summer study abroad program. This is part of a larger joint project with faculty from Vanderbilt University and Anderson University, as well as the Virgil Academy in Italy. This project is focused at San Giuliano, “a site located approximately 70 km northwest of Rome within Marturanum Park in Lazio” (Zori 2017). As a whole, this Project seeks to reconstruct “the long-term changes in human occupation from prehistory until the end of the medieval occupation” (Zori 2017).

The current state of research on the Etruscans leaves many questions unanswered. Scholars even debate where this civilization originated from. This society is a mystery, seeming to have just appeared and “to absorb what other peoples had taken thousands of years to acquire” (Cles-Reden, 1955, p. 22). The Etruscans were an advanced civilization, especially on par with the Greeks of Romans. It is puzzling that despite this, they seem to have disappeared as quickly as they appeared in San Giuliano. Ultimately, this Project was designed attempting to answer the question: What forces were behind the short-lived inhabitation of San Giuliano by the Etruscans?

Research Problem

One of the prominent issues with analyzing Etruscan society is a general lack of understanding of their language because "their non-Indo-European, did, in fact, distinguish them from the Hellenic world of the Mediterranean, as well as isolate them from the Romans" (Warren, 1973, p. 242). One of the more agreed upon notions of Etruscan history is how women were treated. Typically, women enjoyed "an unusual degree of independence and freedom" compared to the Romans and other civilizations in the Mediterranean (Warren, 1973, p. 243). However, research discussing women focuses largely on the wealthy, while failing to look at excluded groups. Following this pattern, the publications regarding pregnant women and their burial practices is substantially limited.

Since this Project is relatively new, it is important to "preserve opportunities for future fieldworkers to follow them in the field" (American Anthropological Association). The residents of Barbarano Romano, a town located in the Marturanum Park, are allowing participants in SGARP to excavate Etruscan bones, material items, and burial sites. In return, they are expecting an analysis of a segment of their region's history. Being aware that archaeology is a destructive field, it is critical this is done correctly.

It is also important to note that significant gaps in the archaeological record exist, primarily due to looting. Looters have already taken artifacts and disturbed the original contexts of many of the tombs at San Giuliano. Much information is lost, but a vast data set remains including human bone, pottery (broken and whole pieces), and a selection of smaller finds that looters left behind within the tombs. Although it has been noted that Italians generally "have a low opinion of archaeologists and are reluctant to inform them

of their discoveries” (Velzen, 1996, p. 112), we found a great deal of local support for our work and residents of nearby villages have offered valuable information for SGARP’s investigations.

Lastly, although inferences will be made concerning Etruscan lifestyles based on prior research and archaeological discoveries made through SGARP, this analysis will take years to be fully explored. Experts, in their respective fields, can make preliminary assumptions because of their familiarity with the topic; nonetheless, further testing needs to be conducted in order to definitively prove these assumptions.

Research Questions

This paper will look at the policies and practices surrounding Etruscan burial and religious practices and determine how this relates to the treatment of women in burials. Specifically, the ceremonial rituals including feasting, cremation, ceramic, tomb construction, and human remains will be discussed. It focuses on the topic of burials of pregnant women as a traditionally excluded group. The goal is to shed light on the role women played in Etruscan society through analysis of the findings at the San Giuliano site.

The narrative of Etruscan women has been largely shaped by Greek and Roman influences. According to Marjatta Nielsen (1999, p. 66), the Greeks believed “[Etruscan] women moved in public, seemingly without any restrictions.” A negative bias is seen throughout Greek literature. Romans generally tended to have a better understanding of how Etruscan practices worked, but nonetheless were still critical of them. Hopefully,

through this study, looking at the treatment of women could provide insight as to how this society was able to conquer so much territory in such a short amount of time.

It is possible due to the Etruscans' fairer treatment of women, as exemplified by the place of women in the society, there was more unity and cohesion than can be seen with the Greeks or Romans, allowing for more successful outcomes. Romans, in contrast, "had a high sense of the patriarchal family and the authority of *pater familias*," while the custom of "Etruscan women joining their men in watching athletic events" was foreign to the Greeks (Warren, 1973, p. 243, 245). This could also amplify the argument that the Etruscans were not native to this area, since their core values could have been significantly different than their counterparts. If this is the case, it is possible their beliefs were so unique that they eventually clashed with surrounding areas, leading to their ultimate demise at San Giuliano.

Research Design & Methods

This paper will use a comparative analysis method of Etruscan cities, in close proximity to the San Giuliano Necropolis in order to form a basis for what life would have looked like for this group of people. Although the Etruscans were one civilization, there was some variation between different "city-states," for instance in the northern and southern regions. This deviation is prominent enough to distinguish the north from the south, but not enough to categorize them as entirely different civilizations altogether. For the purposes of this paper, "society" and "civilization" will be used interchangeably, while "community" will be reserved for specific cities or towns and their hinterlands.

To accomplish this analysis, SGARP's archaeological findings will be used in order to determine the connection, or lack thereof, to surrounding areas. It is important to note that many sources on this topic are coming to conclusions through interpretations of written literature, painted frescos and other art forms. This investigation will not specifically look at art interpretation, but rather form conclusions based on the archaeological evidence provided through SGARP.

There is much to be said about the Etruscans with so many elements unknown to the modern world. Throughout this analysis, a better understanding will come of this civilization based on the recently discovered finds provided from SGARP. This thesis intends to show how excluded groups of society, specifically pregnant women, were treated and what part this played in burial practices. Then, these ideas will be used in comparison to materials and preliminary analysis that has occurred during the past two seasons of SGARP.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The Etruscans have fascinated anthropologists and historians for quite some time. As with most societies, it is difficult to definitively say what exactly occurred thousands of years ago, but usually some generalizations can be made based on archaeological findings. The Etruscans are a bit different, as we lack an overall understanding of where they came from, why they seemingly disappeared, and what reasons were behind their short presence. Topics that are generally looked at are architectural elements, aristocratic lifestyles and culture, pottery and art, and religious practices. One overlooked area is the treatment of women in terms of burials, tomb creation, and cremation.

Wealth Discrepancies

In the subject material that does discuss women, the emphasis is largely on aristocratic women. This is a common theme with historians, in general, because it is always easier to make inferences about the people who are buried with the most artifacts. Robert Leighton provides many examples of tombs that had extravagant items discovered in them. Despite this, they have “been surpassed nevertheless by those in the grandest chambers of the ‘princely tombs’” (Leighton, 2004, p. 64). Even among the wealthy, there seems to have been some discrepancies.

In terms of tomb construction, it was an expensive task to undertake, especially to add frescos, pottery, jewelry, and inscriptions, along with any other materials that may

not have survived to the present. With that being said, a vast majority of the data collected regarding women has been skewed towards aristocratic women. Nonetheless, tombs exclusively for women are rare throughout Etruria. The tombs where women are found tend to be because of marriage or other familial ties.

On the contrary, Gilda Bartoloni (2011, p. 60) argues the only difference between aristocratic women's tombs and other classes' tombs are "in number, quality, and value of their grave goods, not in the kind of objects which represented the deceased's sex and function." Although Bartoloni's statement in regards to number and quality are technically true, there can still be ways to make inferences about the deceased's sex and function. Further, she states spindle whorls and other implements traditionally associated with females in Etruscan society "should be regarded as symbolic gifts by their life partner" (Bartoloni, 2011, p. 60). This was referencing a warrior's tomb, but other possibilities exist that could explain why these items were found. For instance, it could also be because of the importance of familial ties, matrimonial alliances, or a further implication of wealth discrepancies, all of which will be further discussed throughout this chapter.

Women's Tombs and Excluded Groups

In Marjatta Nielsen's (1999, p. 78) essay, she describes the Tomb of the Amazon sarcophagus as the "only 'women's tomb' from Tarquinia" and how she "would have left the tomb out of consideration, had it not been for the economic effort." Although, the explanation of the potential kinship ties she provides is mainly circumstantial, it is difficult to refute the notion of the status of the women buried in this tomb. It is fair to

assume, at one time, many grave goods were present but have since been looted, destroyed, or otherwise were not preserved.

In the analysis, it is mentioned that the sarcophagi consisted of imported marble. Large amounts of research suggest the Etruscans had an extensive trading network to include the Greeks. “Very large numbers of Athenian pots have been recovered more or less intact from Etruscan tombs,” Robin Osborne (2001, p. 280) asserts. Other areas of Nielsen’s study look at women within a family unit, but again the data is skewed towards the wealthy. This study does have a section for “excluded women” but only has categorizations for wives and daughters. It is interesting that she listed it as a tomb for “excluded women” when it seems that wives and daughters would be part of an in-group. It is possible they were excluded because no presence of a man was found in the tomb, but it is unknown whether she categorized them as excluded or if there was evidence that society excluded them.

Gender-Inclusive Society

It is typically agreed upon that Etruscan women enjoyed much more freedom than their Greek and Roman counterparts. Larissa Bonfante Warren (1973, p. 243) notes “myths about powerful, ambitious Etruscan women.” She further expresses that even though a lot of these stories found in Greek and Roman literature were exaggerated, there remains some truth to them. Interpretations from art can be used to support their claims, however the extent of their truth can be and is disputed. Warren (1973) states Theopompos’ account of Etruscans is erroneous, or at least not fully supported by sufficient evidence archaeologically. Despite this, much of what Theopompos, as well as

others, describes is true. The accounts are just distorted, stemming from a general misunderstanding of the Etruscan culture (Warren 1973).

Mark Cartwright (2017) argues that “Etruscan women were literate and enjoyed greater legal rights.” Graeme Barker and Tom Rasmussen (1998) make a similar argument when discussing gifts given to women containing inscriptions. If the woman were illiterate, “there would be little point in adding the donor inscription” (Barker & Rasmussen, 1998, p. 104). It could be argued that these women had social status but not political status, whereas the Greeks had neither, adding to previously formed skepticism. Warren (1973, p. 245) makes similar arguments in her paper stating women had some level of legal status, “one strong enough to allow the mother to transmit her rank to her child.” This goes against the general model of the patriarchal society framework.

Furthermore, in Bartoloni’s (2011, p. 63) work, she says “women were allowed their own property and their lineage was just as important as those of men” to argue how marriage and power went together. However, to emphasize her argument, she references Greek and Roman poems and myths and not necessarily Etruscan works. Taking into account many Etruscan works have been lost over time, the Greek and Roman poems offer insight into Mediterranean values. Bartoloni (2011, p. 63) summarizes that in Homeric epics, “winning the hand of a beautiful woman of high birth was such an attractive prospect.” For example, Odysseus marrying Penelope implied succession to Ithaca. Interestingly enough, “a wife was more likely to be given her own burial container if she died before her husband,” which could potentially complicate the analysis of “women’s only” tombs mentioned by Nielsen (Barker & Rasmussen, 1998, p. 111).

Marriage was used as a sort of business transaction to secure aristocratic familial ties, as was common in most pre-modern civilizations. In just about all of these different examples of men marrying into a woman's family for power, it is common women had access to power, but not necessarily that they owned their own property. Again, Etruscan women break the mold of the Mediterranean norms about a woman's role in society. An example of Lucius Tarquinius, also mentioned by Warren, expresses how "marriage between incomers and women of the land" often occurred where men would be placed in high positions in society due to marriage (Bartoloni, 2011, p. 64). Women obviously were thought of highly in Etruscan culture. This concept is further expressed in discussion of a female's family name being included in inscriptions, leading to the next theme in the literature.

Etruscan Naming System

Although women had some social status, the Etruscans were still very much a patriarchal society. This is exemplified in their double-name system. Sybille Haynes looks at the complexity of the name system. She states the double-name system indicates a change from "a tribal society ... to a more differentiated society with a class system" (Haynes, 2000, p. 70). In other words, the society became increasingly complicated and advanced as a result. Sibylle von Cles-Reden (1955) attributes this cultural advancement to "expanding commerce and growing wealth" (p. 23). As seen with the Greeks and Romans, a woman typically had her father's *gentilicium*, or family name, until she was married and changed it to match her husband. This remains standard in most modern civilizations today as well. The "gamonymic, the husband's gentilicium, was often added

to women's names," allowing the women to maintain some form of individuality (Nielsen, 1999, p. 67). Further, male funerary inscriptions "rarely [give] the mother's name of the dead person," whereas this would have been unheard of at all in surrounding areas (Haynes, 2000, p. 70). Males clearly were still dominant over females but the inclusion of women at all speaks to a more egalitarian belief system. This is not to be taken as the Etruscans having a completely egalitarian way of life in terms of treatment of men and women. However, they do give women more access and status than is traditionally depicted in the ancient world. Other modern examples include Spain where children take both of their parents' last names, yet the society is still patriarchal.

Even though the Etruscan language "distinguish[ed] them from the Hellenic world of the Mediterranean," scholars have been able to determine the meanings of portions of the language (Warren, 1973, p. 242). Certain words can "designate a social condition," not limited to just royalty (Haynes, 2000, p. 70). The Etruscans seemed to have used this as a way to distinguish high-ranking members of society like magistrates, from other free men or to note a person's job title. This seems to be primarily evident in Northern Etruria, which Haynes (2000) theorizes is "perhaps because of limited space for inscriptions" (p. 70). As indicated before, there are some minimal distinctions between North and South Etruria. In terms of inscriptions, this difference could have occurred because of limited space or because of a different priority emphasis. There also may not be enough surviving inscriptions to make this determination, at all.

Feasting and Matrimonial Alliances

To continue with the theme of the Etruscans having a more gender-inclusive outlook on life, drinking habits were analyzed at Tomba dei Denti di Lupo or the Tomb of the Dogtooth Frieze in Cerveteri. This tomb was identified as the tomb of a woman because two vessels called *karkanas* were found, and such vessels are known “typically to have been associated with women in Etruria” (Haynes, 2000, p. 96). Other tomb examples in Cerveteri and Tarquinia are cited to demonstrate a pattern throughout this society. Since inscriptions were found on the vessels indicating the vessels did belong to this aristocratic woman, it raises many questions about a woman’s role in society. Within the Mediterranean world, feasting was an important aspect of the culture. People celebrated everything from marriage to child birth to death, traditionally using wine or other foods. It makes sense why these *karkanas* would be found in a tomb; however, to be found in a woman’s tomb and to have been owned by said woman is unusual. Haynes (2000, p. 97) does note, however that “it is difficult to decide whether ... Etruscan ladies were already equal drinking partners of men.” It is even harder to determine whether this solely pertained to the aristocracy or everyone.

Another common motif within the Etruscan literature is the presence of matrimonial alliances. Nielsen (1999), in depth, describes this idea originally discussing how *hatrencu*, found on some tomb inscriptions, could possibly mean priestess, and a group of individuals have this title within different tombs. She, in addition, says all children “were presented to the goddess, not by their own mother, but by their maternal aunt” (Nielsen, 1999, p. 74). These two ideas exemplify the strong relationship ties families had matrimonially. In a nearby tomb, there is a possible connection where

Nielsen (1999, p. 75) theorizes a woman could have been the “same person who was commemorated ... or just a relative of hers.” In any event, it poses the question on why, if they were the same person mentioned or even a relative, they were not buried in the same tomb complex.

Tomb Construction and Transitions

The distinct characteristics between Etruscan communities continues with tomb construction. After the year 400 CE, “cremation prevailed, and cinerary urns replaced the sarcophagi of the older centuries” (Boëthius, 1970, p. 99). At San Giuliano, there appears to be evidence of a tomb containing notches that were was most likely used to place a sarcophagus, according to professors associated with SGARP after a discovery was made by students. It was not until around 700 “the rock-cut chamber tombs for inhumation came” (Boëthius, 1970, p. 95). Even with tomb construction, differences in application exist between Northern and Southern Etruria. Stephan Steingräber (1996, p. 78) articulates “the most numerous and interesting rock tombs were situated more in the South.” He also theorizes that the emphasis was in the South due to an economic collapse in the North, which deemed rock-cut tombs less important.

At some point, a transition was made from cremation to individual burials to collective burials. This “transition from the individual burial to collective funerary monuments ... probably express the wish of individual families to distinguish themselves from the rest of the community” (Haynes, 2000, p. 14). Demonstrated here is a growing sense of social stratification and further emphasizes the disparity between the aristocracy and regular class citizens. Alternatively, this could have been the beginning of familial relationships becoming so important.

Religious Practices, Sacrifices, and Rites

Many sources on Etruscan religion cite the primary religious text as the *etrusca disciplina*. “Etruria never held a prominent place in the classical tradition dominated by neighboring Greece and Rome” due to much of the loss of the *etrusca disciplina* (Rask, 2014, p. 269). Rask attributes the cause of this to the fact that “literary texts in general and the sacred texts in particular were written on perishable surfaces” (as cited in Jannot, 2005, p. 8). The concept of lightning held special importance to the Etruscans, according to Cles-Reden (1955). The Romans and Greeks could have had influence in this because in classical mythology, Zeus or Jupiter, is the king of gods and whose symbol is thunder. These concepts can be interrelated but still stand alone, which could have been intentional by the Etruscans. It also could have been reversed where the Etruscans influenced the Greeks and Romans. To fully examine this issue would require a study to be done on the origins of Greek and Roman mythology, which is outside the scope of this particular project.

The Etruscans were unique from surrounding areas in distinct ways as far as “those of language and religion” (Cles-Reden, 1955, p. 24). Despite this being one of the more analyzed aspects, there still seems to be missing parts. Jean-René Jannot (2005, p. 3) opens his book to say that Etruscan religious materials consist of “exclusively a series of rites and sacred techniques.” Even if this was a definitively accurate assessment of Etruscan religion, it would be unusual for the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Rites and sacred techniques are customary in many religions; however, they are not the central focus.

Some scholars have looked at rituals and what part women played. Haynes (2000, p. 44) contends dance rituals were “connected to fertility, death, and burial.” Women

have always played a significant role in society insofar as it was “fertility that secured the continuity of the family into future generations (Haynes, 2000, p. 79). Although a common theme throughout most cultures, even in the animal world, it still does not explain the differences of women’s rights from the Etruscans to any other patriarchal society.

Similar to other prominent societies, sacrifice played a critical role in religion in Etruria. These sacrifices typically only include animals and usually only ones that are in abundance. Based on preliminary data, various animal bone was found in San Giuliano, primarily on the plateau inhabitation named La Rocca, some calling into question its purpose. Immediately, the possibility of sacrificial use was posed, but it was unclear for what reason certain animals were chosen or what significance they had. In an article about Etruscan sacrificial rites, K.A. Rask (2014, p. 270) explains they “utilized a wide variety of creatures- including game and other wild animals,” even including evidence for manipulation of deer. The creatures found in SGARP do not match the particular animals mentioned, however not all of the faunal bone was able to be analyzed this past season.

Rask (2014, p. 272) argues in his publication that there was a “diverse toolkit for animal manipulation at Etruscan shrines than the somewhat narrowly defined sacrifice has allowed.” Clearly, this science is flawed to an extent and requires a lot of personal interpretation. One of the problems he categorizes with this area is “determining when animal remains constitute evidence for religious activity differ” (Rask, 2014, p. 273). Incorrect assumptions could easily be made at any point, however there are some standard indicators of sacrifice. These include the presence of cut marks unc customary to consumption or evidence of burning.

Jannot states sacrifices took place in an intentional order. He also adds there are “clear allusions to the necessity that the sacrificial victims ‘consent’” (Jannot, 2005, p. 38). For instance, they would not sacrifice an unhealthy animal. Again, this is a common theme, but more is known about these practices in other civilizations than with the Etruscans.

As can be seen with the literature of the Etruscans, this civilization was complex. Every civilization is complex in its own right, but generalizations can be made that are supported with concrete evidence. The same cannot always be said for the Etruscans. In the next chapter, a complete analysis will be done of SGARP materials and how this does or does not relate to the literature on this topic. Unfortunately, there are always outliers and unanswered questions when it comes to this kind of study.

Treatment of Women Cross-Culturally

Throughout this section, the treatment of women cross-culturally, specifically in how burials were conducted for them, will be discussed. This will provide some background into how women in varying societies were treated in terms of burial practices and hopefully shed more light on just how different or similar Etruscan practices were in comparison. Specifically, the Greeks and Romans will be primarily used to achieve this due to their close proximity and influence they may have had on Etruscans and vice versa.

In an article published by Maria A. Liston and John K. Papadopoulos, a tomb dedicated to a “Rich Athenian Lady” from the Early Iron Age was excavated. Although this burial is not in the same time period of San Giuliano, it still will provide an important

comparative context for how pregnant women were buried. This tomb was revisited after 35 years, where materials were retested and evidence was found of a fetus. In this tomb, a “cinerary urn ... containing the cremated remains of the so-called rich Athenian lady, together with those of a fetus or neonate” was found (Figure 2.1) (Liston & Papadopoulous, 2004). In the first excavation, the possibility of fetal remains was deemed unlikely, however the second excavation proved otherwise. Liston and Papadopoulous explain the high status of the lady was determined due to the large amount of status items including “granulated and filigreed gold jewelry, ivory stamp seals, faïence and glass beads” (as cited in Smithson, 1968). A fascinating question was posed regarding if this woman’s wealth was due to her actual status in the community or if a large amount of grave goods accompanied her to the afterlife because of her pregnancy. As the text goes on to analyze, this is a complex issue, that would require a different approach than is traditionally used to analyze age and gender in the ancient world.



Figure 2.1. The neck-handled amphora the “rich Athenian lady” was found in (Liston & Papadopoulos 2004).

In this article, it was concluded that the female died before or possibly during giving birth, however “there is no way to determine if this fetus had been delivered, since the remains were gathered and mixed in the amphora with the adult bone” (Liston & Papadopoulos 2004). Further, after an experiment involving piglets, it was found that human fetuses would have taken about 20 to 55 minutes to be destroyed completely, leading them to believe “the fetus may have been partially protected within the mother’s body during the cremation” (Liston & Papadopoulos 2004). These findings relate to the tomb that will be discussed in the following chapter in terms of the death of a pregnant woman, as opposed to a woman who had just given birth.

This article also explains some of the cultural traditions regarding child deaths and pregnant women dying before or during childbirth, citing Richard Garland's analysis of the "special dead." In short, infants, not only with Greek traditions, constituted a special category as far as burials. Since there is evidence to support this, it would make sense pregnant women would have been buried in a different location other than with the family. Although "the death of pregnant women is rarely documented archaeologically," there are a few examples around the world, particularly in Europe, as well as North America and Africa (Liston & Papadopoulous 2004).

The next example discussed is of a pregnant woman burial at a Phoenician-Punic site in Carbonia, Sardinia, Italy. This example is closer in time period to the tomb at San Giuliano than the previous case, dating to around the late 6th to early 5th century BCE. This occurrence was also unique because "it represents the first documented case of a buried pregnant woman in the Phoenician and Punic contexts," along with it being the oldest "documented case of a buried pregnant woman with a fetus inside the abdominal cavity" (Piga et al. 2016).

At this burial, it was determined the woman was about 38 to 40 gestational weeks pregnant, indicating labor could have started. In fact, the cause of her death was said to be related to complications of labor. As the various authors of this journal article point out, there are different explanations when discussing the presence of fetal bones at a site. They state instances where a woman and child are buried together, the cause of death could be unrelated to childbirth and pointing towards more violent causes of death. However, "if birth took place, and both mother and baby died, they may have been buried independently," Piga et al. notes (as cited in Malgosa et al. 2004).

Although this article focuses more on the discussing the state of the fetal remains than cultural or spatial relationship between this burial to others, it nonetheless provides valuable insight to the research behind this topic and the diverse nature of pregnant women burials. At the Monte Sirai necropolis, the primary funeral rites practice was incineration, something that is not entirely evident at the tombs excavated at San Giuliano (Piga et al. 2016).

CHAPTER THREE

Analysis

In the analysis, the information gathered in SGARP will be compared to the literature review to see how the data does or does not compare. As mentioned previously, there are gaps in the data for numerous reasons including looting, difficulty finding undisturbed contexts, and fragmentary artifacts. It is also important to note that the tomb data used in this chapter is from the 2016 season. I exclude the tomb survey data from 2017 because there could be possible repeated tombs.

Façades

As alluded to in the previous chapter, tomb façades demonstrated just how much time and money was expended for the care of the Etruscan dead. Interestingly enough, the exterior of tombs was just as important as the interior with an increasing emphasis on the façade over time. Façades played a substantial role throughout tomb survey in SGARP. It was one of the preliminary questions on the tomb survey forms students filled out. There were five different types to choose from and if the tomb did not match any of the descriptions, students were asked to draw what it looked like (Figure 3.1). The presence of façades indicates the importance the dead had on the living by taking extra time to make a design on the exterior of the tomb. This could have also strengthened familial ties, a concept still imperative today in Italy.






San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project 2017
TOMB REGISTRATION FORM

Tomb number (sector letter and number - tomb #):	CPS point number/name:	Date: <u> </u> / <u> </u> / <u> </u>
	Coordinates: Northing: Easting:	Recorder's initials:
Photo #'s:		

Characteristics of the Tomb

Characteristics of the Tomb				
Tomb door: (circle)	No formal door	Doors	Lintel	Carved lintel
Threshold	Carved threshold	Jamb(s)		
Tomb architecture/elaboration:				
_____ External → (circle)		No external architecture Facade Pillars		
Ruin/mough		Niche(s) Flattened surface above/around tomb door		
Other decoration: _____				
_____ Internal → (circle)		Couches Seats Pillars Fake doors		
Fake windows		Stairs Roof-beams Cut-stone blocks Niche		
Altar Paintings		Low-relief carvings		
Other internal decoration: _____				
Number of rooms: _____ single				
_____ multiple → # of rooms _____				
_____ unknown/unclear				
Degree of fill/accessibility: _____ door obstructed _____ benches visible				
_____ floor visible (cleared)				
Direction that the tomb faces: _____				
Other tombs in association: _____				
Observations regarding architecture/decoration:				

Reference for tomb opening and tomb architecture:

7 th cent BC		1	Late 5 th , early 4 th		4
6 th cent BC		2	Late 7 th , early 7 th		5
Early 5 th cent BC		3			

Circle if applicable. If not, sketch opening below, or note that it is unclear or unknown.

Finds

	Outside tomb	Inside tomb	Diagnostic artifacts + observations
Ceramics			
Bone: human			
Bone: animal			
Metal object			
Other			

Figure 3.1. Tomb registration form used by students when conducting tomb survey (Zori 2017). In the “Characteristics of the Tomb” section, the top right is where students would select which façade best fit the new tomb. If none were applicable, there is a section beneath to illustrate the facade.

Of the 482 documented tombs in the 2016 season, 197 had identifiable façades and 14 tombs that had one or more possible façade options, but were unable to be definitively labeled (Figure 3.2). Façade types one, two, and four were most common accounting for 17.0%¹, 17.0%, and 2.9%, respectively, in comparison to all tombs surveyed. Looking at just tombs with identifiable façades, types one, two, and four, represented 41.6% (82), 41.6% (82), and 7.1% (14), respectively (Figure 3.3-5). Tombs in a ‘F’ sector (F13 and F14 specifically) were more numerous for façade types one, two, and four than any other region, accounting for 45.2% (89) (Figure 3.6).

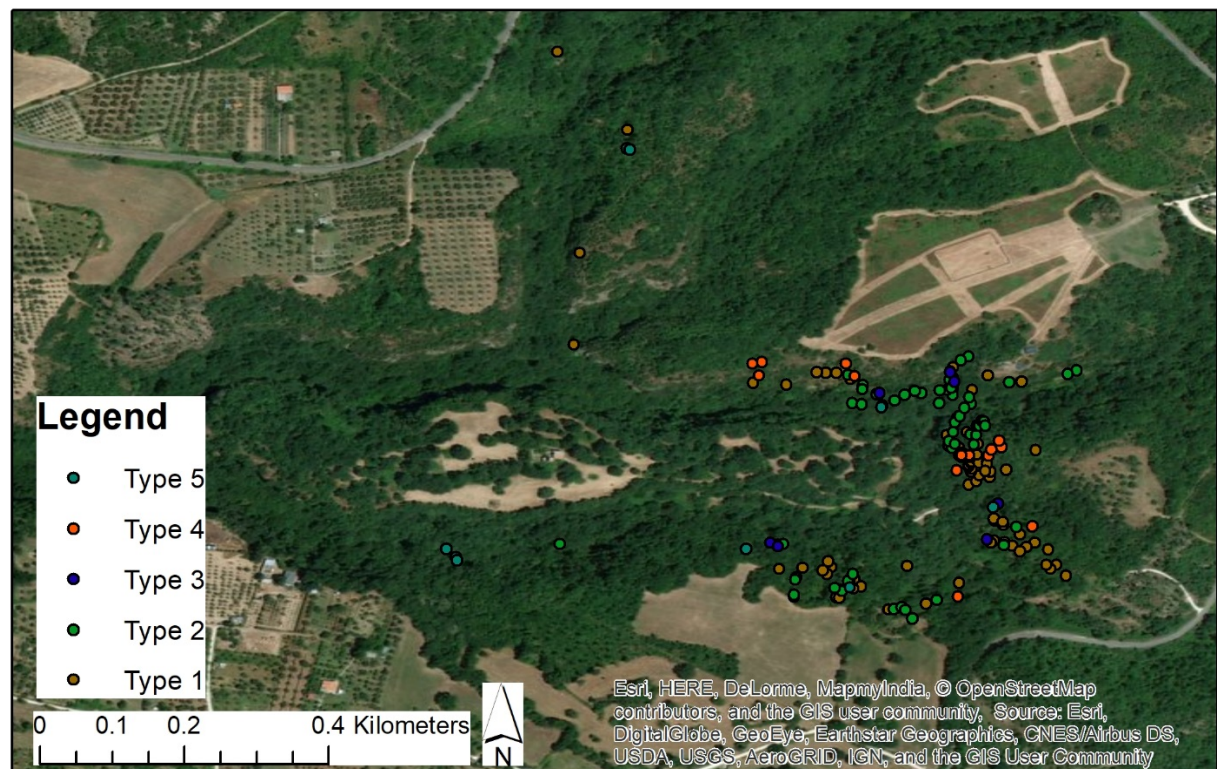


Figure 3.2. Map depicting where all tombs with façades are located, according to type (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

¹ For consistency purposes, all percentages used are rounded to the nearest tenth.

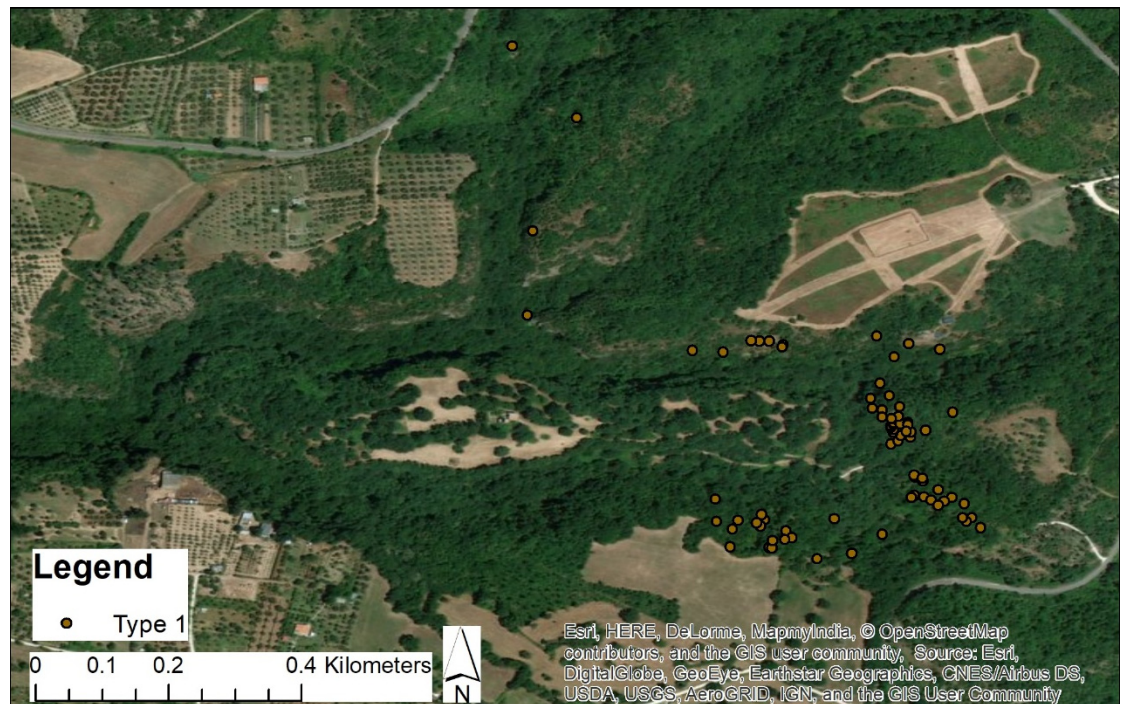


Figure 3.3. Map showing just façade type 1 tombs found at San Giuliano (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

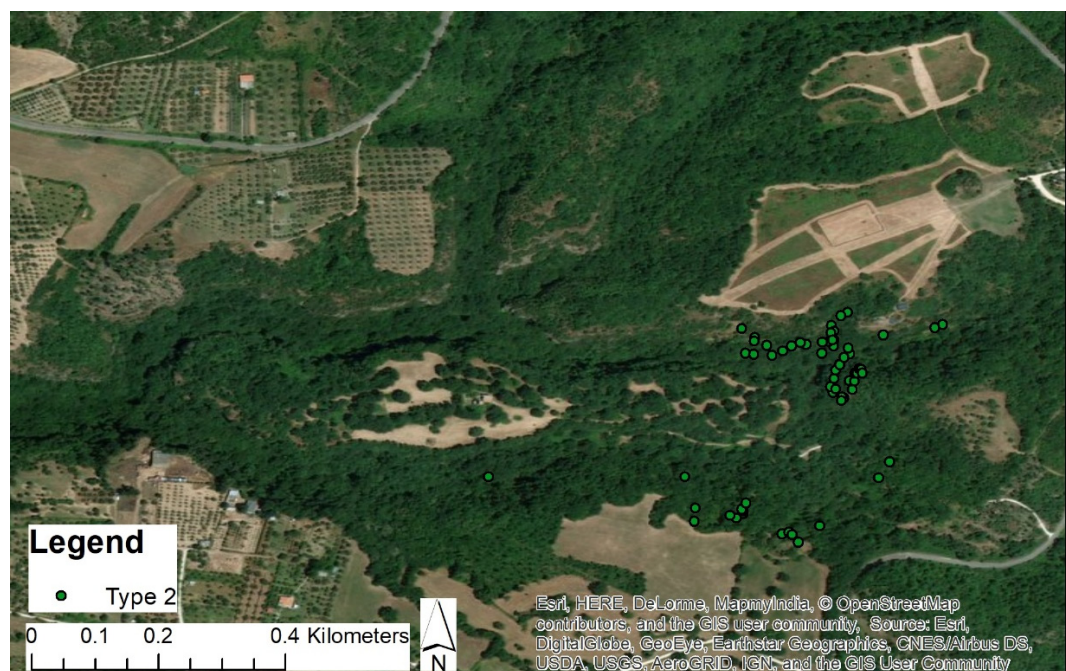


Figure 3.4. Map showing just façade type 2 tombs found at San Giuliano (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

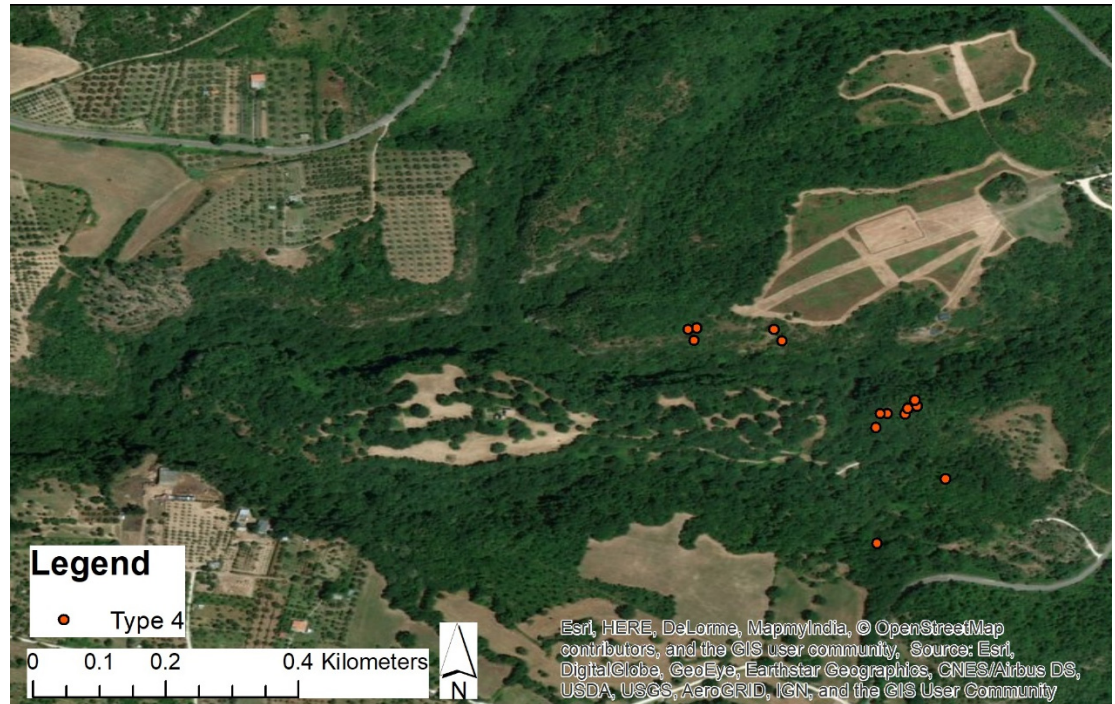


Figure 3.5. Map showing just façade type 4 tombs found at San Giuliano (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

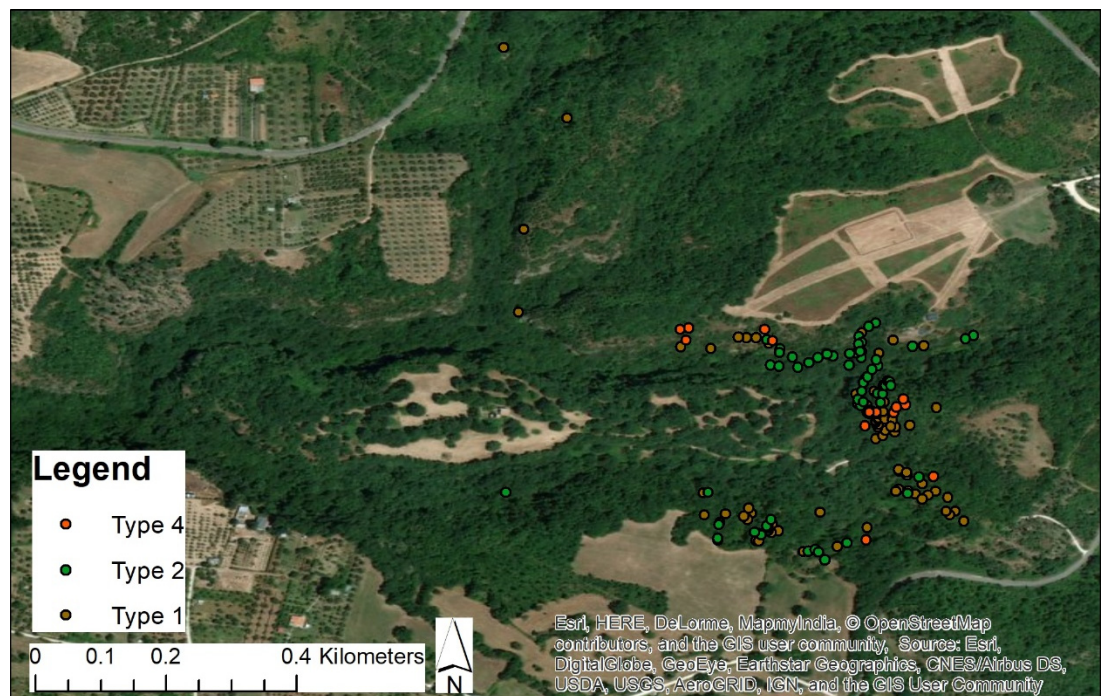


Figure 3.6. Map showing tombs with façade types one, two, and four collectively (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

Façades changed over time as Chapter 2 mentions (see Figure 3.1 for corresponding time periods of façades at San Giuliano). ‘F’ sector tombs were largely dominated by façade type two, indicating these tombs possibly date back to the 6th century BC. Even though, the tomb construction may date back to this time period, it does not necessarily mean it was utilized during that period. Excavation of these tombs would be needed in order to determine utilization periods or even if the tomb may have been used more than once in different time periods. As Figure 3.1 shows, throughout time, façades became increasingly complex, demonstrating more time and investment into the dead. Because of the complex nature of these façades, this could indicate class distinction and even affluence. Additionally, tombs with a façade type two had more visible finds categories, such as ceramic, human bone, animal bone, and metal, or a combination of two or more, than façade type one (Table 3.1 and 3.2). This would be consistent with the notion of possible affluence in ‘F’ sector tombs, especially when paired with the façade data indicating a larger time and financial commitment to the construction throughout time.

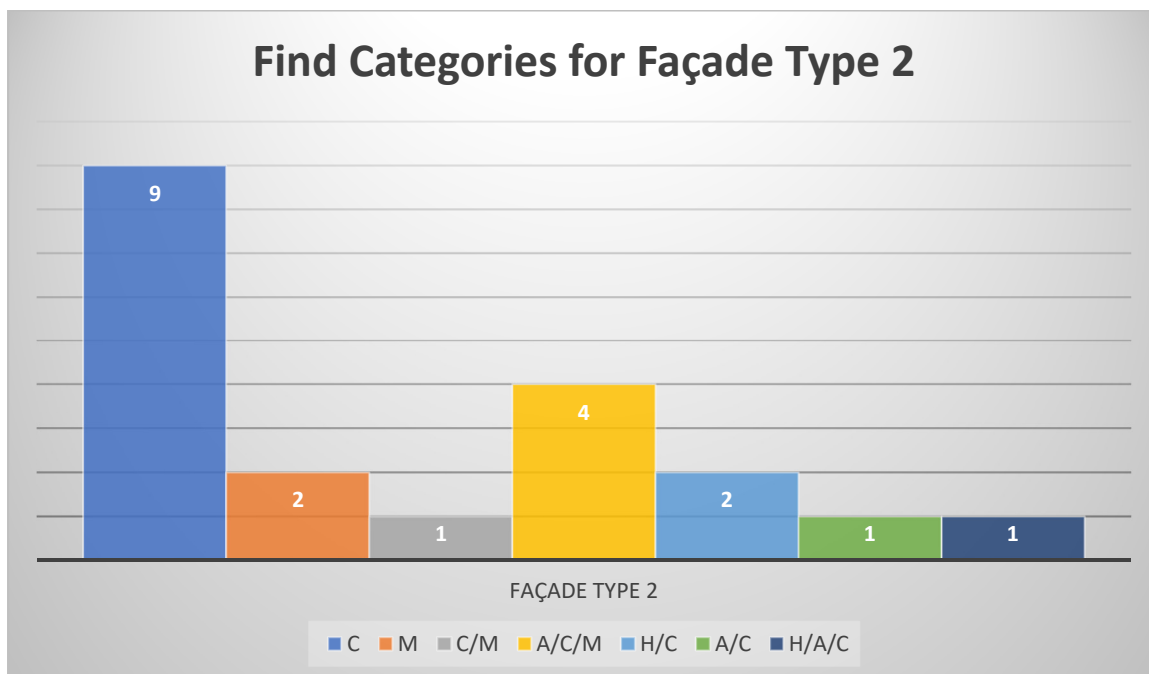


Table 3.1. Find categories for façade type 2, where C is ceramic, M is metal, A is animal bone, and H is human bone.

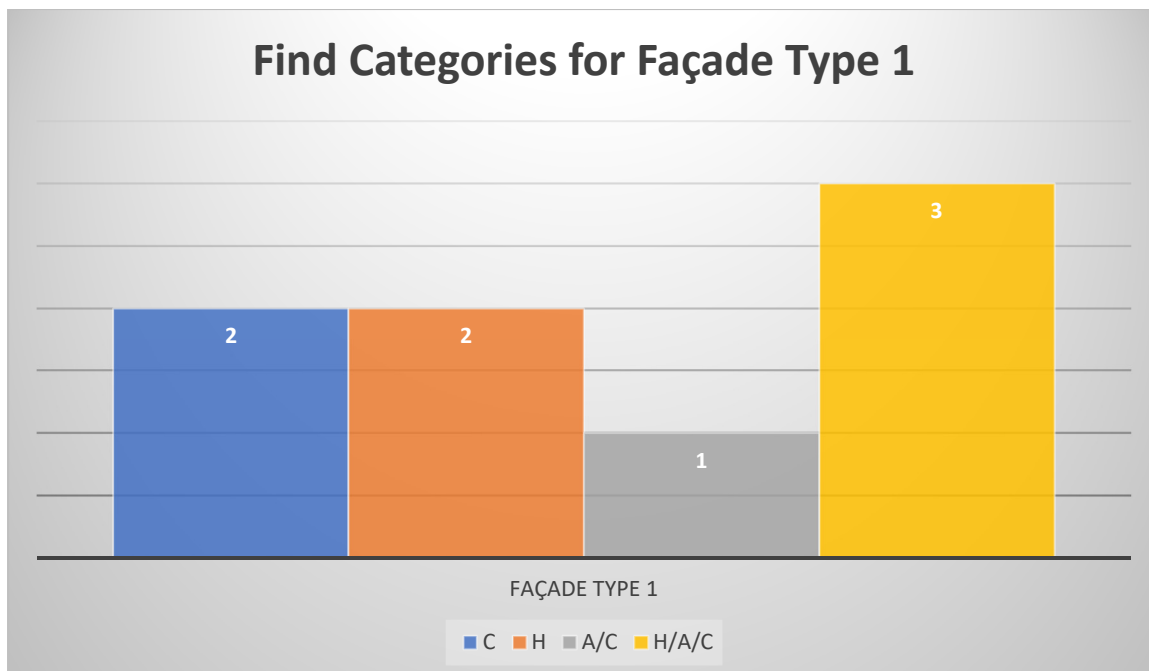


Table 3.2. Find categories for façade type 1 where C is ceramic, A is animal bone, and H is human bone.

Wealth Discrepancies

As previously noted, 482 tombs were documented in the 2016 season (Figure 3.7). Of the tombs surveyed, 29 tombs had ceramics present (Figure 3.8, 3.9). 62.0% (18) of these tombs were located in a 'G' sector (Figure 3.9). The next largest presence of ceramic found through tomb survey was in 'E' sectors, accounting for 24.1% (11). According to the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project Report for the 2017 Season, "The survey areas were divided into sectors defined by a letter of the alphabet (eastings) and a number (northings)" (Zori 2017).

A few preliminary inferences can be made based on these findings pointing to potential wealth discrepancies. First, these areas could represent a segment of society was wealthier than other areas. Excavation of these tombs would have to be done in order to more definitively prove this. Depending on the amount and kind of diagnostic ceramic found, inferences could also be made relating to gender. On the other hand, if no diagnostic material is found, it could be deemed as a norm at San Giuliano pointing towards overall general wealthiness at the site. Considering this site has been looted, it will be challenging, although not impossible, to make some of these comparisons. Typically, looters will take the most attractive or valuable materials from tombs first, so these ceramics would be what is left over and may not point to this region as being reserved for burials of the aristocracy. Ways to determine if any wealth discrepancies were present in these tombs would consist of determining a basis for normal levels of ceramic needed for daily survival at the site, then determining which tombs contain above average levels.

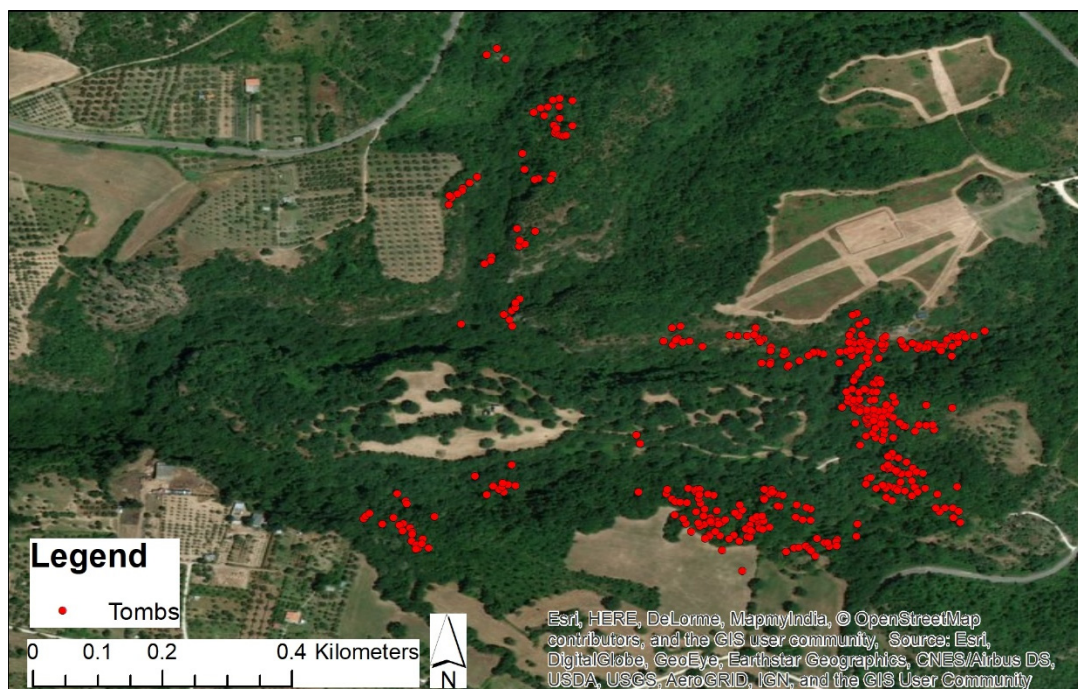


Figure 3.7. Map indicting all tombs found through tomb survey teams in the 2016 season (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

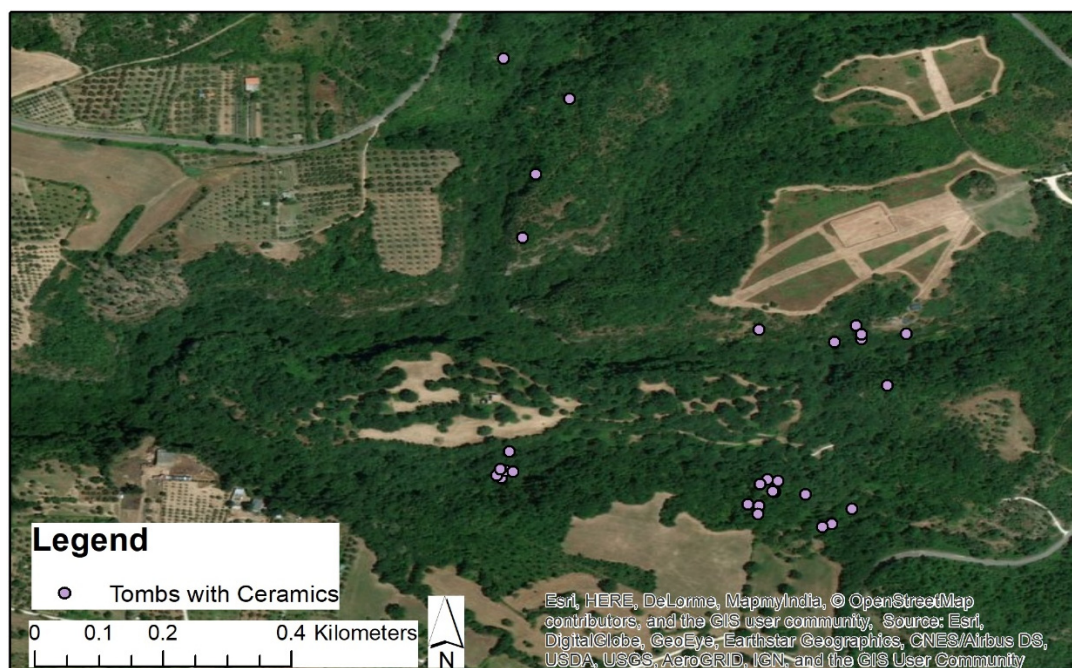


Figure 3.8. Map showing where tombs with ceramic were found (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

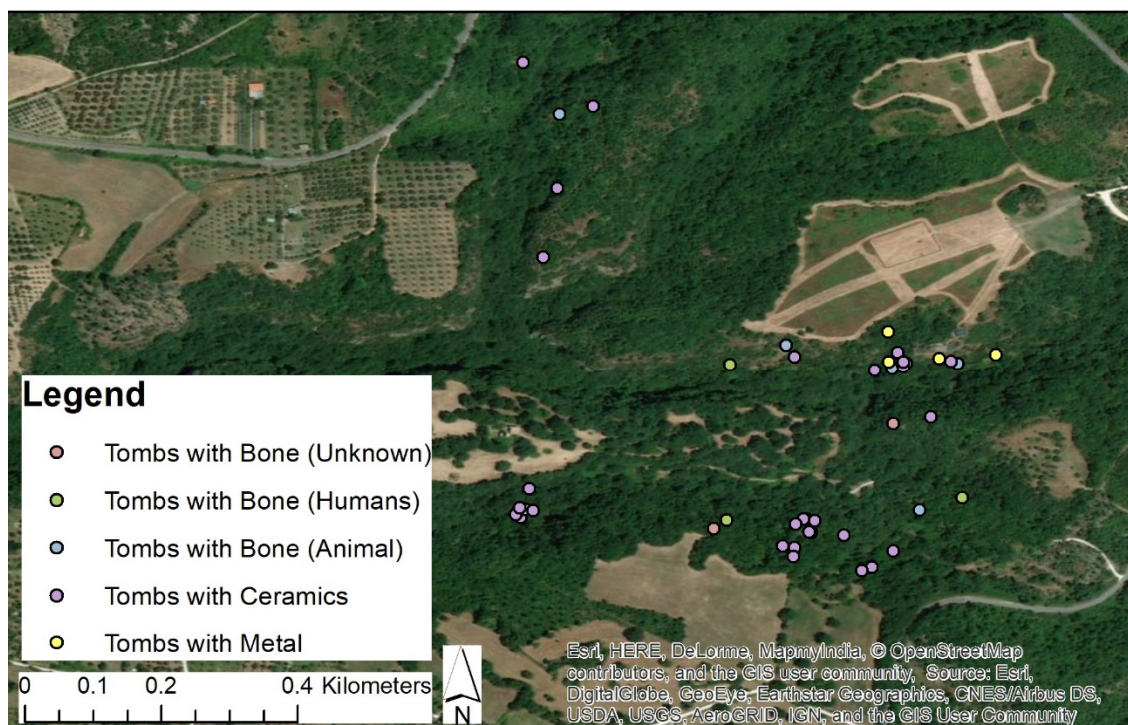


Figure 3.9. Map showing where different categories of visible finds found in tombs, separated by type (map by Lauren Sides with data collected by SGARP).

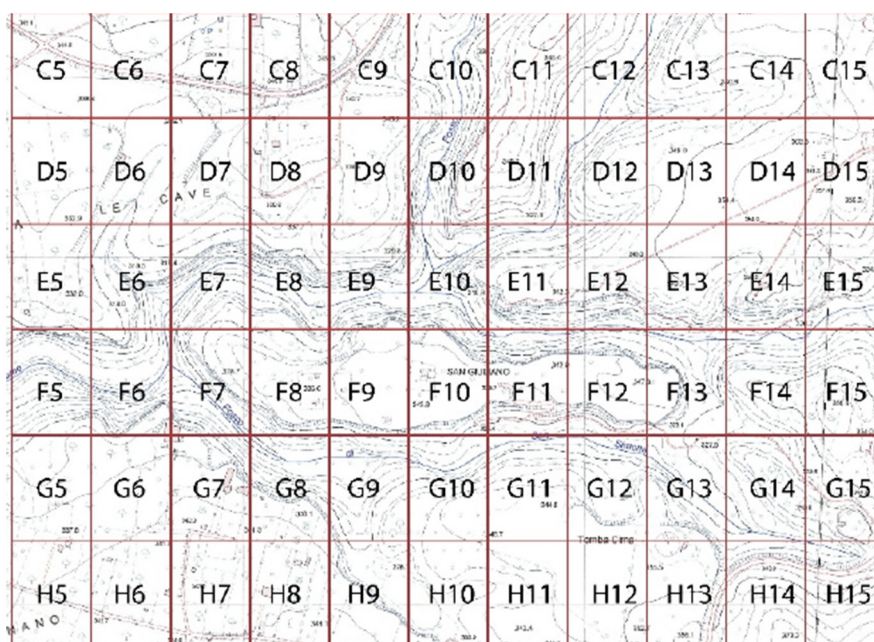


Figure 3.10. Map of the site separated into sectors where the letter of the alphabet denotes eastings and the number denotes northings (Zori 2017).

Further, the 11 tombs that were discovered to have human bone in them generally overlap with the ceramic data just discussed (Figure 3.11). The largest presence of human bone found in tombs was in the ‘G’ sector, representing 81.8% (9) of overall human bone found. The other two tombs with human bone were in ‘E’ sectors, corresponding with the ceramic data. Being able to conduct excavations in the these areas in order to eventually do analysis and testing on the bones can give more evidence as to any possible wealth and class differences present at San Giuliano. This can be done by figuring out diet and comparing it to other bones throughout the necropolis to determine a baseline and any trends.

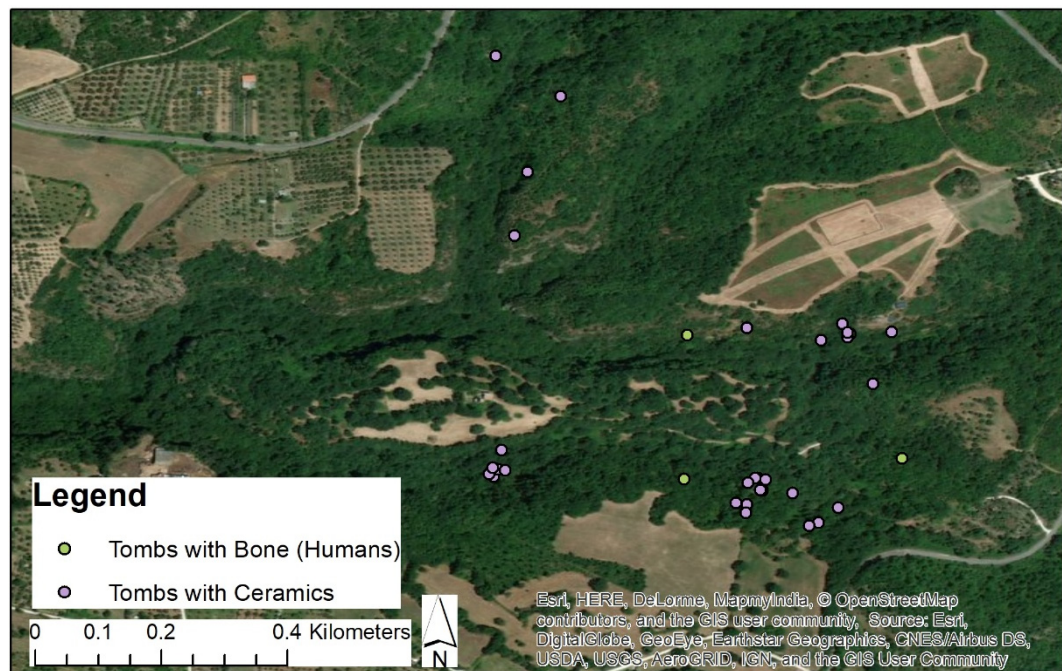


Figure 3.11. Map with ceramic findings and human bone together (map by Lauren Sides and Arianna Cheney with data collected by SGARP).

Possible Specialization Areas

Throughout the tomb survey conducted, 11 tombs were found to have metal objects (Figure 3.12). 6 of these (54.5%) tombs were in the F13 sector, 3 (27.3%) were in the E13 sector, and 2 (18.2%) were in E14. A possible idea would be if these areas, at least in the F13 sector, might have been dedicated to the burials of craftspeople. This also could additionally point to another possible location to support the idea of an area of wealth. Four (36.4%) of these tombs (F13-035, F13-048, F13-052, and F13-054) also contained ceramic and animal bone as well, further emphasizing this point (Figure 3.13).

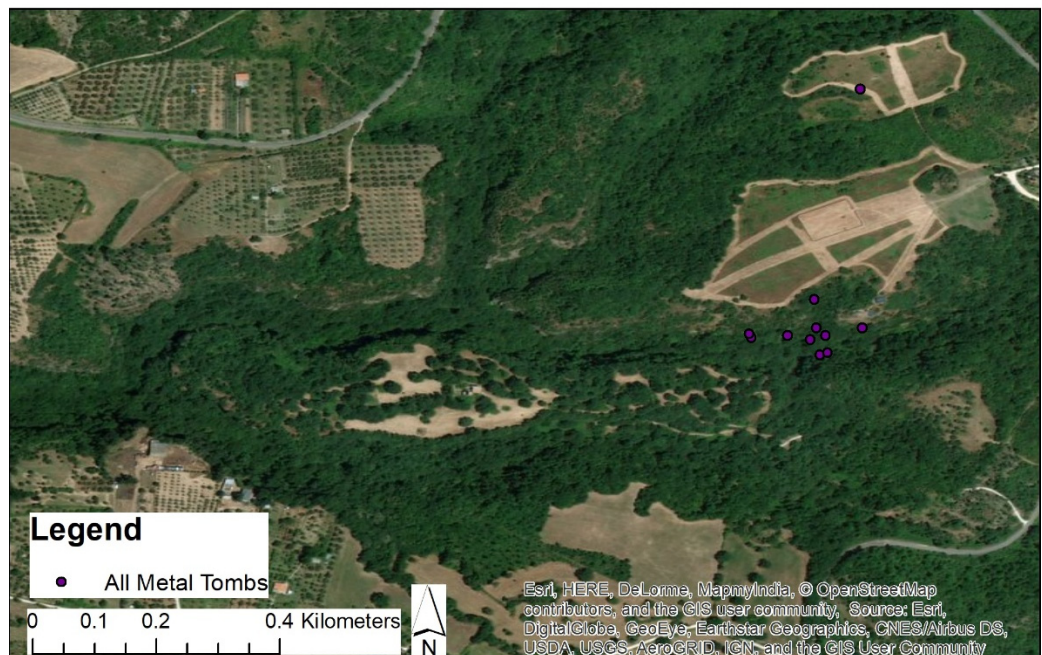


Figure 3.12. Map depicting where the 11 tombs containing metal objects were found (map by Lauren Sides and Arianna Cheney with data collected by SGARP).

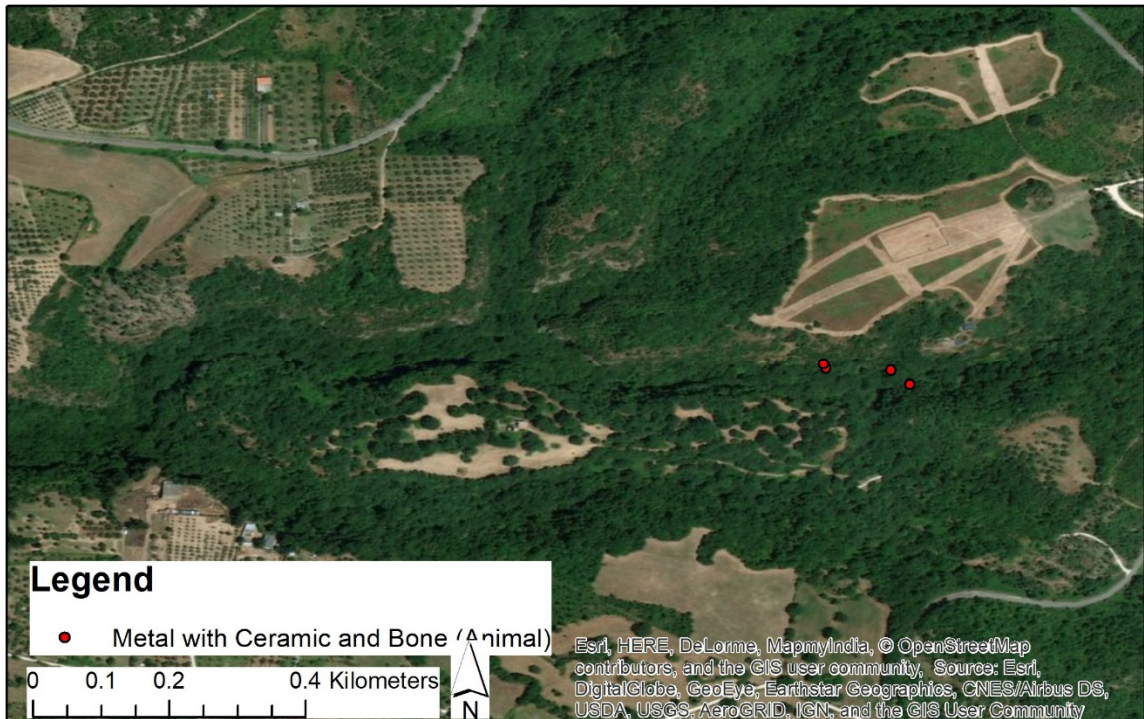


Figure 3.13. Map showing where the four metal tombs that also had ceramic and animal bone in them. (map by Lauren Sides and Arianna Cheney with data collected by SGARP).

Findings of SGN-G13-001

Tomb SGN-G13-001 yielded interesting, numerous materials that can provide some discussion regarding gender. In this tomb, “56 diagnostic [ceramic] sherds ... indicate a minimum of 16 bucchero wares, 10 impasto vessels (dolium, jars, brazier), 3 cooking wares, and 2 each of black slip, black-figure, and plainware vessels” (Ikeshoji-Orlati 2016). According to 2017 report for SGARP, “a total of 1535 human skeletal elements recovered” and a total of “69 teeth [were] recovered from tomb G13-001” (Baker 2017). Although there were a significant portion of human bone fragments that were unidentifiable due to their small size, analysis was able to be conducted that will be described in this chapter. It is also worth noting that excavation was done on this tomb in

the 2016 season and 2017 season, however majority of the osteological analysis was done during the 2017 season. The data mentioned will be that of the findings of both seasons, unless otherwise noted.

The minimum number of individuals for tomb G13-001 was 12. This was determined based on calculations “using non-repeatable elements” (Baker 2017). Of these 12 individuals, two fragments, an ilium and femoral head, were found to be female (Figures 3.14, 3.15). Another way it is known females were buried in this tomb is due to the presence of four fetal bones, meaning at least one female died while pregnant. All of these fetal bones were able to be identified and an age estimation was performed. The bones and ages are as follows: right femur at about 18 weeks, right ulna at about 18 weeks, right tibia at about 16 weeks, and a right femur at about 16 weeks (Figures 3.16-20) (Baker 2017).

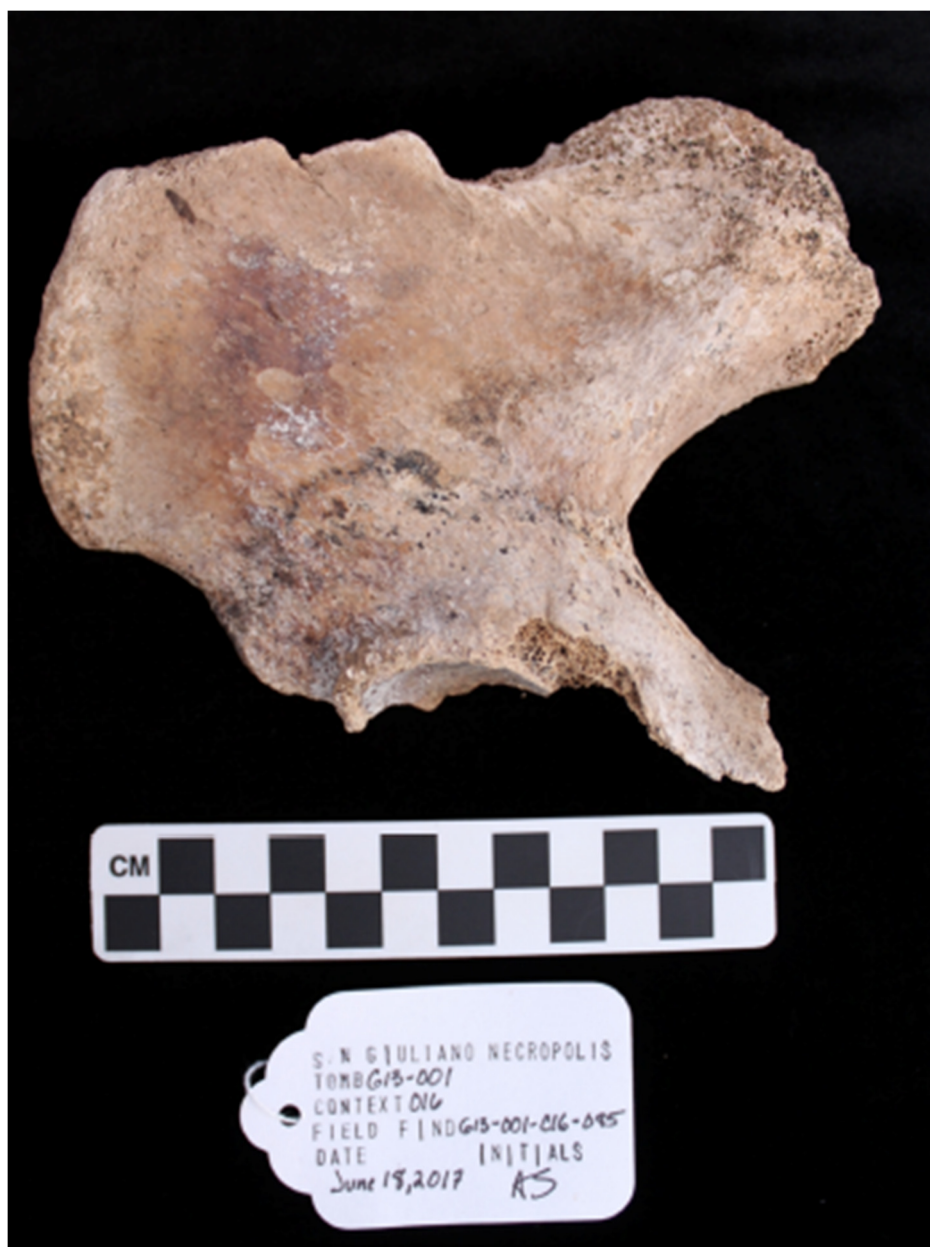


Figure 3.14. Left female ilium, G13-001-C16-095, taken from Baker 2017.



Figure 3.15. Right female femoral head, G13-001-C26-007, taken from Baker 2017.



Figure 3.16. All the fetal bones together (Baker 2017).



Figure 3.17. Anterior fetal femur (Baker 2017).



Figure 3.18. Anterior fetal ulna (Baker 2017).



Figure 3.19. Posterior fetal femur (Baker 2017).



Figure 3.20. Posterior fetal ulna (Baker 2017).

Other indicators of female presence and possible social class distinction is determined by looking at the other materials found. Two glass beads, one blue and turquoise and the other white and blue, were found in contexts 20 and 22, respectively

(Figures 3.21, 3.22). A glass pendant and spindle whorl were also recovered, both in context 30 (Figure 3.23, 3.24). These finds are typically associated with women, not only in Etruria, but also in various cultures of the world. Other items found include a bronze ring, bronze handles, general bronze fragments, and iron bars and nails, making the argument for possible wealth within this tomb stronger due to the diversity of finds in this tomb (Figures 3.25 and 3.26).

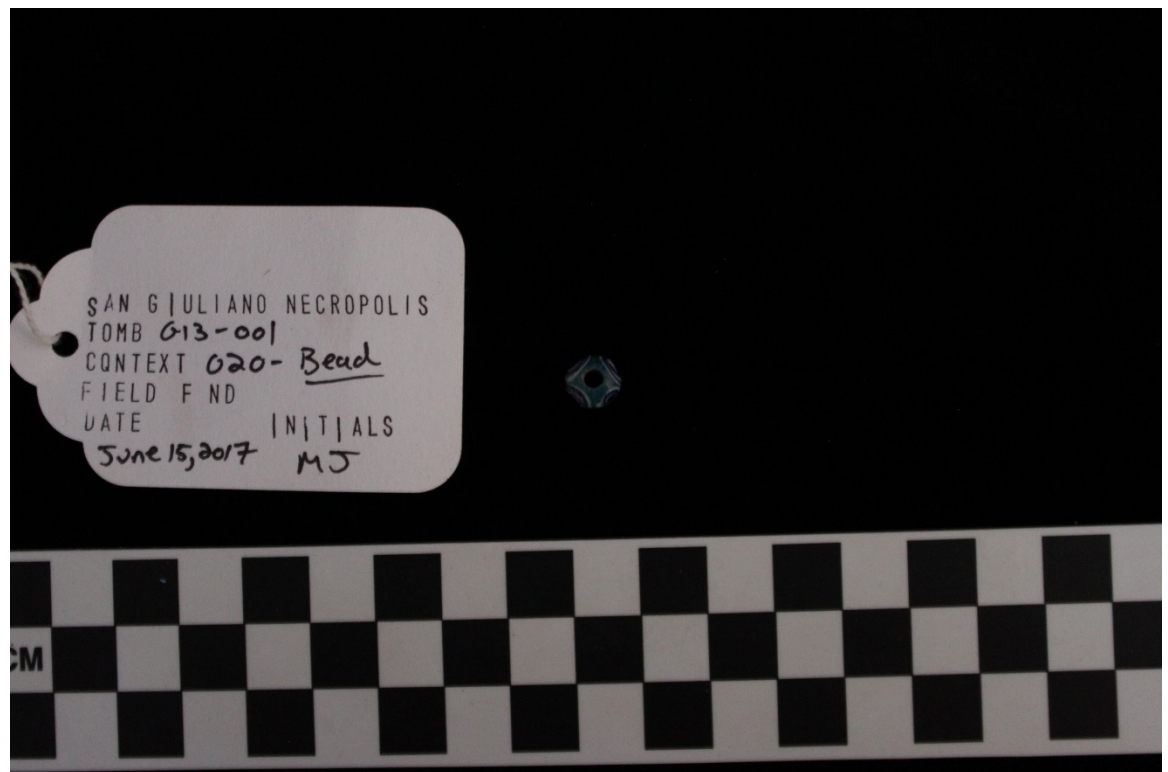


Figure 3.21. Blue and turquoise glass bead.

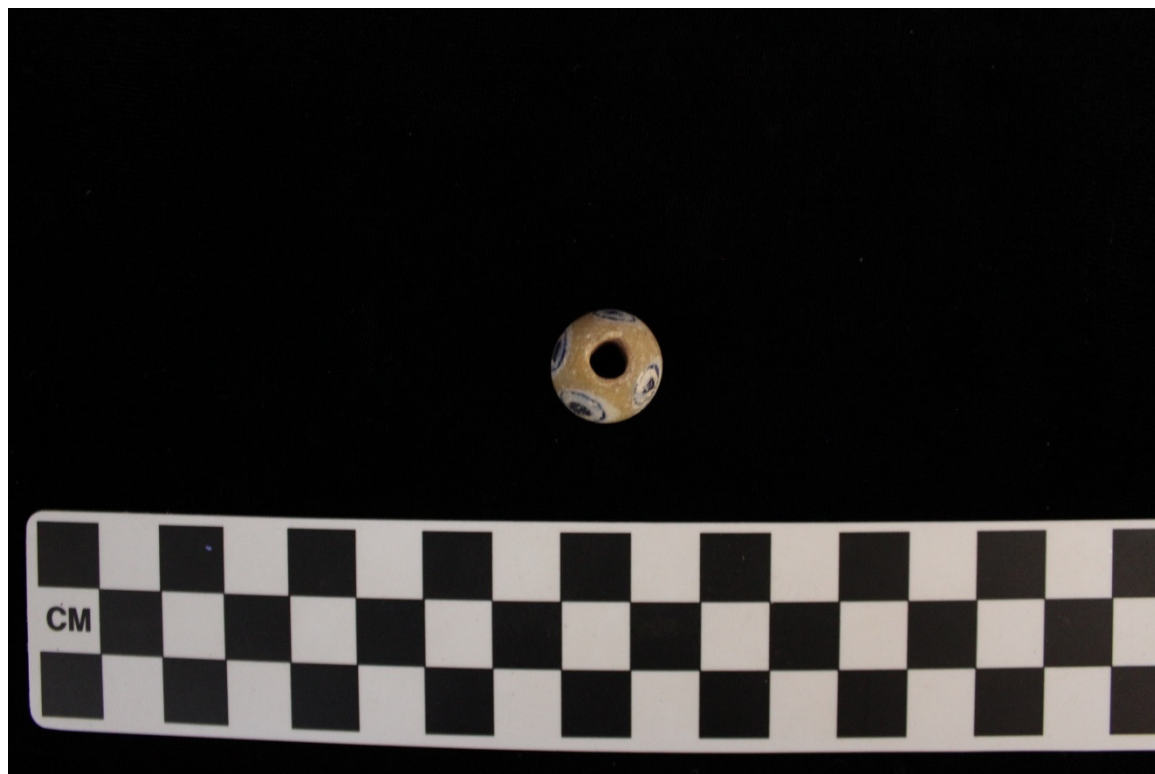


Figure 3.22. White and blue glass bead.



Figure 3.23. Glass pendant.

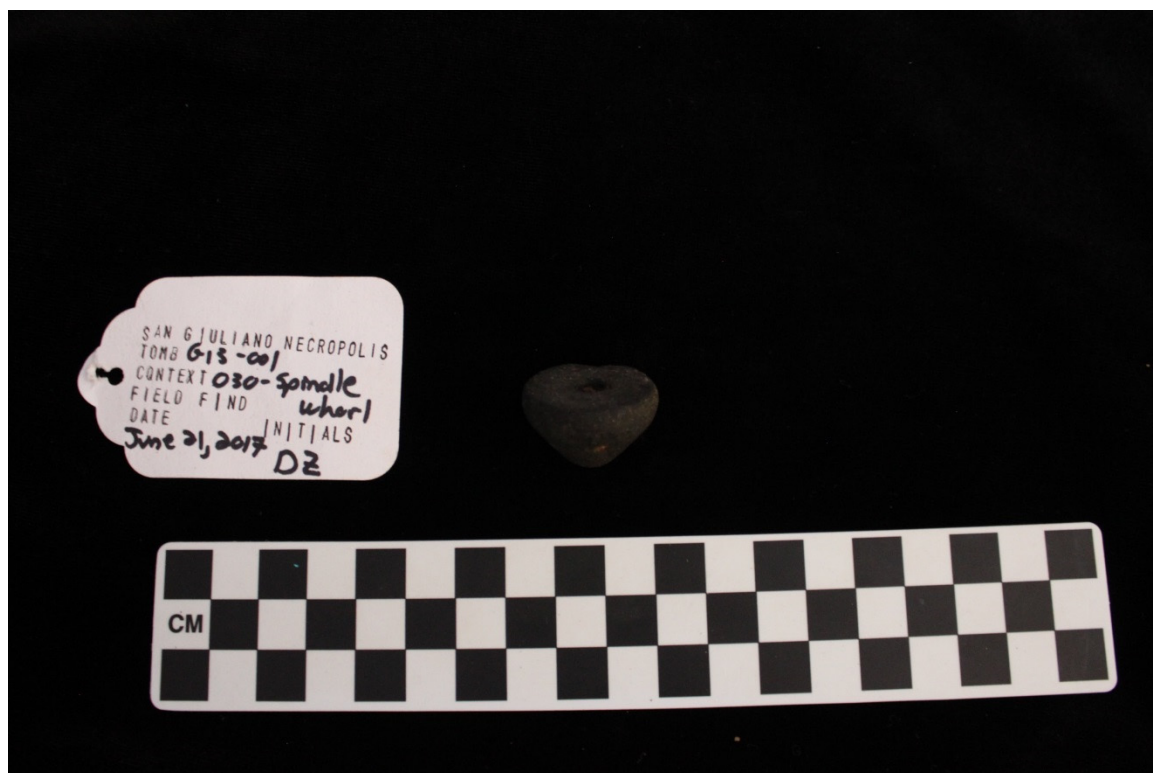


Figure 3.24. Spindle whorl.



Figure 3.25. Bronze ring.



Figure 3.26. Both fragments of the bronze handle.

Although, the only bones able to be sexed were female, it is unlikely this could be considered a “women’s only” tomb. However, it is not impossible. Based on the information previously discussed, there is not significant evidence to indicate if “other” groups like pregnant women had their own designated area for burials at San Giuliano yet. Upon excavation of different tombs and further analysis and testing of the remains, this question will hopefully be answered in the coming years. It is possible these women, as well as other typically excluded groups, did not have their own designated area at San Giuliano. An alternate possibility is that since these pregnant women most likely were not showing, or obviously pregnant by the public, therefore they were buried in their family tomb. This would be somewhat difficult to prove within the archaeological record,

however it can provide an explanation on why they were not separated as can be seen with numerous other cultures around the world.

In the Liston and Papadopoulous article, a distinction was made between the rich Athenian lady having social status on her own or if her large amount of grave goods were due to her pregnancy. In G13-001, it is unlikely the finds indicating possible wealth found was related to the pregnancy or possible pregnancies of women in this tomb, simply because of the fetal bones only being about 16 to 18 weeks pregnant.

Animal Bone

The presence of human and animal bone has coexisted for a long time, throughout Western and non-Western countries alike. As mentioned in Chapter 2, animals were used for various reasons including daily consumption, feasting, and for sacrificial or religious purposes. This section will focus primarily on animal bone found in tomb survey walking groups and not necessarily the zooarchaeological analysis provided in the 2017 San Giuliano Report. This is because “4003 bones were examined from the 2017 field season, all excavated from the San Giuliano Acropolis in the area referred to as La Rocca,” but this is a different area of the site, not in the same time period as the tombs surveyed in the necropolis (Fulton 2017). In the future, it would be informative if analysis could be done on some of the animal bones of these tombs to determine purpose and use, if possible.

Ten tombs containing animal bone, representing 2.0% of all tombs, were found. This number could possibly rise to 13 since three tombs found had bones that were unable to be identified as human or animal (Figure 3.27). 5 (50%) of these animal tombs were found in the ‘E’ sector, while 4 (40%) were found in ‘G’ sector tombs (Figure 3.28).

This data is consistent with the data discussed regarding ceramic and metal objects. These areas could demonstrate feasting and possibly some version of sacrifice, further emphasizing the importance the burials had to the people of this time.



Figure 3.27. Map showing where tombs with an unknown bone type were found.

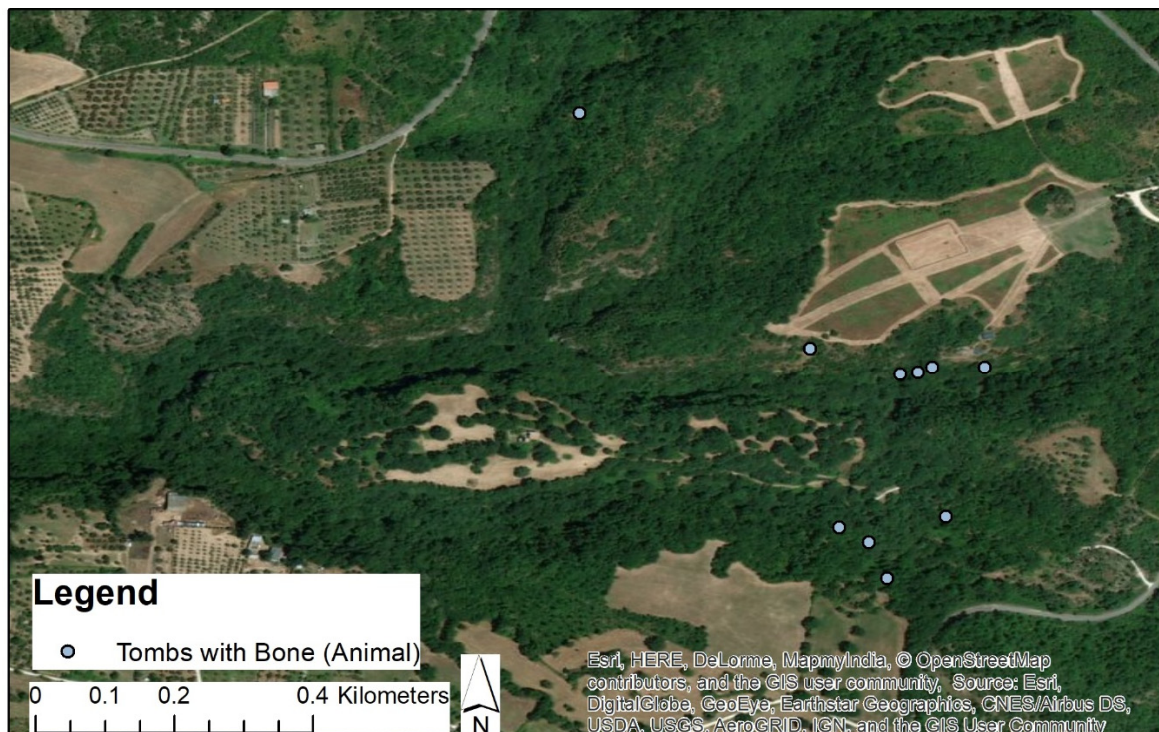


Figure 3.28. Map showing only tombs containing animal bone.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

This paper set out to analyze the policies and practices surrounding Etruscan burial and religious practices and determine how this relates to the treatment of women in burials. In summary, this project is just beginning and a lot more work needs to be done at this site in order to provide a more thorough understanding behind the treatment of women at San Giuliano, in particular. San Giuliano has yielded some fascinating finds and as the project continues to grow, even more will be known regarding the inhabitation of the site.

The excavation of G13-001 was beneficial in providing a starting point regarding this topic. Even though a large amount of bones were unable to be identified for a variety of reasons, it is known that at least one female is buried in this tomb. Further, there is evidence of at least one pregnant woman in G13-001 due to the fetal remains that were found. It is possible a family is buried with this woman and there is nothing unusual at this tomb in terms of the treatment of women. Due to the fetal bones being between 16 and 18 weeks, it is likely the community did not realize this woman was pregnant, causing her to be buried with her family, as opposed to be in a separate, excluded tomb. As previously mentioned, it is unlikely this tomb was a “woman’s only” tomb, despite the only bones able to be sexed were female. I came to this conclusion based on the literature on this topic and finding very few instances of this happening at other Etruscan and non-Etruscan areas alike. Excavation of another tomb having women in it, along with testing of more of the bones found in G13-001, would be helpful to make this determination.

G13-001 also had some evidence of potential wealthiness, determined by the other material finds. Items like the bronze ring, glass pendant, and glass beads would seem to support this notion. This would, when paired with the presence of female(s) in the tomb, be consistent with the literature already published on this topic.

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