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# CHAPTER 1

# THE ANCIENT CITY AND ETRURIA

> The formation of city-states in Italy under the influence of Greek models is therefore indisputable. But several factors complicate our understanding of it. First of all, we are not in a position to account for the authority, skill and rapidity with which the Etruscans turned the Villanovan culture of central Italy (whether it is native or alien ground to them) into one of the most enduring networks of cities history has ever known. It is only too obvious that the Etruscans remained different from the Greeks, however much they learned from them; and it will become apparent from what follows that what the Romans learned from the Greeks does not coincide with what the Etruscans learned from them.
>
> *A. Momigliano 1984, 380*

## 1.1 Etruria, the Most Enduring Network of Cities

Writing about the origins of Rome, Arnaldo Momigliano, in his inimitable style, touched on the heart of a problem still debated around the Early Iron Age in Etruria, also known as Villanovan period: how did Etruscan centres become cities of such a complex type and in such a swift fashion?

Momigliano's scepticism as to our ability to understand the problem is surely shared by some still today and is mainly motivated by the virtual absence of Etruscan written sources. This is a remarkable and certainly frustrating, if not unique, state of affairs: it



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prevents us from accessing a richness of information that only textual evidence can provide and prevents us from perusing some aspects – the *mentalité*, the imaginary, above all, the sociopolitical institutions – of a civilisation, the Etruscans, that was as sophisticated as Greece and Rome.

Yet, since Momigliano wrote, advances in archaeological research in Etruria have been tremendous, and the increase of archaeological evidence, the sole direct contributor to our knowledge on Etruria, has been exponential.[1] This has provided Etruscologists with a new self-confidence for writing Etruscan histor(ies).[2] It is perhaps symptomatic that recent general books on Etruria no longer devote substantial space to the hindrance of the lack of written sources.[3]

Such burgeoning optimism is, however, also a call for caution: it is dangerously leading us to forget that our interpretations of the rich archaeological evidence are ultimately deriving from ancient written sources. Such a call is in no way meant to discourage us from using these sources if they can help us illuminate what we unearth.[4] We must nonetheless constantly maintain a rigorous scrutinisation of the historical models we apply to Etruria deriving from the texts if we are to capture some nuances successfully. What we confidently describe as an Etruscan city ultimately comes from what Greeks and Romans thought of as a city. There is no way of escaping this. What we instead can and must escape from is an uncritical mode of analysis that too easily adjusts the material remains to known historical models.

Advances in archaeological research of the last two decades have led to a profound shift in our understanding of Etruscan cities (Figure 1): for a long time these remained a poorly understood historical phenomenon in the shadow of a supposedly more prominent urban phenomenon, the Greek city. Latest research, however, has convincingly pushed back the earliest phases of urbanisation in central Italy to circa the middle of the eighth century, what is now the early Orientalising period or *orientalizzante antico* according to the new chronology. One of the advances in research has, in fact, concerned the absolute chronology of the Italian Iron Age (phases I and II of the so-called *prima età del ferro*) and the Orientalising period or *seconda età del ferro*, currently a topic of such an acute debate that it has reached no real consensus. Thanks to new dendrochronological dates that have pushed back the Late Urnfield period and the Early Halstatt period (Halstatt C) of Switzerland and southern Germany by a few decades,[5] some scholars have recently proposed that we should raise the absolute chronology of the Italian Iron Age through the cross-dating with these new dates and some other radiocarbon dates from central Italian sites; they have thus proposed a new chronology for the known chronological relative sequences, particularly the sequence from

[1] Most distinctly seen in Sgubini Moretti (2005) for urbanisation.
[2] Haynes (2000), Torelli (2000a).
[3] Haynes (2000, xvii) only mentions this very briefly in her introduction to the book.
[4] Cf. Vlassopoulos (2007a, 85–96) on using Aristotle for rethinking the contexts of the Greek *polis* and critiquing the 'polis-approach'.
[5] Sperber (1987) for a revised absolute chronology of the Urnfield culture/European Late Bronze Age based upon these Swiss dendro-dates. See Randsborg (1992) for a critical review of Sperber (1987) and comparisons and adjustments with material from Greece and Scandinavia.

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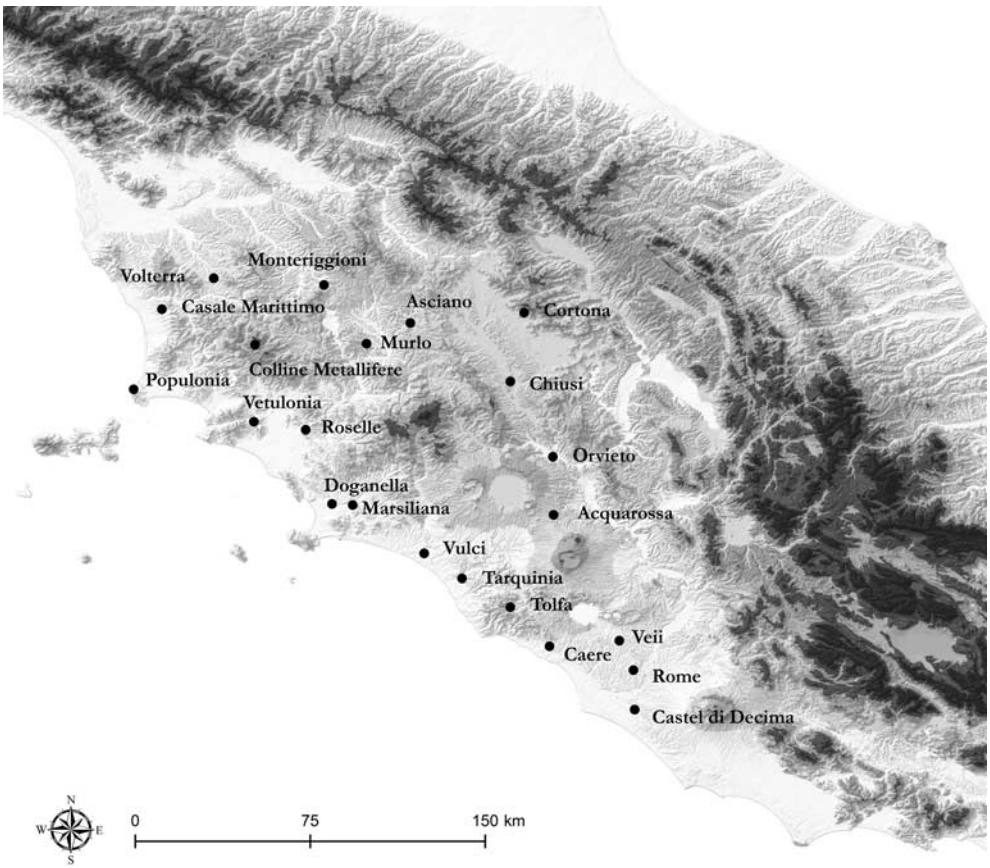


**Figure 1.** Etruria with sites mentioned in the text.

the Etruscan centre of Tarquinia.[6] These suggestions, however, have been met with scepticism by some quarters: these quarters favour, in principle, the raising of the date of the beginning of the Iron Age (*primo ferro* phase I or PFI), but resist the idea of a longer later Iron Age phase (*primo ferro* phase II or PFII) on the grounds that such a longer time lag clashes with the accepted Italian dates for this phase that are anchored to Coldstream's Geometric ceramic sequence.[7] Because of the lack of consensus over these matters, I generally rely upon the traditional chronology throughout, although I make, as here, some occasional references to the new proposed dates in the belief that they will eventually be accepted.

Aside from these dating questions, latest research has encouraged us to view Etruscan urbanisation as an essentially indigenous phenomenon, to be understood alongside the contemporary urbanisation of Rome rather than as a by-product of Greek urbanisation

[6] For a whole revision and latest discussion of chronological sequences, both relative and absolute, of Europe and the Aegean, see the volume edited by Bartoloni and Delpino (2005a): cf. in particular the contributions in this volume by Pacciarelli and Iaia. See also Randsborg (1996) and Iaia (2005a, 18).

[7] Bartoloni and Delpino (2005b), Bartoloni (2003c, 29, 272–9).

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in the central Mediterranean. A Hellenocentric interpretation focusing on exogenous Greek influences, which Classical archaeologists and Etruscologists had long highlighted,[8] has thus been replaced with one that emphasises indigenous developments taking place during a remarkably long chronological continuum. Classical archaeologists and Etruscologists have today largely accepted this view, which prehistoric research had long supported, casting aside their disagreement in regards to the role of Greek influence over Etruria. An important consequence of this shift has been an increasing dialogue between scholars of Etruria and early Rome, which until recently constituted the only example of 'indigenous urbanisation.'[9]

Despite, or, it might be argued, even because of, these new developments, our comprehension of Etruscan urbanisation is still awkwardly shackled to (Roman) textual sources.[10] If the Latin term *gens* has long been shorthand for Etruscan elite groups, only recently has one seen an escalation in the use of Roman institutional terms derived from the texts for what are essentially *early* archaeologically visible phenomena in Etruria.[11] To take the most extreme example, scholars have interpreted habitation nuclei on the large protourban plateaux in Tyrrhenian coastal Etruria as districts inhabited by family groups by comparing them to the Roman *curiae*.[12] Whether we can impose the idea of a Roman institution upon the Early Iron Age remains highly contentious. Similarly, the distribution of these habitation nuclei and unoccupied land on the plateaux has been compared to the Romulean allotment of *bina iugera* to each *paterfamilias*.[13] Ironically, as excavations have simultaneously produced striking new data for early Rome and many Etruscan centres, the dialogue ensuing from them has, in fact, promoted a text-derived Roman urban model for Etruria: a *curia* with its *Curius Maximus* or a *regia* with its *rex* are some of the analogies verging on interpretations put forward for the renowned, sacred, monumental building complex on the urban plateau of Tarquinia known as Civita.[14] Similarly, the excavators of another Etruscan urban plateau, Piazza d'Armi, belonging to the centre of *Veii*, have interpreted the two parallel furrows uncovered by the 2002 excavation of the mid-seventh-century layers as the remains of the *sulcus primigenius*, a foundation rite that the Roman legendary tradition attributes to the foundation of Rome.[15] Most striking, perhaps, are recent claims of the usefulness of Roman texts by prehistorians suggesting the existence of federations uniting smaller political units in the Italian Final Bronze Age.[16]

[8] What Carandini called 'il preconcetto classicistico' (Carandini 1997, 457–8, 486); see also Carandini (2006, 203) on the concept of 'protourban'.
[9] This dialogue is most distinctly seen in Carandini and Cappelli (2000).
[10] Cf. the section title 'Roma aiuta a immaginare I centri protourbani in etruria' in a recent book on the birth of Rome (Carandini 1997, 477).
[11] See Smith (2006) for a fundamental criticism of the *gens* in Etruria and Rome. See also Smith (1996, 189–95) on the *gens* in *Latium* from the Archaic period.
[12] Carandini (1997, 477–8). The *curia* has also been applied to distinct groups of early Iron Age (*prima età del ferro*) *necropoleis* around the main southern Etruscan coastal centres (Pacciarelli 1994, 252).
[13] Guidi (1992, 455), Pacciarelli (1991a), Fulmimnante (2003, 241).
[14] Bonghi Jovino (2000a), Torelli (2000d); however, see Bonghi Jovino (2005a) for some caution over Torelli's interpretation of the area alpha as a *comitium*.
[15] Bartoloni (2003a, 16), Bartoloni, Acconcia, and Kortenaar (2005), Mastroncinque (2000, 55–6), Carandini (2006, 154–6).
[16] Guidi (1992, 455), Peroni (2004, 398).

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At the centre of this dialogue is the work of Andrea Carandini, whose views on Etruria have been followed mostly by prehistorians and scholars of the Italian Iron Age known as protohistorians.[17] Although Carandini's work has been in the field of Classical (Roman) archaeology, his views on the Italian Iron Age have been particularly appealing to scholars of both pre- and protohistory for pushing the prominence of early indigenous developments over outside influences in the origins of the city in central Italy. These views have been less attractive to Classical archaeologists and Etruscologists, who have traditionally disregarded early changes in settlement distribution and patterns across the landscape and have instead paid more attention to the later historical city and its institutions. Between these two scholarly camps stands the work of the Etruscologist Mario Torelli, who has long been in favour of the primacy of Etruscan urbanisation in the early Iron Age and, like Carandini, has advocated the use of Roman textual sources for upholding such a primacy.[18]

Among pre- and protohistorians and others supporting Carandini's views, there is general agreement on three main stages of urbanisation despite differing views on particular aspects – which I explore in more detail in Chapter II. The earliest preurban stage coinciding with the Italian Recent Bronze Age (1350–1200 BC)[19] is marked by the emergence of chiefdoms and elite groups underlying forms of socioeconomic inequality.[20] Although some, particularly the school led by the prehistorian Renato Peroni, see this as an important phase, others emphasise the following so-called protourban stage coinciding with the end of the Bronze Age and the first phase of the Iron Age as fundamental.[21] In this second phase, a reconfiguration of the central Italian landscape took place, consisting of the abandonment of Bronze Age settlements and the concurrent occupation of large plateaux facing the Tyrrhenian coast, which seems to occur in coastal south Etruria and in Rome earlier than in *Latium*.[22] The stable occupation of these plateaux, it is argued, led to the earliest forms of private landownership, and this is archaeologically visible in the dispersed distribution of habitation nuclei among lots of unoccupied land, pointing to distinct family groups united under a single political authority.[23]

Scholars identify the cause of the formation of single communities on large plateaux in the need to create a politicoeconomic cohesion by dispersed communities that would support the growing economic system of production and exchange.[24] It is debatable whether the new type of sociopolitical organisation of these large communities was

[17] Carandini (1997; 2000; 2006, 200–7), Peroni (1989, 2004), Guidi (1992).
[18] See, for example, Torelli (2000d). For an overview on the different schools and their different views on urbanisation see Carandini (1997, 458–63). See Wiseman's (2000) review of Carandini (1997) for scepticism on the value of literary sources and myths for the reconstruction of the early urban history of Rome.
[19] Peroni (2004).
[20] Peroni (1989; 2000; 2004, 288–92), who uses the phrase *società gentilizio-clientelare pre-urbana*.
[21] D'Agostino (2005), Bietti Sestieri (2000, 21–2).
[22] Carandini (2006, 200), Pacciarelli (1994, 251–3), Bonghi Jovino (2005b, 30, note 26), Pacciarelli (2006, 104–9, 119–36), Fulminante (2003, 247–8).
[23] D'Agostino (2005, 21), Pacciarelli (2006, 165–70). In discussing the two existing monocentric and polycentric models for the occupation of these large plateaux, Pacciarelli downplays the opposition of these two models, suggesting that the existence of distinct habitation units does not exclude a single political authority. For a note of caution see Bietti Sestieri (2000, 20).
[24] Bietti Sestieri (2000, 21).

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the basis, rather than the outcome, of their formation; at any rate, even if one supports the former view, only in later phases do we see the completion of this organisation.[25] From the middle of the eighth century, complex forms of social differentiation and political power that are incipient in the funerary record of the early Iron Age become fully evident. In the first half and even more in the second half of the eighth century, the systematic exploitation and concurrent occupation of the surrounding landscape by these centres, which is visible in the establishment of smaller settlements at strategic points and in economically fertile areas, is contemporary to these large centres' further nucleation on the main urban plateaux, the concurrent and exceptional developments of a sacred precinct on one of these plateaux, and the Civita at Tarquinia, as well as the emergence of warrior burials of 'political leaders' in the cemeteries surrounding the plateaux.[26] This process culminates in the course of the seventh century when one sees a 'landscape of power' emerging particularly around the south Etruscan urban centres:[27] the escalation of smaller settlements in the territories of these centres indicates a booming exploitation of the productive countryside, creating the wealth that elite groups conspicuously displayed in the 'princely' burials and in the construction of *tumuli* in the urban cemeteries and in their surrounding territories.[28]

Whilst it is important to emphasise the differences in the ways in which this process took place at single centres, the most significant one concerning the time frame of the process itself, this picture so far described is no longer contested. On the contrary, its most salient characteristic, on which scholars largely agree, is the remarkable continuity of processes leading to urbanisation that is traced back to the final phases of the Bronze Age, if not earlier, as Peroni maintains. Not only has new evidence from excavation and landscape projects successfully captured this continuity, but also recent studies of Early Iron Age or 'Villanovan' cemeteries around the large urban plateaux have largely confirmed it.[29] These studies have reexamined and, in fact, downplayed the apparently egalitarian character of these cemeteries and their limited funerary variability by highlighting the emergence of sociopolitical hierarchy in the burials of the first phase of the early Iron Age (phase IB) succeeding a phase (phase IA) that was characterised by a funerary ideology of equality – what Bruno d'Agostino called an 'ideologia isonomica.'[30] Although already visible then, this emerging hierarchy is more markedly noticeable in the transition to phase PFII (IB2–IIA1 phases), when signs of prestige such as bronze helmets and swords appear in burials of distinguished individuals, whose concentration in specific locations in the cemetery is further evidence of the sociopolitical distinction of the deceased.

[25] D'Agostino (2005, 22). *Contra* Bietti Sestieri (2000, 21).
[26] De Santis (2005), Bonghi Jovino (2005b, 42–5), Fulminante (2003) for *Latium*. Another, although later, sanctuary structure has been located on the *acropolis* of Volterra and dated to the middle of the seventh century (Bonamici 2003).
[27] Zifferero (1991a), Riva and Stoddart (1996), Bonghi Jovino (2005b, 45–6).
[28] See Cifani (2002) for the most recent overview on the occupation of the rural landscape to the fifth century. Stoddart (in preparation).
[29] Pacciarelli (2006), Iaia (1999).
[30] D'Agostino (1995; 1998; 2005, 24).

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This emphasis on the gradual visibility of sociopolitical complexity in Early Iron Age burial ritual has had two significant consequences in the study of burials vis-à-vis urbanisation. Firstly, seventh-century wealthy princely burials, which only a decade or so ago seemed to suggest the sudden emergence of elites onto the social fabric of these large Tyrrhenian centres, appear now as the outcome of a growing process of social differentiation and the final manifestation of urban elite groups. The second, perhaps less desirable effect is that there has been a renewed interest in Early Iron Age burial evidence but a concomitant fading attention towards later evidence: seventh-century wealthy and princely burials appear somewhat as the inevitable outcome of a long process in the formation of elites, with the result that scholars now frequently and easily retroject institutions and political forms of later periods as recorded in textual sources onto earlier archaeological evidence. Hence, the concept of a client-based gentilicial society encapsulated in the phrase *società gentilizio-clientelare* is now comfortably used to describe elite groups in phase II of the Italian Iron Age.[31] Whilst this retrojection remains seriously problematic for early Rome and *Latium*, it is even more questionable, yet barely questioned, when applied to Etruscan settlements.[32] When it is at all doubted, attention is brought upon the need to study the archaeological visibility of institutions such as the client system,[33] although tracing them in the funerary record is likely to be an extremely difficult task. A related issue is the origins of the two-name system and the so-called *nomen gentilicium* that was introduced in Etruria circa 700 BC and is contemporary to the earliest use of the Etruscan alphabet, to judge from the epigraphic evidence. Because these aspects, which have a long history of scholarly interest,[34] have received critical treatment in a very recent work on the Roman *gens*,[35] I will not dwell on them and refer to this recent treatment instead. Suffice it to say that scholars have attempted to use the spread of the *nomen*, which is a patronymic adjective, as evidence of a gentilicial social and political system in Etruria,[36] but it remains unclear how exactly the *nomen* could indicate anything greater than one's own paternal descent.

No less significantly, interpreting seventh-century burials as the end result of a much earlier gentilicial social organisation has left largely unquestioned the ways in which this evidence reveals the contemporary sociopolitical organisation: whilst painstaking attention is devoted to tracing the structuration of political power identified in the transition from warrior-chiefs to princes in the Early Iron Age burial evidence,[37] the identification of princely political authority is scarcely problematised, and the existence of kingship as the political organisation of early Etruscan cities seems to be indisputable.

[31] Peroni (2004 288–91; 2000), Carandini (1997, 602), Guidi (1992, 452–4). This is the beginning of the eighth century in the traditional absolute chronology and the second half of ninth century in the new chronology. Cf. Bietti Sestieri (1992, 241–2) on Osteria dell'Osa.
[32] Most recently Smith (2006, 144–64), Cornell (1995, 84–5). Smith 2006 represents the only serious attempt at questioning this for Etruria. See also Smith (1996, 189–95; 2005, 81).
[33] D'Agostino (2005, 25).
[34] Fundamental are Rix (1972), Colonna (1977a), and Marchesini (1997, 154–9).
[35] Smith (2006, 17–20, 158–9).
[36] For example, Colonna (1977a).
[37] Iaia (1999, 126–135), De Santis (2005).

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Whilst this shift of attention to the Early Iron Age has compellingly encouraged the view of the eighth century as a crucial phase for Etruscan urbanisation, the term 'city' is cast aside because it carries meanings related to the later historical city, understood as a tight unity of political, religious, and social institutions based on the economic-juridicial correlation between citizen and landownership.[38] This circumspection towards using city for early urban settlements and the appearance of terms such as community-states (*comunità-stato*) replacing city-states reveal that the debate on the establishment of the Etruscan city is far from waning[39]: some, particularly the Peroni school, see the changes of large protourban centres as described previously as fundamental indicators of the city, whereas others, mainly Classical archaeologists and Etruscologists, identify the de facto existence of the city only later, when those institutions that are proper of the historical city are archaeologically detectable.[40]

In this debate, terms such as *comunità-stato* may be read as an attempt to circumvent a text-based, even Hellenocentric, definition of Etruscan cities, which has led others to coin the term '*non-polis*' in order to stress the lack of traits proper of the Greek *polis* in Etruria.[41] If this reading is indeed correct, this attempt is especially welcome now that some Greek historians have begun reconceptualising how we think of the Greek *polis* by moving away from Hellenocentric and Athenocentric perspectives and offering new ways of understanding the *polis*, from world-system to network theory and the Braudelian concept of *système-monde*, essentially through a Mediterranean-wide perspective.[42] I come back to these studies in the final chapter of this book.

At the same time, what this circumspection shows is a conspicuous gap in the scholarship in understanding the relationship between the Etruscan (early) *non-polis* and the (historical) ancient city. If the relationship was simply a chronological one and the former was the predecessor of the latter; if, in other words, Greek and Roman writers' idea of the city and its institutions were historically applicable to what constituted the later city in Etruria, we should be able to trace its beginnings in the material culture, as one does for Greek and Roman cities.[43] If, on the contrary, the relationship was one of difference and the Etruscan *non-polis* fundamentally differed from the Roman and Greek city, about which we know more simply because of ancient texts, then we should investigate the material record in order to identify and examine the *different* origins of the Etruscan city. Archaeology alone does not lay bare Etruscan cities' social and political institutions, but if we accept, as I do, that material culture is a reflection of sociopolitical relations as well as contributes to their construction, we can begin to disentangle political and social change that brought about the rise of those institutions in the early Etruscan city. Ultimately, a theoretically informed and

[38] Bonghi Jovino (2005b, 27, nota 8). This is the ancient city of Fustel de Coulanges (1864).
[39] *Comunità-stato* in Bonghi Jovino (1997b; 2005b).
[40] Amongst others, Ampolo (1983; 1988, 154–5). On the debate see Bonghi Jovino (1997b, 219; 2005b, 27), Bettelli (1997, 209–19).
[41] Hellenocentric because defined by Aristotle's *politeia* (Ampolo 1988, 155). The term *non-polis* is d'Agostino's (1998); see also Cerchiai (2008, 91).
[42] Vlassopoulos (2007a, 2007b, 2007c).
[43] Morris (1987), de Polignac (1995), to take some best-known archaeological studies that dealt with the origins of the *polis* through a social analysis of political change (cf. Osborne 2005, 3–4).

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anthropological analysis of material culture is needed in order to avoid the pitfalls of text-based interpretations and will, in fact, drive the chapters of this book that follow.

By critically evaluating the burial and related evidence of the so-called Orientalising period (or *seconda età del ferro*), from the middle of the eighth to the end of the seventh centuries, in the specific context of Etruscan urban centres, I intend to fill the gap and throw some light upon this poorly understood relationship. I consider and problematise the princely nature of Orientalising and indeed earlier Iron Age burials, and challenge the princely or regal nature of seventh-century political power that, as the scholarship persistently argues, is visible in Orientalising and earlier burials and now other types of evidence, namely the sacred Civita complex at Tarquinia. I refute this princely model of political authority in the early urban centres on the basis of its overreliance on textual sources and of a diffusionist, even colonialist, perspective on the Orientalising period and phenomenon. Finally, I offer an alternative interpretation of the nature of political authority in Orientalising Etruria and its relation to urbanisation. I argue that burial ritual was indeed a focus for the expression of political authority by urban elite groups, and therefore for the sociopolitical definition of early urban settlements. Since the early Iron Age, the grave represented a focus of sociopolitical action in the large communities of the future urban plateaux[44]: that individuals were given a special cultic treatment through cremation, but some individuals were distinguished by the deposition of material symbols referring to some sort of authority, whether sacred, social, or strictly political, evidently suggests the primacy of the funerary sphere for the articulation of sociopolitical relations since the early Iron Age, becoming explicit in the Orientalising period. Yet the transition from the Iron Age to the Orientalising period is not simply marked by a heightened display of wealth in the grave or a disclosure of political power in death:[45] whilst we can trace significant continuity in the manipulation of funerary material culture for political ends, Orientalising burials and their material culture signal a new phase in the articulation of political authority that must be read against the new urban nature of large settlements and other related types of evidence.

In the following chapters, I explore those aspects of funerary ritual, indicating new ways in which political authority was articulated in the urban Orientalising *necropoleis* through the material manipulation of the ritual. This manipulation involved the tomb, which was in many cases transformed into a multidepositional grave and was monumentalised, and the grave-goods, which advertised the elites' accessibility to a wider Mediterranean world, an incalculable capital for the elites that underlies the nature of urban centres. The rites of funerary deposition thus became complex spectacles for the burying group and the community at large.

The tomb and the grave-goods, I argue, disclose a new, collective funerary ideology that conflated a warrior ideology, which characterised exceptional individuals in the Early Iron Age cemeteries, with an ideology of the household that highlighted the domestic sphere and the family group as the focus of new intercommunal relationships.

[44] As analysed by Iaia (1999), especially for Tarquinia.
[45] As argued, for example, by Fulminante (2003, 241–3) for *Latium* and, by extension, Etruria.

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Although incipient in the Early Iron Age, this new funerary ideology was fully expressed in monumental multiburial tombs, establishing a crucial link amongst the house, the family group, and landownership. In establishing this link, the new ideology articulated a new form of political authority that shaped the sociopolitical order and institutions of the early urban centres. The ways in which this order gave way to the monarchic or tyrannical rule of (some) later Etruscan cities can only be conjectured and needs further scholarly attention, but we should be careful not to anticipate this course of events and seek its explanation by projecting later monarchic forms upon the seventh century.

In the first part of this book, I examine and critically evaluate the archaeological evidence for, and interpretations of, urbanisation starting from the end of the Bronze Age to the seventh century by looking at settlements, landscape, and burial evidence and the differences between southern and northern Etruria (Chapter II). From the analysis of burial evidence, a critique and refutation of the notion of princely/regal power follows, as well as a revision of the Orientalising 'phenomenon' or 'movement,' whose standard assessment I deem liable for a distorted view of political authority in seventh-century Etruria (Chapter III); I therefore offer a new interpretation of Orientalising material culture that considers parallel changes in other Mediterranean regions and takes a *longue-durée* perspective over east-west cultural interaction. I then return to Etruscan urban cemeteries in the second part of the book: I analyse how a new, collective funerary ideology took shape from a warrior ideology in seventh-century burials, the locus of Orientalising display (Chapter IV), and explore aspects of burial ritual underlying this new ideology: the new tradition of multiple depositions in a single tomb transformed the funerary ceremony into a recursive social practice, whilst the monumentalisation of the burial gave material expression to spatial rootedness and temporal continuity, which were the basis for the institutionalisation of the elites' ritual activities and transformation of their social prestige into political authority (Chapter V). The dialectics between the grave-goods and the tomb space in which they were deposited and rearranged during consecutive rituals also transformed that space and had a critical role in shaping the new funerary ideology: the grave-goods and the rites of banqueting and drinking that took place at the elite tomb are the focus of Chapter VI. In the final chapter (Chapter VII), I reconsider the differences of urbanisation across Etruria and will place Etruscan urbanisation within a wider context of the Mediterranean, where other studies on the origins of the city have also examined burial and ritual contexts.[46] By the end of this book, I hope that it will not appear far-fetched to claim that as seventh-century political authority was constructed in burial ritual, burial practices hold the key to a new political understanding of urban formation in Etruria.

[46] Morris (1987), de Polignac (1995).

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