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## THE TUSCANIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: RATIONALE, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

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### INTRODUCTION

Tuscania is a small town some 80 km north-west of Rome in central Italy, in the modern Italian province of Viterbo and administrative region of Lazio (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2). Located at 42°41'86 N x 11°87'03 E, the town is about 150 m above sea level and today has a population of about 8,500 people. The Tuscania Archaeological Survey, the field project that is the subject of this book, investigated the archaeology of the countryside within a 10 km radius

of the town. The project was devised to combine several aims, some historical, others methodological, but it was driven first and foremost by a wish to learn more about the historical processes that have shaped the development of the Mediterranean landscape. In particular, we focused on the changing nature of the relationship between town and countryside by taking as our exemplar the territory of a small town in central Italy that had been continuously occupied since Etruscan times nearly 3000 years ago.



FIGURE 1.1 Tuscania: the walled town. (Photograph: Tom Rasmussen.)

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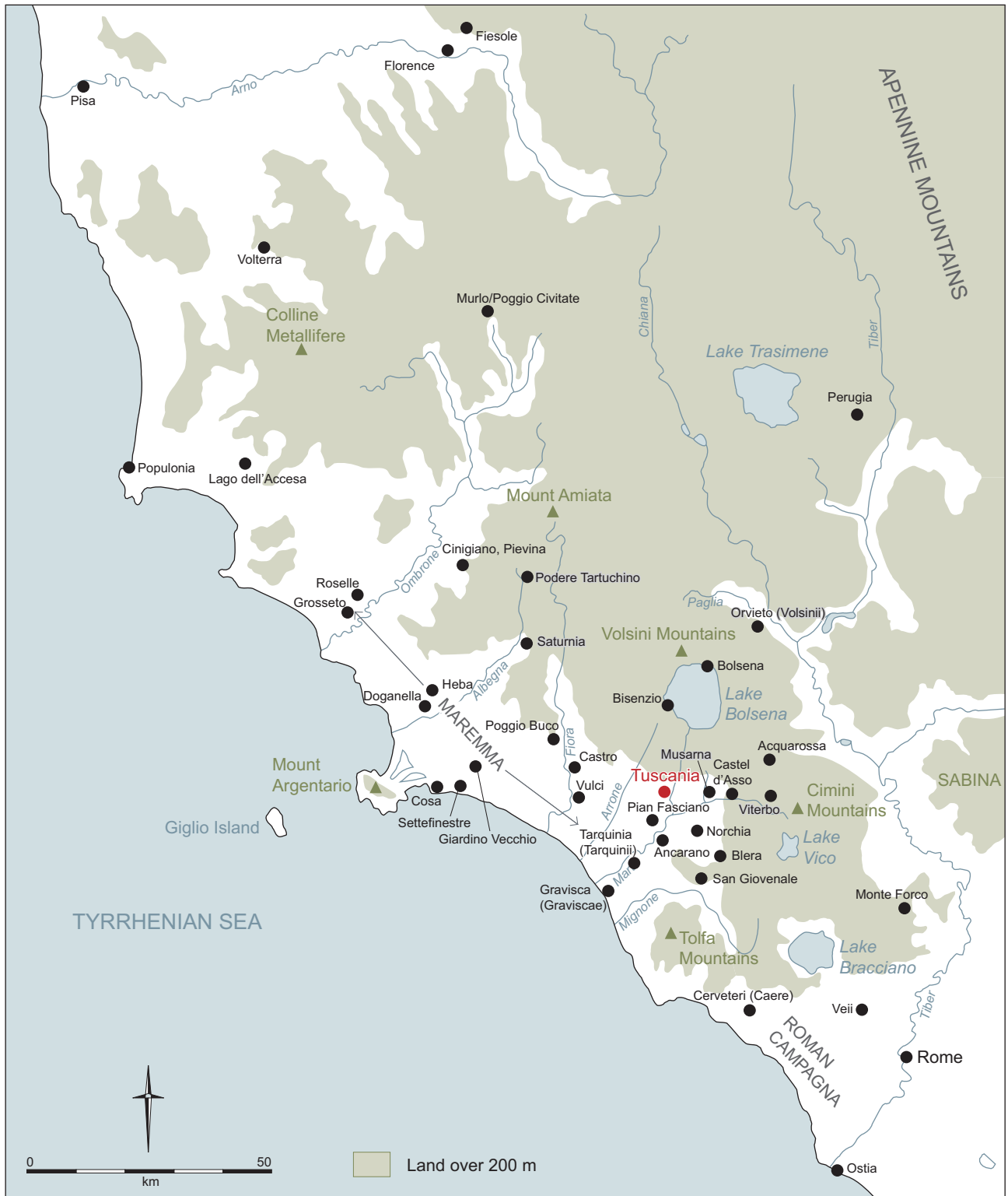


FIGURE 1.2 Tuscany in its geographical setting in Etruria (western central Italy), showing the principal locations and sites in Etruria mentioned in this chapter. Some of the ancient names are shown in brackets; Tarquinia (Etruscan Tarch(u)na and Roman Tarquinii) was known for most of its history as Corneto and only 'renamed' Tarquinia in 1922.

## INTRODUCTION

The changing relationship between town and countryside over the timescale of Tuscania's existence has been one of the most important threads running through Mediterranean history (Horden and Purcell 2000). The first half of the first millennium BC was the period of initial urbanization in the Mediterranean, in the aftermath of state formation in the Near East and Egypt (Broodbank 2013). Mediterranean urbanization at this time was characterized by city states, systems of small more-or-less independent polities. Although the focus of most scholarship has traditionally been the city states of classical Greece as the home – Athens in particular – of the literature regarded as one of the foundations of modern Western culture, somewhat comparable political institutions also developed in the central and western Mediterranean. In Italy, urbanization began in Etruria (the western side of the Italian peninsula between the Arno and Tiber rivers, broadly the area between the modern cities of Pisa, Florence and Rome: Fig. 1.2), where the Etruscan city states became the dominant political power in the central Mediterranean until they yielded to the expanding power of Rome in the fourth and third centuries BC (Cornell 1995; Smith 2005, 2014).

By the beginning of the Christian era, Rome's empire encompassed the entire Mediterranean basin. Existing cities and towns had greatly expanded in size, new urban settlements flourished and the countryside was densely settled and intensively farmed to provide for these burgeoning urban populations, especially the *c.* 1 million inhabitants of Rome itself. The decline and contraction of the Roman empire by the middle of the first millennium AD brought profound changes to both town and countryside, with urban life all but extinguished in much of the western and central Mediterranean and the countryside greatly denuded of population (Christie 2006, 2010; Wickham 2005). By the end of the first millennium AD, urban life began to flourish here once more and rural populations to increase, the principal focus of settlement for the latter being the nucleated hilltop villages, the settlement form that is still the dominant feature of the Mediterranean landscape today (Brogiolo et al. 2000; Francovich and Hodges 2003). In the past fifty

years, though, most such villages have contracted again: towns and cities have exploded in size and the countryside has been progressively denuded of population, as people whose forbears traditionally worked on the land have moved to jobs in the expanding sectors of industry, services and tourism (e.g. Gaggio 2017).

Most history has been written by literate elites, and it has often been said that ordinary people to large measure have been denied their history, in the sense of either being ignored by contemporary writers or being written about rather than being able to write about their lives themselves. In the past, as today, such elites have often owned estates in the countryside, rural idylls away from the pace of city life, but from the beginnings of urbanism in the Mediterranean the primary focus for most political activity and elite social intercourse has been the city and town. Hence although most Mediterranean peoples before the modern era lived in the countryside, the history of the Mediterranean landscape, and in particular the changing relationship between town and countryside, has been written mainly from the urban perspective, looking outwards as it were from the city walls to the countryside beyond (Horden and Purcell 2000: 90–92).

Archaeology is commonly defined as the study of past societies through their material remains. Classical and Medieval archaeology in the Mediterranean region has traditionally been dominated by the study of the lives of the rich and powerful – great cities, great monuments, great art – but one of the great strengths of archaeology is that it is also extremely good at revealing the lives of ordinary people as well as the rich and powerful. All societies, and all levels of society, create archaeology: everybody, literate or illiterate, uses material culture, and some of it survives in the ground for archaeologists to recover and study. Like historical documents, though, archaeological data pose profound challenges of bias to scholars in their interpretation: archaeologists have to try to understand why particular types of evidence have survived, how they have been biased not just by physical conditions of survival but also by the discard activities of the people who once used them (artefacts might have been lost, for example, or thrown away as rubbish, or carefully buried

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in a ritual context), and how such activities may relate to wider issues of cultural behaviour. Nevertheless, in recent decades archaeologists have demonstrated that they have a considerable contribution to make to the writing – rewriting in fact – of Mediterranean landscape history, including the changing relations between town and countryside, through the application of the techniques of landscape archaeology.

### LANDSCAPES AND TASKSCAPES

People use the term ‘landscape’ in a wide variety of senses. It may be used as a gloss to describe a locale or region; to describe the physical environment of a place, shaped by climate and geography; as the physical space, including the built environment, that participates in the structuration of daily life; and to refer to the paintings, photographs and texts that ‘capture’ a place as a cultural image, ‘a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings’ (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 1). For archaeologists the multiple senses and meanings of the term landscape, and its ability to encompass both the physical and the conceptual (what Gosden and Head [1994] termed its ‘useful ambiguity’), have given rise to an increasingly diverse landscape archaeology, or rather landscape archaeologies, encompassing very different theoretical agendas and technical approaches.

In his 1925 essay ‘The morphology of landscape’, the geographer Carl Sauer proposed the concept of the ‘cultural landscape’ as a means to bring anthropology and geography together. In some ways W. G. Hoskins’ *The Makings of the English Landscape* (1955), a survey of the historical development of rural England since Anglo-Saxon times, though very different in scope and method in its integration of documentary records, maps, place names and the limited archaeological evidence available to him, stemmed from a similar tradition in historical geography. However, it was Gordon Willey’s pioneering archaeological survey of the Viru Valley in Peru (1953) that provided the best exemplar of regionally based multi-period (diachronic) settlement studies that were one of the most enduring outcomes of the ‘New Archaeology’

of the 1960s. Past human societies, the New Archaeology proposed, needed to be studied not in terms of the culture history that had dominated previous decades but as interacting sub-systems – technological, social, economic, ideological and so on (e.g. Binford 1964, 1965). Archaeologists needed to understand the processes by which such systems developed and changed over the long term (hence the term ‘Processual Archaeology’ came to be used instead of New Archaeology). Social and economic systems could be understood especially as adaptations to particular environmental, technological or demographic circumstances, with changes in the latter being the most likely stimuli of changes in the former. For prehistory, a major focus of Processual Archaeology was on how ecological and subsistence systems interacted. To investigate these relationships, it was argued, archaeologists needed to apply scientific ways of thinking, in the form of hypothesis testing and model building, and use scientific methods so that high quality data were collected systematically and analysed rigorously. The interest in the explanation of diachronic change in social and economic systems favoured the systematic collection of data at the regional scale, and regional field survey was explicitly advocated as an important technique (Binford 1964; Flannery 1976; Plog et al. 1978).

Through the 1980s and 1990s, there was a strong reaction by ‘post-processual’ archaeologists led by Ian Hodder against these concerns with environment, system and process (e.g. Hodder 1982a, 1982b, 1986), with parallel trends in geography (e.g. Cosgrove 1984; Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995). The argument was that a focus on process dehumanized the past by demoting the role of individual agency (Gosden 1995). The focus on topography, technology and land use, on what people did to the land and how it aided or constrained them, was likely to be at the expense of experience and meaning, of how people thought or felt about it (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 7). The Western notion of landscape that implicitly or explicitly underpinned much landscape research, it was argued, drew upon the Enlightenment vision of the land viewed by a seemingly disengaged observer, but the archaeologist or historical geographer could not have the detached

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gaze of the landscape painter because past landscapes were not like painted landscapes, fixed in time: they were created and constantly refashioned through engagement and occupation, sustaining multiple identities (Layton and Ucko 1998a; Thomas 1993). The ‘Western Gaze’ – elite, usually male, commonly colonialist – had invariably privileged those at the top of the hierarchy and masked and dehumanized those at the bottom (Bender 1993a). The focus should therefore be on the subjective and socially constructed nature of landscape, of landscape situated in ideology and being-in-the-world (e.g. Bender 1993a, 1993b; Cosgrove 1984; Layton and Ucko 1998b). Tilley (1994) in particular advocated a phenomenological approach to try to understand past landscapes as they were perceived and experienced by their various inhabitants, perceptions and experiences that would differ between different individuals and social groups – the ‘multivocality’ of the past.

Landscape has to be contextualised. The way in which people – anywhere, everywhere – understand and engage with their worlds will depend upon the specific time and place and historical conditions. It will depend upon their gender, age, class, caste and on their social and economic situation. People’s landscapes will operate on very different spatial scales, whether horizontally across the surface of the world, or vertically – up to the heaven, down to the depths. They will operate on very different temporal scales, engaging with the past and the future in many different ways ... Each individual holds many landscapes in tension. (Bender 1993b: 22)

An influential paper from this time that has influenced many landscape archaeologists ever since was ‘The temporality of landscape’ by the anthropologist Tim Ingold (1993). In it he sought to find a way forward between what he called the ‘sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space’ (Ingold 1993: 152). The landscape was better imagined, he suggested, as ‘an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it and in so doing have left there something of themselves.’ Landscape archaeologists were,

in short, studying chronological sequences of what he termed ‘taskscape’.

The Tuscania Archaeological Survey was conceived and executed in the years straddling the processual and post-processual debates about the ‘proper concerns’ of landscape archaeology. Its overriding focus of interest was in ‘the lives and works of past generations’, in Ingold’s telling phrase, in our case the people who had lived in the particular terrain demarcated by the 10 km radius from a small Italian town with origins going back 3000 years. Given our interests in long-term landscape histories and societies at very different levels of complexity and scales, we endeavoured to steer between the more extreme divisions of the processual/post-processual debate characterized by Ingold (1993: 172) as ‘the “scientific” study of an atemporalized nature’, on the one hand, and ‘the “humanistic” study of a dematerialized history’ on the other.

In his classic study of Mediterranean history that laid the foundations for the *Annales* school of historical geography, the French historian Fernand Braudel characterized history as the interplay between short-term, medium-term and long-term processes (Braudel 1949, 1972). The former (*événements*) he envisaged as the events of political and military history. Medium-term processes (*conjonctures*) were the kinds of changes in society operating, say, at the scale of one or two generations. Long-term processes included factors such as the constraints of a particular technology, or the natural characteristics of a particular kind of landscape, on how people could live in it (the *longue durée*). Shaping all of these were the *mentalités*, the world-views of particular societies. Building on the experiences of one of us in the Biferno Valley Survey (Barker 1995a, 1995b), we set out to bring a similarly holistic perspective to the Tuscania Archaeological Survey. We were interested in how different kinds of societies and social groups in the past had shaped or created different kinds of landscapes – natural, social, economic, ideological – the interactions between these landscapes, and the interplay between external and internal factors operating at different timescales in shaping the trajectories of landscape change from prehistoric times to the present day.

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### MEDITERRANEAN PLOUGH-ZONE ARCHAEOLOGY

The techniques developed by landscape archaeologists for mapping human activity include air photography, satellite imagery, and a variety of systems of geophysical survey for investigating the nature of buried structures (Campana 2018; Pasquinucci and Trément 2000). In the Mediterranean, probably the most important weapon in the landscape archaeologist's armoury is what is generally termed 'field survey' or 'field-walking': the systematic searching for and collection of archaeological artefacts such as stone tools and potsherds visible on the ground surface, especially in ploughsoil (Alcock and Cherry 2004a; Francovich et al. 2000). This was the main methodology

employed by the Tuscania Archaeological Survey. The two major pioneering applications of this technique were the University of Minnesota's Messenia Expedition in the 1960s, which set out to reconstruct settlement patterning around the second-millennium BC Mycenaean palace of Pylos in the Greek Peloponnese (McDonald and Rapp 1972), and the British School at Rome's South Etruria Survey in the 1950s and 1960s, a study of changing settlement patterns in the territory of the ancient city of Veii, and adjacent areas, north of Rome (Potter 1979; Ward-Perkins et al. 1986; Fig. 1.3). The South Etruria Survey was particularly relevant for our own project because, as described in the following section of this chapter, its results provided the principal starting point for our investigation.

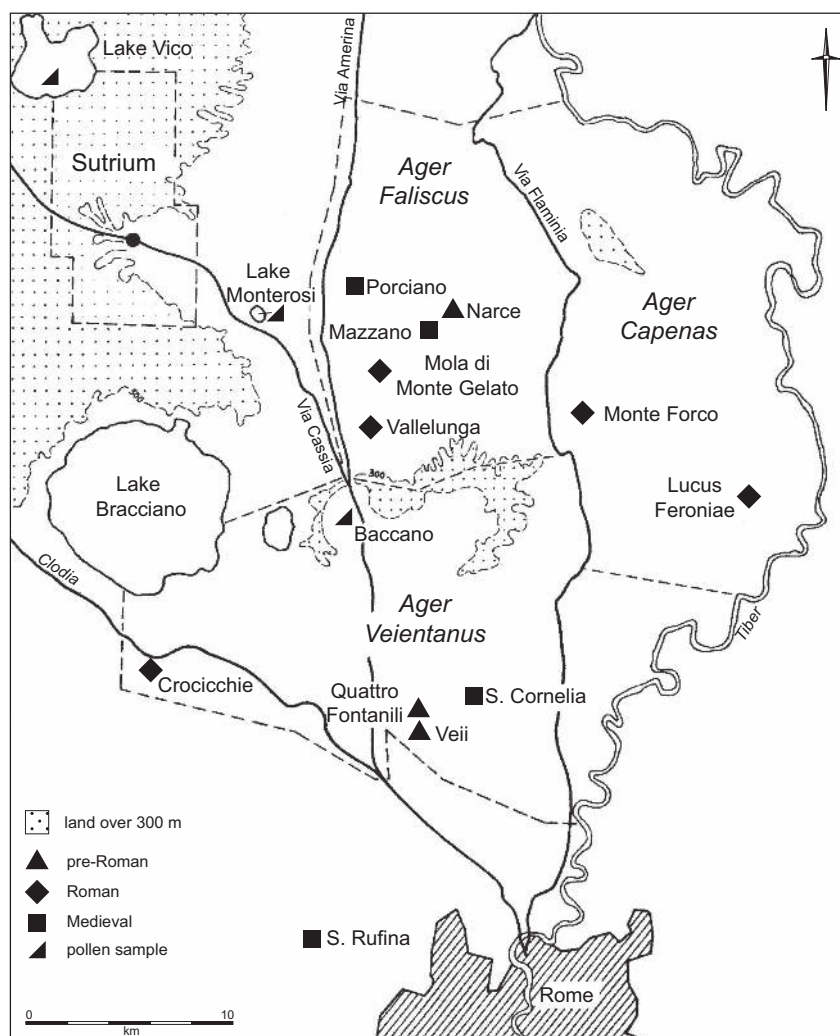


FIGURE 1.3 South Etruria, showing the location of the British School at Rome survey projects of the 1950s and 1960s. (Adapted from Potter 1979: fig. 1.)

## MEDITERRANEAN PLOUGH-ZONE ARCHAEOLOGY

The South Etruria Survey was coordinated by the School's then director, John Ward-Perkins. It was developed in the context of the increasing damage to the archaeological record that was visible throughout South Etruria in the form of ploughed-up remains of previously buried ancient structures, as farmers changed from their traditional ox-pulled ploughs, that had ploughed only a few centimetres deep, to tractor-pulled ploughs that cut down 30–50 cm. Ward-Perkins organized teams of archaeologists to walk over freshly ploughed fields. They mapped the locations of concentrations of artefacts lying on the ploughsoil surface that were the traces of buried or destroyed archaeological sites and collected samples of these artefacts as a means of dating when the sites had been occupied. The teams found hundreds of prehistoric, Etruscan, Roman and Medieval sites, the Etruscan and Roman periods being particularly well represented (Duncan 1958; Jones 1962, 1963; Kahane et al. 1968; Ward-Perkins 1961, 1962, 1964; see also Cascino et al. 2012; Patterson 2004; Patterson et al. 2020).

Over the years Ward-Perkins and his collaborators also excavated a number of sites in the survey area including a Bronze and Iron Age settlement, an Iron Age village and cemetery, Roman rural sites and Early Medieval settlements and churches, as well as parts of Etruscan and Roman Veii (e.g. Christie 1991; Potter 1972, 1976a; Ward-Perkins 1961). These excavations produced stratified collections of pottery that were vital to help with the dating of the mixed pottery from the ploughsoil collections, and they also yielded important information about the likely characteristics of the buried structures represented by surface artefacts. For example, excavated Roman remains suggested that artefact collections could be interpreted as the residues of either villas or poorer farmsteads on the evidence of differences in pottery types and the presence or absence of wealth indicators such as mosaic tesserae, pieces of statuary and wall plaster.

Ward-Perkins also encouraged palynologists to reconstruct vegetation history from fossil pollen preserved in lake sediments, and geomorphologists to reconstruct changing river regimes from alluvial sediments, their sequences often having implications for the effects on the

landscape not just of climatic change but also of human activities such as forest clearance for agriculture. The result of this remarkable multidisciplinary programme of survey, excavation and environmental science, as brilliantly summarized by Potter (1979), was an archaeological history of landscape change from the centuries preceding Etruscan state formation to the emergence of the modern landscape of nucleated hill villages at the end of the first millennium AD.

In the ensuing decades, regional survey projects were undertaken in almost all parts of the Mediterranean, building on the examples of the Messenia and South Etruria Surveys. As described in a number of edited volumes summarizing much of this work (e.g. Alcock and Cherry 2004; Barker and Lloyd 1991; Favory and Fiches 1994; Keller and Rupp 1983) and individual project publications (e.g. in Spain: Carreté et al. 1995; southern France: Trément 1999; Italy: Attema 1993; Attema et al. 2000; Barker 1995a, 1995b; Carandini and Cambi 2002; Coccia and Mattingly 1992, 1996; Cucini 1985; Delano-Smith et al. 1986; Hayes and Martini 1994; Lock and Faustoferri 2008; Moreland 1986, 1987; Percorsi et al. 2006; Yntema 1993a, 1993b; Cyprus: Given et al. 1999; Given et al. 2013; Dalmatia: Chapman et al. 1996; Gaffney et al. 1997; Greece: van Andel and Runnels 1987; Cherry et al. 1991; Hayden 2005; Mee and Forbes 1996; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Watrow et al. 2012; Wright et al. 1990), probably the most important achievement of these regional field-walking projects was their demonstration of the complexity of rural settlement in classical times – what John Lloyd (1991) termed ‘the busy countryside’. The classical landscape, it became clear, was characterized by an abundance and diversity of settlement forms entirely unsuspected from the written sources (Launaro 2011).

Collaboration between archaeologists and geographers has been a feature of many of these regional landscape studies and has demonstrated the same sort of complexity regarding the development of the natural landscape and of people's impact on it (e.g. Hunt et al. 1992; van der Leeuw 1995; Leveau et al. 2000; Lewin et al. 1995). Classical farmers in particular seem to have caused deforestation and accelerated erosion in many regions, but

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significant episodes of erosion have been noted as well from the Bronze Age to the recent past. Furthermore, different kinds of agricultural processes had different environmental impacts. In the Argolid region of the Greek Peloponnese, for example, erosion seems to have been caused by arable intensification in the Bronze Age, pastoral expansion and terrace abandonment in Hellenistic times, deforestation for arable expansion in the Byzantine period and finally – as throughout the Mediterranean – on a vastly increased scale in recent decades by mechanized deep ploughing (van Andel and Runnels 1987). The Biferno Valley Survey found an equally complex sequence, with a different chronology (Hunt 1995a, 1995b). Climatic change also accelerated erosional trends in the Late Roman and Early Medieval periods, as Vita-Finzi (1969) first surmised.

Alongside field survey's remarkable contribution to knowledge of Mediterranean landscape history, however, has been continuous debate among both its critics and its practitioners about its methodologies and overall effectiveness (Campana 2018). Areas of discussion included the relative effectiveness of different techniques for defining survey areas and sub-samples within them, conducting the field-walking and interpreting the materials collected; the effects of soil processes such as alluviation and erosion moving or burying surface material; the effects on artefact discovery of different kinds of land use, ploughsoil conditions, and changing conditions of light and shadow; and biases caused by the variable skills and experiences of field team members.

Differential 'archaeological visibility' was recognized as likely to be particularly significant: the fact that some components of the archaeological record were inherently likely to be better represented than others in terms of the quantities of what there was to be found, or likely to be visible or both. In Italy, for example, the Roman period was generally characterized by high rural populations living in dispersed farms (Launaro 2011). Potentially, therefore, they built lots of sites for archaeologists to find. These farms, moreover, usually had well-built structures with walls of brick and roofs of tile, both durable materials. The people used well-made pottery (so durable) that was

produced on a large, sometimes almost industrial, scale, and the finest wares tended also to have bright polished surfaces (so likely to be visible in the ploughsoil), and the period of manufacture of many such sherds can also be dated to individual centuries. In the Early Medieval period, by contrast, there was a much smaller population, living in houses that excavations showed were for the most part of wood and thatch (so leaving no durable, easily visible, traces), in small nucleated settlements on hill-tops that frequently today are wooded and so effectively inaccessible to systematic field-walking (Francovich and Hodges 2003; Moreland and Pluciennik 1993; Moreland et al. 1993). Also, much of their technology was probably of organic materials that do not survive (wooden bowls, for example), and much of the pottery they used was rather poorly made and friable. The Biferno Valley Survey was typical of many field projects in Italy in finding hundreds of sites for the (approximately) thousand years of the classical period (c. 500 BC–AD 500), but less than a dozen for the ensuing 500 years (Barker 1995a). In Tuscany, 95 per cent of the c. 20,000 archaeological sites located in a 30-year-long programme of landscape research by the University of Siena relate to the time span between the sixth century BC and sixth century AD (Campana 2018: 20).

Plough-zone survey has also been criticized for its common delineation of a past landscape as a map of dots (most assumed to represent habitation loci of some kind) separated by white space, with little direct insight into the multifarious tasks that must have characterized most taskscapes beyond the habitations (Campana 2018). (Excavation of activity loci could, of course, provide indirect evidence of the activities beyond them.) Also, the landscape activities of different kinds of societies produce different kinds of signatures, some more visible than others. Ethnoarchaeological studies of hunting and pastoral societies, for example, show that they often move between a series of seasonal camps which may be in the same general location year by year, but the settlement archaeology created can consist of thin spreads of debris extending over hundreds of metres rather than a concentration of occupation materials at a fixed site. Mobile people in the



## RESEARCH ISSUES

past would likely have created a much more ephemeral archaeological record than people living in fixed settlements. How people disposed of their rubbish will also have affected the kind of surface archaeology created: for example, people might spread their rubbish as manure on the fields surrounding their settlements or bury it in pits – the latter was commonly the case on Medieval urban sites, including at Tuscania itself (Johns et al. 1973; Ward-Perkins et al. 1972).

At the time we were planning the project, therefore, it was clear that Mediterranean landscape archaeology had to confront challenging methodological problems in trying to distinguish absence of settlement evidence from evidence for an absence of settlement, and evidence for dense settlement from evidence for prolific, well-preserved and conspicuous artefacts. The variability of the field techniques, the context of the POPULUS project (Barker and Mattingly 2000a–e), was severely weakening the potential of landscape archaeology to write regional or in particular Mediterranean-wide landscape histories integrating the results of different regional survey projects (Alcock 2000; Alcock and Cherry 2004; Mattingly 2000). These were all challenges that we hoped to address in the Tuscania Archaeological Survey field-walking programme, using the methodologies described in the next chapter.

## RESEARCH ISSUES

The specific research agenda of our project was developed in the light of previous archaeological and historical studies of town and country relations in central Italy, building especially on the work of the South Etruria Survey. Sets of questions were framed focusing especially on the Etruscan, Roman and Medieval landscapes and the transitions between them.

**Etruscan Urbanization**

The first main area of interest related to the origins and character of Etruscan urbanization. Debates over this have centred around the chronology of its emergence and

the role of Greece as a possible source of inspiration. Some historians have tended to see the question in terms of the importation of an already fully developed Greek model *c.* 700 BC, the beginning of the Orientalizing period (so-called because of Eastern influences discerned in Etruscan art from this time) (Drews 1981; Harris 1989). Genetic studies of modern central Italian populations were taken as evidence for an east Mediterranean/Anatolian origin of the Etruscans (Achilli et al. 2007; Brisighelli et al. 2009). Some studies of ancient DNA in Etruscan skeletons did not find persuasive evidence for significant genetic continuity with later Italian populations (Belle et al. 2006; Ghirotto et al. 2013); others proposed indigenous rather than exotic origins (Tassi et al. 2013). The most recent, using the ancient DNA (aDNA) of around 80 individuals from Etruria spanning from 1000 BC to AD 1000, including around fifteen from the centuries of Etruscan hegemony and independence from Rome (the seventh to the fourth centuries), proposes an Indo-European-associated steppe ancestry for the Etruscans in line with the steppe ancestry that geneticists have also proposed, equally controversially in relation to the archaeological evidence, for the wider European population in later prehistory (Allentoft et al. 2015; Olalde et al. 2015). While acknowledging the profound cultural impacts of Phoenician and Greek settlement and commercial activity, most archaeologists have argued that there is no need to look beyond Italy for the dominant impulse towards the formation of the Etruscan city states, because the seeds of state-level or urbanized societies were present already in the communities of the Villanovan Iron Age in Etruria *c.* 900–700 BC, and even perhaps before then (Barker and Rasmussen 1998; Broodbank 2013; Fulminante 2014; Guidi 2006; Rasmussen 2005; Riva 2020; Spivey and Stoddart 1990; and see Chapters 4 and 5). While this is the view that we ourselves have favoured (Barker and Rasmussen 1988) and continue to favour, demonstrating a significant increase in social complexity is one thing but explaining it quite another. Advancing understanding about the trajectory of urbanism in Etruria has been greatly hampered by lack of detailed knowledge about the nature of settlement in the centuries before the appearance of Etruscan towns,

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and in the initial stages of their development. Had there been a gradual process of nucleation, with people coming together into fewer, larger, settlements in the preceding phases of prehistoric occupation, or had the growth of central sites been rapid? In either case, to what extent was the surrounding countryside depopulated?

Etruscan archaeology for generations has been concerned with the controlling elites and with the expensive goods with which they surrounded themselves that fill the world's great museums today. What has been conspicuously missing has been any focus on the lower end of the settlement hierarchy, most of whom are assumed to have been living on the land (Barker et al. 1993a; Potts and Smith 2021). Knowledge about Etruscan lives had been derived almost exclusively from necropolis archaeology, and D. H. Lawrence, writing in 1932, was hardly exaggerating when he commented that 'now, we know nothing about the Etruscans except what we find in their tombs ... Of first-hand knowledge we have nothing except what the tombs offer' (1986: 31). It is, of course, because the tombs have offered up so great a wealth of objects, from the great assemblages of the Orientalizing period, such as that from the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri to the Hellenistic riches of the Volumnii tomb at Perugia, that the temptation to pillage, and later to excavate, cemeteries has always been extreme. At first, objects were simply pulled out of context and treated in museum displays as *objets d'art*. Later, they were studied for the creation of coherent typologies of artefacts on which the major chronological divisions of Etruscan culture are based: Orientalizing (700–570 BC), Archaic (570–470 BC), classical (470–300 BC) and Hellenistic (300–31 BC). (The Hellenistic phase encompasses the final retreat of Etruscan power in the face of Roman territorial expansion, 31 BC being the date when Augustus, Rome's first emperor, came to power.) Researchers, especially in more recent times, have also tried to make sense of Etruscan museum collections in social, economic and ideological terms (e.g. Izzet 2010; Riva 2020), but their success has always had to be tempered by the biases in the material itself: that it is mainly funerary, and that it is concerned for the most part with the highest strata of society (Potts and Smith 2021).

Settlement archaeology came late in Etruscan studies and, with the exception of Marzabotto near Bologna on the edge of the Po plain in the north, especially late where investigation of the major urban sites is concerned. Attention on the city sites has, by intention or luck, focused mainly on sanctuary sites. At Cerveteri this is true both of the old excavations of Mengarelli and of more recent initiatives (Cristofani and Nardi 1988; de Grummond and Pieraccini 2016), though a huge deposit of dumped material looks more domestic in nature (Cristofani 1992–1993). It is true, too, of excavations on the acropolis of Populonia, at Volterra, Fiesole and also on the Pian di Civita at Tarquinia (Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1997). Part of an industrial complex was uncovered in the lower town of Populonia (Cristofani and Martelli 1979), as was a series of Iron Age huts on the Monterozzi ridge at Tarquinia (Linington 1982). At some other sites, investigations have been on a larger scale but have penetrated through to Etruscan levels only at certain points – notably at Roselle to a substantial archaic house (Donati 1994) and to one or two even earlier domestic structures. Rather different are the cases of Doganella (Perkins and Walker 1990) and Veii (Cascino et al. 2012; Guaitoli 1982; Patterson et al. 1999; Tabolli and Cerasuolo 2019; Ward-Perkins 1961), both large urban sites which have been carefully surveyed and field-walked, but at which only relatively small areas of domestic structures have been excavated. At Cerveteri too, in addition to excavations mentioned above, survey resulted in a series of settlement maps of the urban area from the Early Iron Age to the first century AD (Merlino and Merenda 1990).

A few smaller sites – towns and large villages rather than cities – have been investigated with considerable care. The process began with the Swedish excavations at San Giovenale and Acquarossa in the 1960s and 1970s (Wikander and Roos 1986) and continued at Poggio Civitate near Murlo (Phillips 1993). The latter is usually discussed in terms of a large isolated building complex but is more likely to have been part of a larger settlement (there is a necropolis area nearby). Work was conducted also at a group of houses set in the vicinity of Lago dell'Accesa in the Colline Metallifere ('metal-bearing