

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie 17 - 18

Le rotte di Odisseo Scritti di archeologia e politica di Bruno d'Agostino

a cura di Matteo D'Acunto e Marco Giglio



2010-2011 Napoli

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L'elenco delle abbreviazioni supplementari va dattiloscritto a parte.

Le parole straniere, salvo i nomi dei vasi, vanno in corsivo.

I sostantivi in lingua inglese vanno citati con lettera minuscola, ad eccezione degli etnici.

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Abbreviazioni

Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm.; circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta o vedi: cfr.; *et alii*: *et al.*; diametro: diam.; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./frr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; lunghezza: lungh.; metri: m.; numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof.; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: T.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.

Non si abbreviano: *idem*, *eadem*, *ibidem*; in corso di stampa; nord, sud, est, ovest; nota/e; non vidi.

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LE ROTTE DI ODISSEO

Fare il ritratto di una persona è cercare le parole che ha scritto, le storie che ci ha raccontato, le idee che ci ha trasmesso, i percorsi che ha seguito, dove anche le sue illusioni sono entrate come fatti reali; per questo la scelta di scritti di Bruno d'Agostino che qui si presenta, pur nella frammentarietà che la scelta ha imposto, sembra possedere la vivida icasticità di un ritratto, con le sue luci e le sue ombre, più vero di quello che potrebbe scaturire da una classica biografia la quale infatti, bugiarda per vocazione e convenzionale per obbligo, raggiunge liberamente la sua verità più profonda solo proponendo la semplice lettura in sequenza dei testi qui raccolti: essi sono sufficienti a documentare la varietà e la specificità dei campi di interessi dell'autore, la sua volontà di leggere il mondo antico su molteplici livelli e in molteplici linguaggi, cogliendo nello sterminato deposito di segni che quel mondo ci ha lasciato, un nuovo modo di "fare storia"; essi sono anche una testimonianza di come la conoscenza scientifica, per chi sia animato da questa volontà di ricerca, non è mai assoluta ed ha sempre nuove frontiere per orizzonte: si fa il giro intorno al mondo per sciogliere l'enigma dell'inizio, senza garanzia che ci si arrivi, ma con la sicurezza che la strada diventi di per sé significativa.

In questa prospettiva, tutte le ricerche qui documentate, sia che esplorino le civiltà dei primi abitanti dell'Italia antica o approfondiscano la struttura e la organizzazione del mondo etrusco, o indaghino il rapporto dei Greci col mondo italico, spostano concretamente e sperimentalmente il discorso su diversi terreni, si aprono in molteplici direzioni, puntando sui tessuti culturali, sulla trasversalità delle possibili letture, sulla incidenza concreta delle aree geografiche e delle condizioni storiche, in un equilibrio acrobatico tra documentazione e interpretazione, dal momento che in ogni scienza lo strumento della conoscenza e l'oggetto della conoscenza si condizionano e si verificano a vicenda.

Alla ampiezza territoriale e cronologica degli interessi, corrisponde l'interessato

approfondimento di tutte le forme di espressione delle civiltà esaminate, la accanita esplorazione della struttura dei linguaggi, capace di illuminare dall'interno e in ogni frammento le ragioni profonde delle singole forme espressive.

Ogni forma culturale infatti, sia a livello individuale che a livello sociale, nelle dimensioni del rito e del mito, è manifestazione di particolari atteggiamenti mentali, rivelatori di realtà storiche non altrimenti recuperabili del mondo antico: l'approfondimento delle conoscenze in questo campo si trasforma in illuminanti pagine di storia della mentalità come hanno dimostrato le ricerche dell'autore nel campo della ideologia funeraria e in quello delle espressioni dell'immaginario.

Gli oggetti deposti nella tomba col morto, così come la struttura stessa della tomba nelle sue diverse parti, sono sistemi di segni funzionali ad un messaggio che è possibile decifrare attraverso uno studio sistematico delle regole che governano il sistema stesso: nonostante la absolutezza della morte e il silenzio muto imposto dal cadavere, anche la tomba diviene in tal modo il luogo di un discorso vivificante e per noi illuminante, come queste ricerche ci illustrano.

Se l'immaginario è un processo di metaforizzazione e visualizzazione del pensiero, è chiaro che le immagini, costruzione dell'immaginario sociale, sono un importantissimo campo da esplorare e interrogare: esse mettono in scena il sistema di valori delle società e ne possono esprimere le tensioni, anche se per noi è sempre difficile decifrare l'iconografia che ne raffigura la ritualità; negli studi specifici qui documentati la individuazione della articolata varietà delle strategie con cui il mondo etrusco rifunzionalizza l'immaginario greco apre uno sterminato scenario di conoscenze sul carattere selettivo dell'immaginario figurato, in quanto prodotto storicamente comprensibile solo se inserito nelle sue coordinate storiche.

Concepire l'archeologia come ricerca storica e non come disciplina tecnico-professionale, aprirsi alle nuove metodologie, funzionali all'approfondimento delle conoscenze: è il futuro auspicato per la ricerca archeologica nella presentazione del primo numero della Rivista "Dialoghi di Archeologia". Bruno d'Agostino è certamente tra quelli della sua generazione il più aperto ad accogliere le innovazioni tecnologiche che hanno stravolto il nostro tempo.

Non è una novità se si considera che Bruno ha sempre guardato più ai giovani che non ai suoi coetanei, sempre motivato dal ferreo bisogno di essere aggiornato, di non sentirsi scavalcato dal tempo che avanza inesorabilmente, rottamando anche il presente, insieme al passato prossimo.

Ed ecco che un bel giorno Bruno attiva un suo indirizzo Skype, ci pensate? Vengono i brividi a pensare che Lucio Magri si rifiutava di apprendere l'uso del bancomat o del telefonino. E non per caso cito un uomo politico ed un pensatore che è stato a lungo un fondamentale punto di riferimento nel pensiero progressista del XX secolo, cui Bruno si è ispirato con ferma convinzione, direi senza soluzione di continuità.

E che cosa ha scelto come presentazione, come logo del suo indirizzo Skype?

Un proverbio latino, *ubi dubium ibi libertas*, che la dice lunga sullo stato attuale del suo modo di 'guardare al mondo' e ovviamente sullo studio di quel mondo antico cui dedica la sua intelligente attenzione da oltre mezzo secolo.

Se si tiene presente la biografia intellettuale di Bruno d'Agostino quel proverbio assume significati che, al di là di una generica fede nella ragione, esprimono anche lo sgomento di chi ha perso punti di riferimento, certezze, una fede politica tradita dai suoi impresentabili interpreti, un vuoto nel quale si insinuano l'incredulità ed il dubbio.

Ha un rapporto tutto questo con la sua attività scientifica che (fortunatamente per noi) continua anche dopo quello stupido limite che chiamiamo pensione o, peggio ancora, quiescenza?

Si può citare un episodio a tal riguardo. Nel corso di un recente convegno storico-antropologico, a Napoli, Bruno ha espresso, quasi con fastidio, la sua avversione nei confronti dell'uso, ormai definibile abuso, della storiografia contemporanea che si dedica alla definizione delle identità e della ormai ben nota, fritta e rifritta, almeno dal punto di vista archeologico, *ethnicity*.

Il dubbio apre la strada allo scetticismo: esistono sempre limiti *quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*; insomma nella stagione attuale sembra prevalere la moderazione in un intellettuale che abbiamo sempre classificato come uno dei più tenaci manichei del nostro tempo.

È una storia antica ormai. Risale appunto al tempo dei Dialoghi di Archeologia, la Rivista fondata e diretta da Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli cui faceva riferimento un gruppo di Amici (detto semplicemente 'il gruppo') di cui Bruno era uno degli intellettuali di punta. Viene rabbia a pensare che, se si interroga un giovane al di sotto dei 40 anni, nel 99% dei casi ti viene risposto che ignora l'esistenza di quella Rivista, che pure ha segnato una stagione fondamentale nel modo di concepire lo studio dell'antico ed il rapporto (e qui stava una delle grandi novità) tra intellettuali e società, tra ricerca e politica della ricerca, che non faceva sconti a nessuno, nemmeno alla sinistra cui apparteneva il maggior numero di adepti del gruppo. Anzi la sinistra fu oggetto (in un dibattito alla Fondazione Basso) di

critiche pesanti per il ritardo (che novità?) con cui guardava al mondo circostante.

Bruno era tra i Robespierre del gruppo in quella e tante altre occasioni; ci limitiamo a ricordare lo scontro durissimo con Bianchi Bandinelli ed il PCI favorevoli alla regionalizzazione della gestione dei BBCC ed il resto del mondo (e cioè noi... e si perché gli 'altri' erano inesistenti ed irrilevanti ed a quel tempo si nascondevano ... ma preparavano il rientro alla grande, come puntualmente non molto dopo è accaduto, anche grazie alle croniche divisioni che sono nel DNA della sinistra).

Tema che andava a fare coppia, per la contiguità dell'argomento, contro la dilagante tendenza ad elevare a sistema il dilettantismo dei cosiddetti gruppi spontanei, associazioni di volontariato degli archeologi della domenica che infestavano il Paese e contro i quali fu combattuta una battaglia senza sosta che, se non sortì tutti gli effetti sperati, per lo meno riuscì ad arginare il fenomeno, lasciandone la soluzione (anzi la non soluzione) alla confusione del tempo presente.

Piace ricordare, in quegli stessi anni '70, di Bruno d'Agostino, la titanica impresa che lo portò alla fondazione dell'archeologia classica all'Orientale nel Dipartimento di cui fu a lungo direttore ed alla creazione del dottorato 'Fra Oriente e Occidente' che nacque con l'apporto intellettuale di quel grande ed indimenticabile studioso ed uomo che fu Maurizio Taddei.

Ma qui dobbiamo parlare soprattutto degli 'Annali' la rivista del Dipartimento che Bruno ha fondato e diretto per 30 anni e che possiamo ritenere il prodotto di un intellettuale che fa ed organizza ricerca con un orizzonte amplissimo, tanto da aver favorito l'inserimento della Rivista tra i più prestigiosi periodici del panorama internazionale.

Qual era (e speriamo continui ad essere) il senso di quella operazione? Senza dubbio AION non è concepibile senza l'esperienza dei Dialoghi. Da lì bisogna partire per capire innanzitutto l'insoddisfazione profonda di tutta una generazione ('68 e seguenti) che non si riconosceva nell'accademia ingessata che sapeva di muffa come gli oggetti dei suoi interessi e che naturalmente esprimeva la cabina di comando nella quale si selezionavano i vincitori di concorso. Ma sul piano generalmente storiografico, si trattava di recuperare gli anni perduti a causa dell'oscurantismo del ventennio e preparare tutta una generazione nata dopo la guerra a farsi carico di assumere con responsabilità la gestione del patrimonio archeologico nazionale, ma anche nel saperlo valorizzare sul piano culturale confrontandosi con le più avanzate scuole di pensiero di altri Paesi.

Al momento del passaggio dai Dialoghi agli Annali (siamo ormai alla fine degli anni '70) Bruno sceglie il parigino *Centre de Recherches comparées* di Vernant, Vidal-Naquet,

Detienne e Loraux (con tanti altri) come interlocutore privilegiato. Nasce così il Centro Studi sull'ideologia funeraria che produce convegni, incontri, seminari e quella massa di contributi che a giusto titolo sono da considerare fondativi di un modo di studiare l'antico innestando nella *arida humus* di un'archeologia, tradizionalmente asettica, la linfa della storia antropologica e delle scienze sociali che andavano sempre più a confrontarsi (e viceversa) con gli studiosi più avveduti del mondo antico.

Ma Bruno d'Agostino non ha mai dimenticato di essere stato ispettore e soprintendente e mantiene a lungo in vita il bisogno di tornare alla terra, allo scavo. Questa volta il punto di riferimento è il mondo anglosassone che ha inventato il matrix di cui Bruno si fa convinto assertore. E non solo. Poco dopo (ma con un decennio di ritardo) da Londra arriva l'archeologia urbana; e Napoli, la città natale, quella nella quale Bruno lavora ora come professore ordinario di Etruscologia, offre una irripetibile occasione di sperimentarne l'approccio negli anni tumultuosi degli interventi straordinari dopo il terremoto dell'80. Bruno esplora con acribia e minuzia (financo esasperante) l'acropoli di Neapolis a S. Aniello. Esperienza, modo di concepire l'organizzazione del cantiere, la raccolta e l'archiviazione e la gestione di una massa enorme di dati (*toute information...*) che trasferisce, da maestro, ai suoi allievi a Pontecagnano e finalmente a Cuma, *palaiotaton ktisma*, uno dei siti più sospirati e agognati di tutta l'archeologia dell'Occidente greco alla cui esplorazione ed alla pubblicazione dei dati si dedica ancora oggi.

La scelta dei suoi contributi (una parte significativa, ma pur sempre una parte, che deve incoraggiare alla lettura del resto) riflette la molteplicità non tanto e solo degli interessi quanto del lavoro intellettuale che normalmente ad un certo punto della biografia intellettuale della maggior parte degli studiosi (Bianchi Bandinelli raccontava la barzelletta dell'archeologo che comprava libri ed avanzava nella carriera, finché, diventato ordinario, vendeva la biblioteca!) si 'fossilizza' nel solo lavoro organizzativo (la gestione del 'potere' di quelli che noi, quando avevamo 20 anni, chiamavamo mandarini). Bruno d'Agostino, da par suo, ha saputo e sa mantenere vivo ed inestinguibile il piacere dello studio e della ricerca che le sue pagine continuano a trasmettere fornendo un esempio elevato dell'uso rigoroso della ragione, che, in fondo, al di là della inevitabile caducità delle interpretazioni, più di ogni altro apporto, è ciò che contraddistingue uno scienziato vero. Proporre una raccolta dei suoi scritti ha il significato di un investimento sul futuro. Significa offrire ai lettori, e soprattutto ai più giovani, l'opportunità di confrontarsi, attraverso un'edizione selezionata dei suoi studi, con la produzione di uno dei protagonisti della ricerca archeologica

italiana e internazionale: con un pensiero del tutto attuale per rigore scientifico e tensione metodologica.

Proprio in funzione del lettore si è scelto di organizzare la raccolta in sezioni tematiche: è sembrato opportuno associare sintesi di alta divulgazione (ad es., **1.1** e **6.24**), saggi che precorrono filoni di ricerca poi molto in voga (e non sempre con risultati convincenti) nel dibattito nazionale e internazionale come quelli dedicati all'interazione culturale, alla nozione attiva di ideologia e alla formazione dell'identità etnica (ad es., **1.2-4**, **2.7**), e, infine, articoli pubblicati in sedi non facilmente accessibili per renderli disponibili ad un pubblico di non soli specialisti.

Ne scaturisce il *fil rouge* di un percorso scientifico in cui si avverte la responsabilità dell'esercizio della conoscenza e della costruzione del sapere, a partire dall'obbligo intellettuale di una chiarezza rigorosa perché le domande non sono mai banali, i contenuti mai neutrali e l'archeologia, che ha l'ambizione di ricostruire le strutture del mondo antico, può costituire una delle lenti con cui l'uomo contemporaneo riflette sulla propria condizione, nella responsabilità concreta delle pratiche culturali e politiche.

Nella varietà degli argomenti trattati emergono alcune linee guida che strutturano la ricerca: la conoscenza approfondita della produzione materiale nelle sue coordinate cronotipologiche indispensabili per descrivere i tempi e le modalità dei ritmi di sviluppo delle produzioni antiche; la capacità di integrare fonti storiche e archeologiche, rispettandone l'autonomia attraverso la decodificazione di logiche e codici di pertinenza; l'apertura verso l'antropologia culturale filtrata dalla mediazione critica del marxismo, con la centralità attribuita alla nozione di cultura come strategia di identità sociale, la valorizzazione del ruolo strutturale dell'ideologia, l'insistenza sul tema della relazione culturale tra i diversi come processo interattivo contro ogni meccanica acculturazione e, infine, ma non ultima, l'idea dell'archeologia come pratica politica e civile che non deve sottrarsi alle responsabilità di servizio nei confronti di una comunità democratica.

Su queste linee guida il lettore, se vorrà, potrà a sua volta organizzare il proprio percorso, moltiplicando la rete delle relazioni istituibili tra le diverse sezioni tematiche, magari proprio a partire dalla sequenza non puramente cronologica degli articoli proposta dall'edizione accuratissima di Matteo D'Acunto e di Marco Giglio: nel seguirla emerge la logica di un percorso intellettuale coerente perché pronto a rimettersi in gioco, a cercare ancora altre domande che poi non saranno le ultime.

SEZIONE 2: I PRINCIPI E LA NON-CITTÀ DEGLI ETRUSCHI

10 MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN ARCHAIC ETRURIA*

«They are indeed, perfect enough in their exercises, and under very good discipline, wherein I saw no great merit: for how should it be otherwise, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city?».

(Jonathan Swift, *A Voyage to Brobdingnag*, chapter 8)

[p. 59] The political and social organization of the Etruscan world is obscure¹: that is a consequence of the complete loss of those literary texts which we know to have existed, and of the nature of the epigraphic records, which for the most part consist of funerary inscriptions of a formulaic type. For such reasons the archaeological evidence assumes a fundamental importance, and represents our source of knowledge for these aspects of the [p. 60]

* 'Military Organization and Social Structure in Archaic Etruria', in O. Murray – S. Price (a cura di), *The Greek City. From Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, pp. 59-82.

This chapter was written at Cambridge in 1987, during a period as Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, financed by a grant from the Aylwin Cotton Foundation and a travel award from the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. It was presented and discussed at two seminars held in the Department of Classics at Cambridge and in the series on the Greek city at Oxford. My thanks to all the institutions mentioned, and in particular to my colleagues A. Snodgrass, O. Murray and P. Cartledge for suggestions and criticisms. Naturally any inadequacies and errors are the responsibility of the author.

¹ J. Heurgon, 'L'État étrusque', in *Historia* 6, 1957, pp. 63 ss.; *idem*, 'Classes et ordres chez les Etrusques', in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique - Caen 1969*, Paris 1970, pp. 28 ss.; M. Torelli, 'Tre studi di storia etrusca', in *DialArch* 7, 1974-1975, pp. 3 ss.; M. Cristofani, 'Società e istituzioni nell'Italia preromana', in *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*, 7, Rome 1978, pp. 51 ss.; G. Colonna, 'Il lessico istituzionale etrusco e la formazione della città (specialmente in Emilia-Romagna)', in *La formazione della città preromana in Emilia-Romagna*, 'Atti Convegno 1985', Bologna 1988, pp. 15 ss.

Etruscan world. The situation is made even more complicated by the absence of any political unity, and by the profound difference which existed between the various parts into which this world was divided. From their earliest origins, which can be placed at the start of the ninth century BC², the different cities of Etruria behaved in fact as independent and unconnected political entities, even if the existence of federal magistrates like the *praetor Etruriae* may suggest the existence of some sort of federal link operating at least within certain limits and under particular circumstances. On the other hand the differences which existed between the various areas into which this little world was divided are very marked.

Etruria proper extends on the western side of the Italian peninsula from the River Arno to the River Tiber (Fig. 1)³: it includes therefore the modern region of Toscana and part of northern Lazio. Within these boundaries the Etruscan territory can be divided into three main areas. The southern

² Müller Karpe 1962; A. Guidi, 'An Application of the Rank-Size Rule to Protohistoric Settlements in the Middle Tyrrhenian Area', in C. Malone - S. Stoddart (a cura di), *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, IV, BAR International Series 245, Oxford 1985, pp. 217 ss.; *idem*, 'Sulle prime fasi dell'urbanizzazione del Lazio protostorico', in *Opus* 1, 1982, pp. 279-289, and the discussion of this article in *Opus* 2, 1983, pp. 423-448. See now Colonna 1986, pp. 371 ss.

³ T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, London 1979; M. Torelli, *Etruria*, Bari 1980.

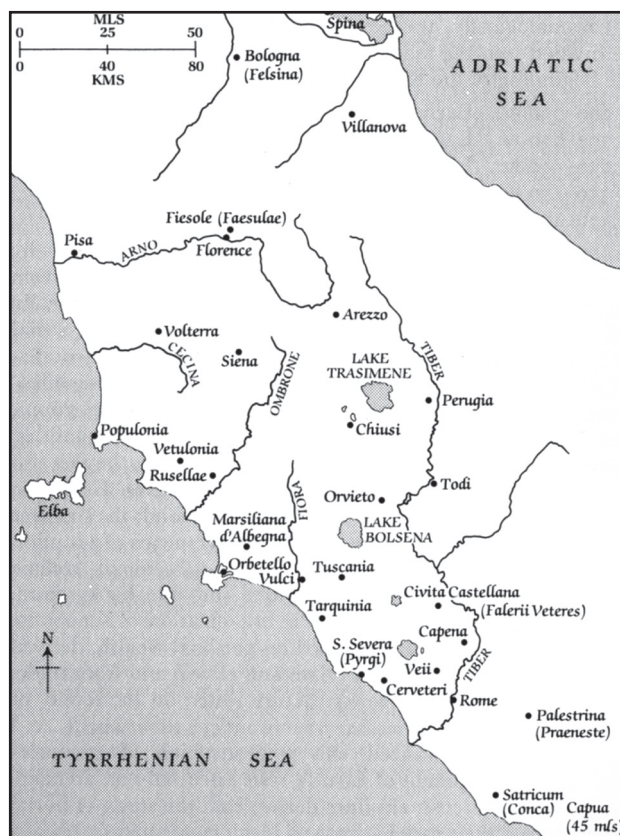


Fig. 1. Map of Etruria.

coastal area, which played the leading part in the development of Etruscan culture, extends roughly from the Tiber to the River Fiora, and includes centres like Veii, Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci. The northern area, which contains the chief metal resources of the region, is dominated by centres like Vetulonia, Populonia, and Roselle. Inland Etruria lies along the Apennine mountain range in the river valleys of the Tiber and the Chiana; the most important cities are Volsinii (Orvieto), Chiusi, Perugia, and Arezzo. The distinction between these areas is not only economic and cultural; at times it was transformed into actual political opposition, as happened at the end of the sixth century, when the king of Chiusi, Porsenna, traditionally regarded as the supporter of the Tarquins at Rome, in fact imposed the hegemony of Chiusi and of inland Etruria. From Etruria proper, major expansion [p. 61] occurred north-eastwards and southwards. The first included the Po valley, and had its centre at Felsina (Bologna), the second comprised a large part of coastal Campania, with its principal centres at Capua and Pontecagnano. [p. 62] Chro-

nologically, the development of Etruscan culture can be divided into the following phases during the period before the beginning of the Roman conquest:

- 900-730 BC Early Iron age; Villanovan period
- 730-630 BC Early Orientalizing
- 630-550 BC Late Orientalizing
- 550-470 BC Archaic Period
- 470-400 BC Classical Period

From the point of view of social organization, it is generally held that in the Early Iron Age there was a transition from communities with an egalitarian structure to hierarchically organized communities, within which economic and social differentiation began to be established. With Early Orientalizing the communities developed a gentilicial type of organization; they became articulated into enlarged kinship groups, characterized internally by strong economic inequalities: alongside the *princeps gentis* and the gentilicial *élite*, the *gens* also included within itself a mass of *clientes* and slaves. Economic power was closely related to the possession of land; the stranger could be incorporated in the community by means of adoption into a *gens*. In Late Orientalizing and the subsequent Archaic periods the gentilicial structure faded into the background, and was replaced by an economic organization of timocratic type⁴: economic power was based on personal wealth, derived from specialized agriculture (vines and olives) and from trade. The social basis of this new structure rested on the family or *oikos*, where each *paterfamilias* was an independent agent. As I have already emphasized, this reconstruction of the socio-economic development of Etruria rests essentially on archaeological evidence; its main lines derive from the study of burial practices and their sociological and ideological analysis, using a methodology applied for the first time in Italian prehistory by H. Müller Karpe in his book dedicated to the process of state formation (*Stadtwerdung*) at Rome⁵.

In this analysis the problem of the formation of

⁴ G. Colonna, 'Basi conoscitive per una storia economica dell'Etruria', in *AIIN* 22, 1975, pp. 3-23.

⁵ Müller-Karpe 1962.

the city immediately assumes a central position; the influence of the [p. 63] Greek model has induced many to postulate in Etruria also the emergence of an entity similar to the Greek *polis*, endowed with a high potential for legal forms and with the ability to create within itself the distinctive status of citizen. For such a type of enquiry the available evidence is scarce and difficult to interpret. But since in the case of the Greek city the study of military organization has been held to have made an important contribution to clarifying these problems, in Etruria too the efforts of scholars have been directed to the study of the literary and archaeological evidence relevant to military organization⁶.

For the Greek world the problem is well known⁷: at a point which is placed between 700 and 650 BC, Greek military organization underwent an important transformation: the outcome of battle was no longer dependent on the duel or hand-to-hand fighting between aristocratic warriors, who gained the field of battle in chariots like the Homeric heroes. Instead the hoplite army emerged, in which every hoplite had standard equipment,

characterized by a new and more controllable type of shield, and fought occupying a fixed position within a rigidly ordered formation. The adoption of such an organization has been seen as indicating the arrival of a self-conscious society of equals, in a process of the democratization of society which fits well with the phenomenon of the birth of [p. 64] the *polis*. This interpretative model has been much discussed, especially among English scholars, in the last twenty years. In the context of Etruscan studies, there has been a strong tendency to accept it as an uncontroversial model, with the illusion that it is only necessary to establish, in the iconographic evidence or in the contents of tombs, the occasional appearance of hoplite elements, in order to be able to infer the birth of the democratic *polis*.

In the present chapter I propose to undertake a study of this hypothesis in the light of the different types of evidence available.

From a political and social point of view, the process of state formation comes to an end in Rome with the *comitia centuriata*, instituted by king Servius Tullius towards the middle of the sixth century⁸. This reform coincided with the birth of the hoplite army, with the various social and political implications that different scholars attribute to this event. As is well-known, the tradition handed down by the ancient sources has been widely discussed, and some scholars are inclined to mistrust it, and to maintain that even king Servius Tullius must have been a legendary character⁹. However, I do not hesitate to admit that I believe in the essential lines of the ancient tradition concerning this king and his reform.

These events are of essential interest for the Etruscan world because some Greek authors writing in Roman times¹⁰ stated clearly that the Romans learnt from the Etruscans the tactics of fighting in the hoplite *phalanx*. These sources also maintain that

⁶ The problem first raised by H. L. Lorimer, 'The Hoplite Phalanx, with special Reference to the Poems of Archilochus and Tyrtæus', in *BSA* 42, 1947, pp. 76-138, was reconsidered in critical terms by Momigliano 1963, pp. 95 ss., and by A. Snodgrass in his articles on hoplites (v. *infra* nota 7). On the structure of the Etruscan army, cfr. Ch. Saulnier, *L'armée et la guerre dans le monde étrusco-romain VIII-VI s.*, Paris 1980; in addition, J. R. Jannot, who is working on the theme 'Les cités étrusques et la guerre', has presented some of his ideas in a number of lectures.

⁷ It is impossible to mention all the contributions to this topic. I will mention only some of the most recent papers: A. M. Snodgrass, 'L'introduzione degli opliti in Grecia e in Italia', in *RivStorIt* 1965, pp. 434 ss.; Snodgrass 1965; Detienne 1968; P. Vidal-Naquet, 'La tradition de l'hoplite athenien', in J.-P. Vernant (a cura di), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris - La Haye 1968, pp. 161 ss.; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, Cambridge 1973; P. Cartledge, 'Hoplites and Heroes: Sparta's Contribution to the Technique of ancient Warfare', in *JHS* 97, 1977, pp. 1 ss.; J. Salmon, 'Political Hoplites', *ibidem*, pp. 84 ss.; A. J. Holliday, 'Hoplites and Heresies', in *JHS* 102, 1982, pp. 94 ss.; J. K. Anderson, 'Hoplites and Heresies: A Note', in *JHS* 104, 1984, pp. 52 ss. An extreme position, denying the historical significance of the hoplite reform, has now been presented by Morris 1987, pp. 196-205.

⁸ The massive bibliography on the issue is given in Thomsen 1980; cfr. also J. Ch. Meyer, *Pre-Republican Rome, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* Suppl. XI, Odense 1983, where a useful bibliography may be found.

⁹ Cfr. Thomsen 1980.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XXIII, 2, 1; Ined. Vat., ch. 3; Ath. VI, 273.

this was the main reason for the initial Etruscan superiority over the Romans, and that only when the Romans took over these new tactics, were they able to defeat the Etruscans. This version of the facts has been so confidently accepted by some modern scholars as to lead to statements such as this: «the centuriate reform of Servius Tullius was clearly enough caused [p. 65] by the need for taking over from the Etruscans the superior hoplite tactics»¹¹.

But before accepting the ancient tradition handed down by Diodorus we need to scrutinize the Etruscan evidence. In fact, the existence of a hoplite organization in the Etruscan cities gives rise to a series of questions, which were well summarized by A. Momigliano. In his important article of 1963 he wrote: «how the Etruscans ever managed to combine an army of hoplites with their social structure founded upon a sharp distinction between nobles and clientes, I cannot imagine»¹². As is easily seen, the question concerns the nature of the hoplite organization. Even if it was not identical in the different cities of Greece, there it was in general the expression of a community of equals. But what was it like in Etruria? This is a fundamental question and it must be considered in the light of a general analysis of Etruscan society.

In fact, some attempts have been made in this direction, but they do not answer what seems to be a central question: if Etruscan society reached the level of organization of a Greek *polis*, that should have resulted in a substantial weakening of the gentilicial structure, such as was achieved by Kleisthenes in Athens. But if that happened, how is it that the gentilicial structure re-emerged, though in a new form, in the fourth century? It is a real problem, which has been recognized even by some of those scholars who maintain that an Etruscan *polis* did exist¹³. Indeed the whole historical situation is

unclear, and it is worth reconsidering the question of the nature and the character of an Etruscan hoplite army.

Our knowledge of this subject has been substantially increased by P. F. Stary's important contribution¹⁴, which [p. 66] must be the starting point for any re-examination of the problem. Stary made a thorough study of all the archaeological evidence relating to armour and fighting techniques, from the typology of weapons to their occurrence in grave contexts and the artistic representations of armed people. His principal conclusions are the following:

«Towards the end of the eighth century the Etruscans abandoned the armour they had used in the early Iron Age; and, in the period from 725 to 675 BC they also underwent in this field a strong oriental influence. But from the middle of the seventh century a significant change took place: Greek hoplite armour began to dominate. The round Etruscan helmet gave way to the Corinthian; the shield with embossed decoration was superseded by the hoplite shield, and also the greaves, the cuirass, the sword and the use of one or more spearheads were borrowed from the Greeks».

We cannot, however, help noting that there are some oddities in this neatly defined picture; the warriors only rarely wear a complete hoplite armour, and in some cases the characteristic hoplite weapons are replaced by the national Etruscan ones, such as the axe and the double-bladed axe, which would scarcely have been suitable for a warrior fighting in a *phalanx*. Moreover, as Stary rightly points out, neither the evidence from the graves nor the representations tell us «whether the Etruscans were also fighting in a close phalanx formation».

It is impossible here to make a study of all the images which have been collected by Stary, and I shall only offer some comments. In the period of oriental influence the figures of warriors, both in style and also in the typology of their arms, are

the formal control of the great *gentes*» and he concludes: «and the noun *servi* which is still being used to refer to them makes us assume that they were»: cfr. Cristofani 1985, p. 242.

¹⁴ Stary 1981.

¹¹ Cfr. Thomsen 1980, p. 200.

¹² Momigliano 1963, p. 119; cfr. Snodgrass 1965, p. 119: «if the hoplite system could be organised and maintained within an unregenerate oligarchic society in Etruria, by what right can it be assumed that its adoption in Greece had far-reaching and almost immediate consequences?».

¹³ When e.g. G. Colonna describes the growth of a substantial wealthy class which would have given birth to the new city, he cannot help wondering «whether they are still subject to

clearly imitating oriental prototypes as simple decorative patterns, as can be seen on the silver bowl from the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste¹⁵. In the second part of the seventh and the [p. 67] beginning of the sixth centuries we find rows of warriors in the sub-Geometric and the earliest Etrusco-Corinthian vases¹⁶. In general, I believe that these images have been taken from the Corinthian repertory merely as simple decorative patterns; in fact they are only rarely found on other contemporary productions which are less dependent on Corinthian influence. Whether their reception was made easier by the existence of an Etruscan hoplite army is very difficult to say; yet we must admit that images of warriors were by now widespread in Etruscan art, and that this evidence indicates a concern for representations of war.

The most convincing images of an Etruscan army in ordered formation are found on two vases situated at opposite ends of the period under discussion. The first one is the oinochoe from Tra-

gliatella near Caere (Fig. 2)¹⁷, a puzzling vase dated about the middle of the seventh century. It has often been compared with the Chigi vase because of its row of seven hoplites, each bearing a round shield and three javelins. The meaning of this [p. 68] frieze is debated; the most recent interpretation is that of J. P. Small, who believes that the whole frieze has a funerary character. In her view the three figures designated by name are the dead woman with her family, while the riders and warriors are engaged in funeral games. Yet, even if this is the case, we are still faced with the fact that the warriors carry hoplite shields and are arranged in an orderly row, just like hoplites. The other vase, an Etruscan black-figure amphora from Tarquinia (Fig. 3), belongs to the last decade of the sixth century. It shows a row of hoplites armed with round shields and Greek helmets, preceded by a man playing a *salpinx*¹⁸. As was seen by E. McCartney in 1915, this image recalls the well-known passage of Diodorus (V, 40, 1) where the invention of [p. 69] the *salpinx*, «very useful for warfare», is attributed to the Tyrrhenians. Yet a boar is running in front of the warriors; and the whole scene might therefore be interpreted as a boar hunt.

These vases are too isolated to allow general conclusions to be drawn. However, even if we were to admit that the Etruscans underwent a hoplite military reorganization before the middle of the sixth century we would still need to understand the exact significance of this in the particular historical situation. It must also be observed that on the various classes of Etruscan figured vases individual

¹⁵ F. Canciani - F. von Hase, *La tomba Bernardini di Palestrina*, Roma 1979, pp. 6, 36-7; further examples of oriental imitations are the bronze plaques from Marsiliana d'Albegna: cfr. G. Camporeale, 'Su due placche bronzee di Marsiliana', in *StEtr* 35, 1967, pp. 31 ss.; Stary 1981, B 7. 9, p. 405, tav. 4. 1. The only significant exception is the large round-bodied vase from the Bockhoris tomb in Tarquinia: Hencken 1968, pp. 368 ss., figg. 363-364. This vase, clearly of local tradition, dates to the very beginning of the Orientalizing period, that is to the end of the 8th century. Its row of Greek hoplites might have been borrowed from a Greek prototype, as can be inferred by comparing it with a contemporary Pitheculan vase: Stary 1981, B 1. 19, p. 369, tav. 63. 1. A row of Greek hoplites may be seen also in the Plikasna situla from Chiusi. Cf. M. Martelli, 'Documenti di arte orientalizzante da Chiusi', in *StEtr* 41, 1973, pp. 97 ss., Camporeale 1987, pp. 29 s. who suggests that this might be the earliest representation of Etruscan hoplites.

¹⁶ "Civitavecchia style": Stary 1981, B 1. 4, 359, tav. 12; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum I*, London 1912, pp. 259 ss., H 241, tavv. XXII-XXIV. Stary 1981, B 1. 3, p. 13. 1; G. Q. Giglioli, in *StEtr* 20, 1948-1949, pp. 241 ss., tav. XIII; Stary 1981, B 1, 10-11, p. 195, tav. 10. 1, 3. Close to this group are the vases Stary 1981, B 1. 12-13, pp. 395 s., tav. 10. 2, 5. "Polychrome style": oinochoe from Vulci, Stary 1981, B 1. 9, p. 395, tav. 11. 3. Olpe in Villa Giulia, Stary 1981, B 1. 15, tav. 11. 2; F. Canciani, in M. Moretti (a cura di), *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni in Etruria Meridionale*, Roma 1975, n. 13, pp. 203 ss.

¹⁷ Stary 1981, B 2. 13, p. 397, tav. 9; J. P. Small, 'The Traagliatella oinochoe', in *RM* 93, 1986, pp. 63 ss., where the preceding literature is mentioned. I will not discuss here that other puzzling vase, the oinochoe by the Bearded Sphinx Painter in Paris which is now believed to represent an Iliouperisis: cfr. F. Zevi, 'Note sulla leggenda di Enea in Italia', in *Gli Etruschi a Roma*, Roma 1981, pp. 145 ss., tav. 5a.

¹⁸ E. S. McCartney, 'The Military Indebtedness of early Rome to Etruria', in *MAAR* 1, 1915-1916, pp. 121 ss., tav. 51. 3; Stary 1981, B 6. 9, 406, tav. 22. 1; B. Ginge, *Ceramiche etrusche a figure nere*, *Materiali Museo Tarquinia XII*, Roma 1987, pp. 51 ss., tavv. 36-38, 92; N. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and his Followers*, Oxford 1987, p. 10 n. 35, figg. 6 b, 7 a. On the *salpinx*, cfr. P. F. Stary, 'Foreign Elements in Etruscan Arms and Armour: 8th to 3rd Centuries B. C.', in *PPS* 45, 1979, pp. 181 ss.

warriors or duels are widely represented. With reference to these, Stary points out that even in Greece, where the hoplite *phalanx* certainly existed, duels are common in archaic Attic pottery. He advances the explanation that, as the *phalanx* was not easy to represent, the only possible reference to fighting was an individual duel. And yet the *phalanx* is well-represented on Corinthian vases, such as the Chigi vase. If we always find in the archaic Attic vases scenes of duels between heroes, or of heroes fighting around the body of a fallen warrior, this is rather because the Homeric conception is still dominant in representations relating to the *aretè* of the warrior¹⁹, even if the hoplite *ethos* is far removed from the Homeric one. But this explanation is only possible in the case of Athens because we know from other sources that a hoplite organization already existed. In the case of Etruria, since literary sources are lacking, we have to guess from the archaeological evidence what these images mean; this we can do in two ways: by relating the images either to their iconographical context, when it exists, or to the social context, as far as that may be known from the cemeteries.

In those cases in which the duel is part of a wider scene we get the impression that in the Etruscan images it is clearly related to a heroic way of fighting. I am referring to scenes like that on the bucchero wine jug from Ischia di Castro (Fig. 4), where the heroic duel between hoplites is set between war chariots driven by charioteers²⁰. Heroes on chariots also appear [p. 70] in hoplite parades on many contemporary monuments²¹. Starting in the

second half of the seventh century, this iconographic scheme continues to be widely reproduced until the third quarter of the sixth century BC; it seems to be rooted in an early aristocratic conception preceding the emergence of a true hoplite formation. But on this subject there is more evidence available from tombs²².

In Etruria, in tombs dating from the second half of the ninth to the first half of the eighth century, high-ranking people represent themselves as warriors²³, displaying in their tombs striking bronze armour. In this connection I need mention only tomb 871 from Veii²⁴ which included a parade helmet with the highest crest ever found in Etruria. And it is the bronze helmet, more than any other item of armour, that reveals the personality [p. 71] of the dead, and emphasizes his warlike character as the most significant aspect of his funerary image.

In the second half of the eighth century a great transformation occurred. Etruscan society now came to be deeply stratified: economic differences became sharper, and the gentilicial organization that was to be typical of the following century began to emerge. This transformation, already evolving in the indigenous society, was stimulated and hastened by contact with the Greek world²⁵. This process took place concurrently with the development of the Orientalizing culture in the late eighth century.

During the Orientalizing period, in the tombs of southern Etruria, interest in the characterization of the dead man as a warrior decreases. This is a long-term phenomenon, and the change was a widespread one, as appears from the analysis con-

¹⁹ A. Schnapp - F. Lissarrague, 'Imagerie des Grecs ou Grèce des imagiers', in *Le Temps de la réflexion* 2, 1981, pp. 275-97.

²⁰ Stary 1981, B 2. 14, p. 397, tav. 7. 1. M. T. Falconi Amorelli, 'Materiali di Ischia di Castro conservati nel Museo di Villa Giulia', in *StEtr* 36, 1968, pp. 169-177, in part. p. 171, tav. 28. Cfr. also the olpe by the Painter of the Bearded Sphinx from Vulci; F. Zevi, 'Nuovi vasi del Pittore della sfinge barbata', in *StEtr* 37, 1969, pp. 39-58, in part. p. 40, tavv. 14-15.

²¹ Ostrich egg from the Polledrara tomb in Vulci: Stary 1981, B 11. 4-5, p. 409, tav. 19. 1-2; A. Rathje, 'Five Ostrich Eggs from Vulci', in Swaddling 1986, pp. 397 ss. Pania pyxis from Chiusi: Stary 1981, B 11. 1-2, p. 409, tavv. 17, 18. 1. These examples are dated to the second half of the 7th cent., but the scheme is well known in the 6th cent. - cfr. e. g. G. Camporeale, *Buccheri a cilindretto di fabbrica orvietana*, Firenze 1972: frieze XXII, pp. 70 ss., tav. 24B - and continues to

be widely reproduced in the architectural revetments of phase I, cfr. Stary 1981, B 14 A, pp. 415 ss., tavv. 34 ss.; it is still found, after the middle of the century, on the stand from Poggio Civitate: Stary 1981, B5. 6, p. 400, tav. 21; P. G. Warden, 'A decorated Stand from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)', in *RM* 84, 1977, pp. 199 ss.

²² On the relation between funerary evidence and society, cfr. d'Agostino 1985a.

²³ Problems relating to social evolution in Iron Age Etruria have been briefly summarized by d'Agostino 1985e.

²⁴ This tomb is dated to the very end of the first Iron Age (3rd quarter of the 8th cent.), cfr. Müller-Karpe 1974, pp. 89 ss.

²⁵ d'Agostino 1985b, pp. 43 ss.

ducted by Stary, who explains it as the result of a transformation in burial customs²⁶. Certainly this was the case, but the particular way in which the phenomenon occurred is significant. Arms are generally lacking, even in the wealthiest furnishings, though there are a few exceptions among the highest levels of the social *élite*, such as the warrior buried in the corridor of the Regolini Galassi tomb in Caere, and the owners of some of the so-called princely tombs²⁷.

But even in these tombs warlike valour is expressed in a new way, and the ritual which is now reserved for 'princes' has been borrowed, through the mediation of the Euboeans of Cumae, from the Homeric conception as it is expressed in the tombs of high-ranking warriors in Eretria. The sword and the shield, when they occur, are splendid parade weapons. Attention has shifted from signs of warlike valour towards signs of rank and gentilicial continuity. Social status is indicated by the *agalmata*, the splendid cauldrons and vases in bronze and silver, which are hidden in a kind of *thalamos* like the Homeric *keimelia*. The [p. 72] continuity of the *gens* is expressed through a cluster of items-characteristic of the hearth, the princely *hestia*. The focus of interest is no longer the single man as warrior, but the gentilicial group, with its links of solidarity and continuity which transcend time. Into this picture we can place the 'princely' tombs of Palestrina, Caere and Pontecagnano, dated between the second quarter and the middle of the seventh century²⁸.

²⁶ Stary 1981, p. 29.

²⁷ On the problems concerning the princely graves of the first half of the 7th cent., cfr. d'Agostino 1977b; d'Agostino 1977a.

²⁸ Actually, in southern Etruria there were two significant warrior's tombs belonging to the end of the 7th cent.: the Avvolta tomb in Tarquinia: Hencken 1968, pp. 397 ss., fig. 385 A, and the Campana tomb in Veii: M. Cristofani - F. Zevi, in *ArchCl* 17, 1965, pp. 1 ss.; A. Seeberg, 'Tomba Campana, Corinth, Veii', *HBA* 3.2, 1973, pp. 65 ss., the latter being the only tomb in southern Etruria to have yielded a rounded Etruscan helm. However, leaving aside the problems concerning these two tombs, whose furnishings were dispersed and partially lost a long time ago, we must emphasize that in these cases too the signs of the warlike character of the dead are included in a context of exceptionally high level. Thus, here too, the dead had belonged to the highest social *élite*.

As far as attitudes towards the world of warfare are concerned, the situation appears to be somewhat different in northern Etruria, where the most significant place for our purpose is Vetulonia. There too warlike display is restricted to the highest levels of the social *élite*, but it is more evident and more structured. It is in Vetulonia, which shared with Populonia control of the mining district of Etruria, that there reappears the most striking symbol of warrior valour - the helmet, which is now the rounded Etruria type²⁹, quite different from the preceding Iron Age one.

The rounded helmet, in two different types, appears towards the middle of the seventh century on both sides of the Italian peninsula³⁰. In fact, its more ancient examples are those found in Vetulonia, in the second pit of the Tomba del Duce, and in [p. 73] tomb 3 at Fabriano,³¹ two tombs of uncommon wealth, akin to the contemporaneous 'princely' tombs of southern Etruria and neighbouring areas.

The Tomba del Duce belongs to the class of grave circles marked out by white stones. As was stated by Falchi³², the excavator of the necropolis of Vetulonia, in this class of grave circles the chariot and horse furnishings often occur together with helmet, greaves, and iron or bronze spears and spits.

²⁹ It is the type Stary 1981 W 5, cfr. P. Stary, in Swaddling 1986, pp. 25 ss.

³⁰ The most ancient example of this kind of helmet, which because of its area of distribution might be called 'Vetulonian', was actually found in Rome, in the well-known tomb 94 from the Esquilino cemetery, cfr. Müller-Karpe 1962, pp. 55, 89, tav. 20. On the chronology of this tomb, cfr. Müller-Karpe 1974, p. 94. This chamber tomb included equipment typical of an aristocratic warrior; as well as the helmet, there were also a shield, an iron spear, and remains from a chariot. This cluster of items is frequently found in tombs marked by the presence of a helmet in northern Etruria, from the second quarter of the seventh century onward. Yet, even if its chronology is disputed, the Esquilino tomb cannot be dated later than the end of the eighth century. This phenomenon, unique from the point of view of both chronology and area is so far difficult to explain.

³¹ Stary 1981, W 5. I; W 6. pp. 11-12. Tomba del Duce: Falchi 1887, pp. 477 ss., still very useful; Camporeale 1967. Tomb 3 from Fabriano: P. Marconi, *MonAnt* XXXV, Roma 1933, coll. 339 ss.

³² I. Falchi, 'Vetulonia. Nuovi scavi della necropoli vetuloniese', in *NSc* 1892, pp. 381-405, spec. 384.

In the circle of the Tomba del Duce, there were five pits³³. If we consider the items found in them as a whole, we get the image of a coherent system, revealing the complex funerary ideology peculiar to the highest levels of the Vetulonian social *élite*. The *agalmata*, of the same kind as those found in the 'princely' tombs of southern Etruria, are placed together with implements relating to the domestic hearth, sets of vases intended for the consumption of wine and the banquet, and the signs of war-like valour. In the latter category almost all types of weapon are represented: there is a great bronze shield on which rests a rounded helmet, a bronze spear-head, spits, knives, and axe. There is no sword, which seems to have been replaced by the axe, according to an Etruscan fashion known also from representations on gravestones. But the most important feature, characterizing this grave and other warrior graves which include a helmet, is the two-wheeled chariot pulled by two horses, which in contexts like those in Vetulonia may be confidently interpreted as a war-chariot³⁴.

The Tomba del Duce is certainly the best preserved and best-known of the Vetulonian examples of its type. But, apart from this, other graves of the same site have also yielded rich furnishings characteristic of a member of the social *élite*, and [p. 74] which include helmet, arms, and chariot. All these graves are clearly related to the heroic conception of war, according to which the warrior goes to the battle-field on his chariot, to contend with the enemy in a duel to the death.

In fact, as was pointed out by Stary, after the middle of the seventh century a substantial change occurs in the type of armour, and the essential elements of Greek hoplite armour spread all over Etruria. The most significant example of this change is the Tomba dei Flabelli di Bronzo in Populonia³⁵. It is reported that the tomb contained four

people, including a woman. Amongst the four helmets that were found, three are Corinthian³⁶ and the other items of armour are also of Greek type, as are the three pairs of greaves. In this case, the exhibition of armour that is as close as possible to Greek hoplite armour goes nevertheless together with the signs of a strong gentilicial tradition and high-ranking social position.

The situation was almost the same at the end of the century, as can be seen from the tomb at Casaglia near Pisa³⁷, a high dome-shaped chamber that, with its monumental appearance, shows in an effective way the power of the gentilicial group. Though the tomb was found already robbed, nevertheless it has preserved the essential features characterizing the furnishing of a wealthy warrior. The armour has a mixed character: the helmet is of the rounded Etruscan type³⁸, while the two pairs of greaves are of Greek type; there were also two shield-bosses, two spear-heads, and probably a cuirass. Even from the few elements which were left it is possible to recognize that the furnishing was very rich; in fact it included some bronze chalices and wine jugs.

This evidence, which could easily be increased, indicates that in northern Etruria, the display of hoplite armour is restricted to the 'princes'. The image which is committed to these tombs emphasizes the high rank of the dead, his gentilicial condition, and enhances the distance which separates him from the class of *clientes* and serfs.

From the analysis of the preceding evidence we cannot [p. 75] arrive at the image of a hoplite society; yet it can hardly be denied that, in northern Etruria, the Etruscan aristocracy assumes, in the seventh century, a war-like character. Moreover, the same situation is found on the Adriatic coast and in other regions of northern Italy. Looking at the tombs of these aristocratic warriors, I cannot help thinking of Frederiksen's view of the new wave of Etruscan colonization during the Archaic period: he argued some years ago³⁹ that this was

³³ Unfortunately, the interpretation of the Tomba del Duce is not clear: within the circular compound of white stones there were five pits, each containing a large number of grave goods closely related to those found in the princely tombs in southern Etruria and Campania, and it is impossible to know whether this furnishing belonged to a single person.

³⁴ Stary 1981, p. 129.

³⁵ A. Minto, 'Le ultime scoperte archeologiche di Populonia', *MonAnt* 34, Roma 1931, pp. 289 ss.

³⁶ Stary 1981, W 13. 7, 12, 20.

³⁷ P. Mingazzini, 'La tomba a *tholos* di Casaglia', in *StEtr* 8, 1934, pp. 59 ss.

³⁸ Stary 1981, W 5. 20.

³⁹ M. Frederiksen, 'The Etruscans in Campania', in D.

due to the enterprise of aristocratic chieftains. In fact we know at present of several tombs in Capua, in northern Campania, and in the interior of southern Italy, where Etruscan luxury goods, like the so-called Rhodian wine-jug, are found together with Greek hoplite armour. Often these tombs include objects connected with the hearth, which emphasizes the aristocratic status of the owners. All this evidence seems consistent with Frederiksen's theory.

As for our inquiry, to the information obtained from the tombs we may add that from gravestones. In Etruria, figured gravestones in the Archaic and Classical periods are restricted to northern Etruria. The first monument relevant to the present research, the gravestone of Aule Feluske (Fig. 5)⁴⁰, is bound up in a particular way with the evidence already considered. In fact it was found by Falchi in a grave circle in Vetulonia⁴¹. The circle was a very large one, and had previously been robbed. But it still included some «sherds of clay vases and great carved handles», which inclines us to date the tomb to the second half of the seventh century. The engraved image is that of a warrior armed in the Greek way, with a hoplite shield and a Corinthian helmet; but his weapon, a double-bladed axe, is a typical Etruscan implement and would have scarcely been suited to a warrior fighting in a *phalanx*.

The social position of Aule Feluske is clearly indicated by being buried in a grave circle. Moreover, further evidence can be obtained from the funerary inscription⁴², which is the most ancient as yet found in Etruria. Its text is rather unusual in the [p. 76] complexity of the formula used to designate the dead. In fact, as well as his two names, his father's and mother's names are also mentioned. We feel, in this text, the same attention to familial and gentilicial links that I pointed out in my earlier remarks on grave furnishings of high-ranking people.

Throughout the seventh century the use of gravestones remains exceptional⁴³, and a fixed hoplite iconography has not yet been established, although many elements of the hoplite armour have been introduced into the attire of Etruscan aristocratic warriors. [p. 77] Towards the middle of the sixth century, when, after a gap, the use of gravestones reappears, the image of the dead is even more distant from the hoplite, which means that this social category was still absent from people's imagination⁴⁴. The arms are varied, and some of the more characteristic hoplite features, such as the helmet and the shield are almost always absent. The weapons may consist not only of a spear and a sword, in the Greek fashion, but also of an axe and a large knife with curved blade (*machaira*).

During the sixth century substantial changes took place in Etruria. From the end of the preceding century trade, even with remote regions in central and northern Europe, was already undergoing an unprecedented development; new forms of intensive agriculture, like the cultivation of olive-tree and grapevine, were established; Etruscan society began to be based on wealth, assuming a timocratic character.

Substantial evidence of this change is found in the cemeteries: it can be seen in the regular planning of the Crocifisso del Tufo at Orvieto, or in the rows of modular cube-shaped tombs which now encircle the seventh century gentilicial barrows in the Banditaccia necropolis in Caere⁴⁵. The increasing prevalence of the new cube-shaped tombs

⁴³ We can quote only two other examples which show figures of warriors, but these are rather in a narrative context: gravestone from Monte Qualandro near Perugia, Stary 1981, B 13. 2, p. 414, tav. 52; slab from Tarquinia, Stary 1981, B 13. 4, p. 414, tav. 27. 1. They show two warriors confronting one another, and this image seems to allude to the fate of the aristocratic warrior, who finds his natural *telos* in the act of dying.

⁴⁴ I am referring to the gravestones of Aule Tite and Larth Atarnies from Volterrae: Stary 1981, B 13. 6-7, p. 414, tav. 28. 1-2; of Larth Aninies from Faesulae: Stary 1981, B 13. 1, p. 414, tav. 29. 3; those from Laiatico: A. Minto, 'Le stele arcaiche volterranee', in *Scritti Nogara*, Milano 1937, pp. 306 s., tav. XLIII, I; and Roselle: 'Roselle' s.v., in *EAA*, p. 1028, fig. 1132; and the cippus from Montemurlo: Stary 1981, B 13. 12, p. 414.

⁴⁵ G. Colonna, 'L'Etruria meridionale interna, dal Villanoviano alle tombe rupestri', in *StEtr* 35, 1967, pp. 21 ss.

Ridgway - F. Ridgway Serra (a cura di), *Italy before the Romans*, London 1979, pp. 295 ss.

⁴⁰ Stary 1981, B 13. 5, p. 414, tav. 27. 2.

⁴¹ I. Falchi, 'Vetulonia. Scavi dell'anno 1894', in *NSc* 1895, pp. 272-317, spec. 304 s. fig. 18.

⁴² Cfr. Colonna 1977, pp. 175 ss., specialmente 189-191.

indicates that the familial *oikos* is now prevailing over the traditional gentilicial structure.

Throughout this general transformation, we would look in vain, in southern Etruria, for any evidence indicating the emergence of a hoplite ideology. In the painted tombs of Tarquinia, hoplites are represented only rarely, and in these few cases they are in general represented as armed dancers (*pyrrhichistai*), in a context of games and competitions, with no reference to notions of warlike valour⁴⁶. [p. 78] On the other hand, if we review the repertory of scenes favoured by the emerging timocratic élite, we find that they are bound up with the traditional gentilicial ideology⁴⁷. In fact they are still centred on the use of wine and the *komos*, and their general view of the world seems to be far removed from the hoplite ideals of an *aretè* illuminated by *nomos* and *sophrosyne*.

New phenomena are admittedly also emerging in the funerary ideology, but they concern southern Etruria only in a marginal way. I am referring to examples like the Warrior's Tomb in Vulci⁴⁸, an individual burial dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, belonging to a warrior wearing a complete hoplite armour. The helmet is of Etruscan type⁴⁹, there are a pair of greaves, four spearheads and the iron blade of a sword. The furnishing is very significant indeed: it includes bronze vessels and Attic figured vases. These items compose a homogeneous whole linked to wine drinking. Everything in the tomb is strictly related to Greek ideals, and the picture is completed by a Panathenaic amphora, which also introduces an allusion to athletic activities.

As the typical signs of the gentilicial conception are here lacking, M. Torelli argues that this tomb offers the image of an Etruscan hoplite who did not belong to the gentilicial class⁵⁰, as is the case

in general for Greek hoplites. This is possibly true, and yet the deceased was a high-ranking man, as appears from the luxury goods included in the furniture; the same conclusions can be drawn from the hoplite tombs dating from the end of the sixth and the fifth centuries in Vulci itself and in inland Etruria (Bomarzo, Todi)⁵¹. As can be seen, even in a period when the image of the hoplite can be recognized from the funerary evidence, it always appears to be linked to high-ranking people, that is to chieftains rather than simple hoplites.

However, in the inland area as in northern Etruria, the situation seems to be evolving in a different way, as can be seen [p. 79] from gravestones. The earliest representation of hoplites in funerary sculpture is found on the round base from Poggio Gaiella near Chiusi (Fig. 6): it shows a row of hoplites assisting in the *prothesis*. Furthermore, in the funerary reliefs of the late Archaic and early Classical period from Chiusi, images of hoplites seem to be more frequent and significant⁵². At Orvieto [p. 80] and in the region of Faesulae⁵³, a significant production of gravestones and *cippi* developed towards the end of the sixth and in the first half of the fifth centuries. The image of the hoplite seems to be finally fixed in a definite iconography, very close to the Greek one. Unfortunately, there is no evidence concerning the burials to which the gravestones belonged, but – particularly for the series of the gravestones from Faesulae – the analysis of representations offers hardly any allusion to an aristocratic ideology; the principal concern seems

le, 1. L'Etruria e l'Apulia', in *DialArch* 4-5, 1970-1971, pp. 92 ss.; *DialArch* 8.1, 1974-5, p. 15 nota 31.

⁵¹ M. Martelli, in M. Cristofani (a cura di), *Gli Etruschi in Maremma*, Milano 1981, pp. 253 ss.; M. Martelli, in *Pittura etrusca a Orvieto*, Roma 1982, p. 66.

⁵² Jannot 1984. The reliefs from Poggio Gaiella are the nn. 2-3 of his class A.

⁵³ Orvieto: Mühlestein 1929, figg. 215, 233-235; Nicosia 1966, p. 163, tav. 24b-c; Fiesole: F. Magi, 'Stele e cippi fiesolani', in *StEtr* 6, 1932, pp. 11 ss.; in *StEtr* 7, 1933, pp. 59 ss.; in *StEtr* 8, 1934, pp. 407 ss.; *idem*, 'Nuova stele fiesolana', in *ArchCl* 10, 1958, pp. 201 ss.; P. Bocci, 'Una nuova stele fiesolana', *BdA IV S.*, 48, 1963, pp. 207 ss.; Nicosia 1966, pp. 149 ss. The stele from Montaione, F. Nicosia, 'Radiografie di bronzi antichi', in *StEtr* 35, 1967, pp. 516 ss., a gravestone of the same type as the stele from Volterra, seems to belong to this group.

⁴⁶ Cfr. Camporeale 1987, pp. 11-42; N. Spivey, 'The armed Dance on Etruscan Vases', presented to the international colloquium on ceramics held at Copenhagen in 1987. I am grateful to Dr. Spivey for having allowed me to read the text in typescript.

⁴⁷ d'Agostino 1983a.

⁴⁸ P. Baglioni, in Cristofani 1985, p. 248, n. 9. 8 and 300 ss., n. 11. 21, where the previous bibliography may be found.

⁴⁹ Stary 1981, W 11. 2.

⁵⁰ M. Torelli, 'Contributo dell'archeologia alla storia socia-

to have been that of showing that the deceased belonged to an accepted social type. Therefore, I would guess that these gravestones did not belong to “chieftains” but to true hoplites.

This in my opinion is the situation, as revealed by the archaeological evidence; we can now try to come to some conclusions.

As we saw at the beginning, some Greek sources of the Roman period stated that Etruscans knew not only hoplite armour, but also the particular military tactics associated with it, and did so even before the Romans borrowed it from them. And yet, when Dionysius (9. 5. 4) describes the Etruscan army preparing to fight with the Romans at Veii about 460 BC, he says: «The enemy’s army... was both large and valiant ... for the most influential men (*oi dynatotatoi*) from all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependants (*tous eauton penestas*)». Therefore this army is ‘harmonious’ (*homonoousan*), and we can guess that it might look like a *phalanx*.

I believe that the shaping of the army on the model of the *phalanx* took place in Rome together with the institution of the *comitia centuriata*. All these events, timocratic reform, renewal of the voting system, adoption of a new military tactic, are strictly interrelated, and can be ascribed to Servius Tullius. The reform of the *comitia* and the institution of classes based on income (*census*) were strongly influential in shaping the army and the political structure. [p. 81] Certainly, it would be ingenuous to believe that Servius’ reform gave birth to some kind of democracy. We learn from the ancient sources that, in the *comitia centuriata*, the voting system was organized in such a way as to restrict the real power to the wealthiest people. Nevertheless, it seems that at this period the distinction between aristocrats and *plebs* was not so clearly marked as it was later in the early Republic: there seems not to have been a substantial discrepancy between the real society and the juridical definition of social relations.

The situation was different in Etruria: here too a timocratic evolution took place: a new wealthy class grew up, but the new situation was never completely ratified by a new definition of juridical relations. Rather, its birth was overshadowed by

the traditional gentilicial establishment. The real economic power was in new hands, but political and social power remained firmly in the hands of the old gentilicial structure. Social hierarchy restricted these *novi homines* to the condition of *etera*, an Etruscan word which has been thought to convey the same meaning as the Latin *clientes*; it does at least indicate a condition of subjection, even if not so strongly as the Etruscan *lautni*. This social hierarchy bore heavily upon the structure of the army, and prevented the birth of a hoplite *ethos* based on the premiss that everyone had the same political standing, and that each man was risking his life for his own land.

In Etruria, until the third quarter of the sixth century, we are rather in a phase that might be described as the “gentilicial hoplitic army”. As has been pointed out by Detienne for the Greek world⁵⁴, in this phase preceding the growth of the true hoplitic organization, the gentilicial *élite* arrived on the battle-field in their own chariots, a practice we have already seen in several Etruscan representations. They owned the parade armour which would be buried with them. In the meantime we can hypothesize that the simple Etruscan hoplite did not provide his own armour, which was supplied to him by the *gens*.

Both in Rome and in Etruria the gentilicial army was made up of bands: in Rome and in Latium they still survived as an archaic heritage at the start of the fifth century, as can be seen in the well-known episode of the Fabii, and as is suggested by [p. 82] the *lapis Satricanus*⁵⁵. In the case of the Fabii, we know from Servius (*ad Aen.* VI, 845) that they «*trecenti sex fuerunt de una familia, qui ... coniurati cum servis et clientibus suis contra Veientes dimicarent*». In the *lapis Satricanus*, the archaic Latin inscription recently discovered in the Volscian sanctuary, there is a mention of *sodales* of Publius Valerius and his *gens*. The noun *sodales* has been interpreted as the evidence of a gentilicial band, akin to the already-mentioned Fabian army.

In Rome, however, the structure of the army had been reshaped by the reform of the *comitia centu-*

⁵⁴ Detienne 1968, pp. 119 ss.

⁵⁵ C. M. Stibbe (a cura di), *Lapis satricanus*, Gravenhage 1980.

riata. The Etruscan army, as we learn from Dionysius, was ordered and looked just like a hoplitic formation. In fact, central power was very strong in Etruscan cities, and – until the fourth century BC – there is never any mention of internal social unrest.

During the second half of the sixth century the situation probably took a different turn in central and northern Etruria; in this area there is some indication that a military class was emerging, but the evidence is too scanty to enable us to understand the conditions under which it developed. We can only point out that in this very period Chiusi began to be dominant, and was able to undertake the expedition of Porsenna. Moreover, from the end of the century the Etruscan cities situated in the

Tiber valley and in northern Etruria had the upper hand in relations with the Po valley and Campania.

Apart from this particular development, if we look in general at the organization of the army in Etruria, it does not seem surprising that, with this kind of hoplite army, there was a general absence of the hoplite image from Etruria, and particularly from its southern area, despite the fact that it seems to have been the more advanced in many ways. In comparison with Greek *poleis*, the Etruscan city remained only partially realized, and when confronted with the Roman conquest, was ready to start singing its ‘Recessional’ and to revert to its traditional agricultural economy.

(1990)

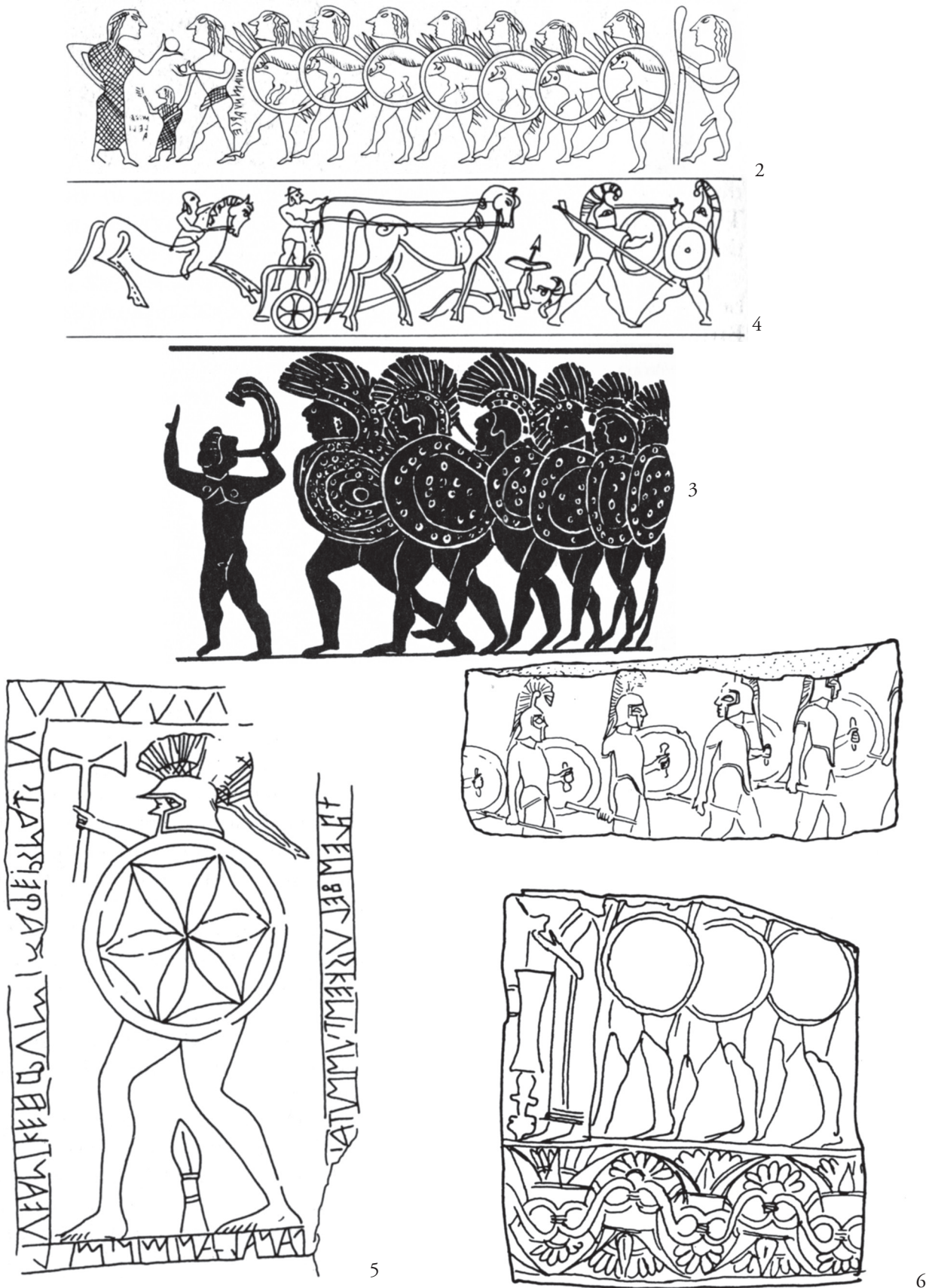


Fig. 2. Oinochoe from Tragliatella (Sary 1981, pl. 9). Fig. 3. Etruscan black-figure amphora from Tarquinia (Sary 1981, pl. 22). Fig. 4. Bucchero oinochoe from Ischia di Castro (Sary 1981, pl. 7). Fig. 5. Gravestone of Aule Feluske from Vetulonia (Sary 1981, pl. 227). Fig. 6. Funerary base from Chiusi (Jannot 1984, nos. 68, 70).

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