

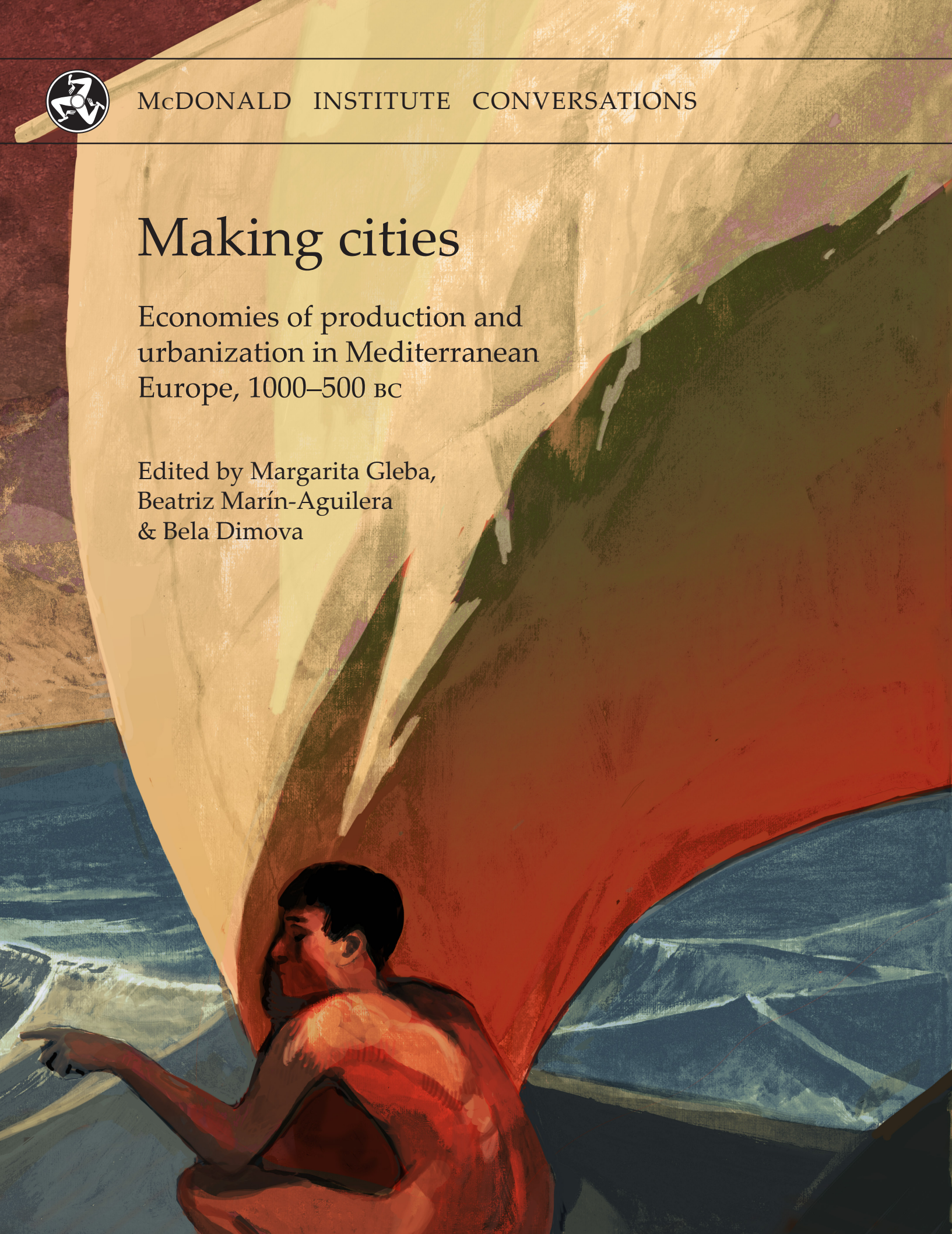


McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and
urbanization in Mediterranean
Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
& Bela Dimova



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Chapter 12

Perugia: the frontier city

Letizia Ceccarelli & Simon Stoddart

*dall'aver ella i borghi sparsi su per i colli,
non altrimenti che le dita de le mani*

Leon Battista Alberti (*De re aedificatoria* IV 1450)

The ancient and modern city of Perugia is located at about 490 m above sea level overlooking the Tiber and the ancient lake basin of the Valle Umbra to the east. It is the most easterly of the major Etruscan cities, and its territory projects into what is usually defined as the Umbrian world. This places Perugia at a greater distance from the sea than any of the other major Etruscan centres, with equal access to both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts. It is also one of the most northerly of the major Etruscan cities, where only Cortona, Fiesole and Arezzo, Volterra and Pisa are located at a higher latitude (Fig. 12.1). These essential geopolitical factors gave Perugia a very particular historical trajectory that determined much of its cultural and political difference from other contemporary centres (Fig. 12.2). It is very much a living city today and this has determined the level of research that has been achieved.

Geology and culture

The geological and geographical context of Perugia is very distinct compared with most other Etruscan cities (Fig. 12.3) (Bertacchini 2014; Merla 1944; Mazzanti & Trevisan 1978; Cattuto *et al.* 1992; Stoddart 2020a). Perugia is set in the part of Etruria dominated by tectonic depressions, determining first the presence of Plio-Pleistocene lakes and then the course of the major rivers, including the Tiber (Cattuto *et al.* 1992). A range of important centres, mainly 'Umbrian' such as Gubbio, Gualdo Tadino, Norcia, Spoleto and Todi, but also 'Etruscan', such as Città della Pieve, Città di Castello and Perugia itself were constructed on the deep clay, sand, and conglomerate deposits that derived from the fluvial processes associated with these

lake basins (Cattuto & Gregori 1988). The conditions of the location of Perugia are more specific. The ancient and modern city is arranged on four principal hills, where abundant water sources penetrate the upper conglomerates, emerging above the basal clays to create deeply incised streams on many margins of the city flowing into the Tiber (e.g. Bulagaio to northeast; Santa Margarita to southeast; Sant'Anna to the South; Cupa to the west). These erosive effects have historically caused some problems, and almost certainly altered the physiognomy of the city. Indeed, recent research has established that Perugia was constructed on an ancient deltaic system draining into the palaeo-Tiber lake, subsequently redirected into the current Tiber course by tectonic action. The presence of the ancient delta led to the formation of more resistant uplands (the modern hills), alongside more easily eroded finer deposits (the modern valleys). These topographical conditions set up a very different context to the situations familiar in southern Etruria where the clear topographic limits to the city have been identified by archaeologists. The conditioning effects of the terrain, a series of hills rather than a volcanic plateau, are towards a polyfocal organization of the city, where only strong imposition of a built environment in the form of walls or ritualization have provided a cohesion offered with greater difficulty by the natural sense of place.

Another important feature of the geology is the presence of strata of permeable conglomerates and consolidated sand above more impermeable clay deposits. One effect is the presence of natural springs that have led to erosive effects on the margins of the city and at least 20 ancient tunnels were constructed to mitigate the damaging effects of pooling of water in the solid upper conglomerates, releasing the water outside the walls above the 400 m contour (Bertacchini 2014, 49–50). Another skill employed was to capture the same water for use by the city in the lower strata. This required the

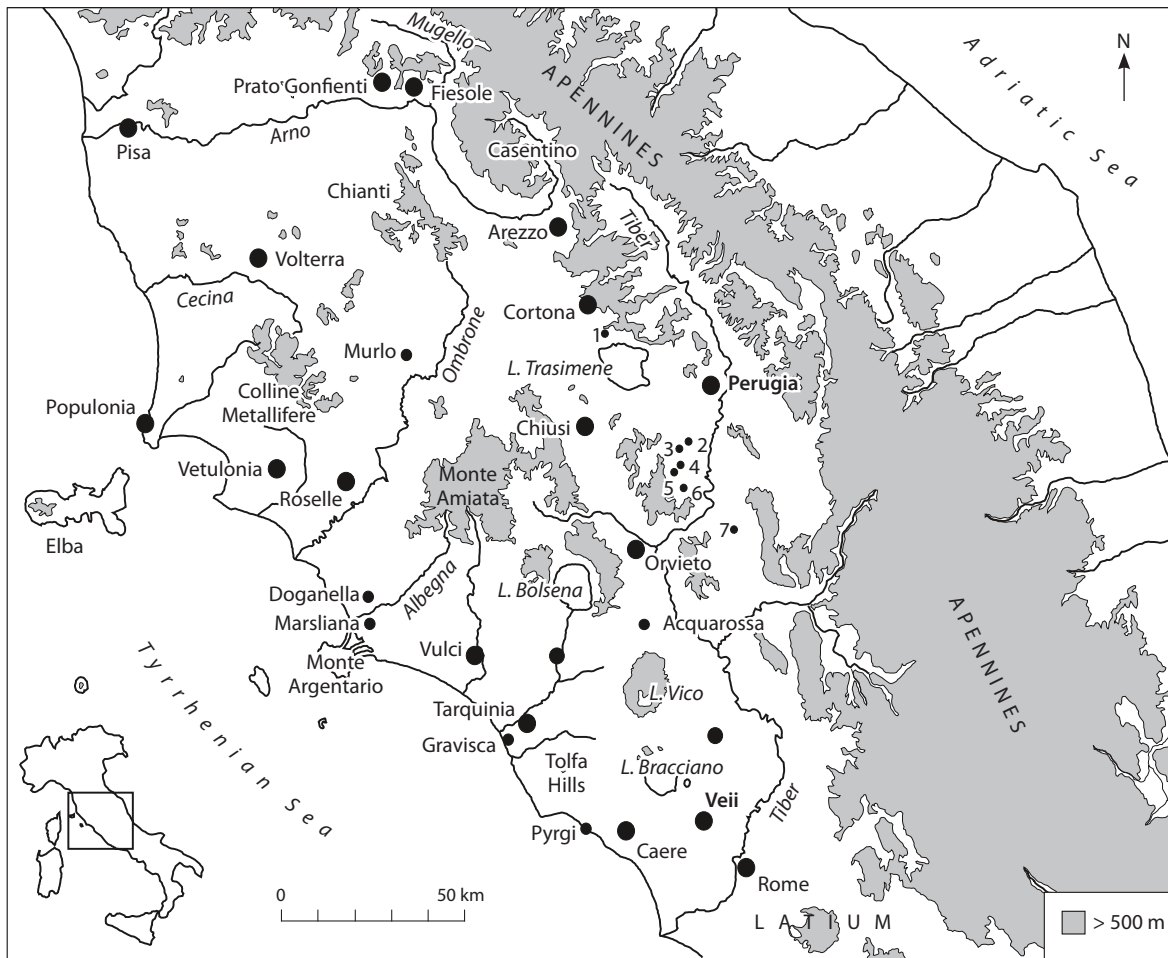


Figure 12.1. Location of Perugia: 1. Monte Gualandro; 2. Castello delle Forme; 3. S. Valentino; 4. Papiiano; 5. Cerqueto; 6. Marsciano; 7. San Faustino.

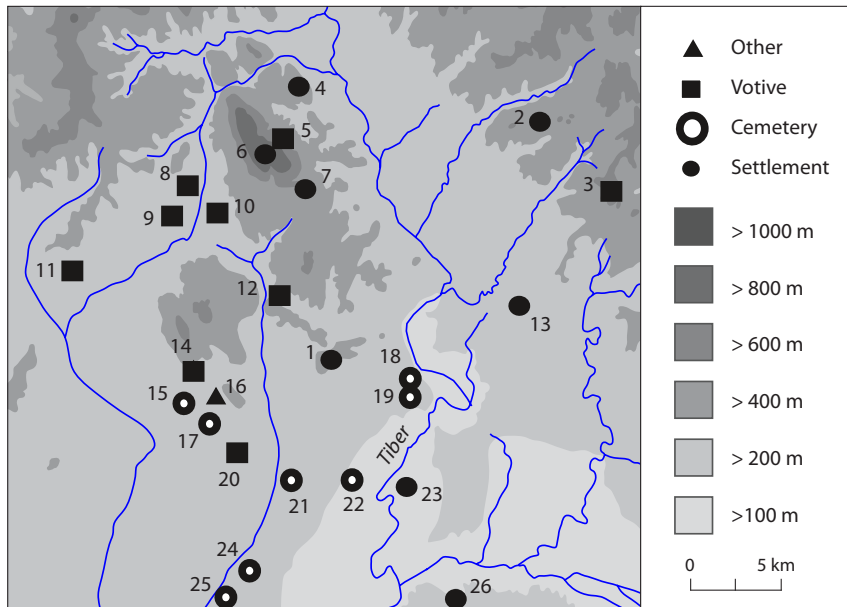


Figure 12.2. The immediate environs of Perugia with key sites: 1. Perugia; 2. Col di Marzo; 3. Fratticiola Selvatica; 4. Elceto di Murlo; 5. Monte Tezio sanctuary?; 6. Monte Tezio settlement; 7. Monte Civitelle; 8. Colle del Cardinale; 9. Monte Torazzo; 10. Colle Umberto I; 11. Colle Arsiccio; 12. S. Orfeto di S. Marco; 13. Civitella d'Arna; 14. Ellera; 15. Castel S. Mariano; 16. S. Sabina; 17. Strozzeacapponi; 18. Casaglia; 19. Monte Vile; 20. Pila; 21. S. Martino in Colle; 22. S. Martino in Campo; 23. Miralduolo; 24. S. Enea; 25. Villanova; 26. Bettona.

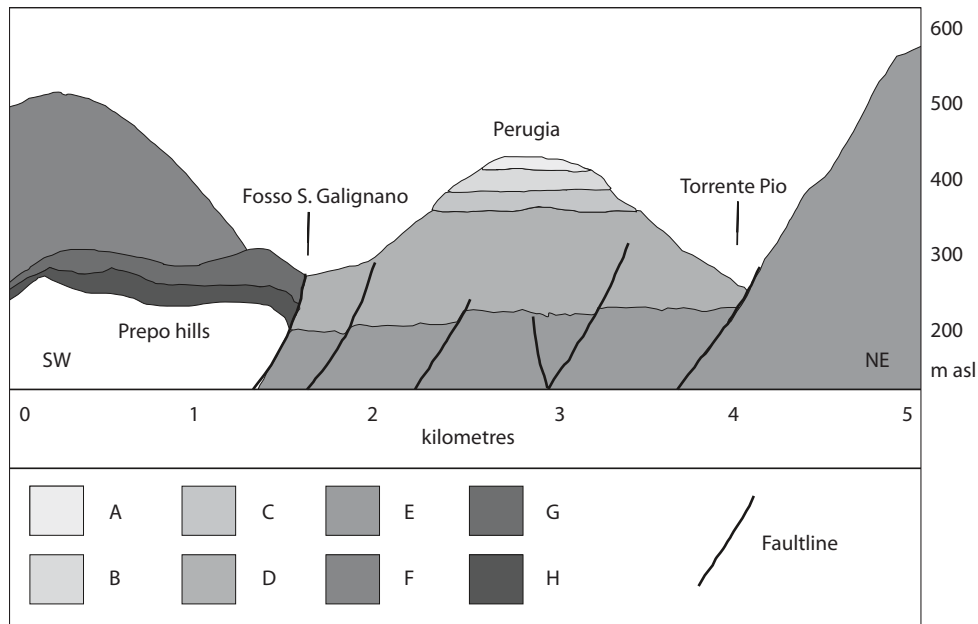


Figure 12.3. *The geological context of Perugia. Palaeo-delta: A–C) gravel deposits; D) sandy deposits overlying clayey deposits. Parent rock: E) sandstone marl bedrock; F) limestone bedrock; G) sandstone marl bedrock; H) marly bedrock (after various sources including Cattuto & Gregori 1988).*

sinking of deep wells into the upper bedrock down to the impermeable layers to provide a secure water supply. The most famous relevant example of this effect is the Pozzo Etrusco or Sorbello which has recently been studied in detail from a geological perspective (Bertacchini 2014, 41–2). The upper deposits in which the well was sunk consisted of consolidated gravels in a brown yellow silty sandy matrix, originally formed in a 10–20 degrees slope towards a palaeo-river to the NNE, that originally would have been part of the much more extensive ancient deltaic system. The base of the well was composed of consolidated clay-rich mud deposits dating to about 23 million years ago, and probably relating to reworking of the sandstone marl geology of the hard rocks some 100 m beneath Perugia and in the immediate surroundings (Prepo, Pretola, Monte Morcino and Monte Laguardia), as well as more distant hills and low mountains.

History of research

Interest in the ancient monumental remains of Perugia already existed in the sixteenth century at the time of the ‘discovery of the Etruscans’ by the Accademia Fiorentina, founded by Cosimo de’ Medici. The first historical and antiquarian study of the history of Perugia, *Dell’historia di Perugia* by Pompeo Pellini, dates from this time. In the following century, interest in the Etruscans in Perugia was limited to the interpretation of their language, until the first seminal work on the archaeological discoveries in the city and the territory was published in 1633 and 1638 by Felice Ciatti (Bratti 2007). The foundation of the first museum of antiquity

in Perugia dates to 1790, drawing on the donation of Francesco Filippo Friggeri. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, antiquarian studies concentrated on epigraphy and numismatics, but the discoveries in 1812 of the bronzes at Castel San Mariano and in 1840 of the Volumnii tomb and the Palazzone necropolis were extensively studied and published by Giovan Battista Vermiglioli (1840). His work was the first extensive archaeological study of the visible monuments of Perugia and its inscriptions, which was subsequently revised and re-published by Giancarlo Contestabile in 1855 and 1870. Another important figure in the late nineteenth–early twentieth century was Giuseppe Bellucci whose collection of prehistoric material constituted the first nucleus of the Prehistoric Museum in 1921, today part of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria. Early modern archaeological work on the city limits was restricted by the presence of the living city. The first studies concentrated on easily visible monuments of Perugia such as cemeteries (Paoletti 1924; von Gerkan & Messerschmidt 1942; Thimme 1954), gates (Riis 1934) and city walls (Campelli 1935; Pierotti 1946–47).

The early archaeological account given by Luisa Banti (1969, 231–3) is of a small centre surrounded by a sparse population in the sixth century BC. The earlier Villanovan evidence, although present, was scanty. The rural population was limited to the indirect evidence from the two prominent tombs at San Valentino di Marsciano and Castel San Mariano whose grave goods were considered imports from Cerveteri. According to this account, Perugia became Etruscan by the fifth century BC and was one of the most important Etruscan

cities by the fourth century. The picture is of a frontier culture where all material of value was imported: *bucchero* from Chiusi, Attic vases from the coastal cities, some black-glaze ware from southern Italy, and Etruscan red-figure of the fourth century BC from Volterra. Attic pottery is known from the cemeteries of Pallotta, Monteluca and Palazzone (Cencioli 2002, 60–2), and six fragments depicting Dionysiac scenes have also been found in the residual fills of the ritual deposits under the cathedral (Cappelletti 2014). The majority of the pottery from the cathedral appear to be Etruscan red-figure dating to the fourth century BC.

In more recent studies, Perugia is seen as a flourishing urban centre in the aftermath of the Sentinum battle and the destruction of Volsinii, when some aristocratic families emerged politically, possibly supporting Rome. The city was important from the fourth century BC to the mid-first century BC, when it was destroyed by Octavius after the *bellum Perusinum* in 41–40 BC. This is a pattern determined by the discovery of rich tombs located around the city, such as the Strozaccapponi necropolis and Elce, mostly clustered to the east of Perugia above the Tiber, such as at Monteluca, Casaglia and most notably in the Palazzone area above Ponte S. Giovanni. The city had a very distinct funerary custom reflecting the ideology of the local aristocratic families in the large *hypogea*, where the founding burial was inhumed followed by generally only male cremated descendants with only few exceptions. Women from the same families were buried in separate tombs, such as the one illegally excavated in 1986 at Casaglia with only female cinerary urns recovered by the Soprintendenza (Calandra *et al.* 2014, 75).

In the 1960s, the most distinctive finds from these tombs, the incineration urns of travertine, were considered inspired by earlier examples from Chiusi and Volterra, but defined of lower quality and concept (Banti 1969, 233), except perhaps in the case of the Tomb of the Volumnii. The picture is of a secondary frontier society where the external warrior elite were imposing their authority on an under-occupied landscape that had parallels with expansion into the Po valley and was ‘easy to conquer’ (Banti 1936, 113–14). Banti concluded that the most likely source of the protagonists of conquest was Chiusi, given the shared names (Sentinate, Afuna, Vete, Petruni, Pumpuni, etc.) between the two centres, even if some may have been later immigrants. In recent times the workshops producing the urns were identified in Perugia, such as the Satna workshop (Calandra *et al.* 2014), where the iconographic models from Chiusi and Volterra were reinterpreted by the local artists, including the married couple motif on the lids, which was adopted in Perugia from Chiusi

from the late third century BC (Benelli 2015, 188–90). The presence of names from Chiusi was the result of intermarriage between aristocratic family members from the two cities in order to acquire large estate properties, as suggested by the urns of three women from Chiusi in the Cai Cutu tomb, by the *Tabula Cortonensis*, and the *Cippus Perusinus* (Benelli 2015, 191).

A more nuanced view of the late Archaic society of Perugia was presented in the interpretation of the Sperandio sarcophagus, dated to the late sixth–beginning of the fifth centuries BC, a high-quality product from Chiusi depicting an Etruscan aristocratic parade of military trophies, possibly a booty drawn from Umbrian populations. The uniqueness of this work of art suggests, already in the late sixth century BC, the presence in Perugia of a small aristocratic group which migrated from Chiusi (Cencioli 2002 and Nati 2008), reinforcing the frontier character of the city. This migration was temptingly associated with the heroic mythical figure of Porsenna, the same figure of fame who entered English poetry in Macaulay’s *Horatius* for his exploits on the southern boundary of Etruria.

In concordance with the above picture, a similar account was presented of the territory. Banti (1936) downplays the contribution of previous scholars in their attention to the territory of Perugia (e.g. Paoletti 1932). In her first steps towards an archaeological map of the territory, Banti only identified seven sites that pre-dated the middle of the fifth century BC. Four of these were ritual deposits (Sanguinetto (Pila), Colle Arsiccio, Colle Umberto I, Ellera) and three others were almost certainly funerary (S. Mariano, Villanova and S. Valentino). From this analysis, Banti (1936, 109) concluded that the identity of those in the area surrounding Perugia was not Etruscan during this period. The positive evidence was the presence of inhumation which she associated with the Italic world. The negative evidence was the lack of Etruscan features: painted tombs, characteristic chambered tombs and archaic inscriptions. Banti also tackled the extent of the territory of Perugia, soundly casting doubt on the use of later documents (such as diocesan jurisdictions) to define territorial boundaries, since such boundaries may alter through time (Banti 1936, 116). She recognized the extension of Etruscan territory beyond the Tiber to include Civitella d’Arna and Bettona, based on both archaeological and documentary evidence. Her analysis concluded with a study of *viabilità*, a feature typical of studies of the period, when it was obligatory to study the putative road networks rather than the urban landscape that gave rise to those networks.

The threshold of urbanism for Banti was in the fourth century BC when, based on the development of cemeteries around Perugia, a sense of urban

infrastructure was perceived. She particularly noted the cemeteries of Palazzone, Monte Vile, Ponticello di Campo, Piscelle and Casaglia in the immediate neighbourhood of the city and Civitella d'Arna and Bettona projected beyond the Tiber. The chambered tombs were defined by her as relatively simple (in comparison with the Etruscan model) and restricted to rectangular chambers, with no decoration, preceded by an entrance passage or with an architraved doorway, closed by a large slab. The interior generally had banks on which the travertine incineration urns or ceramic jar urns were placed. Only a few examples, such as the Volumnii tomb and what has later been characterized as the Faggeto group (Matteini Chiari 1975), differed from this pattern.

These early studies were built up out of the combination of antiquarian studies by individuals such as Bellucci and interventions by the state when roads, railways or other major public works were undertaken or reported to them in the course of agricultural and building works. More recent work on the urban centre has been much more systematic, most notably culminating in the work under the cathedral in the heart of the city (Cenciaioli 2014). Work on the territory, apart from survey around Civitella d'Arna (Donnini & Rosi Bonci 2008a) and around Civitella Benazzone on the Gaslini estate (Stoddart *et al.* 2012), has been responsive rather than targeted, but a number of invaluable syntheses have gathered together the currently available information on both city and territory (Della Fina 2002; Bratti 2007; Nati 2008).

The emerging city from the rural landscape

Recent research has gathered a richer picture of how the urban centre emerged from a dispersed landscape. The discovery of the Final Bronze Age settlement of Via Settevalli on the southern slopes of the modern city has brought the Perugia sequence more into line with the settlement history of other Etruscan settlements (Cenciaioli 1990). It was located along a route connecting the river Tiber and Volsinii (Orvieto), the deposit has been interpreted as derived from a perilacustrine context similar to the lakes of southern Umbria, but at this contour above the Tiber, it is more probably a wet deposit fed by the aquifers emerging under the conglomerates that cap the geology which makes up the hills of Perugia (cf. Bertacchini 2014 in the discussion above). This availability of water attracted a small settlement, whose presence was detected in the form of a post hole structure and highly abraded, but abundant, pottery of the period, very similar in character (storage and drinking vessels) and style to that recovered from Gubbio on Monte Ingino (Malone & Stoddart

1994). This settlement was broadly contemporary with an axe discovered closer to the Tiber at Ponte S. Giovanni (Peroni 1980, 34, 38, fig. 40, 18), providing an indication of off-site activity in the landscape. The nearest important Middle to Final Bronze Age settlement towards the west was at Monte Solare (near Lake Trasimeno), which controlled the route toward Chiusi (De Angelis 2010; De Angelis *et al.* 2014). Towards the north and east, other Final Bronze Age settlements have been located on the summits of Monte Tezio and Col di Marzo, the latter of which will be discussed further below.

The discoveries of the first Iron Age, denominated Villanovan, suggest a polyfocal character to the emerging *place* of Perugia (Fig. 12.4), which was located in an important position for the control of the routes with central Etruria, the Apennines and the Umbrian territory. Evidence has been found both in the central urban area (Via del Verzarò, Capitolo della Cattedrale) and immediately adjacent areas (Piaggia Colombata, Viale Pellini, Cupa, Pincetto, Porta S. Susanna), as well as more distantly in the cemeteries of Monteleluce and Palazzone (Feruglio 1990a; Bonomi Ponzi 2002; Bratti 2007; Cenciaioli 2014b). All the recovered material culture appears to derive more from settlement than funerary contexts and comprises domestic bowls and cups, cooking stands, loom weights, spindle whorls, daub and furnace waste, some fibulae and an axe (Bonomi Ponzi 2002, 586). The Villanovan material from outside Porta S. Susanna offers direct evidence of pottery production and weaving consisting of loom weights used in a warp-weighted loom, and large clay spools likely used for a different textile production technique (Cenciaioli 2018, 96–7).

In addition to these recently discovered settlement deposits, the analysis in the museum archives of Europe by Laura Bonomi Ponzi of eighth and seventh century BC metalwork has added what might be best characterized as an enriched sense of occupation within the contemporary landscape. These objects include swords, razors, pendants, pins, rings and fibulae, a spindle whorl, a pectoral, a buckle and an arm ring, which most probably derived from cemeteries mainly located on the southeastern Etruscan flank of Perugia in locations such as Bagnaia, S. Martino in Colle, S. Enea, Papiano, Cerqueto, Castello delle Forme, Marsciano, Monte Gualandro (with its stele), Pian del Prancio (Magione) and S. Mariano. Some of these objects were also found on the left bank of the Tiber at Fratticiola Selvatica and Civitella d'Arna. Very recently (Occhi-lupo 2014; 2019), two burials dating to the ninth and eighth century BC have been found at one of the same locations, S. Martino in Campo. The material culture and structure of the burial practice of these two burials

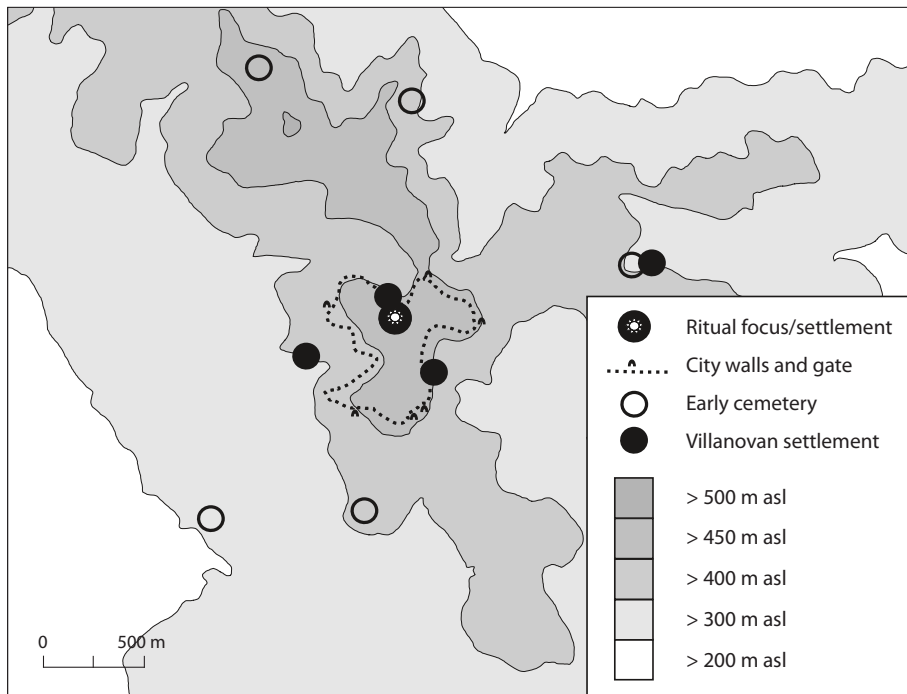


Figure 12.4. Plan of the city of Perugia.

show clear connections both with more westerly (e.g. Tarquinia) and more easterly (e.g. Fermo) 'Etruscan' centres, already establishing the role of Perugia on the expanding frontier. Bonomi Ponzii's work, now strengthened by the intact S. Martino in Campo burials, has considerably upgraded the age and intensity of activity in the Perugia area, compared with the view of Banti, suggesting that a rural infrastructure of small nucleated centres could have supported an urban development even before the sixth century BC, when comparable transformations have been detected in the urban centre (see below).

In this period, the territory of Perugia was occupied by a series of small settlements controlled by the local aristocracy. This is illustrated by the princely tomb at Castel San Mariano di Corciano, where the deposition included bronze chariots decorated with Etruscan and Ionian style high relief plaques. Dated to between 560 and 520 BC (Emiliozzi 2013), the plaques were produced for the local aristocracy with an Ionian-Etruscan decorative style. Another tomb, discovered at San Valentino di Marsciano, was located on the route towards the territory of Orvieto and contained many bronzes among which were some Loeb tripods (now in the Fogg Museum of Art at Cambridge, Massachusetts), dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, with incised Greek mythological scenes. These objects were commissioned by an aristocratic elite identifying themselves in the heroic models, although some scholars do not consider them a production of Perugia since they consider the city still to be in a phase of

development (Bratti 2007, 28). However, Höckmann (2013) has suggested that the technical homogeneity of the decoration of the objects both from Castel San Mariano and Marsciano do indicate the presence of local workshops, challenging the view that only the coastal cities of Cerveteri, Tarquinia and Vulci were able to sustain such production embedded in a more developed urban context.

The topographical development of the city

As outlined above, the organization of Perugia in the eighth century BC was still polyfocal and had not fully coalesced into what was later the walled area of the city, although residual material has been consistently found in excavations such as in Piazza Cavallotti (Vernanti 2014) and more recently under the cathedral (Sisani 2014a). However, by the seventh century BC, the development of a central ritual focus of the city is attested in the area of the cathedral by a wall with a foundation ritual consisting of a deposition of an entire banqueting set of early seventh century *bucchero* feasting vessels (at least 14 vessels comprising eight jugs, two miniature *kantharoi* and four drinking cups). Monumental remains of a temple, dated to the late fifth to fourth century BC, are indicated indirectly by two chronological series of very fragmentary architectural terracottas (Stopponi 2014), and these data give substantial credence to the establishment of a formal urban community, alongside the rural infrastructure already described. The temple was located in the area

of Piazza IV Novembre that later become the *forum* of the city. The area was terraced in squared travertine blocks, a technique similar to the construction of the city walls, and was monumentalized in the second half of the third century BC (Cencialioli 2018, 98). The decorations of the early temple comprise antefixes and gutter tiles of the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BC. One exceptional item is a mould depicting Hercules and the deer with the golden antlers which has characteristically been interpreted as of Greek artistry because of its high quality. The terracottas themselves show a close stylistic resemblance to production from Orvieto, particularly the material from the Belvedere Temple, albeit interpreted as of lower quality. The recognizable personages include satyrs and a maenad, and one of the satyrs retains very fresh mainly black and red colours that reveal subtle details of the hair, encircled with blueish ivy. Other fragments are from palmettes, or painted lotus flowers and ivy. Some of the fourth-century material also has local comparisons from the Tiro a Segno locality and from the site of Civitella d'Arna on the left bank of the Tiber (Feruglio 1990b).

The presence of more than one temple in the late Republican period (second to first century BC) is demonstrated by a podium and a more numerous (51 fragments) second series of architectural terracottas, perhaps of two phases, which, together with their discovery outside the terrace fill, provide evidence that is revealing of the taphonomy of the ritual deposits. The earlier material suffered most from reworking and was largely reincorporated within the second century terrace, whereas the later material was found mainly in the neighbouring Via delle Cantine rather than under the cathedral. The main iconographic theme of this later material is the 'Mistress of the Animals'. The stylistic peculiarities are interpreted as Italic rather than Etruscan (Stopponi 2014, 216), although this subject matter is known widely from the local region (Amelia, Bettona, Carsulae, Collemancio, Gubbio, Spello and Spoleto, as well as Perugia). One lateral *sima* tile, decorated with a battlemented border, lions, columns, greaves and shields, has strong similarities to examples from rural sanctuaries such as San Faustino, Pasticetto and Arsiccio. A horse depiction has similarities to an example from Bettona on the left bank of the Tiber. This local stylistic framework also applies to more general themes of vegetal decoration.

The assembly of this evidence required the painstaking reconstruction from skilled urban excavation. The ritual phases were indicated by residual wall foundations including possible column supports and drainage systems, and dated by architectural terracottas (Cencialioli 2014b, 60; Sisani 2014b), even if these

terracottas derive from a later fill. The restructuring of the medieval city in the thirteenth century AD appears to have cleared urban activity down to the second century BC levels, to the terrace that itself had disturbed most previous activity back to the eighth century BC (Sisani 2014d, 201). In spite of this disruption, there is sufficient sixth to fifth century BC ceramic material to show continuous occupation of an area that was considerably modified when the zone was terraced for later ritual activity. Such ritual activity became much more formalized and common in the course of the following centuries, including residual evidence in the form of at least one schematic figurine, some *aes rude* and a coin of Todi production. Piazza Cavallotti has another example of a votive deposit that consisted of carbonized food remains, architectural terracottas, loom weights, pottery vessels (often of miniature size), 18 coins, and lamps dating between the third and first centuries BC (Cencialioli 2014, 72). The offerings of loom weights suggest the importance of cloth production as part of this urban transformation.

Another recent key discovery, again dating from the sixth century, was an alphabet inscribed on the base of a *bucchero* vase discovered in Via Pellini (Piaggia Colombaia) along one of the routes toward the area of Lake Trasimeno. The complete alphabet, dating to the mid-sixth century BC, was incised using linguistic formulae similar to those of Chiusi and Volsinii (Bruschetti 2015); the use of writing is a high-status indication of the presence of elites. Literacy was clearly well embedded within the city by the fifth century BC since 20 fragments of mainly local *bucchero* pottery from the cathedral excavations were inscribed with graffiti, and some of the structural features of the terracing had masons' marks (Sisani 2014c). In the later cemeteries, tentative genealogies can be reconstructed from the personal names, and a number of the names of descent groups were shared with more westerly Etruscan cities (Marchesini 2007).

Cemeteries for the immediate Perugia area are only known from the late sixth century BC (Nati 2008): the northern cemeteries of S. Caterina Vecchia, Sperandio, the eastern cemetery of Montelucente, and the more distant cemetery of Palazzone, a separate satellite settlement, controlling trade along the Tiber (Berichillo 2004, 186–7). In the fifth century, there was a relative gap once again, that was only filled in the fourth by new activity in the cemeteries of Sperandio, S. Caterina Vecchia and Montelucente, as well as the foundation of new cemeteries to the south at Frontone (with some evidence in the fifth century), S. Giuliana and SS Trinita to the south. The male graves of Frontone, S. Giuliana and Montelucente developed the distinctive materialized ideologies of war, feasting and athletics

that have been noted by a number of authors (Nati 2008; Stopponi 2002). Cremation became the principal rite in the third century BC, and new cemeteries were developed to the west at Elce and S. Galigano. Much of the distinctive material culture of the sixth to fourth century BC continues to be interpreted as imported or at least in a secondary cultural relationship to more developed Etruscan cities. Stopponi (2002, 346) identifies the Painter of Perugia, and his pupil the Painter of Somnavilla as resident in Orvieto. She highlights some of the choice finds from the Palazzone necropolis such as the krater of the Tomb of the Acsi as made in Orvieto, alongside material from a tomb from Via Baldini in Spello. The earlier of the terracottas from the recent cathedral excavations are characterized as dependent on Orvieto (Stopponi 2014), as are other terracotta finds (Stopponi 2002, 239–45). Other elements are consistently seen as in a dependency relationship to Orvieto (tomb typology and other architectural constructions), where Porsenna is once again recruited as a leading political agent (Colonna 2000; Stopponi 2002, 232). Simonetta Stopponi sees a strong ideological connection to Orvieto in the warrior ideology revealed by specific types of weapons (*machairai*) and inscribed greaves, as well as *kottaboi* and strigils of the late fourth and early third century BC, and the switch from inhumation to cremation. This argument she extends to concepts of boundaries, divine dedications and some shared family names.

An identifying characteristic of Perugia in the Hellenistic period is the existence of materialized genealogies revealed by the larger *hypogea*. The most famous is the Tomb of the Volumnii (Cencioli 2011), a substantial architectural structure of eleven rooms carved out of the sedimentary conglomerate bedrock. The *atrium* with its imitation beamed roof is currently entered by a modern ramp, from which ten other rooms are accessed, including a centrally placed *tablinum*. The founders of the tomb are the two brothers Arnth and Larth Velimnas according to the inscription, but only the first completed the tomb and he is represented on his cinerary urn in a central position, surrounded by his relatives (including ancestors as well as brothers and one daughter who died at young age) in other cinerary urns. The last cremation was contained in the representation of a marble Roman building with inscriptions in both Latin and Etruscan. The rest of the structure was never used for the placing of cinerary urns, but for grave goods such as helmet, shield, greaves and a *kottabos* (unfortunately poorly recorded at the time of discovery in 1840). Whilst emblematic, this is an unusual tomb: the most monumental, but most under-used, and where the founder is placed centrally, but more

prominently than his ancestors as well as his brothers (Colonna 2011). Furthermore, rather than presenting a clear and continuous genealogical succession, after being used over a brief period c. 220–200 BC for four generations, the descent group may have left the city only to return with one symbolic deposition in 10 BC (Colonna 2011; Lippolis 2011), with only one member of a further generation. The marble urn was most recently interpreted as a political and social statement by Publius Volumnius Violens representing himself as Etruscan with a bilingual inscription and the matronymic filiation from an aristocratic family (*Cafatia natus*). The Velimna/Volumnii family, whilst important in Perugia are not related to the Roman Senators P. Volumnius Amintinus Gallus, consul in 461 BC, and P. Volumnius Flamma Violens, consul in 307 BC (Spadoni 2014).

The tomb of Cai Cutu, dated from the first half of the third to the first century BC, has illustrated the enormous potential for understanding the descent groups that directed the city before the *bellum Perusinum* (Feruglio 2002). This *hypogaeum* consisted of one inhumation and 50 cremations and was discovered in the Monteluca quarter of the city. The tomb reflects a common pattern in the Perugia area where what appears to be the founding burial was inhumed, followed by cremated descendants, a model seen in the Sperandio, Santa Giuliana, Frontone, and the Vipi Upelsi family tomb of the Palazzone. Unlike in some of the major cities of southern Etruria (Stoddart 2014), it is not possible to create a social genealogy with certainty from the 48 inscriptions (42 in Etruscan and six in Latin) on the 51 grave containers, but it is clear that these were of one descent group identified by their male name. Over the course of time (by 90–89 BC), the Cai epithet, probably of slave origin, was dropped and only the name Cutu retained, morphing into Cutius once the Latin language was adopted. In 1927 the tomb was discovered in which the women of the Cai Cutu family were buried (Spadoni 2017, 567–8).

In 2013, a smaller *hypogaeum* of the Cacni family was sequestered by the Carabinieri (Pagano & Cencioli 2014; Cifani 2014). It appears that the 22 cinerary urns and the lid of one sarcophagus were originally found at Elce near the Trasimene gate. In spite of the illegal excavation, the finds were in remarkable condition. The tomb seems to follow the model seen in the Cai Cutu tomb, where a single founding figure was inhumed and his 22, apparently only male, descendants represented by their ashes. He appears to have been accompanied by the typical materialized tropes noted by Stopponi (2002) of war (Montefortini helmet, greave and shield) and symposium (*kottabos*, strigil and bronze jug). Other feasting vessels were hosted in the

tomb including miniaturized jugs. As such the tomb once again appears to trace one cycle of descent group politics over the course of the late fourth to early first century BC, when Roman citizenship was offered to Perugia and a new elite may have taken prominence.

These examples show the importance of the elite descent group in the construction of Perugia's society, and the way in which they were theatrically represented. One important detail is that the buried groups may have consisted of men and unmarried women on the one hand (Volumni, Cacni and Cai Cutu) and married women on the other (as found in the Nufzrna tomb not far from the Volumni) (Massa-Pairault 2002). An idealized bipartite social reality may have been preserved in death.

The city and its hinterland

The memory of the political importance of Perugia from the fourth century BC is reinforced by Livy, who listed the city, together with Cortona and Arezzo, as representatives of the other Etruscan cities, after the Etruscan defeat in 310 BC, when they requested a 30-year peace treaty with Rome (Livy 9.37.12). Similarly, after the Sentinum defeat, the three cities demanded a peace treaty with Rome (Livy 10.37.4). Archaeologically, the late fourth century BC marks the monumentalization of the sacred area under the cathedral and, according to Roncalli (1990, 85–7), the building of the first circuit of city walls. Evidence for this is based upon the historical sources and the observation that the so-called Arch of Augustus gate was built on a pre-existing structure. The gate, as well as Porta Marzia, have some similarities with those of the Falerii Novi suggesting their renovation in the second half of the third century BC (Roncalli 1990). The third century BC is a major construction phase of the wall circuit, encompassing over 3 km and adapting to the landscape morphology. The quarry of travertine employed for the city walls and in many public buildings was identified at S. Sabina, about 9 km from Perugia (Calandra *et al.* 2014, 72).

The modern city of Perugia lies above the ancient city, and therefore, its complete topographical reconstruction is complicated. The recent studies of the tunnels (*cunicoli*) and wells (*pozzi*) of Perugia show the considerable skill of the urban inhabitants of Perugia in creating a sustainable urban environment (Cencioli 2018). The tunnels demonstrate a facility to maintain a consistent slope, to understand the requirements of geology (solid conglomerates needing no shoring, and fine deposits requiring tunnel protection), all leading to an enhanced stability of the bedrock and a secure water supply.

As already discussed above, the city of Perugia was constructed on the foundation of a palaeo-delta which offered little immediately local stone. Studies of the building materials of the Etruscan city (Bertacchini 2014) show that compact limestones, travertines and sandstones had to be brought into the city from the neighbouring regions. Travertines seem to have been derived from what is now the modern suburb of Ellera (Pazzaglia *et al.* 2013; Bertacchini 2014) about 4 km to the west, and others from Santa Sabina a further 10 km afield. The diversity of the detailed rock composition and often rounded nature of the limestones and sandstones employed is suggestive of the expedient exploitation of similarly local sources, often of parent rock reworked by fluvial processes.

The rural settlements associated with the city

The rural settlements associated with the city on the right bank of the Tiber are still largely inferred from the location of the cemeteries that suggest a sparse occupation of the territory, with a predominance of agricultural activity that was under the control of the important families of Perugia. The city of Perugia appears to have controlled smaller nucleated centres and lacked either larger nucleated centres or rural settlements (Fig. 12.5). The existence of a smaller nucleated settlement at Ponte S. Giovanni, already in

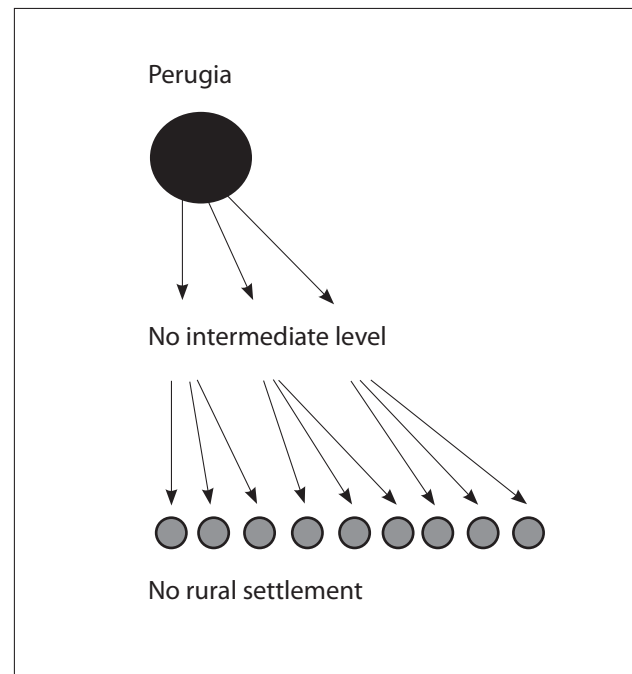


Figure 12.5. Hierarchical relationship of Perugia to its territory.

the Archaic period, is suggested by a group of tombs with imported material at Palazzone, as well as the discovery in the area of Monte Vile of six bronze figurines, possibly from a sanctuary connected with this settlement (Borichillo 2001, 184–7). The control of the river intensified from the fourth century BC on the right bank of the Tiber, as shown by the location of tombs which again may have belonged to smaller nucleated settlements. A good example is a group of tombs at Monteluca to the east of the city towards the Tiber along the route connecting with Civitella d'Arna and Gubbio, in use between the sixth century BC and the Roman period (di Stefano *et al.* 2012; Calandra *et al.* 2014). At Casaglia, important *hypogea* have been discovered, dating to the second to first centuries BC, located at a point of control of the river, in an area in which a villa and a *fullonica* have also been discovered. Similarly, the Strozaccapponi necropolis towards the western limits of the territory of Perugia was in use from the Hellenistic to the Roman period with burials of around 500 individuals. During the construction of a roundabout, in 2007 and 2008, 47 new tombs were brought to light (Cencialioli 2019). Many of the travertine urns contained cremated remains as well as textile remains, all heavily mineralized. The analysis of several fragments of light purple-pink colour textiles revealed that were dyed with shellfish purple. However, they were probably garments not completely dyed purple but with in-woven purple decorative elements, while some were dyed with imitation purple (Gleba *et al.* 2017). Extensive work has been undertaken in this cemetery, revealing a systematic plan, but efforts to investigate likely locations of the associated settlement possibly located near the travertine quarry used for the construction of the city walls have proved unsuccessful (Cencialioli 2018). The question of the existence and location of the rural settlement between Perugia and Lake Trasimeno still remains unanswered, and it may have been that religious foci were meeting points for the sparse rural population. In the Roman period, the main port of Perugia has been identified at the confluence of the Tiber and Chiascio rivers, near Pontenuovo di Torgiano (Bergamini 2008, 294–5).

A much more convincing pattern of upland votive deposits has been documented. At least 13 locations with small bronze figurines have been defined that range in date from the sixth to the first centuries BC (Maggiani 2002). Precise locations are sometimes difficult to establish for all the finds in spite of elaborate detective work (Colonna 2009; Stoddart *et al.* 2013), but a convincing network of intervisible sites can be established to provide a sense of how the upper parts of the landscape were conceived by the

inhabitants of the urban centre. When these votive deposits are combined with the presence of boundary or *tular* stones, we achieve a greater sense of how boundaries between the living, the dead and the divine were conceived locally in Etruscan times. Boundary stones (Lambrechts 1970) and upland votive deposits (Colonna 1970) have an interesting complementarity in distribution which gives a strong impression of a frontier mentality, where measuring difference was especially important for the Etruscans of this region. This boundedness contrasted with the nearest neighbours, the more poorly defined Umbrians, whose sense of identity was focused much more exclusively on the boundaries of the community (Stoddart *et al.* 2012). The frontier towards Gubbio was more clearly marked in the topography of the intervening watershed that probably held a passage of dead ground, whereas the frontier towards Assisi was much more difficult to define (Stoddart & Redhouse 2014). Fuzzy, poorly defined boundaries characterized the frontier toward Umbria.

Knowledge of rural settlements is better on the left bank of the Tiber because of two projects: the survey around Civitella d'Arna (Donini & Rosi Bonci 2008b) (Fig. 12.6) and another on the Gaslini estate (Stoddart *et al.* 2012) (Fig. 12.7). The earliest evidence is of schematic figurines suggesting the presence of a votive deposit dating at the earliest to the sixth century BC, apart from the one eighth-century BC fibula already mentioned above. The earliest potential evidence of a small nucleation at Civitella d'Arna is from the fourth century BC and only three or four Early Hellenistic sites have been located outside this nucleated area. Rural settlement only expanded substantially in the last century BC when fully in the Roman orbit.

A significant example of the frontier of Perugia is offered by the settlement of Col di Marzo (Fig. 12.7a) which was excavated as part of the Montelabate Project (Stoddart *et al.* 2012; Stoddart & Redhouse 2014, 113–14). A passage of Strabo (5.1.10) is relevant for the marked contrast between the Etruscans and the Umbrians to the north for the colonization of the region of the Po plain. The physical frontier between Perugia and the Umbrians was denoted by the river Tiber in the sixth century BC (Sisani 2014e, 100). Moreover, in the passages of Strabo (5.2.1) and Pliny (*nat.* 3.53) a portion of the territory on the left bank of the Tiber was under Etruscan control, and the valley of Montelabate and the settlement of Col di Marzo were located within this frontier zone. The fortified hill-top site, whose foundation can be dated in the late fifth century BC, flourished in the fourth century and was abandoned in the mid-third century BC. Several structures which show the presence of craft production have been uncovered.

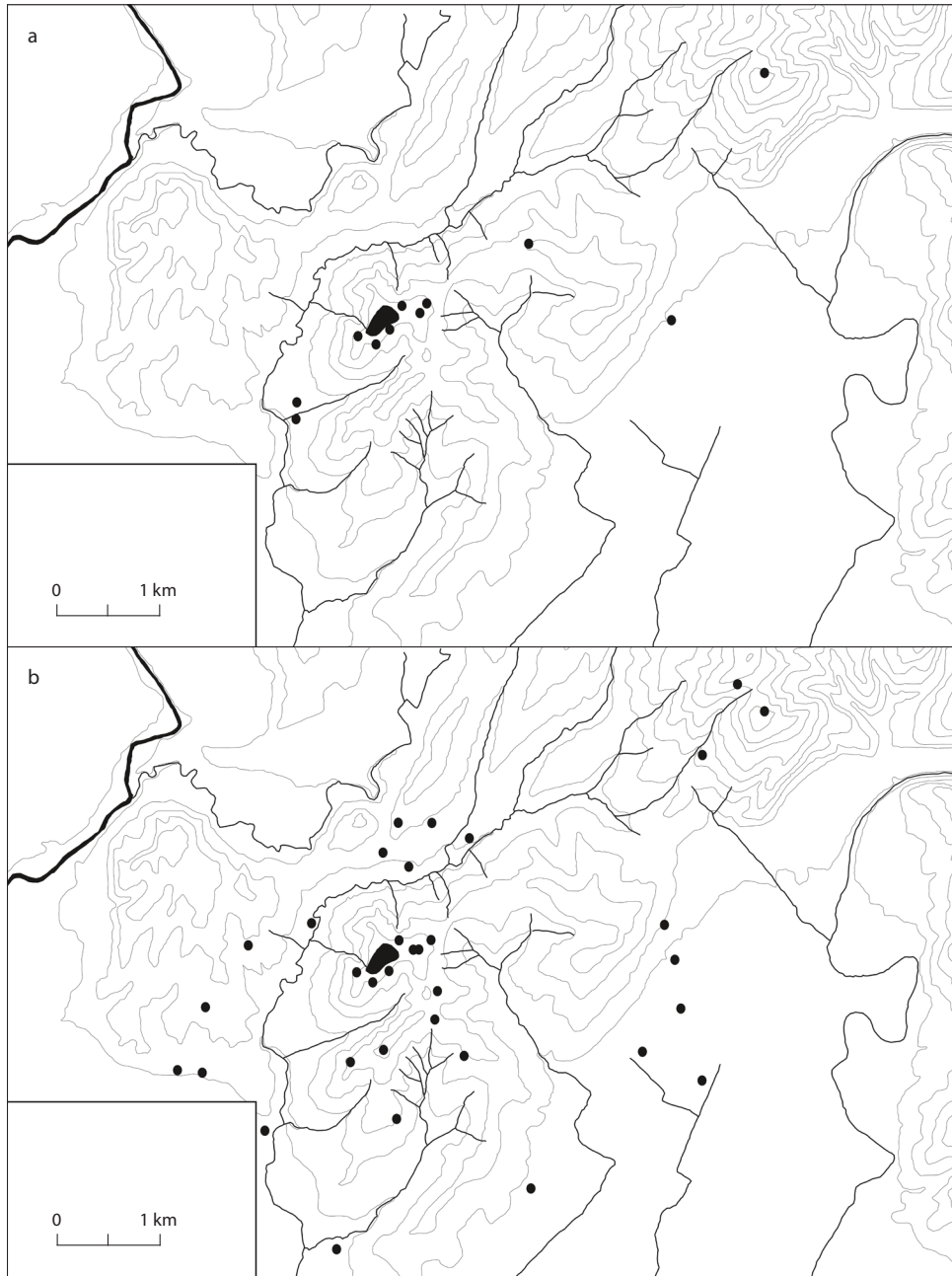


Figure 12.6. *Civitella d'Arna survey area:*
a) fourth century BC;
b) first century BC
(after Donnini & Rosi Bonci 2008).

These contain 17 loom weights, concentrated in two rooms, a position that suggests the presence of two warp-weighted looms. In addition, the concentrations of ceramic sieves point to the production of cheese, and faunal analysis has shown the predominance of sheep and goat which were probably the source of both the wool for weaving and the milk for cheese (Malone *et al.* 2014). The food residues give a first indication of a very different cuisine compared with the urban elite in Perugia, perhaps based more on boiling than the roasting so often represented iconographically amongst the elite. In common with the earlier study

of the valley of Gubbio, it is vital to combine excavation with surface survey data in order to build a better understanding of the occupied landscape (Stoddart & Whitehead 1991). The occupation of the territory did not cease with the abandonment of Col di Marzo, as excavation and detailed survey have shown that there were some rural farms that were occupied at the very end of the Etruscan period towards the Tiber valley (Fig. 12.7b), with a similar pattern to that suggested for the northern territory of Perugia (Bruschetti 2002) and on the right bank of the Tiber, in the second century BC (Cenciaioli 2009; Calandra *et al.* 2014). The

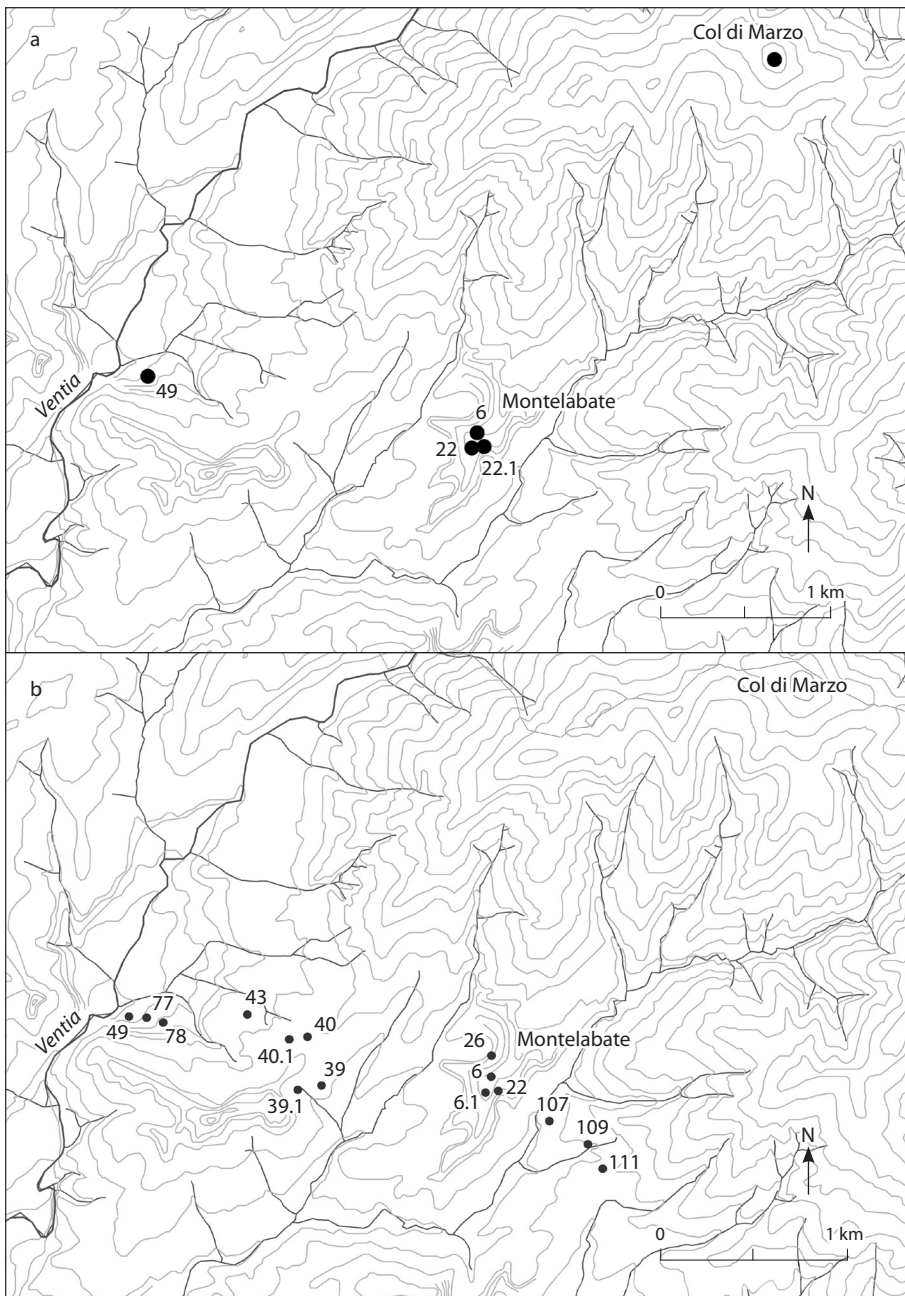


Figure 12.7. *Montelabate survey area: a) fourth to second centuries BC sites; b) first century BC sites..*

importance of the agricultural exploitation of the territory of Perugia resonates with the passages of Livy (4.52) when in 412 BC the city provided wheat to Rome, and later when Chiusi supported Scipio's expedition in Africa (Livy 28.45).

Conclusion

Perugia was a very different city from all other contemporary pre-Roman centres of Italy, and particularly from its southern neighbours, and it has been suggested that its frontier character is reflected in the

city name of which the precise Etruscan is uncertain, but appears to have been influenced by the Umbrian language (Poccetti 2012). The cultural differences of Etruscan centres have been recognized since the time of Banti (1969, 29), who – unlike many other scholars – had a special interest in Perugia. More recently, considerable advances have been made in adding a deeper understanding of both the internal structure of the city and of its relationship to its hinterland through the work of the Archaeological Superintendency of Umbria, thanks to key figures such as Luana Cencioli and Laura Bonomi Ponzi, and systematic

survey in the area of Civitella Benazzone and Civitella d'Arna. The frontier culture already defined by Banti through the materialized trope of the Sperandio sarcophagus (1969, 232) can now be investigated more clearly through more detailed studies of material culture, rural settlement and cuisine. Perugia projected its power across the Tiber in the course of the fourth century BC, controlling small centres such as Civitella Benazzone, Civitella d'Arna and Col di Marzo. Unlike its more easterly neighbours, proper rural settlements never developed until the first century BC, when the land was forcibly distributed to the Octavian veterans. Until this transition, the Perusine elite did not have the confidence to develop a network of un-protected settlements. However, when that transition did come, it appears to have been the consequence of dramatic events which dominate the written accounts in 40 BC and resonated in the verses of Propertius (*El.* 1.21 and 4.1. 127–130) about the death of his father in the fire that destroyed Perugia and the land taken for the veterans. The Latin language did not replace the Etruscan immediately, especially in the aristocratic tombs, where both languages were still in use until the late first century BC, the time when the rural settlements were still under the control of the Perugia aristocracy.

The study of Perugia was for a time held back by a lack of research excavation and more particularly by a lack of publication, but recently many strides forward have been achieved. However, in common with the rest of Etruria, there is a need for excavation to accompany landscape study and the inclusion of multi-proxy interdisciplinary approaches to the many of the questions that still remain. Similarly, it is the invisible Etruscans that remain to be discovered and science is the way forward (Stoddart 2020b).

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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