# ARCTOS

#### ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

NOVA SERIES
VOL. V

HELSINKI 1967 HELSINGFORS

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## A NEW APPROACH TO THE CLOSING CENTURIES OF ETRUSCAN HISTORY: A TEAM-WORK PROJECT

#### Eric Berggren

In our days we are witnessing a renaissance of the study of the Etruscans, the fascinating people who inhabited Central Italy and ruled for centuries over a great part of the Apennine peninsula. During the last two decades many new monographs dedicated to Etruscan art, civilization, history and topography have been published.<sup>1</sup> Reprints and translations of old works into new languages are further signs of this revival.<sup>2</sup> Archaeologists, both Italian and foreign, competing with each other in close collaboration daily present us with fresh results of their passionate work in Etruscan centres, thus enriching our knowledge.<sup>3</sup> The centuries-long predilection for emptying tombs which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The author does not aim to offer a complete list of works dealing with Etruscan civilization appeared after the Second World War. Only a annotated selection will be found arranged in chronological order. The list thus emphasizes the development of the new »etruscomania» of our days and the part played by science in the research and in the archaeological field work. Due regard has been paid to authors and scholars representing the countries interested in the Etruscan culture and research. On the other hand, no literature, with one exception, is cited that deals with the much discussed — and still unsolved — problem of the Etruscan origins which modern scholars inherited from the ancient authors, and works written on the language. To complete the picture articles published in reviews, periodicals and collectanea are included when illustrating the activity referred to above. At the head of every year's book-list the subjects or sphere of the works are briefly indicated. Abbreviations as a rule according to the list of Amer. Journal of Archaeology (AJA). See Select bibliography infra pp. 39—43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> K. O. Mueller & W. Deecke, Die Etrusker. Vols. I—II. Graz 1965 (an anastatic reprint of the 1st ed. Stuttgart 1877, printed in a smaller size); D. H. Lawrence, Etruscan places. Harmondsworth 1949 (Penguin books.) (1st ed. London 1933; transl.: French 1949, Swedish (with a preface of G. Säflund) 1954, German 1958.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Here cannot be cited the publications of all these researches. May it be enough to refer the reader to the periodical, which started after the last war: Fasti Archeologici (FA). Annual bulletin of Classical archaeology ed. by the International Association for Classical Archaeology. I (1947) ff. (from 3 (1948) with economical aid from U.N.E.S.C.O), the Bibliographie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, the chronicles (Rassegne) of Studi Etruschi, A. W. van Buren, News letter from Rome (AJA) 55 (1951) ff.), Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist. de l'École français de Rome (Mél Rome 62 (1950) ff.), the surveys of the activity of the superintendences in Boll. d'Arte (5: 50 (1965) ff.) and B. Andreae, Archäologische Funde und Grabungen im Bereich der Soprintendenzen von Rom 1949—1957 (Archäologischer Anzeiger (AA)

will certainly remain the chief interest amongst the ubiquitous illicit diggers, is gradually giving way to a more pronounced concentration on cities and other inhabitated areas. In other words we now want to know more about the way the Etruscans planned their towns and built their houses, and we are eager to try to shed more light on the man behind the everyday things that surround him.

Many are the foreign institutes in Rome which are directing their scientific

1957, cols 110-358). For the researches of the foreign institutes in Rome see notes *infra*. I thus confine my list to some gleanings of results attained by Italian and foreign research in the greater Etruscan centres.

Caere-Cerveteri: very important the publishing of the diaries and studies of R. Mengarelli from his excavations of the necropolis prepared and ed. by M. Moretti, G. Ricci and R. Vighi (MonAnt 42 (1955); students of the University of Rome headed by professor M. Pallottino have newly undertaken excavations in the necropolis of Banditaccia (Not Scav 8: 9 (1955), 46—113). A new portion of the same necropolis has been restored and opened to the public (Boll. D'Arte 5: 50 (1965), 109, figs. 30—31; 38; 40). In the vicinity of Cerveteri a new sanctuary is explored at Montetosto (G. Colonna, Stud. Etr. 31 (1963), 135—147). The intensive campaigns of surveying with aid of the Lerici methods have given results which now are under work and the first publications are published (cf. No. 49, p. 41) and. M. Moretti, Tomba Martini Marescotti, Milan 1966 (Quaderni di Villa Giulia. 1.).

Lucus Feroniae. P. Bartoccini, Colonia Julia Felix. Lucus Feroniae. Rinvenimenti a scavi. Monumenti. Rome 1960; M. Moretti (Boll. d'Arte 5: 50 (1965), 109 (A Roman villa explored at the construction of the Autostrada del Sole).

S. Severa-Pyrgi. F. Castagnoli & L. Cozza, Appunti sulla topografia di Pyrgi (BSR 25 (1957), 15—21; the excavations by the University of Rome and the Superintendence of Southern Etruria under the leadership of professor M. Pallottino have revealed a sanctuary with two temples (AC 9 (1957) ff.). The most important and now famous find of three golden sheets with Etruscan and Punic inscriptions has attracted scholars and the wide public alike and has caused a great, every day increasing number of articles (see M. Cristofani, AC 18 (1966), 102, note 1, to the list of which may now be added: J. Heurgon (CRAI 1965, 9—18; JRS 56 (1966), 1—15; G. Pavano (RivStudClass 13 (1965), fasc. 3); F. Durante (RendLinc 8: 20 (1965), 308—321); M. Pallottino, Nuova luce sulla storia di Roma arcaica delle lamine d'oro di Pyrgi. Rome 1965; A. J. Pfiffig, Uni-Hera-Astarte (Denkschr. Österr. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. 88: 2 (1965); to this the remarks of G. Colonna (AC 17 (1965), 286—292); for the excavations see especially AC 16 (1964), 49—117 and G. Colonna (Stud. Etr. 33 (1965), 191—229; AC 18 (1966), 85—102; Archaeology 19 (1966), 11—23; P. DE Angells, Santa Severa, antica Pyrgi, porto di Cere. Rome 1963; R. Enking, RE 24: 1 (1963), cols. 23—31).

S. Marinella (Punta della Vipera): an Etruscan temple substituted by a Roman villa; inscription on a lead sheet (M. Torelli, Archeologia [Roma], 35 (1966), 208—209).

Rusellae: Explorations by the German School in Rome, then by the Superintendance in Florence: R. Naumann (RömMitt. 70 (1963), 39—43 (the harbour); IDEM & F. HILLER, (Ibidem 66 (1959), 1—30 (1957 and 1958) and F. HILLER (Ibidem 69 (1962), 59—75 (city wall); Clelia Laviosa (Stud. Etr. 27 (1959), ff; the excavations are still under way); Piera Bocci (Stud. Etr. 33 (1965), 109—190 (pottery)).

Marzabotto-Misa: After the destruction during the Second World War new excavations See FA 4 (1949) ff.; P. E. ARIAS (Atti e Memor. Dep. Storia Patria per le Prov. di Romagna. N.S. 4 (1951/53); G. A. Mansuelli (RömMitt. 70 (1963), 44-52 (the *insulae* and houses); PIERA SARONI (Stud. Etr. 33 (1965), 385-416 (new stratigraphic tests and excavations).

Orvieto: M. BIZARRI, (Stud. Etr. 30 (1962), 1-151; 34 (1965), 3-109)

Quinto Fiorentino. G. CAPUTO, La Montagnola di Quinto Fiorentino, l'»orientalizzante» e le tholoi dell'Arno (Boll. d'Arte 4: 47 (1962), 115—152) (Tholos tombe)

efforts towards Etruscan territory.¹ Among these the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies has made its contribution towards a more profound knowledge of the South Etruscan region, in excavating some sites and in investigating vast areas of the territory that surrounds these sites. San Giovenale, Luni sul Mignone and, lastly, Acqua Rossa in the neighbourhood of Viterbo are names that will retain their places in the history of Etruscan archaeology.² Small,

San Giuliano (Barbarano Romano): Paola Villa D'Amelio, (Not Scav 8: 17 (1963), 1-76 (tombs)

Spina: S. Aurigemma, La necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebba. Rome 1961—65. (Scavi di Spina. Vol. I: P. 1–2) P. E. Arias, Il carattere etrusco di Spina (Arte Antica e Moderna 17 (1961), 8–13).

Tarquinia: The intensive surveying and excavations in the necropolis of Monterozzi with aid of the Lerici methods show their results in:

R. BARTOCCINI, C. M. LERICI & M. MORETTI, La Tomba dell'Olimpiadi. Milan 1959; M. MORETTI, Tarquinia. La Tomba della Nave. Milan 1961 and Boll. d'Arte 45 (1960), 346—352. Also J. M. BLASQUEZ, La Tomba del Cardinale y la influencia orfico-pitagorica en las creencias de ultratumba (Latomus 24 (1965), 1—39); Cfr. also *infra* note 4 R. Ross Holloway.

Veii: M. Christofani & F. Zevi, la Tomba Campana di Veio. Il corredo (AC 17 (1965), 1-35 and postilla (*Ibidem*, 282-285); A. DE AGOSTINO, La Tomba della Anatro di Veii (in: Gli archeologi italiani in onore di A. Maiuri, Cava dei Tirreni 1965, pp. 137-148. See also infra note 4 J. B. WARD PERKINS and works of members of the British School in Rome.

Vetralla (Grotta Porcina): a circular monument with high reliefs round the base and traces o a temple (G. Colonna, Archeologia [Roma], 35 (1966), 207).

Vulci. R. Bartoccini, Scoperte recenti negli scavi di Vulci (Stud. Rom. 7: 2 (1958), pp. 125 — 129; Storia, scavi, rinvenimenti (in: Atti 7° Congr. Intern. Archeol. Class., Rome, 1958, 1960); Il tempio grande di Vulci (See No. 78, under 1963, p. 43, pp. 9—12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> F. E. Brown, Cosa I. History and topography. II Architecture. Rome 1951-1960 (MAAR 20 (1951), 5-113; 26 (1960)); R. Ross Holloway, Convention of Etruscan painting in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinia (AJA 69 (1965), 341-347); J. B. WARD Perkins, Notes on Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus (BSR 23 (1955), 44-69); Etruscan and Roman roads in Southern Etruria (JRS 47 (1957), 139—143; Recording the face of ancient Etruria (ILN 230 (1957), 774—755); M. W. FREDERIKSEN & J. B. WARD PER-KINS, The ancient road system of the central and northern Ager Faliscus (Notes on Southern Etruria. 2. (BSR 25 (1957), 67–208); G. Duncan, Sutri (Sutrium) (BSR 26 (1958), 63– 134) J. B. Ward Perkins, Excavations beside the North-West gate at Veii 1957-58. P.I (Ibidem, 27 (1959), 38-79); Veii. The historical topography of the ancient city (Ibidem 29 (1961)); G.B.D. Jones, Capena and the Ager Capenas (*Ibidem* 30 (1962), 116-127); W. HARRIS, The Via Cassia and The Via Traiana Nova between Bolsena and Chiusi (Ibidem 33 (1965), 113— 133); S. Judson & Anne Kahane, Underground drainage in Southern Etruria and Northern Latium (Ibidem 31 (1963), 74-99); LESLIE MURRAY THREIPLAND, Excavations beside the North-West gate at Veii 1957—58. P. 2. (The pottery (*Ibidem* 31 (1963), 37—70); J. B. WARD Perkins, Landscape and history in central Italy. Oxford n.d. /1964?/ (The second J. L. Myres memorial lecture); R. M. Ogilvie, Eretum (BSR 33 (1965), 70-104 & Appendices I-III, 106—112), R. Bloch, Volsinies étrusque (Mél Rome 59 (1947), 3—39); Volsinies étrusques et romaine. Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques 62 Ibidem (1950), 53-120); Découverte d'un habitat étrusque archaïque sur le territoire volsinien (*Ibidem* 67 (1955), 49-70; CRAI 1963, 31-45 (Casalecchio di Reno).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf infra p. 42 nris 67 (under 1959) and 73. (under 1962); M. A. DEL CHIARO, Bieda. Tomba etrusca a San Giovenale (Not Scav 8: 13 (1959), 264—273; E. BERGGREN & M. MORETTI, San Giovenale (Blera). Scavi archeologici condotti dall'Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici in Roma e dalla Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale di Roma IIa

little known, abandoned and, in two cases, anonymous cities in the hinterland as they are, they have nevertheless revealed many important features of the life and the history of third-class centres along the roads that connected their powerful neighbouring cities, Tarquinia and Caere. The spade of Swedish archaeologists has revived these fortresses and traced their role in the desperate fight for independence, which characterized the final centuries of Etruscan history, when Rome conquered Etruria.

A marginal, but important result of our activity in this region is the locating of many, and the excavation of three *villae rusticae*,<sup>1</sup> constructed in the second century B.C. — at least as far the evidence hitherto produced indicates (the excavation of two of them is still under way.) Here we are fortunate to touch upon yet another aspect of this epoch, when Latinizing was in progress but there still existed a rich class of landowners who protected and favoured by the Roman Senate party cultivated the fertile Etruscan soil during relatively peaceful periods.<sup>2</sup>)

Although we are not able to establish with certainty that the builders or the owners of these excavated villae were Etruscans, we are beginning to ascertain features that seem to be characteristic for this type of architecture in Etruria. After more than ten years of assidous investigation of the Etruscan and Roman ruins in the zona archeologica of Blera the author has obtained some degree of familiarity with the abundant remains of villae which give this untouched, enchanting landscape such attraction to one who loves walking. There are over twenty of them within a few hours reach of this centre. Of course they are not all contemporaneous. We can establish a span of five or six centuries

<sup>(</sup>*Ibidem* 8: 14 (1960), 1-66); C.-E. ÖSTENBERG: Luni sul Mignone (*Ibidem* 8: 15 (1961), 103—124; and Etruscan culture, (nr. 73 p. 42 *infra*) pp. 320—328; Il Messaggero Nov. 14th 1966, p. 3; (the excavations at Acqua Rossa).

A. Boëthius, La Tomba del tetto stramineo a Cerveteri (Palladio N. s. 15 (1965), 3-6 (compared with one of the Etruscan houses on the acropolis of S. Giovenale).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Wetter, Studies and strolls in Southern Etruria (in: Etruscan culture, pp. 181–184 and the maps and aereal photographs, Figs. 166–167); C.-E. Östenberg, *ibidem*, pp. 313–320, figs. 286–295 (Villa Sambuco); (*infra* p. 42 nr. 73 under 1962.) A. W. van Buren, News letter from Rome (AJA 70 (1966), 353 (Villa Selvasecca).

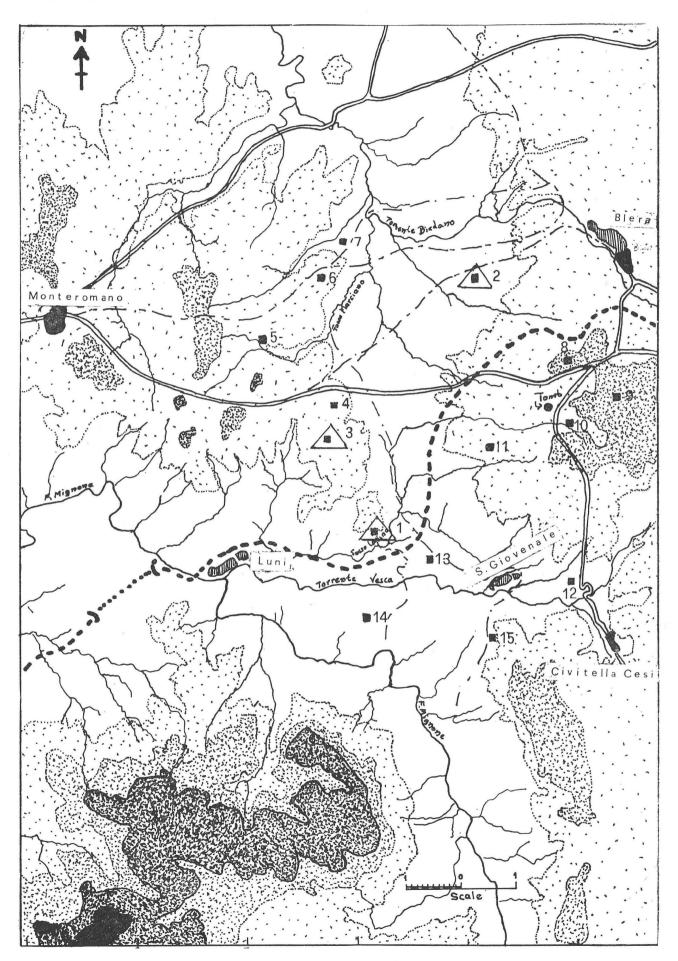
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A. Boëthius, La continuità etc. (Nr. 83 p. 43 (under 1964), pp. 11—13; Etruscan culture, pp. 91—106; (p. 42 Nr. 73 under 1962 J. Heurgon, La vie quotidienne etc (Nr. 71 p. 42 (under 1961), p. 136 (regarding Veii and Ager Faliscus); S. Mazzarino, Sociologia del mondo etrusco e problemi dell tarda etruschità (Historia 6 (1957), 110—119 (see No. 37 p. 41 under 1957); M. Rostovceff, The social and economic history of the Roman Empire, Oxford 1926, pp. 10, 14 and 23; H. H. Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero. A history of Rome from 133 B. C. to A. D. 68. London 1963, pp. 19—20, 178, 333—334; G. Tibiletti, Lo sviluppo del latifondo in Italia (in: Relazioni X:0 Congr. Intern. Scienze Storiche, Roma 1955, Vol. I. Florence 1955, pp. 286, 288; J. B. Ward Perkins, Veii (BSR 29 (1961), 77) (see No. 4 supra).

in their chronology starting from the last few centuries B.C. to at least the end of the fourth century A.D. My experience of the excavation of two of them has convinced me that several of them will when studied in detail show features akin to those already revealed. As a basis for my project I have chosen a group of remains situated to the West and South of Blera, including our three explored *villae*, and built on the hillsides that surround a central undulating area on a slightly lower level.

The area concerned amounts to about 15 km². A glance at our map shows that most of them are situated on the 200 m contour and none lower than 150 m above sea level.¹ Their density is of course misleading as so far we don't know the date of all of them. Some of them were obviously *latifundia* but there are also examples of small crofts, to judge from the scanty remains left. The nature of the soil today leads us to suspect that some areas were even more marshy and water-logged in antiquity than today and thus less suitable for agriculture or pasture. The configuration of the ground sometimes discloses that the draining of small lakes was undertaken at a time which cannot be established without the use of modern scientific investigations.

Fortunately we can already point to some features common to the three villae now entirely or partly explored. Their foundations and the base of the walls are built of heavy tufa ashlars. In the case of Villa Sambuco and Villa Selvasecca, situated from each other only about one and a half miles this kind of stone does not exist on the spot. It was probably brought from quarries in the valley of Fosso Canino, about 300 m as the crow flies to the south of the first villa. The hillocks here consist of layers of limestone on virgin yellow clay. It is worth noting, however, that the blocks of Villa Selvasecca were spolia of a ruined Etruscan temple, not yet located, the presence of which on the spot is proved by the hundreds of architectonic terracotta fragments found here. All these walls reveal a high degree of workmanship, without doubt in the best Etruscan tradition, and those of Villa Conserba show blocks of immense dimensions (2.00  $\times$  0.50  $\times$  0.50 m). Here the *villa* does stand on a tufa hillock. Another feature, also met with in the Etruscan houses on the acropolis of San Giovenale, is found in Villa Selvasecca: some intermediate walls have tufa blocks with circular holes into which were put wooden posts supporting the superstructure of the walls, built in half timber. At the present state of our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Wetter, *loc. cit.* and maps. On our map the various levels above the sea are indicated with an increasing density of dots starting from that of 200 m. The dots get more dense for every hundred meters, the black spot in the lower left corner meaning the level of 500 m.



Map of the territory to the West and South of Blera

investigations these features seem to be the only ones that take us back to Etruscan construction methods.

Moreover we can draw some conclusions also from the different dimensions of the three *villae*. The smallest one, Villa Sambuco, occupies an area of only about 380 m², while the largest one, Villa Conserba, exceeds 108.000 s.ft (10.000 m²). The main building of Villa Selvasecca measures about 1.400 s.ft (1.270 m²), but here the whole area of the *villa* including the outbuildings some of which have been traced 50 m West of the *villa*, will be found to be larger when fully explored. Different in size as they are, they also show three types of groundplan. Villa Selvasecca and Villa Conserba are both of the central court type and provided with peristyles. The small Villa Sambuco, instead of this court has a central corridor that connects the rooms and was accessible from the outside by means of the main entrance. As no rooms seem to have been used as living quarters for the owner, this *villa* gives us an example of a small landed property cultivated by a *vilicus* but not permanently housing the owner.

Although the peristyle type is well known from other Roman villae the groundplan of Villa Selvasecca shows peculiarities of is own. On three sides the central courtyard is surrounded by a double row of rooms, while the western side has the depth of only one. Regarding the exact plan of Villa Conserba I cannot for the moment make any conclusive statement, but it was probably laid out in an L-plan, had a peristyle and the owner's living quarters in the South wing. Here the well preserved suspensurae of one of the rooms belonging to private thermae have come to light. Fragments of precious marble plaques that covered the walls of the rooms, portions of opus tesselatum mosaics and small fragments of stucco painted in excellent water-colour scale reveal the luxurious dwelling of a rich landed proprietor. Moreover, Villa Selvasecca has its living quarters where the owner lived. It was situated in the southern wing of the villa, was adorned with fine stucco friezes at the top of the painted stucco walls and fine marble mosaic pavements — of which unfortunately only a few tesserae are left. The bath is here much more rudimentary.

Finally some conclusions regarding the agricultural products of these villae. In Villa Selvasecca the pars rustica, i.e. the wing of the villa where the wine and the olive oil, two of the principal products, were produced and stored, is clearly the northern one as is evident from the basins, floors with pavements of tile tesserae, bases of presses and small hearths uncovered here. Finds of amphorae, more or less fragmentary, show us where the wine was stored, and large dolia indicate the site of the granaries. The vast subterranean silos, cut

out of the rock and forming a system of corridors with gable roof covered with excellent, hard dry stucco which we cleared below one of the wings of Villa Conserba, tell us that the principal crop here was grain. The large plains that surround this villa provided good cultivation ground. Villa Selvasecca produced its own tiles and has provided us with the rare discovery of a tile workshop set up in one of the rooms of the pars rustica. Three rock-cut moulds within which the tegulae, imbrices and bipedales were moulded constitute one of the most surprising and rewarding finds of the last excavation campaign in October 1966. A kind of furnace has been laid bare in Villa Conserba but no finds to give us an idea of its function. Fragments of vitrified, distorted tiles indicate however the existence of a tile or pottery kiln within the villa.

Bearing in mind that the remaining *villae* ruins, referred to above, have only been located and not yet subject to detailed investigations, I will confine myself to just a few remarks, to stress the manifoldness of their appearance, state of preservation, plan and size, and to urge further exploration.

Three of them, Villa Marciano (No. 5), Villa Formello (No. 10) and Villa Barbone (No. 9) are very large and reveal many features and remains of luxurious equipment proving that their owners were well-to-do persons. The most extensive of them is Villa Marciano, marked by two barrel-vaulted rooms standing on a huge platform, built in a saddle between two hillocks, in a now desolate region. The roof has collapsed but great portions of the vault are still preserved. Fragments of a rough opus signinum pavement with large white marble tesserae set out as imbrices and lattices, broken up by the plough and thrown inside the eastern room, once adorned one of the rooms to the South of this group. About 100 metres westwards a cistern of opus caementicum collected water, from a source close by, for the use of the villa. It is very well preserved, has a barrel vault and a shallow ante-room outside the entrance wall. About half a mile upstream, is found the most imposing construction of this villa, a magnificently built dike, the so-called »Pontaccio», which once dammed the water of the brook. It is today concealed by the »macchia». Winter floods of this brook have undermined its central part and caused the falling in of the eastern abutment built against the steep side of Monte Saraceno. Its western abutment, on the less steeply sloping opposite bank, is still intact with three struts on the downstream side and two openings. One of these, at a higher level, was later blocked up, while the lowest one still retains its keeps for the sash-gate. The dike is about 0.75 m wide. This construction, probably a product of Imperial Roman engineering, has facades of small

blocks of local limestone showing two different strata, a lower one more accurately built, and a higher one of a rougher structure. The joint between these two strata certainly coincides with peak flood level. Such an expensive dike, if it can be attributed to the equipment of the *villa* — and this seems very plausible — reveals the richness and importance of the proprietor and tells us something about the funds and manpower at his disposal, and the magnificent water-supply system.

The owner of Villa Formello has left us evidence of his wealth in the tomb he built at the roadside: a veritable miniature of the famous round tomb of Cecilia Metella in Via Appia Antica. The exterior wall revetment is gone and only the core of *opus caementicium* and the sepulchral room inside bear witness to its once imposing size. Its resemblance to a round cheese-mould certainly influenced the name given it by the peasants.

Columns and capitals of *peperino*, fragments of the marble furniture and overgrown walls are the sole silent remains of the large Villa Barbone, today sticking up between the grape-vines of the vineyard that occupies most of its area.

Between Villa Marciano and its neighbour, Villa Rosanello (No. 6) can be observed scanty, scattered fragments of tiles, *dolia* and *amphorae*, indicating the presence here of small crofts or outbuildings. Whether they were independent or belonged to one of the *villae* mentioned, is a question I hope will be answered by a small exploratory dig.

These remarks, I trust, may suffice to emphasize the promising factors in the team project that the author wishes to launch. This will interest archaeologists and historians and possibly also philologists<sup>1</sup> — for greater penetration and a better commentary of the ancient Latin texts on agriculture. A more profound knowledge of villa architecture in general, and especially its Etruscan and Republican Roman faces, would be one of the important results of this work. More light can be shed on the development of the villae during Imperial times, and this seems, together with the desiderable study of a closely confined provincial group of villae in itself to be sufficiently rewarding.<sup>2</sup> Side lights on the little studied closing centuries of Etruscan life, are further possible aims for such efforts in common. Is it too optimistic to expect that features may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Воётния, La continuità etc., 9, 13. (see infra p. 43 No. 83 (under 1964).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Two Nordic works on the Roman villae (H. Gummerus, Der römische Gutsbetrieb als wirtschaftlicher Organismus (Klio. Suppl. 5, 1905) and J. E. Skydsgaard, Den romerske Villa rustica Copenhagen 1961 (Studier for Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning. 246.) offer good basis for a new research and inspire us to new efforts.

come out revealing an Etruscan tradition in cultivation methods and planning of villae, inherited by the Romans? The fertile soil of Etruria, famous for its rich harvests, seems to have predestinated its cultivators to become propagators of suitable implements and successful organization of field work, as well as experts in the various branches of cultivation and their adaptation to different types of soil. Last but not least results already attained convince the author that wellplanned excavations and investigations of this group of villae will also reveal indigenous Etruscan methods of construction and planning, still not subject to any thorough study. At least the projected teamwork would be valuable for a chapter on the villae that abound in the territory of ancient Etruria. The author knows that the acting director of the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, Professor Patrick Bruun, is evolving plans for renewed study of the last centuries in Etruscan history. If he and his students could but share this teamwork, which will be a new field of collaboration among the Nordic institutes in Rome! Could any better honour be shown our friend and former director who during his time at the institute gave it splendour and impetus and instigated that collaboration, which in the investigations proposed above would find a worthy new field?

Key to signs on the map.

Modern roads (»Strade provinciali») Ancient roads Railway Modern villages

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Apart from the obsolete article of A. Grenier & G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio, Dict., 870—891, the still useful pages in J. Durm, Handb. d. Architektur II, pp. 285—390, the recent article in Enciclopedia Italiana by G. Lugli (Vol. XXXV, 1937, p. 332) and the survey of the archaeological excavations by A. W. van Buren (RE Reihe 2: 8, 1958, cols. 2142—2159) there still does not exist a general account of the Roman villa. Some material is collected in R. Cagnat & C. Chabot, Manuel d'archéologie romaine, Paris 1916, pp. 300 sqq and can be found in G. Patroni, Architettura preistorica ed italica Bergamo 1941, pp. 294—300.

Recently two scholars have attempted to give a synthesis of the Roman villa through the ages choosing some typical examples and using them as basis for their account and a German thesis has appeared with the Roman villa as subject:

C. A. Mansuelli, Le ville nel mondo romano. Milan 1958 (Panorama di archeol. e di antichità.); H. Drerup, Die römische Villa (in: Marburger Winckelmann-Programm 1959, pp. 1–24) and H. Dohr, Die italischen Gutshöfe nach den Schriften Catos und Varros. Cologne 1965 (Thesis). Mansuelli has also announced a work with title: »Ville romane dell' Italia settentrionale». This book is still unpublished, as so far I know, but when edited it will add a new specimen to the previously appeared dealing with the villae of individual provinces, as R. C. Carrington, Studies in the Campanian »villae rusticae» (JRS 21 (1931), 110–130) and Edith B. Thomas, Römische Villen in Pannonien. Beiträge zur pannonischen Siedlungsgeschichte. Budapest 1964.

Etruscan centres

Villae (those inscribed in triangles the excavated ones) Circular tomb

- 1. Villa Sambuco
- 2. Villa Conserba
- 3. Villa Selvasecca
- 4. Villa Poggio del Fattore
- 5. Villa Marciano
- 6. Villa Rosanello
- 7. Villa Casale Pianaccia
- 8. Villa Crocevive
- 9. Villa Barbone
- 10. Villa Formello
- 11. Villa Ficonaccia
- 12. Villa Vignale
- 13. Villa Le Pozze
- 14. Villa Pian Fagiano
- 15. Villa Cammerata

#### Select bibliography

- 1947. Two basic works on civilization and one important chapter on art for the first time dealed with at length; the finds of a famous tomb put in its historical context:
- 1. M. Pallottino, Etruscologia, 2nd rev. enl. ed. Milan (1st ed. Rome 1942; four further ed. (1955, 1957 1963) 1967 and transl. into English (The Etruscans, Harmondsworth 1955 (Penguin books. A 310), German (Die Etrusker) Frankf. a. M. (Fischer-Bücherei. 684.) (5th ed.) 2. J. D. Beazley, Etruscan vase painting. Oxford; 3. A. Furumark, Chap. »Den etruskiska kulturen» (in: Det äldsta Italien, Uppsala, pp. 101—130); 4. L. Pareti, La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia nel sec. VII a.C. Città del Vaticano (Monumenti Vaticani d'archeologia e d'arte. 9.)
- 1948. The first Scandinavian work on art, an excellent summary of the culture with special regard to the part played by Swedish scholars, a study on jewellery, a German book on religion and finally the first popular book after the war:
- 5. P. J. Riis, Den etruskiske Kunst. Copenhagen (Kultur og Videnskab. 63.); 6. A. Boëthius, Om etruskerna (in: Festskrift Herbert Jacobson, Gothenburg, pp. 17—42; 7. A. Andrén, Oreficeria e plastica etrusche (Opusc. Archaeol. V (1948), pp. 91—112 (Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institutet i Rom. Ser. 4: o. XIII); 8. R. Herbig, Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker. Heidelberg (posthumously a new, rev. ed. by Erika Simon. Mainz 1965.); 9. Sibylle von Cles Reden, Das versunkene Volk. Welt und Land der Etrusker. Vienna (another German ed. Frankf. a. M. 1958; transl.: English, French 1955, Dutch, Swedish 1958, another French ed. Grenoble 1962):
- 1949. Articles on the foundation of Rome and the Roman kings and the results of the Swedish excavations in Forum Romanum:
- 10. E. GJERSTAD, Roms grundläggning och dess kungar (Hist. Tidskr. 1949, pp. 321–336); 11. Idem, Scavi stratigrafici nel Foro Romano e problemi ad essi relativi (Bull. Comm. 73 (1949/50), 13–29).
- 1952. A survey of the stratigraphy of Forum Romanum, an Italian work on architecture and a well illustrated book on art:
- 12. E. GJERSTAD, Per strata ad data (in: Arkeologiska forskningar och fynd. Studier utg. med anledn. av H.M. Konung Gustaf VI Adolfs sjuttioårsdag, Stockholm, pp. 108—117); 13. L. Polacco, Tuscanicae dispositiones, problemi di architettura protoromana. Padova (Publ. della Fac. di Lett. e Filos., Univ. di Padova. 27.); 14. M. Pallottino, La peinture étrusque Geneva (Skira). (Les grandes siècle de la peinture).

- 1953. The first volume of a basic Swedish work on the early times of Rome, an Etruscan bibliography in Italian language, the rewritten English version of No. 5 (see above 1948) and a popular book on the paintings of the tombs at Tarquinia:
- 15. E. GJERSTAD, Early Rome. Vol. I. Lund (Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institutet i Rom, Ser. 4: o. Vol. XVII: 1 (followed of two further volumes 1956 and 1960 (*Ibidem*, fasc. 2-3); Vol. IV, containing the conclusions, in press). 16. M. Lopes Pegna, Saggio di bibliografia etrusca Florence (Bibl. di bibliogr. italiana. 22.) 17. P. J. Riis, An introduction to Etruscan art. Copenhagen; 18. M. Leisinger, Malerei der Etrusker. Stuttgart (transl. into Swedish by O. Vessberg (Etruskernas måleri i Tarquinia) 1954,. French 1953).
- 1954. A French book on culture written for for students and an introduction to the antiquities:
- 19. R. Bloch, Les Étrusques. Paris (two further ed. 1956 and 1959) (3rd ed. in the popular serie »Que sais-je?» 645), transl.: Italian 1955, English 1958, another Italian and a German 1960, Spanish 1961); 20. A. Neppi Modona, A guide to Etruscan antiquities. Florence (Olschki) (Pocket libr. of »Studies in art». 5 (3rd rev. ed. in English transl.).
- 1955. One of the landmark years with works on art and culture by French, German and Italian scholars, the year when a travelling exhibition on Etruscan art and life started its voyage in Europe, competing with English, French and German versions of a new luxuriuosly illustrated book on art in increasing the interest for Etruscan culture amongst a wide public and when the exhibition of Etruscan finds in a famous Roman museum was rearranged and a new era in museal history started. New scientific methods in archaeological prospecting were proposed and tested:
- 21. R. Bartoccini, La pittura etrusca di Tarquinia. Milan (a work by the regretted late superintendent for the antiquities of Southern Etruria); 22. G. Becatti & F. Magi, La pittura etrusca. Tarquinia (in: Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia. 1: fasc. 1-4); 23. R. Bloch, L'art et la civilisation étrusques. Paris (transl.: Italian and German (Milan) 1958, English 1959); 24. M. PALLOTTINO, Arte etrusca with photographs of W. DRÄNGER and M.HUER-LIMAN and notes by H. and I. JUCKER (ed. in English, French and German versions by various editors.); 25. O. W. von Vacano, Die Etrusker. Werden und geistige Welt. Stuttgart (written for a wide public); 26. The travelling exhibition on Etruscan art and life (shown in Cologne, Le Hague, Milan, Oslo, Paris and Zürich with catalogues (e.g. Kunst und Leben der Etrusker... Illustrierter Katalog. Kunsthaus Zürich); 27. R. Vighi & F. Minissi, Il nuovo museo di Villa Giulia. Rome (the second author is the architect who started his career as museum architect with this project; the rearrangement of this museum was later completed with reorganisation of the exhibition of the Castellani collection of vases in the hemicycle of the ex-papal palace which contains the Etruscan antiquities exposed, in 1959 and with the inauguration of the newbuilt Southern wing in 1960 (see infra nris 70 and 72 under 1961); 28. C. M. LERICI, Prospezioni archeologiche (in: Rivista di geofisica applicata, Fasc. 1 (1955), Milan (the first of a long series of articles and booklets, ed. by the Fondazione Lerici, where the author and his collaborators launch new scientific methods for archaeological prospection and record the results attained. Here will only those of more general interest be cited. They now totally amount to more than thirty items.).
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- 34. J. Bradford, Chap. III (Detruria from the air) in Ancient landscapes. Studies in field archaeology, London, pp. 111-144); 35. M. Mirabelli Roberti: Mostra della fotografia aerea per la ricerca archeologica. Milan. 36. E. GJERSTAD, The earliest history of Rome. New excavations and finds (in: Acta Congr. Madvigiani, Vol. I, Copenhagen, pp. 375-392); 37. Articles in Historia, Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte 6 (1957): H.l (with a Swedish contribution by G. Säflund); 38. A. Hus, Les Étrusques, peuple secret. Paris (2nd ed. 1960, transl.: Dutch and Italian 1959, English 1961.); 39. G. M. LERICI, Campagne di prospezioni archologiche nella necropoli etrusca di Monte Abbatone (Cerveteri) (Quaderni di georisica applicata 1957, pp. 1—35; 40. Idem, Cosi esploriamo oggi le civiltà sepolte (in the review »Le Vie d'Italia», 63 (1957), 1-12 (a popular article). 41. Tyrrhenica. Saggi di studi etruschi. Pavia (Istituto lombardo. Accad di scienza e lettere.) (Collection of lectures hold at Milan and at Varenna 1955 and 1956 on archaeology, art, metallurgy and language): 42. O. W. von Vagano, Die Etrusker in der Welt der Antike, Hamburg (a new work of the author of No. 24 (see supra under 1955); 43. N. Alfieri, J. D. Beazley, M. Pallottino and others, Spina e l'Etruria padana. Atti del Convegno di studi etruschi, l, Ferrara 1957, Florence. (Studi Etruschi. Suppl. 25.) 44. S. Aurigemma & N. Alfieri, Il Museo Nazionale di Spina in Ferrara. Rome (Itinerari dei musei e monumenti d'Italia. 95.).
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67. San Giovenale. Etruskerna. Landet och folket. Svensk forskning i Etrurien. Under medverkan av H.M.K. Gustaf VI Adolf samt A. Boëthius and others. Malmö (A. Boëthius, Etruskernas sex hundra år i Italien; Etruskerna i närbild. Hur konstnärer i Etrurien århundradena igenom framställde människans ansikte i olika på varandra följande stilarter; E. Gjerstad, Etruskerna och Rom; E. Wetter, Studier och strövtåg i Södra Etrurien; C. Fries, Skog och jord i Etrurien. Ett odlingshistoriskt perspektiv; Idem & J. Mark, Det sydetruskiska landskapet. Ett stycke odlingshistoria i bilder. Till kap. »Skog och jord i Etrurien»; E. Welin Svenska Rominstitutets utgrävningar i San Giovenale; San Giovenale. Några bilder från grävningarna på akropolen och dess omgivningar; E. Gren, Nordiska forskningsinsatser inom etruskologien; V. Poulsen, Etruskisk konst. Ett halvt århundrades skulptur och måleri från etruskiska fyndorter; Skulptur och måleri från etruskiska fyndorter. En bildsvit till kap. om etruskisk konst;» Literaturförteckning); 68. F. Minissi, Due recenti esperienze museografiche di Villa Giulia a Roma . . . (Musei e gallerie d'Italia 5 (1960), 1—9); 69. Maria Santangelo, Musei e monumenti etruschi. Novara (Musei e monumenti) (Germ. transl. (Museen und Baudenkmäler etruskischer Kunst, Munich 1961 (Galerien und Kunstdenkmäler Europas)).

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73. Etruscan culture. Land and People. Archaeological research and studies conducted at San Giovenale and its environs by members of the Swedish Institute in Rome . . . New York and Malmö. (New articles (cf. No. 67 under 1960): K. Hanell, The excavations of the Swedish Institute in Rome at San Giovenale and its environs. With collaboration of E. Welin, C-E. Östenberg and B. Thordeman; expunged: The article of E. Gren); 74. E. Gjerstad, Scavi stratigrafici a S. Omobono (Bull. Comm. 77 (1962), 33—108); 75. K. Lukan, Land der Etrusker. Vienna & Munich; 76. J. B. Ward Perkins, Etruscan engineering: road building, water-supply and drainage (in: Hommages à A. Grenier, Vol. III, Brussels-Berchem, pp. 1636—1643 (Coll. Latomus. 58.)); 77. Convegno promosso dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma, dalla Fondazione Lerici del Politecnico di Milano e dalle Fondazione Cini, Venezia, Isola di S. Giorgio, Venezia 22—24 maggio 1962.

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- 99. Etruskernas konst och kultur belyst av nyare fynd. Utställning arrangerad av Medelhavsmuseet i samarbete med Statens historiska museum, Stockholm 17 jan. 5 mars 1967. Stockholm. (Med inledning av M. Pallottino.) 100. Arte e civiltà degli Etruschi. Mostra tenuta a Torino . . . organizzata dall'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università e dalla Sporintendenza alla Antichità del Piemonte.