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ETRUSCAN BIOPHILIA VIEWED THROUGH MAGICAL AMBER

by

Greta Rose Koshenina

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

Oxford
May 2020

Approved by

Advisor: Dr. Jacqueline DiBiasie-Sammons

Reader: Dr. Molly Pasco-Pranger

Reader: Dr. John Samonds

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis with gratitude to my advisors in both America and Italy: to Dr. Jacqueline DiBiasie-Sammons who endured spotty skype meetings during my semester abroad and has been a tremendous help every step of the way, to Giampiero Bevagna who helped translate Italian books and articles and showed our archaeology class *necropoleis* of Etruria, and to Dr. Brooke Porter who helped me see my research through the eyes of a marine biologist. I dedicate this thesis also to my loving family who has supported me always and unconditionally.

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ABSTRACT

ETRUSCAN BIOPHILIA VIEWED THROUGH MAGICAL AMBER (Under the direction of Dr. Jacqueline DiBiasie-Sammons)

In this thesis, I explore the usage and purpose of amber objects in burials from Etruria, specifically from the late Villanovan Period (ca. 800-720 BCE) to the Orientalizing Period (ca. 720-580 BCE). I have followed a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches as well as visual analysis of amber grave goods. While there has been extensive research on the medicinal and ritual purposes of amber grave goods from excavated Etruscan tombs, I show that there was likely a specific interest in amber that contains organic inclusions likely because of the Etruscans' interest in nature. I examine the presence and types of amber objects found in female graves of two Etruscan *necropoleis* and hypothesize what these objects might tell us about the lives of Etruscan women. The findings suggest that amber artifacts exemplify the culture's biophilia, i.e. reverence for nature.

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Chapter I: Introduction

A significant feature of the Etruscan culture is their interest and focus on burials, especially toward the end of the Villanovan period (ca. 800 BCE).¹ Scholars have suggested that the Etruscans put even more thought into their tombs than their homes.² Their elaborate, well-preserved tombs contain frescoes depicting underworld deities and creatures, which perhaps indicates that the Etruscans believed in an afterlife.³ Burials of aristocratic women and children often included luxurious amber grave goods, typically in the form of amulets, jewelry, or *fibulae*.⁴ This, coupled with the ability of Etruscan women to attend banquets and inherit money, suggests their influence in important decision making processes, at least within the home.⁵ Perhaps Etruscan women were even given the opportunity to choose their grave goods.⁶ Depictions in tombs provide evidence for the presence of women at banquets and sporting events, and some even depict them exercising in the nude within the same gymnasium as

¹ Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 13.

² Stephan Steingraäber “Rock Tombs and the World of the Etruscan *necropolises*: Recent Discoveries, Research, Interpretations” in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 146.

³ Marie-Francoise Briguet “Art,” in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife. A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 157-158.

⁴ In this study, I consider an amulet to be a small, "magical" object either worn as a necklace or carried to ward off evil (or to ward off the evil eye: apotropaic). Amulets are often worn by children, as they were especially susceptible to the evil eye; the amulet was meant to distract the eye of the onlooker from the face of the wearer. In the burial context, I view amulets as a protective device for the journey into the "afterlife." *Fibulae* are safety pin-like brooches that were worn to keep clothing fastened. The designs of *fibulae* are extensive; women typically wore more decorative and elaborate *fibulae*.

⁵ S. R. Joshel, “The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy’s Lucretia and Verginia,” in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World*, ed. Laura MacClure, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 174-176.

⁶ Alexis Castor “Etruscan Jewelry and Identity,” in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 275.

men.⁷ In other Mediterranean societies these activities were only attended by men. There are also representations of Etruscan women traveling in groups, suggesting they were free to venture from the house without male supervision.⁸ Some early archaeologists took these representations as evidence that the Etruscans had a matriarchal society.⁹ This is likely incorrect. Because scholars were so used to a limited representation of women in Greek and Roman art, they over-emphasized the role of women in Etruscan society.¹⁰

Knowledge of the Etruscan culture is limited due to the fact that there is no remaining Etruscan literature; excluding inscriptions, all of the ancient literature speaking of the Etruscans was written by either Greek or Roman historians after the Etruscans had already assimilated into the Greco-Roman culture.¹¹ One example comes from the writing of Theopompus, a Greek historian, who began writing his histories in the 4th century BCE, once the Etruscans had already begun assimilating. Theopompus' writings demonstrate that even the Greeks and Romans themselves were confused about the place of women in Etruscan society. For example, Theopompus claimed that Etruscans shared wives.¹² His opinions were likely biased due to the shock of hearing about men interacting with their wives in a social setting, especially at a dinner party, leading to his erroneous conclusion. The Greeks were known to only invite prostitutes (*hetairai*) to

⁷ Larissa Bonfante, "Etruscan Women" in *Women in the Classical World*, eds. Elaine Fantham et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 249.

⁸ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 256-257.

⁹ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 246-247.

¹⁰ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 247.

¹¹ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 249.

¹² Ath.12.14.

dinner parties; seeing the wives at the Etruscan dinner parties could have possibly caused the Greeks to believe that the wives took on the same role as their *hetairai*.¹³

The occupation history of most Etruscan sites also presents challenges to the archaeological study of the Etruscan culture. Most Etruscan settlements have been continuously inhabited since their founding, beginning with the Etruscans and followed by the Romans, medieval inhabitants, and now Italians.¹⁴ Most excavated sites present only the Roman ruins to the public. To reach the Etruscan ruins, those of the Romans would have to be destroyed, explaining why nearly all of the Etruscan objects available to study were found in tombs, which were most often located outside their cities.¹⁵ These tombs were sealed from the outside world for thousands of years, leading to the good preservation of Etruscan grave goods. Some have even wooden materials preserved, an extremely rare occurrence in archaeology of Italy.

Studying only the burial goods and tomb decoration, i.e. objects they presumably wanted to bring into the afterlife and how they wanted to be represented to those who saw their burial ceremony and/or tomb, presents an extremely myopic view of a culture. As I have chosen to study particularly the amber grave goods from female burials, the evidence is condensed more. Additionally, my study focuses on the late Villanovan and early Orientalizing periods (ca. 850-600 BCE), which have even less material to study compared to other time periods in Etruscan archaeology. However, I believe that by studying the Orientalizing period, it is possible to obtain a better grasp of the Etruscan culture before it was overshadowed by the Greco-Roman culture. At this time, the

¹³ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 249.

¹⁴ Mario Torelli "History: Land and People," in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 50.

¹⁵ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 11.

Etruscans still had their own language (even a few unique letters that correlate to sounds completely foreign to Greek or Latin speakers) and distinct material culture. However, this is not to suggest that the Etruscans were isolated throughout the late Villanovan or especially the Orientalizing period, hence the name of the latter. Indeed, trade and contact with other civilizations is a hallmark of these eras. Even by the 9th century BCE, the Villanovan culture spanned as far north as the Po plain region and as far south as the region now known as Campania (see Figure A-1).¹⁶ Due to the geographical expanse the culture covers, these various city-states had influence from many different Mediterranean cultures, giving each city a unique way of life. Yet, they still had similar underlying cultural factors.

The Villanovan period was named after the supposed civilization found near the Italian town of Villanova (near Bologna) (see Figure A-1).¹⁷ The cemetery housing the remains of this "civilization" was discovered in the mid-19th century by Giovanni Gozzadini.¹⁸ The peculiar urns and grave goods caused Gozzadini to come up with a name for the newfound civilization, the Villanovans, after the nearby city.¹⁹ Today, most scholars agree that the Villanovans are merely the early Etruscans, or rather proto-Etruscans, with less influence from the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and Phoenicians.²⁰ The Villanovan period offers significant material evidence of amber artifacts, especially

¹⁶ Gilda Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 83-84.

¹⁷ It should also be clarified that Villanovan is the only specific name that has been created for the Etruscan historical periods. There is no historical literature remaining from the Etruscan culture, leading scholars to use Greek and Roman periodization to categorize Etruscan archaeology. This categorization is vaguely representative of the Etruscan culture, at least from the material evidence available.

¹⁸ Larissa Bonfante, "Introduction: Etruscan Studies Today" in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 1-2.

¹⁹ Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History," 79.

²⁰ Bonfante, "Introduction: Etruscan Studies Today," 2.

from the Etruscan city Verucchio.²¹ Already, the earliest Etruscans had an interest in amber and its magical, spiritual, and healing properties.²² In this period we find evidence for sourcing from distant regions, as this amber came from the Baltic area.

In antiquity, the Etruscans lived in various city-states throughout the heart of the peninsula now known as Italy. There has been ongoing research and speculation as to where the Etruscans came from.²³ Since there is no remaining Etruscan literature, we must rely on ancient Roman and Greek sources, some of which suggest that the Etruscans migrated from Lydia due to famine and disease.²⁴ The migration theory is likely incorrect, as it was suggested by Herodotus, a fifth century BCE Greek author writing centuries after the supposed migration.²⁵ The Etruscans lived contemporaneously with the Greeks and Romans, as well as other Mediterranean civilizations such as the Phoenicians and Egyptians.²⁶ Trade with these cultures was extremely important for the economy of the Etruscans; therefore, it was inevitable that aspects of other cultures were absorbed by the Etruscans.²⁷ Influence from Asiatic art and culture has especially fueled the misconception that the Etruscans migrated from Lydia. There has additionally been extensive DNA testing of inhabitants from Tuscan villages such as Murlo, which has

²¹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 38.

²² Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 247-248. In this study, I define magical objects as materials associated with the supernatural realm, as well as objects that are able to be used as the conduit for shaping the outcome of events. Amber was automatically deemed magical due to its electrostatic properties. I am aware, however, that there are many different definitions for magic, or magical, and that these terms are often viewed in a negative connotation. Overall, I feel as if the majority of misunderstood scientific and biological events were viewed as "magical" in antiquity.

²³ Martin Korenjak, "The Etruscans and Ancient Literature," in *Etruscology*, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 36.

²⁴ Korenjak, "The Etruscans and Ancient Literature," 39.

²⁵ Christian Ulf, "An ancient question: the origin of the Etruscans," in *Etruscology*, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 13. See Hdt.1.94.

²⁶ Korenjak, "The Etruscans and Ancient Literature," 39.

²⁷ Ann C. Gunter, "The Etruscans, Greek Art and the Near East," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 340.

been excavated for over fifty years.²⁸ The small town near Siena was thrust into the spotlight in 1993, when newspapers and magazines began to link DNA testing with staged photos of locals in Etruscan scenes bearing a striking resemblance to their ancient ancestors (see Figure A-2).²⁹ Luca Cavalli Sforza from the University of Turin analyzed genetic samples from Etruscan tombs in comparison to DNA of citizens from Murlo and other "Etruscan" towns.³⁰ This genetic research has found mixed support as to its credibility in attempting to not only link modern Italians to Etruscans but also to prove Etruscan migration from the Anatolia region in the Near East.³¹ Today, many scholars agree that the Etruscans are native to the Italic peninsula:³²

Every people has been the result of a melting pot, formed by the superposition and mixing of diverse elements. Any attempt to explain in terms of origin is historically simplistic and wrong. But if Etruscologists of modern times have so long strayed into a dead-end and reductionist debate, it is probably because it is the same debate that was conducted in Antiquity. It is important to understand that the ancient debate, which lasted to modern times, responded to issues other than those of pure science.³³

The theory of the Etruscans as Italic natives is described by the ancient Roman rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who fully recognized the native Etruscan (a.k.a. Tyrrhenians, Rasena or Tusci) influence on Roman culture.³⁴ I will not attempt to further

²⁸ Annalisa Coppolaro Nowell, Goran Soderberg, and Anthony Tuck, *L'avventura Etrusca di Murlo: 50 anni di Scavi a Poggio Civitate*, (Monteriggioni: Ara edizioni, 2017), 19-22.

²⁹ Nowell, Soderberg, Tuck, *L'avventura Etrusca di Murlo: 50 anni di Scavi a Poggio Civitate*, 19-22.

³⁰ Nowell, Soderberg, Tuck, *L'avventura Etrusca di Murlo: 50 anni di Scavi a Poggio Civitate*, 19.

³¹ Francesca Tassi et al., "Genetic Evidence Does Not Support an Etruscan Origin in Anatolia," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 152 (2013): 11-18.

³² Dominique Briquel "Etruscan Origins and the Ancient Authors," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 50.

³³ Dominique Briquel "Etruscan Origins," 50.

³⁴ Dion.Hal.Ant. Rom.I.30

investigate the question as to where the Etruscans came from as it has been agreed upon by various sources that it is a moot point and generally does not factor in my study.³⁵

Wherever they came from, Etruscan society differed in many ways from Greek and Roman. The ancient Greeks and Romans were probably shocked by the drastic differences of a society so near their own homes, a society with whom they traded and likely even intermarried. Etruscan religion had many differences from other Mediterranean cultures along with similarities, and it is widely understood that the Etruscans practiced a unique religion shaped by their forms of divination: haruspicy, augury, and divining thunder and lightning.³⁶ Some authors have described this as a religion "deeply rooted in superstition,"³⁷ but I believe this has been shaped through a biased religious point of view. The Etruscan practice of human sacrifice is a defining factor that sets the Etruscans apart from the Greeks and Romans.³⁸ However, this practice is only hinted at and Livy details the Roman's sacrifice of captured war enemies.³⁹ Furthermore, the Romans adopted many other cultural traditions of the Etruscans, mainly involving various arts of divination.⁴⁰ It is known that the Romans learned the practices of augury and haruspicy from their Etruscan neighbors.⁴¹ Livy explained that Roman aristocrats would send their sons to Etruria in order to learn the Etruscan language and

³⁵ Korenjak, "The Etruscans and Ancient Literature," 37.

³⁶ Nancy T. de Grummond, "Haruspicy and Augury," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 544. Augury is the practice of reading bird flight patterns as signs from the gods, mainly for the purpose of divining the future. Haruspicy is the art of divining the future by interpreting signs from the entrails of sacrificed animals (typically the liver of sheep).

³⁷ Korenjak, "The Etruscans and Ancient Literature," 43.

³⁸ Jean Macintosh Turfa "Time to Give the Etruscans Their Due," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.

³⁹ Livy.10.29.

⁴⁰ Ingrid Krauskopf, "Gods and Demons in the Etruscan Pantheon," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 513.

⁴¹ de Grummond, "Haruspicy and Augury," 544.

their practices of omen-reading.⁴² Further evidence for the Romans adoption of these practices comes from various Roman authors and historians from the late Republic-early Empire (ca. 60 BCE-80 CE).⁴³ Additionally, the practice of augury was included in the mythological founding story of Rome—Romulus and Remus divined the flight patterns of birds in order to decide who would become the first king of Rome.⁴⁴

As I have already discussed, Etruscan women likely held a prominent role in society in a way that Greek and Roman women did not. We can see the privileged place of women exemplified in the quantity and quality of grave goods buried with them. One of the grave goods most often buried with women, especially during the late Villanovan and Orientalizing periods, is amber. So much so, that the presence of amber is often an indication that the grave occupant is female.⁴⁵ The aim of this thesis is to analyze amber artifacts of the late Villanovan through Orientalizing periods (ca. 800-580 BCE). I begin with an introductory chapter on the qualities of amber. As I will show, amber is often associated with the sun, magic, and healing, which is likely why these objects were so often included in the graves of women. In chapters two and three, I make connections between the Etruscans' innately strong respect of nature (biophilia) and amber and hypothesize that this may be a reason for the great quantity of amber artifacts found at Etruscan sites. Chapter Three analyzes the connections between amber and women. In this chapter, I discuss reasons why Etruscan women were often buried with large amounts of amber, and how amber was used by women. The fourth chapter analyzes the graves assemblages in the *necropoleis* of two Etruscan cities: Verucchio and Vetulonia. I show

⁴² Liv.9.36.

⁴³ Nancy T. de Grummond, "Haruspicy and Augury," 544.

⁴⁴ Nancy T. de Grummond, "Haruspicy and Augury," 539.

⁴⁵ Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 272.

that while amber was present at both cemeteries, particular aspects of its presentation differed. While amber has been noted as a significant material in both *necropoleis*, there has never been a holistic study of its overall presence at these sites or a comparison between them. I focus my study on two Orientalizing tombs within each site to show how amber was manifested in particular burials. I also analyze amber artifacts within these tombs to explore what they can tell us about the people with whom they were buried and the significance of amber within Etruscan society. In particular, I discuss the presence of organic inclusions within these amber artifacts as evidence for the Etruscans' biophilia. In sum, the aim of this thesis is to understand why amber objects have been found in the grave goods of so many Etruscan females, as well as the ritual and magical properties associated with amber.

Chapter II: Characteristics of Amber

Amber is an ancient, fossilized resin from now-extinct coniferous trees and is found throughout the world.⁴⁶ However, the majority of amber imported by the Mediterranean cultures came from the coastal northern Baltic area.⁴⁷ This particularly beautiful and prized Baltic amber was formed around forty million years ago.⁴⁸ Although most amber was mined in the Baltic, the true place of origin is a mystery. In the scientific community, amber's "genesis" is still debated.⁴⁹ Millions of years ago, the resin was washed away from the forests into deposits where it has been harvested and traded since Paleolithic times (ca. 10,000 years ago).⁵⁰ Throughout the lengthy chemical process of fossilization, the sap from the Baltic forests was swept through different environments leading a vast array of organic materials to be encased and fossilized in the amber.⁵¹ Moreover, Baltic amber is known to "contain the most diverse assemblage of fossil insects of any age, which are typically preserved in exquisite anatomical detail."⁵² These

⁴⁶ Graciela Singer, "Amber exchange in the Late Bronze Age Levant in Cross-cultural Perspective," *Aula Orientalis*, 34 (2016): 252.

⁴⁷ Singer, "Amber exchange in the Late Bronze Age Levant," 251.

⁴⁸ Beatrice Orsini, *Ambra: le origini, il mito e il commercio nell'antichità*, (Emilia Romagna: Dossier, 2010), 28-29.

⁴⁹ A. V. Ivanova et. al., "Epochs of the Formation of Amber and its Distribution in Nature," *Lithology and Mineral Resources* 47, (2010), 1.

⁵⁰ Alexander Wolfe et al., "A New Proposal Concerning the Botanical Origin of Baltic Amber," *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 276, no. 1672 (2009): 3403.

⁵¹ Wolfe et. al., "A New Proposal Concerning the Botanical Origin of Baltic Amber," 3404.

⁵² Wolfe et. al., "A New Proposal Concerning the Botanical Origin of Baltic Amber," 3403.

fossils inspired much speculation as to where amber came from, leading ancient cultures to form mythical stories associated with both its beauty and organic inclusions.⁵³

Since amber was such an important material used in many different forms throughout the Mediterranean, it was imported in great quantities. Amber was expensive in antiquity, as it was imported from a mysterious northern land far from the Etruscans.⁵⁴ Sicilian amber has also been found in Etruscan burials, but it is of lesser quality and is believed to have been worth less than the Baltic amber, perhaps because it simply did not have to travel as far to be obtained.⁵⁵ Amber passed through many different people and cities before it reached Etruria; each stop it made added to its value.⁵⁶ The amber trade has been linked to the rise of the Baltic's population, as many merchants and traders created settlements along the trade routes.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the amber trade has been linked to the textile trade.⁵⁸

The trade route of amber from the Baltic region to southern Europe has been studied, and there is evidence that settlements were founded along the route due to the needs of the merchants (see Figure A-3).⁵⁹ The high demand for amber in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean, caused an influx of wealth and helped shape the

⁵³ Faya Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), 52.

⁵⁴ Jean Macintosh Turfa, "International Contacts: Commerce, Trade, and Foreign Affairs," in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife. A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 80.

⁵⁵ Orsini, *Ambra: le origini, il mito e il commercio nell'antichità*, 29.

⁵⁶ Charles Allan, "Amber Routes" in *Encyclopedia of World Trade: From Ancient Times to the Present* Cynthia Northrup (Armonk: Sharpe Reference, 2013), 32.

⁵⁷ Allan, "Amber Routes," 33-34.

⁵⁸ Margarita Gleba, "Etruscan Textiles in Context," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 244.

⁵⁹ Allan, "Amber Routes," 33-34.

economy of the Baltic region.⁶⁰ Causey describes her hypothesis of how the European amber trade route operated:

Trade in amber was likely a series of short-range transactions from the sources onward, with a few outstanding exceptions. We should imagine seekers traveling to the northern amber deposits to obtain the precious material and learn its secrets. The “knowledge” that accompanies a highly prized substance was as important as the thing itself.⁶¹

These short-range transactions would have caused amber to be even more expensive since so many people would have needed compensation for their part in the trade. Direct trade between the Baltic region and Italy would not occur until the first century CE, as described by Pliny the Elder, a Roman historian.⁶²

From Carnuntum in Pannonia, to the coasts of Germany from which the amber is brought, is a distance of about six hundred miles, a fact which has been only very recently ascertained; and there is still living a member of the equestrian order, who was sent thither by Julianus, the manager of the gladiatorial exhibitions for the Emperor Nero, to procure a supply of this article. Traversing the coasts of that country and visiting the various markets there, he brought back amber, in such vast quantities, as to admit of the nets, which are used for protecting the podium against the wild beasts, being studded with amber.⁶³

Pliny's account makes it very clear that the distance between the faraway land of the north was only recently understood. This mysteriousness suggests that before the distance was measured, traders based in Italy could have made up any outrageous distance that would have given amber an even more exotic connotation. The factor of the “unknown” would have added to the mythological stories of amber, as well as raised the price of the luxurious material. Pliny spends a fair amount of time discussing his ideas on the uses and origin of amber, suggesting that it was a popular subject.

⁶⁰ Allan, “Amber Routes,” 34.

⁶¹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 65.

⁶² Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 65-66.

⁶³ Plin.*HN*.37.11. Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans. John Bostock (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 37.11.

While Pliny eventually decided that amber came from the north, his sources had other ideas. Here, Causey describes the other suggestions:

Italy, Scythia, Numidia, Ethiopia, Syria, and “the lands beyond India” are among the suggestions. Pliny himself prefers those accounts that place amber’s origins in northern Europe.⁶⁴

Herodotus (fifth century BCE) and Apollonius of Rhodes (third century BCE), two other ancient authors, did not agree with Pliny's point of view; instead, Herodotus continuously mentioned mythical rivers whose locations were unknown while Apollonius included mythological explanations.⁶⁵ It is now known that the largest amber deposit in the world is located in the Baltic region, paralleling Pliny's hypothesis.⁶⁶ However, the uncertainty in the ancient sources raises the question as to whether the Etruscans knew the source of their prized amber, or if it was just as mysterious to them. The Etruscan city-state of Verucchio was famed in antiquity for its (presumed) production and importation of amber goods.⁶⁷ Perhaps the source of the amber was known to them, and that knowledge was merely lost over time. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ever know what the Verucchians knew or did not know, and Pliny's account is the most thorough ancient hypothesis of amber's origin. The Greek and Roman myths pertaining amber may not perfectly parallel the Etruscan myths.

Over time, the written and spoken myths of the Etruscans were lost due to their absorption into the Greco-Roman culture.⁶⁸ Thankfully, grave goods and the frescoed walls of tombs provide evidence of Etruscan worship and myth. The myths of the

⁶⁴ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 37.

⁶⁵ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 54.

⁶⁶ Michael Feist, Ingolf Lamprecht, and Frank Müller, "Thermal Investigations of Amber and Copal" *Thermochimica Acta* 458, no. 1 (2007): 1.

⁶⁷ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 42. Both raw amber as well as already worked amber were likely imported in Verucchio.

⁶⁸ Turfa, "Time to Give the Etruscans Their Due," 2.

Mediterranean cultures were heavily linked due to their frequent trade and contact, yet the Etruscans often had a different perspective.⁶⁹ However, it is still possible to find parallels between various aspects of Etruscan religion and that of Greeks and Romans as it has been recognized that the Greeks and Romans did not only influence the Etruscans but were also influenced by them in return. A variety of myths concerning the formation of amber in both of these cultures, and also likely Etruscan culture, have an association with trees which weep amber due to the death of a youth.⁷⁰

The most famous is the Greek myth of Phaethon, the mortal son of the Sun god Helios. This story was mentioned by early Greek authors (Plato and Euripides), and is additionally recounted by the ancient Roman author Ovid in his epic poem *Metamorphoses* (ca. 8 CE).⁷¹ I have chosen to use Ovid's version, as it eloquently describes the formation of amber. As the myth goes, Phaethon convinced his father to let him take the great sun chariot through the heavens.⁷² Helios attempted to stop Phaethon's foolishness as he knew there was a high probability his mortal son would die; nevertheless, Phaethon was convinced he was strong enough and carried on with his joy ride.⁷³ The chariot ride not only brought death but also wreaked havoc on the Earth, providing material for the explanation of various natural phenomena, such as the Libyan desert.⁷⁴ The god Jupiter intervened, throwing a lightning bolt, striking naughty Phaethon from the sky.⁷⁵ This leads to the formation story of amber from the weeping sisters of unfortunate Phaethon:

⁶⁹ Joshel, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia," 170-174.

⁷⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 52.

⁷¹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 52. *Ov.Met.2.31-48*.

⁷² *Ov.Met.2.31-48*.

⁷³ *Ov.Met.2.90-110*.

⁷⁴ *Ov.Met.2.227-271*.

⁷⁵ *Ov.Met.2.301-328*.

They by habit, since use creates habit, devoted themselves to mourning. Then Phaethüsa, the eldest sister, when she tried to throw herself to the ground, complained that her ankles had stiffened, and when radiant Lampetia tried to come near her she was suddenly rooted to the spot. A third sister attempting to tear at her hair pulled out leaves. One cried out in pain that her legs were sheathed in wood, another that her arms had become long branches...Their tears still flow, and hardened by the sun, fall as amber from the virgin branches, to be taken by the bright river and sent onwards to adorn Roman brides.⁷⁶

This story not only links amber to the death of youth, but also to (Roman) women. Pliny touches on the myth of Phaethon, and also briefly mentions a myth believed by Sophocles that links amber to tears wept by birds named meleagrids to mourn the death of Meleager, another tragically deceased youth.⁷⁷ Pliny deems this myth unbelievable due to the fact that the story claims the birds fly from Greece to India, where the amber was supposedly formed, once a year to mourn the boy's death.⁷⁸

Pliny also mentions the Etruscan name for the tree which amber came from:

Demostratus calls amber "lyncurion," and he says that it originates in the urine of the wild beast known as the "lynx," that voided by the male producing a red and fiery substance, and that by the female an amber of a white and less pronounced colour: he also informs us that by some persons it is called "langurium," and that in Italy, there are certain wild beasts known as "languri." Zenothemis, however, calls these wild beasts "langæ," and gives the banks of the river Padus as their locality. Sudines says that it is a tree in reality that produces amber, and that, in Etruria, this tree is known by the name of "lynx," an opinion which is also adopted by Metrodorus.⁷⁹

This account provides evidence that the Etruscans, in fact, knew that amber was coming from trees and the specific tree even. This knowledge was likely passed down orally and maybe even in literature (which was merely lost over time). When some Greeks and Romans saw or heard of the Etruscan lynx, they confused it with the animal, leading to

⁷⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Anthony S. Kline (University of Virginia: Virginia E-Text Center, 2000), 2.344-366.

⁷⁷ Plin.*HN*.37.11

⁷⁸ Plin.*HN*.37.11

⁷⁹ Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans. John Bostock, 37.11.

the theory that amber came from the urine of the animal lynx. Over time, the knowledge of the Etruscans was lost in translation, and eventually led to the many myths pertaining to the formation of amber.

As these myths show, amber is often linked to death—especially the death of youth.⁸⁰ This might explain the frequency of amber in Etruscan children burials.⁸¹ Furthermore, amber is most often found in funerary contexts throughout Etruria, especially in the seventh century BCE.⁸² Since it is most likely that the Etruscans believed in an afterlife, the amber may have been included during burial rituals.⁸³ Perhaps many of the amber items found in graves were protective amulets worn by the women and children while they were alive and were included in the burial as further means of protection outside the living realm.⁸⁴ Alternatively, the high quantity and "doubling" of objects in burials may suggest that they were specific decorations made for the burial.⁸⁵ The term "doubling" means that the Etruscans deemed it necessary to purchase objects specifically related to death that would be buried along with the deceased. In chapter four, I analyze amber grave goods from Verucchio which may have been produced in Etruria; many of these objects contain organic inclusions. Inclusion filled objects have also been found in other Etruscan burials. Here, Causey describes the importance of these organic remembrances:

Certainly, inclusions in amber—life visibly preserved for eternity—would not have been ignored when preparing amber for funerary purposes ...The insects and flora in amber, which Aristotle, and later Pliny and Tacitus (ancient authors), point to as proof of amber's origin as earth-born, as tree

⁸⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 55.

⁸¹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 55-57.

⁸² Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 92.

⁸³ Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 108-109.

⁸⁴ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 74.

⁸⁵ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 107-109.

resin, are apt metaphors for entombment and for the ultimate functions of the funeral ritual: to honor the deceased with precious gifts and to make permanent the memory of their lives.⁸⁶

I suggest that the Etruscans' love for amber may have been due, in fact, to the quantity of organic inclusions. Furthermore, the organic inclusions seem to be visually emphasized in these grave goods. This is evident in a variety of female tombs in Verucchio.⁸⁷ The brilliant, circular earrings provide a perfect example of amber that looks as if it is glowing, and seems to call attention to the many organic inclusions within one of the earrings (see Figures A-4 & A-15). The earrings also include gold decoration which suggests that the owner was extremely wealthy, meaning they would have likely had the freedom to choose whether or not the amber would feature inclusions. Perhaps these earrings were created solely for burial purposes in order to highlight the symbolism of the flora and/or fauna encapsulated in the precious amber jewelry for the afterlife, just as the soul of the deceased would remain untouched after death.⁸⁸ If amber with organic inclusions was indeed specifically chosen for burials, there is no way to separate the reverence for nature (biophilia) from the afterlife. In other words, the Etruscans were not only highlighting the fact that human life continues after death but also exemplifying that the natural world did not cease once one's time on earth was finished. Humanity and nature go hand in hand, and it seems that the Etruscans acknowledged this fact throughout many aspects of their culture.

Amber was not only used as decoration or adornment. It was used to make perfume oils or creams. Additionally, it was (and still is) a popular material used for incense, showing that its protective and fumigatory properties are still taken seriously, or

⁸⁶ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 61.

⁸⁷ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 108-111

⁸⁸ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 61.

at least acknowledged, by groups of people today.⁸⁹ In antiquity, incense was burned in religious and magical ceremonies; of course, as incense is burned, there is no material evidence left behind for archaeologists to study. However, unburned amber incense was often left beside the deceased in Etruscan burials, hinting that there was a ritual of burning this incense at the funeral.⁹⁰ The unburned incense also suggests that those who buried the deceased believed that intact amber incense was necessary to be taken into the afterlife. Incense is often associated with cleansing properties; the burning could serve as a cleansing ritual as well as protection for the journey into the afterlife.

As previously mentioned, amber was often used as the jewel in amulets worn by children.⁹¹ Additionally, many imported Egyptian amulets (scarabs) have been found in Vetulonian burials. Perhaps the mothers were the ones who made the protective necklace or bracelet for their own child. Because of the quantity of amber found in Etruscan child burials, it can rightfully be assumed that babies did in fact wear amber as amulets.

Mediterranean civilizations in antiquity prized amber for its visual allure as well as its protective and medicinal properties. Evidence suggests that it also had strong magical associations. The etymology of the word for electricity traces back to the Greek word for amber (*elektron*) and can be attributed to the ability of amber to create static electricity when rubbed.⁹² As ancient "scientists" did not understand electricity, they saw amber as a magical material and this strengthened the belief that amber was a gift from the gods and would heal many ailments. The electrostatic element also led to the belief

⁸⁹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 69.

⁹⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 69.

⁹¹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 74.

⁹² Orsini, *Ambra: le origini, il mito e il commercio nell'antichità*, 21.

that amber had the ability to pull negative energy from people,⁹³ just as it was able to attract light objects such as feathers when rubbed. Causey relates the two ancient sources in which amber is mentioned being used:

Amber is found to have some use in pharmacy,” Pliny states, “although it is not for this reason that women like it. It is of benefit to babies when it is attached to them as an amulet.” In this passage, we find one of the two surviving ancient literary references to an amulet of amber, a use (the archaeological evidence tells us) that was pervasive from as early as the mid-second millennium B.C. Caesarius of Arles gives us the other: he warns his readers against wearing “diabolical” amulets made of certain herbs, or of amber, around the neck.⁹⁴

Amber was often associated with strengthening eyesight, and some still believe that looking through amber will help with this problem.⁹⁵ Additionally, amber was thought to heal sore throats.⁹⁶ Wearing an amber necklace that rested on one's neck supposedly would do the trick, as well as creating a tincture of sorts to drink.⁹⁷ The mysterious aura of amber gave the material an association with the magical realm; its magical connotation only added to its worth. Since "magic" was necessary in the lives of many, especially when healing ailments was involved, the demand for amber would have been even higher than if it were only prized for its beauty.

Amber was also associated with the sun due to its brilliant, warm glow—this is highlighted in the myth of Phaethon.⁹⁸ In nearly all ancient religions, the sun was known to have healing properties—therefore it only makes sense that a material which seemed to embody the qualities of the sun would also have healing properties.⁹⁹ Today, scientists

⁹³ Singer, “Amber exchange in the Late Bronze Age Levant in Cross-cultural Perspective,” 254.

⁹⁴ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 70-71.

⁹⁵ Charles Godfrey Leland, *Etruscan Magic Occult Remedies* (New Hyde park: University Books, 1963), 297-301.

⁹⁶ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 70.

⁹⁷ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 20.

⁹⁸ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 55.

⁹⁹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 11.

have found that the sap which eventually fossilized to become amber was originally produced by the trees as a defense mechanism to heal the tree.¹⁰⁰ This could suggest that there is at least a sliver of reality behind the use of amber for medicinal purposes. Pliny's statement that women did not like amber because of pharmaceutical reasons may or may not apply to Etruscan women. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing. Caesarius' label of amulets as "diabolical" suggests that he was against any sort of witchcraft or magic—the context of when Caesarius was writing is extremely important as it was in a time when Christianity was the main religion in Rome.¹⁰¹ Magic and paganism were denounced by the church, and Caesarius, who was the bishop of Arles for forty years (502-542 CE), emphasizes this in his books of sermons.¹⁰² Paganism was associated with the devil in an attempt to dissuade people from practicing the "old religion".¹⁰³ The view of those who use natural products for remedies or protection has often been viewed in this same light, at least until recently in the Western cultures which are predominantly Christian. Interestingly enough, it is becoming more and more common to use herbal remedies. In Italy, there is usually at least one *erboristeria* in each city, selling only natural products for almost anything imaginable.

Amber has been found in some of the earliest hoards from the Italic peninsula, dating back to prehistoric times.¹⁰⁴ Both literary sources as well as material evidence show that amber had a prominent role in Etruscan society and later in the Roman Republic and Empire, especially in the women's realm. If amber had been imported

¹⁰⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 75.

¹⁰¹ Lucy Grig, "Caesarius of Arles and the Campaign Against Popular Culture in Late Antiquity." *Early Medieval Europe* 26, no. 1 (2018): 61-81.

¹⁰² Saint Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons*, in *The Fathers of the Church* trans. by Sister Mary Magdaleine Mueller (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 14.4-5.

¹⁰³ Saint Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons*, in *The Fathers of the Church* trans. by Sister Mary Magdaleine Mueller, 13.5

¹⁰⁴ Soddart 2016: 6.

solely for its beauty, it seems that the ingrained Roman disparagement of luxury would not have allowed the importation of the product. The magical and protective qualities protected amber from complete disdain, at least for a few centuries. These ideals were still valued in early Rome, explaining why amber was imported and used as amulets, devices to improve fertility, or as grave goods. Eventually, amber's value was no longer acceptable; all that remained were heirlooms and antiques, these may have possibly been Etruscan. Once Christianity became the main religion in the Roman empire, magical amber had no place in the society and was completely denounced as evil. This denunciation shows that amber was still prized for its magical and protective qualities even in late Roman times; perhaps this reverence for amber shows that Etruscan myths and beliefs had not yet been lost and was likely hidden along with other pagan practices.

Chapter III: Amber in the World of Etruscan Women

The Greek and Roman reality was profoundly shaped by their view of women—"feminine" qualities were seen as inherently weak or bad.¹⁰⁵ However, the negative connotations associated with feminine qualities do not seem to be present in the Etruscan society. The Etruscan religion largely focused on female goddesses, with Uni, "a Mistress of the Animals," being the major Earth Goddess who was associated with nature and fertility.¹⁰⁶ There is even evidence that mortal Etruscan women were trusted with important matters of life.

The prominent place of women in Etruscan society can be seen in the stories of Tanaquil and Tullia, two Etruscan women in early Rome who vied for the power of their husbands in starkly different ways, as outlined in Livy.¹⁰⁷ It is evident that these stories were exaggerated over time, especially by Livy who was attempting to convince Roman women that they ought to live quiet, chaste lives, due to the newly enforced Augustan laws which denounced sexual promiscuity.¹⁰⁸ The underlying theme of both stories, especially present in the one of Tullia, is that women are reckless, dangerous beings that ought to be kept in the home. Livy's telling of the rape of Lucretia also portrays the Etruscan women of the household of the Tarquin king as frivolous partiers in contrast to chaste Lucretia who was at home

¹⁰⁵ F. I Zeitlin, "Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine," in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World* ed. Laura MacClure (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 118-119.

¹⁰⁶ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 45.

¹⁰⁷ Liv.1.34.

¹⁰⁸ Joshel, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia," 165-166.

performing her matronly duties.¹⁰⁹ The Roman historians used these stories to demonize certain aspects of the Etruscan culture, especially women's prominent place and role in their society. Etruscan women, according to the evidence we have today, were able to live a life far different from the isolated lives and strict morals Greek and Roman men imposed on their wives. Etruscan sanctuaries for women and children suggest that family played a bigger role in Etruria versus Greece or Rome.¹¹⁰ There is additional evidence that shows women were able to decide when (and if) they would have children, rather than their husband or father.¹¹¹

Women were necessary in every society, but Greek and Romans were openly frightened by women's power and henceforth oppressed them in nearly every aspect of life.¹¹² The Etruscan women were given autonomy over their skills and powers—the story of Tanaquil, an Etruscan woman skilled at the divination of the flight of birds (augury), shows that she had the trust of her husband in important matters.¹¹³ Tullia, though, uses her autonomy for wickedness:

Romans saw the relative prominence of women in Etruscan society as a factor in its supposed degeneracy. Hence they constructed their legends of the dynasty from Tarquinia to reflect women's power both used and misused. So the beneficent power of Tanaquil, gifted in the interpretation of omens, and king-maker both for her husband Tarquinius Priscus and the Italian "slave" child Servius Tullius, turns in the next generation to the vicious intrigues of Tullia and her husband Tarquin the Proud (*Superbus*).¹¹⁴

Fantham's acknowledgment that Romans linked the decline of the Etruscan culture to their trust of women shows the extreme gender bias imposed on the Etruscan culture by

¹⁰⁹ Liv.1.57.

¹¹⁰ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 252-254.

¹¹¹ Bonfante "Etruscan Women," 248.

¹¹² Joshel, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia,"174-175.

¹¹³ Bonfante "Etruscan Women," 245.

¹¹⁴ Fantham, *Women in the Classical World*, 225.

Roman historians. Yet, beyond this bias there are hints of the dynamic role of women in Etruscan society. Larissa Bonfante points out that "women apparently best knew how to handle the magic powers of amber, just as Tanaquil could read the meaning of bird signs and, in the North, women could read the magic signs of the runes."¹¹⁵ Amber was also supposedly used as a form of omen reading: the tendrils of smoke coming from burning amber incense was likely seen as messages from the divine.¹¹⁶

Etruscan women are associated with omen-reading, even in myth, and amber is often associated with this process as well. There is evidence that directly links the amber trade to products specifically produced by women. As already noted, the amber trade has been linked to the textile trade.¹¹⁷ This association could suggest that women played a large role in earning the money that was needed to buy the amber items that were in their graves.¹¹⁸ However, it would be farfetched to assume that the Etruscan women had complete autonomy—even when analyzing their grave goods, which are often quite luxurious, one must keep in mind that these opulent items were probably used as a way to show the status of the family.¹¹⁹ In particular, they could have been used to represent the wealth that the father or husband had amassed.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the labor and skill needed to weave clothing and items that were fit for trade, and that this may be reflected in the opulent amber artifacts found in Etruscan graves. Weaving items are also typically only found in aristocratic female burials as good

¹¹⁵ Bonfante "Etruscan Women," 247.

¹¹⁶ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 69.

¹¹⁷ Gleba, "Etruscan Textiles in Context," 244.

¹¹⁸ Gleba, "Etruscan Textiles in Context," 244.

¹¹⁹ Jan Bouzek, "Amber as Jewellery, Status Symbol and Work of art" *Studia Hercynia* 20 no. 1 (2016): 13-18.

¹²⁰ Bouzek, "Amber as Jewellery, Status Symbol and Work of art", 13-18.

weaving equipment was expensive.¹²¹ The more precious the textiles, the better amber available for exchange, and Etruscan women were known for both their luxurious textiles and elaborate amber ornaments.

The fourth to third centuries BCE were a trying time for the entire Mediterranean; trade routes were disrupted by wars. The Etruscans were particularly affected because of the recent Roman conquest which led to the absorption of the Etruscans into the Greco-Roman culture.¹²² This would mean that the Romans had newfound control over trading ports. There is a steep decline in the trade of amber, which could be defined as a luxury good. Centuries later, by the third to fourth centuries CE, amber did not even enter the Roman Empire.¹²³ The Roman morals and a disparagement of luxury may have led to a decision that they ought to trade textiles for other goods, ones that were not so expensive and generally prized by women. After the third century BCE, amber was still found in the burials of elite Roman women, but not the same vast amount as the amber grave goods of Etruscan women. Even during the late Empire, when amber did not enter Rome, it was still included in various burials; these items, however, were of the "old" style, and were likely heirlooms passed down from generation to generation.¹²⁴

Women's fascination with amber is found in both literary and material evidence. Pliny the Elder includes an entire chapter on many aspects of amber.¹²⁵ He mentions that amber "is in request among women only," but does not specifically link amber to

¹²¹ Bouzek, "Amber as Jewellery, Status Symbol and Work of art", 13-18.

¹²² Vincent Jolivet, "A Long Twilight (396-90 BC): Romanization of Etruria," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 151.

¹²³ Martin Henig, "Amber Amulets," *Britannia* 15 (1984): 245.

¹²⁴ Henig, "Amber Amulets," 245.

¹²⁵ Plin.*HN*.37.11

fertility.¹²⁶ In contrast to Pliny's account, amber has been found in many male burials throughout Etruria, just not the same quantity as has been found in female burials. As Pliny was a Roman historian writing many years after the time period of this study, he could be correct when pointing out that amber was requested only by women in the Roman world. The material evidence of Etruria shows that amber was in higher demand among women, but not solely.

Pliny attempts to explain the worth of amber, but has doubt: "luxury has not been able, as yet, to devise any justification for the use of it."¹²⁷ This implies that amber's beauty was definitely not the only reason it was such a prized possession. Pliny's confusion suggests that the worth of amber could have been passed down from the Roman's predecessors—the Etruscans. From around the 8th century BCE, the Romans and Etruscans were often enemies, but they still lived together in many instances and especially would have interacted when performing transactions through trade and other business.

The trade of amber would have reached the Romans through Etruscan trade routes, especially in early Roman times, but this is not documented in literary sources. Pliny, writing decades after the last "Etruscan" cities were conquered by the Romans, therefore has to rely on mythical stories associated with the formation of amber. With little to no knowledge of the Etruscan use of amber, he is unable to fully come to any conclusion as to why amber was such a prized possession. Pliny, additionally, does not seem inclined to speak to Roman women about their affinity for amber.¹²⁸ Much of

¹²⁶ Plin.*HN*.37.11

¹²⁷ Plin.*HN*.37.11 Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans. John Bostock, 37.11.

¹²⁸ A. Richlin, "Pliny's Brassiere," in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World*, ed. Laura MacClure, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 235. This can be compared to the reality of archaeologists today:

Pliny's "histories" and explanations for natural phenomena are based upon assumptions he made and were furthermore curated using evidence written by other male Roman historians. Pliny's biases against women and luxury in general promote an extremely specific viewpoint of the ancient world. The speculative literary evidence from these Roman authors has to be carefully analyzed and compared with the material evidence to create a full picture.

Archaeologists must study these material remains from antiquity to fill in the large gaps in ancient literature. Causey explains that the pre-Roman amber figurines housed in the Getty "without exception, incorporate a protective as well as a fertility or regenerative aspect."¹²⁹ Fertility was not at all scientifically understood in antiquity, so it was common for women to pray to or leave offerings for certain female deities who could assist in conception. One example that particularly highlights amber's supposed link to fertility and childbirth in general is an amber grave good found in Vetulonia.¹³⁰ As

Causey states:

The figured pendants include fish, a scaraboid, seven monkeys, and eleven standing female figures dressed only in collars and armllets, with legs apart, the vulva exposed, and hands placed on the lower abdomen. The most important pendant represents an enthroned female giving birth, the infant's head appearing between her legs. This tiny amber is the strongest evidence to date for a direct link between amber and childbirth.¹³¹

This evidence suggests that amber played an important role throughout the life of a child, from birth, and if unlucky, until a premature death. Furthermore, infant mortality was

experimental archaeology is gaining popularity, as many "lost" techniques are being "rediscovered" by asking people from different cultures how they perform certain tasks (i.e. murex shellfish for Tyrrhenian dye or the warp weighted loom). It is very easy to assume that something is lost because one has never been exposed to it—everyone lives in their own reality and to truly understand another's viewpoint, one must venture from their comfort zone.

¹²⁹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 23.

¹³⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 92-93.

¹³¹ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 93.

high in antiquity, explaining why amber amulets would have been so commonly worn by infants and children.¹³²

In Chapter Four, I focus on two female burials from Vetulonia (not including the aforementioned burial). Both of these analyzed burials also include various figured pendants. Moreover, these pendants depict monkeys, fish, and female figures. However, most of the female representations are not as explicitly related to fertility as the child birthing scene described before. The abundance of amber carved into female figurines was likely linked to the cult of the mother goddess Uni and were symbolic objects used in fertility cults.¹³³ The presence of fertility amulets in a burial may seem like an oxymoron. However, fertility and death were actually heavily linked in Etruria (as well as other Mediterranean cultures who also believed in an afterlife or rebirth).¹³⁴

If the Etruscans did, in fact, believe in an afterlife, the presence of fertility figures in burials could suggest that they would have figuratively been reborn after their death, into a world where they would still need the aid of "worldly" magic and protection.¹³⁵ The deceased would have lived a full life in the underworld, according to depictions found in Etruscan tombs and various other instances. Perhaps the Etruscans even had elements of reincarnation beliefs; this would further explain their interest with the Egyptian religion.¹³⁶ An example which explicitly highlights the Etruscan link between fertility and death can be found in the sanctuary in the *Cannicella Necropolis* of Orvieto. This sanctuary is believed to have been dedicated to the Etruscan goddess Veii, the

¹³² Jean Macintosh Turfa and Marshall J. Becker, "Health and Medicine in Etruria," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 857-858.

¹³³ Singer, "Amber Exchange in the Late Bronze Age Levant in Cross-Cultural Perspective," 253-254.

¹³⁴ Maurizio Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 110-112

¹³⁵ Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," 110-112.

¹³⁶ Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," 110-112.

closest "equivalent" of Venus/Aphrodite.¹³⁷ A statuette found in the *necropolis* portrays a female in the nude; the nudity has led to the association with Veii (or Venus), hence the statue's name: Venus of *Cannicella* (see Figure A-5). The presence of a fertility cult inside of a *necropolis* perhaps suggests that the Etruscans believed that women would go on to conceive in the afterlife. However, it could have also served simply as a reminder that you were born again after death, albeit into another realm. The latter hypothesis, though, is less likely because amber was most typically found in female burials.¹³⁸

Since there is no literary evidence surviving from Etruria, there is no way of knowing what the depictions of the supposed afterlife actually entailed. Nonetheless, the Etruscans' influence from Eastern cultures, specifically Egyptian, supports the prominence of the afterlife in Etruscan belief as the Egyptian religion was centered around the belief in an afterlife (or perhaps a form of reincarnation). The start of the Orientalizing period, named after "oriental" influence, marks an increase in the attention to burials, strengthening the link between Etruscan afterlife beliefs and those of the East.¹³⁹ In ancient Egypt, one myth describes how the mother goddess Isis brought her brother Osiris back from the dead and reassembled his body (hence creating the explanation for the mummification ritual in Egypt). Indeed, throughout time, women have been seen as the inherent caregivers—in Greece, women were given the job of preparing bodies for burial or cremation and dealt with birth as well as many sicknesses.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, this practice was common until the nineteenth century:¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women", 251-252, 254.

¹³⁸ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 115.

¹³⁹ Steingraäber, "Rock Tombs and the World of the Etruscan *necropolises*," 146.

¹⁴⁰ Steve Bruce and Marta Trzebiatowska, *Why are Women More Religious Than Men*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102.

¹⁴¹ Bruce and Trzebiatowska, *Why are Women More Religious Than Men*, 102.

Prior to the nineteenth century, women were responsible for laying out the dead ... In pre-industrial societies women's responsibility for caring for the dead was justified partly on religious grounds. Women were considered naturally more pious than men, and, as funeral rites were inextricable from religious tradition, it was logical that the duty of preparing the body for burial would fall to those more familiar with the realm of the sacred. The characteristics for the tasks were attention to detail, care, and gentleness and these were not the socially defined male traits. Moreover, the care of dead bodies resembled that of newborn babies.¹⁴²

This quote shows the strikingly similar association linking women and death thousands of years after ancient times. Throughout history and various societies, women have been naturally connected to realms outside that of the living, due to their reproductive abilities. The most natural aspect of life is birth; this may seem redundant, but in antiquity, without the scientific and biological common knowledge of contemporary times, birth was seen as a truly magical occurrence. Therefore, magic was necessary when dealing with the difficulties associated with birth. Even with the extensive scientific knowledge available today, religions and spiritual beliefs fill in the gaps for most people.

Various gods and goddesses were typically invoked in antiquity to influence the natural processes of childbirth. Many of these types of invocations often involved offerings left in votive deposits. Votive deposits, areas in which small, meaningful mementos are intentionally buried as an offering to a specific god for a specific purpose,¹⁴³ were often left to heal certain ailments (often associated with reproductive organs) or to request aid in conceiving a child.¹⁴⁴ Many of these objects were in the forms of reproductive organs or nursing mothers.¹⁴⁵ Amber is often found as votive objects

¹⁴² Bruce and Trzebiatowska, *Why are Women More Religious Than Men*, 102.

¹⁴³ Helen Nagy, "Votives in their Larger Religious Context," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 262.

¹⁴⁴ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 253-254.

¹⁴⁵ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 254.

throughout deposits in Etruria.¹⁴⁶ The amber items in votive deposits were typically in the form of jewelry, which was likely a prized personal possession.¹⁴⁷ It seems likely that this amber was deposited in these votive deposits by women.

Amber's unique property of encapsulating fossilized organic materials offers insight into the reasons why the objects were so prized by the owner (besides the beauty of amber). The inclusions additionally may explain why amber was so important not to only women but also children:

The serious dangers of disease in young children and the considerable risks for women in childbirth and early motherhood gave rise to a belief that the dead were jealous of new life, and the need for magical protection of women and children was a compelling one. For a pregnant woman, amber's property of encapsulating living things may have made it an especially powerful *similia similibus* amulet, a "pregnant stone."¹⁴⁸

Here, Causey describes the amber object almost as a living thing, holding preserved life inside of it. As discussed in the previous chapter, amber was an object already associated with magic and clairvoyance not only in ancient cultures but also in various cultures today. Moreover, magic's evil connotations are most typically linked to witches (women) in the Roman times, and since then.¹⁴⁹

The "diabolical" association with amber amulets, as discussed in the previous chapter, shows that magic had an evil connotation especially from the perspective of Roman men, and magic's association with evil only intensified over time. Amber's inherent "magical" properties (the slight electrostatic properties) gave the Christian bishop Caesarius a reason to view amber as evil. Amber's affiliation with women would have only made the distaste stronger. Perhaps the Etruscans' acceptance of women as

¹⁴⁶ Nagy, "Votives in their Larger Religious Context," 262.

¹⁴⁷ Nagy, "Votives in their Larger Religious Context," 262.

¹⁴⁸ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 75.

¹⁴⁹ Richlin, "Pliny's Brassiere," 226, 235.

(near) equals caused them to trust the "magical" properties of materials found in nature, which were often wielded by women. The most common use for "magic" is in the realm of healing, which was often associated with women.

Although amber has been found in male and female burials in Etruria, the most precious objects are found in female burials. Amber's association with the protection of children additionally creates a link to the mother's realm. Furthermore, amber was likely a symbol of fertility, and therefore prized by women. Figurines found in Vetulonia provide the strongest link to fertility, and I describe these artifacts in the following chapter.

Chapter IV: Amber Grave Goods

The study of the Etruscans is greatly influenced by artifacts found in burials. Beginning in the Villanovan period, Etruscans were buried with symbolic, meaningful objects which were possibly owned prior to their death or given during the funerary ritual.¹⁵⁰ Some scholars view these grave goods as status symbols, merely provided to show the wealth of the family. I, and many others, however, see these grave goods as spiritual and important objects which were possibly even created specifically for the burial. In this chapter, I examine the burials of four Etruscan females. Two burials come from the *necropoleis* of Verucchio, while the other two are from Vetulonia (see Figure A-1 for map). The chosen burials date from the end of the Villanovan period to the early Orientalizing period (c. 750-700 BCE), a time when grave goods were becoming more frequent throughout Etruria. Each burial contains amber grave goods as well as other objects that were either used by the woman before her death or were made specifically for her burial ceremony. I have determined the gender of these burials based upon the types of *fibulae* included in the burials, the presence of weaving materials, and in some cases fertility figurines. Some of the burials were categorized based on analysis of the skeletal remains by the sites' archaeologists. I also analyze specific amber grave goods from each burial to understand their uses and symbolic nature.

¹⁵⁰ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 21, 24.

The earliest burials found in Etruria seem to reflect an egalitarian society, in which the grave goods or location did not differ according to social status.¹⁵¹ This period is often referred to as Proto-Villanovan, and dates to the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2200-1700 BCE).¹⁵² The early Proto-Villanovan burials were located in *necropoleis* outside of the village.¹⁵³ The majority of these burials consist of cremated remains held in simply decorated biconical clay urns (see Figure A-6) with no grave goods.¹⁵⁴ Towards the end of the Early Bronze Age, hoards including amber beads provide evidence of early trade between the Baltic and Etruria.¹⁵⁵ However, with the emergence of the Villanovan culture, it became more typical for a small quantity of grave goods to accompany the deceased.¹⁵⁶ Men were often interred with razors and/or serpentine *fibulae*; female burials often included spindle whorls and/or *fibulae*.¹⁵⁷ Eventually, as social stratification became more pronounced, the Etruscans differentiated their burials using various status symbols, such as the hut-shaped urn (see Figure A-7). These urns were far less common than the biconical urn and included more expensive grave goods, suggesting they were used to house the remains of high-ranking citizens.¹⁵⁸ The shape of the urn also gives archaeologists and scholars an idea of what upper-class Villanovan homes looked like, as the shape of the urn was likely meant to both emphasize familial bonds and also give the deceased a "semblance of his or her home among the living" in the afterlife.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 5.

¹⁵² Simon Soddart, "Beginnings: Protovillanovan and Villanovan Etruria," in *Companion to the Etruscans* eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 5.

¹⁵³ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 11.

¹⁵⁴ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 11.

¹⁵⁵ Soddart, "Beginnings: Protovillanovan and Villanovan Etruria," 6.

¹⁵⁶ Soddart, "Beginnings: Protovillanovan and Villanovan Etruria," 9.

¹⁵⁷ Soddart, "Beginnings: Protovillanovan and Villanovan Etruria," 10.

¹⁵⁸ Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History," 86.

¹⁵⁹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 11.

Another status symbol used is the helmet, either metal or a clay replica, which was placed on top of a biconical urn and likely signifies that the burial belonged to an honorable male warrior.¹⁶⁰ Toward the end of the ninth century and throughout the eighth century BCE, expensive and abundant grave goods were chosen to accompany the deceased into the afterlife.¹⁶¹ Inhumations also became more popular in some areas, and these burials often consisted of stone sarcophagi and larger quantities of grave goods.¹⁶² However, there were still cremations present. In the late Orientalizing period (mid-late seventh period BCE), these cremations were sometimes held in canopic urns with anthropomorphized lids which likely portrayed the "revitalized body" of the deceased, strengthening the hypothesis of the Etruscan belief in rebirth (see Figure A-8).¹⁶³ The change in burial customs likely stemmed from the influx of wealth that trade had brought to Etruria, as well as the strong cultural influence from surrounding areas.¹⁶⁴

The Etruscans began as a modest society, but the region's large quantity of natural metallic resources quickly gave Etruria an immense amount of wealth as trade in the Mediterranean and throughout central Europe began to bloom from the late Villanovan period and early Orientalizing period.¹⁶⁵ This time period represents a moment when the Etruscans had not yet been assimilated into the Greco-Roman culture—the Etruscans were still, in fact, Etruscan.¹⁶⁶ In all reality, the Etruscans were never truly a

¹⁶⁰ Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History", 86-87.

¹⁶¹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 13.

¹⁶² Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History," 87-88.

¹⁶³ Eoin O'Donoghue, "Somebody to Love: Gender and Social Identity in Seventh and Sixth Century BC Chiusi," in *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents* eds. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 83-84.

¹⁶⁴ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 13.

¹⁶⁵ Skylar Neil "Materializing the Etruscans: The Expression and Negotiation of Identity during the Orientalizing, Archaic, and Classical Periods," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 16.

¹⁶⁶ Gunter "The Etruscans, Greek Art, and the Near East," 340.

"homogenous or unified" culture.¹⁶⁷ However, they eventually developed a "self-conscious and multi-faceted identity as 'Etruscans' during the seventh and early sixth centuries."¹⁶⁸ Indeed, one unifying facet of the city-states seems to have been the similar religious beliefs and burial tendencies.¹⁶⁹ Yet, these beliefs and tendencies are mainly viewed through the grave goods of aristocratic male and female burials. The artifacts excavated from aristocratic burials give a restricted point of view of the society.¹⁷⁰ Focusing on one economic group provides only a narrow understanding; it omits the majority of the society that would not have been able to afford rich burials. While this particular set of data could be viewed as biased and narrow-sighted, it is the greatest amount of preserved evidence to help us understand Etruscan life.¹⁷¹

The Orientalizing time period is shaped by the emergence of an elite class.

Through the study of elite burials, scholars are able to see the most diverse artifacts that were being imported.¹⁷²

An increase in social stratification accompanied this growth in the size of communities...It was a decisive era for the Etruscan elite who adopted and accommodated foreign styles, imagery, and cultural practices in order to communicate emerging social and political roles...Yet these objects, ideas, and technologies were acquired and employed for *Etruscan* social, political, and religious purposes. We should envisage instead Etruscan elite as active agents, taking the initiative in encounters with their peers across the Mediterranean.¹⁷³

In other words, the Etruscans were evolving with the push of an outside force—their newfound wealth likely caused confusion, leading them to mimic the societal norms of

¹⁶⁷ Haynes. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 15.

¹⁶⁸ Neil, "Materializing the Etruscans," 20.

¹⁶⁹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 15.

¹⁷⁰ Larissa Bonfante, "Mothers and Children," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 429.

¹⁷¹ Bonfante, "Mothers and Children," 430.

¹⁷² Gunter, "The Etruscans, Greek Art, and the Near East," 340.

¹⁷³ Gunter, "The Etruscans, Greek Art, and the Near East," 340.

the wealthy with whom they traded. This trade, in fact, helped shape the Etruscans' identity into a quasi-unified society. However, they still put their unique spin on things and the influence from their Villanovan ancestors is also evident. The Etruscans seemed to have selected their preferred aspects from societies they encountered, molding these with their own, thereby creating a distinctive society of their own.

In the late Orientalizing period, Etruscans eventually began to bury the deceased in elaborate "house tombs" which are believed to replicate Etruscan homes.¹⁷⁴ These house tombs were painted with elaborate scenes of daily life, events, and beliefs related to the afterlife. Their frescoes provide a window into the lives of the Etruscans which is neither available in literature nor evident in other forms of artifacts. However, only the aristocratic Etruscans would have been able to afford to build these house tombs. These tombs were underground and naturally protected; therefore, many were well-preserved and safe from robbing.

The biases of studying only aristocratic burials was mentioned previously; however, another limit of the evidence which must be addressed is that only some of the burials from each *necropolis* have been excavated. Additionally, some of the burials were robbed in antiquity, so there is no way of knowing what artifacts those graves once held. Moreover, the *necropoleis* of Vetulonia were excavated in the late 1800s, when archaeologists chose artifacts to document based on perceived importance, rather than creating a scientific catalogue of all objects found. The catalogue outlining the 1970s excavations of the Verucchian *necropoleis* was published in 2003, while the Vetulonian

¹⁷⁴ Marshall J. Becker, "Etruscan Skeletal Biology and Etruscan Origins", in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 186; Stephan Steingraäber, "Worshipping with the Dead: New Approaches to the Etruscan *Necropolis*," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 665. These house tombs were also laid out in a similar style as Roman homes, especially the earlier ones, suggesting that the Romans styled their homes after those of the Etruscans.

catalog has just recently been published in 2018, outlining the excavations of the late 1800s.

I have analyzed a selection of burials from both of these cities' *necropoleis*. First, I provide an analysis of two burials from Verucchio, an important Villanovan city in the Po plain (near Rimini). After a discussion of the general distribution and importance of amber within the *necropoleis*, I will focus my inquiry on a late Villanovan female burial from the Lippi *Necropolis*, as well as an early Orientalizing female burial from the Le Pegge *Necropolis*.

Verucchio was likely the ancient hub for the import of Baltic amber as well as a site of amber manufacturing.¹⁷⁵ Verucchio was located on the coast of the Adriatic, giving it natural access to the sea, and therefore the city was able to become a forerunner in trade throughout the Mediterranean.¹⁷⁶

The most surprising aspect, nevertheless, is the existence of specialized craftsmen who produce for specific clients, very particular objects in different materials, like amber, bronze, ivory, iron and glass: objects that can be considered strong indicators for a local, cultural identity. In these specialized workshops that used innovative techniques, artisans in different fields worked together and we have proofs for “serial” production. This means that distribution of some products went far beyond the local area and reached what we would now call “external markets”.¹⁷⁷

The city has four synchronous *necropoleis*, all located outside of the city walls. They span from the ninth to the seventh centuries BCE and include vast quantities of amber grave goods in both male and female burials.¹⁷⁸ Many of these objects have similar, almost identical, designs, furthering the implication that there were skilled artisans living

¹⁷⁵ Giuseppe Sassatelli and Elisabetta Govi, "Etruria on the Po and Adriatic Sea", in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 289.

¹⁷⁶ Sassatelli and Govi, "Etruria on the Po and Adriatic Sea", 289.

¹⁷⁷ Patrizia von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th-7th century BC," in *Research into Pre-Roman Burial Grounds in Italy* eds. Albert J. Nijboer et al. (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Peeters, 2013), 92.

¹⁷⁸ Sassatelli and Govi, "Etruria on the Po and Adriatic Sea", 289.

in Verucchio. There is no way, however, to know whether these artisans were Etruscan or not. In the 8th century, there was an increase in the amount of amber included in burials, suggesting that there was a rise in amber importation.¹⁷⁹ With this rise, it is likely that artisans skilled in the production of intricate amber objects migrated from northern Europe to Verucchio, as the raw amber would be plentiful.¹⁸⁰ Eventually, both internal and external power struggles became inevitable due to Verucchio's prominent trade position on the Adriatic sea while the "hegemonic groups continued to express their (internal) position."¹⁸¹ Toward the end of the seventh century, the percentage of chariots and horse harnesses found in burials decreased from 44% to 25%.¹⁸² As evidence of wealth decreased, it can be assumed that importation of luxury goods, such as amber, also decreased. Furthermore, the suggested power shift would explain the reason that the *necropoleis* were no longer used after the years of dominance (ninth to seventh centuries BCE).

As previously stated, Verucchio had four synchronous *necropoleis* which were all located outside of the city limits. The city seems to be an anomaly in various aspects, including the quality and quantity of amber grave goods found in burials and the quantity of upper-class burials in general.¹⁸³ The Mediterranean trade routes would have brought in a vast amount of wealth, explaining why the city would have needed four *necropoleis* to house the burials of the large aristocracy.¹⁸⁴ The four *necropoleis* of Verucchio are

¹⁷⁹ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 83, 92-94.

¹⁸⁰ Giovannangelo Camporeale, "Foreign artists in Etruria," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 887-888; Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 27.

¹⁸¹ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC," 101.

¹⁸² von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC," 101.

¹⁸³ Sassatelli and Govi, "Etruria on the Po and Adriatic Sea," 289-290.

¹⁸⁴ Patrizia von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," in *'Princesses' of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History* ed. Nikolas Chr. Stampolidis (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2012), 235.

known as Lippi, Moroni, Le Pegge, and Ripa-Lavatoio.¹⁸⁵ The table below summarizes the number of known burials and the time periods in which these *necropoleis* were in greatest use:

Table I: Number of excavated burials and periods of greatest use of Verucchian *necropoleis* (prior to the 2006 excavations). Sources: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 107; Patrizia von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," in *'Princesses' of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History* ed. Nikolas Chr. Stampolidis, (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2012), 235.¹⁸⁶

<i>Necropolis:</i>	Number of excavated burials:	Time period in greatest use:
Lippi	273	9th-7th centuries BCE
Moroni	39	8th-7th centuries BCE
Le Pegge	24	8th-7th centuries BCE
Ripa-Lavatoio	119	9th-7th centuries BCE

¹⁸⁵ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 107.

¹⁸⁶ There were further excavations in 2006, but I focused on the prior excavations in the late 1960s and early 1970s as these excavations provide a more extensive dataset. The excavations of the 20th century provide 455 burials, while those of 2006 provide around 150. The articles "The Princesses of Verucchio," as well as "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC," both by Patrizia von Eles, provide statistics that include the 2006 excavations.

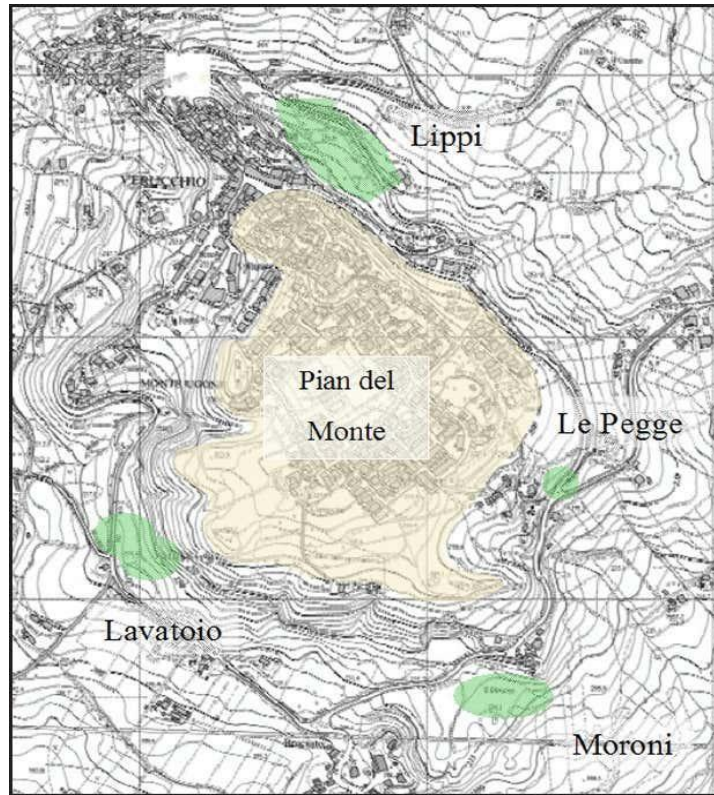


Figure 9: Topographical map of the *necropoleis* of Verucchio. Source: Patrizia von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th-7th century BC," in *Research into Pre-Roman Burial Grounds in Italy* eds. Albert J. Nijboer et al., (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Peeters, 2013), 86.187

187 von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC," 86. Here, Lavatoio is the same as the aforementioned Ripa-Lavatoio.

The material remains of Verucchio have been classified in five periods, ranging from 900-650 BCE. The percent of graves containing amber varies significantly during this time, as summarized in Table II:

Table II: Presence of amber in each phase of Verucchian *necropoleis*. Source: Patrizia von Eles, "Research in Villanovan Necropoleis of Verucchio, 9th-7th century BC," in *Research into Pre-Roman Burial Grounds in Italy* eds. Albert J. Nijboer et al., (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Peeters, 2013), 92, 94, 97-98.

Phase	Time Period	Presence of amber
Phase I	900-800 BCE	unknown
Phase II	800-750 BCE	11% of graves contain amber (including both genders) ¹⁸⁸
Phase III	750-700 BCE	31% of graves contain amber (including both genders), increase in chariot and harness artifacts (both genders), increase in warrior weapons (male), local craftsmanship in amber ¹⁸⁹
Phase IV	700-650 BCE	51% of graves (including male) contain amber, technical manufacture of amber, amber manufacture controlled by elite ¹⁹⁰
Phase V	650-600 BCE	unknown

¹⁸⁸ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 92. This percentage represents an increase in trade; von Eles states that "control over the commercial routes on the Adriatic Sea became essential, well explaining the emergence of the warrior's role (in phase III)."

¹⁸⁹ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 94.

¹⁹⁰ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 97-98.

The 8th century marks a period when amber becomes quantitatively important; from this point on, thirty percent of the *fibulae* found in the Verucchian burials contain amber.¹⁹¹ By the end of the 8th century BCE and throughout the first half of the seventh century BCE, amber is found in nearly all Verucchian female tombs, a finding which is extraordinarily high compared to other Etruscan *necropoleis*.¹⁹² Furthermore, throughout the ninth to seventh centuries, the vast majority of burials in Verucchio are believed to belong to females,¹⁹³ which has been deduced from the burial goods as well as scientific testing of bones from some tombs.¹⁹⁴ A hypothesis as to why there are so many more aristocratic female burials is that men would have likely been away on military expeditions, and therefore would have been buried elsewhere.¹⁹⁵ However, this theory leaves room for further consideration, and it must be remembered that only a percentage of the burials have been excavated.¹⁹⁶

Tombs are most commonly identified as female due to the large quantity of weaving goods found in the burials.¹⁹⁷ Many of these weaving materials, however, are usually seen as non-functional due to their fragility and decorative nature.¹⁹⁸ These delicate objects would have been used for more of a symbolic purpose: to show the wealth of the family and as a reminder of the woman's role in society.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, *fibulae* found in female tombs are typically far more elaborate and ornate when compared

¹⁹¹ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 108.

¹⁹² Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 108.

¹⁹³ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 235.

¹⁹⁴ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 235-236.

¹⁹⁵ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 235.

¹⁹⁶ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 235.

¹⁹⁷ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 12.

¹⁹⁸ Bonfante, "Mothers and Children," 430.

¹⁹⁹ Bonfante, "Mothers and Children," 430.

to male *fibulae*.²⁰⁰ To summarize, the vast majority of tombs in Verucchio are thought to be female, and nearly all of these female tombs contain amber.

The design of *fibulae* is one of the best ways to tell whether a tomb belongs to a male or female. According to the grave goods from Etruscan burials, men preferred simple, bronze *fibulae* with little or no decoration (*serpeggiante o drago*: serpent or dragon, type) (see Figure A-10).²⁰¹ This curving, serpentine design was typically made of bronze and was not decorated with other materials. In contrast, women were often buried with elaborate *fibulae*; throughout Etruria, and also in Verucchio, it seems that the most popular design was the *sanguisuga* (swollen leech) type.²⁰² This design is curved and rounded, offering ample space for decoration (see Figure A-11). The latter figure shows an example of a simple bronze *sanguisuga fibula*; more elaborately decorated *sanguisuga fibulae* included *nuclei* which were often used to decorate this *fibula* type (see Figure A-12).²⁰³ Segmented discs of bronze, bone, and/or amber were also often threaded onto a bronze *sanguisuga fibula* as decoration (see Figure A-13).²⁰⁴

In Verucchio, it seems that the most popular decorations of *sanguisuga fibulae* include bone and amber, typically together. Amber was additionally used to embellish various other objects, and often was used as the material for standalone pieces. The anaerobic conditions of Verucchian tombs produce examples of amber that have been

²⁰⁰ Angiola Boiardi, Paola Poli, Patricia von Eles, "Ornamenti e non solo. L'uso ed il significato dell'ambra nelle produzioni di Verucchio," in Atti della XXXIX Riunione scientifica: materie prime e scambi nella preistoria italiana: nel cinquantenario della fondazione dell'Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria, (Firenze: Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria, 2004), 1597.

²⁰¹ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 13; Boiardi, von Eles, Poli, "Ornamenti e non solo," 1597.

²⁰² Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 13. In the Gentili volume, the *sanguisuga fibulae* are often described as *enea sanguisuga* or *enea con sanguisuga*. As the *enea* design is similar to the *sanguisuga*, I believe this means that the *fibula* is a sort of amalgamation of the two.

²⁰³ Nuclei: cores of various materials, often amber, which had a hollow hole throughout the interior to affix it to the top of a *fibula*, typically made of bronze.

²⁰⁴ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 121.

preserved far better than at other sites.²⁰⁵ This rare level of preservation helps scholars see what the amber would have truly looked like in antiquity. For example, there have been various shades of amber found in Verucchio including clear, yellow, light red, dark red, and red-orange, the shade which seems to have been the most popular.²⁰⁶ The amber has stayed transparent, as it would have been in antiquity, highlighting the inclusions of fossilized insects and other organic materials.²⁰⁷ It is not possible to examine the color or inclusions within the amber at many other sites due to the poor preservation of amber in aerobic conditions, which caused the amber to become dark and clouded (see Figures A-14 and A-15 for a comparison).

The Lippi Necropolis of Verucchio has been excavated over the course of numerous seasons. Out of the burials excavated in 1970 (Tombs I-XXVI), half of the tombs can be identified as female based on weaving goods. Of these female burials, 85% contain amber. In general, 50% of the tombs (both genders included) contain amber grave goods (see Dataset A-i). The majority of these amber items are *nuclei* (cores) of *fibulae* (29%) and pendants from earrings (26%) (see Dataset A-i).²⁰⁸ Other objects containing amber (from Tombs I-XXVI) include: various types of *fibulae* (16%), necklaces and materials once belonging to necklaces (8%), and groups of amber and glass beads (9%) (see Dataset A-i for more examples).

A later excavation of the Lippi Necropolis (1972) discovered a much larger group of burials, a total of 163 (see Dataset A-ii) . Of these 163 burials, 39% include amber. Of the female burials (39%), 63% include amber burial goods. Again, the most common

²⁰⁵ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 39.

²⁰⁶ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 109

²⁰⁷ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 39.

²⁰⁸ Some of these amber objects are listed as groups or merely 'numerous' in the catalogue, so I have chosen to count these types of listings as one item to keep percentages more understandable.

amber grave goods are *nuclei* that have been separated from the *fibulae* (19%) and pendants from earrings (14%). Various types of *fibulae* with amber decoration additionally make up 21% of the grave goods which contain amber. Given that two areas of the site have been excavated, and especially given the large number of tombs in the 1972 excavation, we can see that the distribution of amber grave goods is rather uniform. Other frequent grave goods in these burials are amber beads (ca. 11,585 from 16 various burials), as well as buttons (ca. 367 from six burials). Sometimes there are hundreds, or even thousands, of beads or buttons included in a single burial, an occurrence that is not seen in the previous excavation of Lippi, but is similar to some of the burials from the Le Pegge *Necropolis*. Amber beads would have been used to decorate clothes or jewelry, while buttons would have been affixed to clothes. Perhaps there was a fashion trend in which clothing with amber beads or buttons was a popular design and the first excavation of Lippi did not include burials from that time period. As the amount of these beads and buttons is not precise, I have grouped these artifacts as one item in my calculations, in order not to skew the percentages of the objects. Furthermore, as these beads were likely strewn together in jewelry or sewn onto clothing, they can be logically considered as one item. Another type of object which I have decided to group as one item, are *vaghi d'ambra* (ambiguous pieces of amber that were likely used to adorn necklaces or other jewelry). The total of these fragments come to ca. 108 from four burials.

The Le Pegge *Necropolis*, in contrast to the Lippi *Necropolis*, has only been partially excavated over the course of one season (1970). So far, there have been 24 tombs discovered. Of these 24 tombs, 46% can be identified as female. Of the female burials, 84% contain amber objects. In general, 54% of all burials contain amber grave

goods. The same methods of grouping numerous objects have been applied to this *necropolis*. Out of 123 amber objects, the majority of these grave goods are *fibula nuclei* (41%), pendants from earrings (11%), and various styles of *fibulae* (11%). Other items found in these burials include, but are not limited to: groups of amber beads, amber buttons, segmented pieces of bone with amber inlay, and amber rods of various size (which may have served as distaffs) (see Dataset A-iii). These burials, additionally, often contain weaving goods which indicate a female burial (46%). Of these female graves, 91% contain amber. This percentage indicates, as previously mentioned, that the majority of female burials contain amber grave goods. Table A-III summarizes the overall percentage of burials containing weaving goods, indicating that it is female, as well as the percentage of female burials containing amber. The most frequent types of amber objects additionally can be seen in Table A-III.

Overall, the findings from the three separate excavations of the Lippi *Necropolis* (1970 and 1972) as well as the Le Pegge *Necropolis* (1970) are relatively homogenous. The main difference in burial goods includes the percentage of *nuclei* and pendants from earrings, but this does not lead to significant differences in the study of the *necropoleis*. Furthermore, the Lippi *necropolis* yields a larger data set merely because it has been more extensively excavated compared to the Le Pegge *necropolis*. However, it seems that the burials from the Le Pegge *necropolis* would have belonged to aristocrats of the same economic level as the Lippi *necropolis*. This suggests that the *necropoleis* were not separated due to class; yet, there is no further research on this matter and further excavations could yield more data which could lead to a different hypothesis.

I now examine specific burials from both the Lippi *necropolis* as well as the Le Pegge *necropolis*. Tomb 27 from the Lippi *necropolis* dates to the early seventh century BCE (late Villanovan to early Orientalizing) and contains both a significant quantity of amber as well as pieces that indicate the intricate workmanship of amber manufacture in Verucchio. Tomb 27 was excavated in a pit which also included two other cinerary urns (Tombs 26 and 29).²⁰⁹

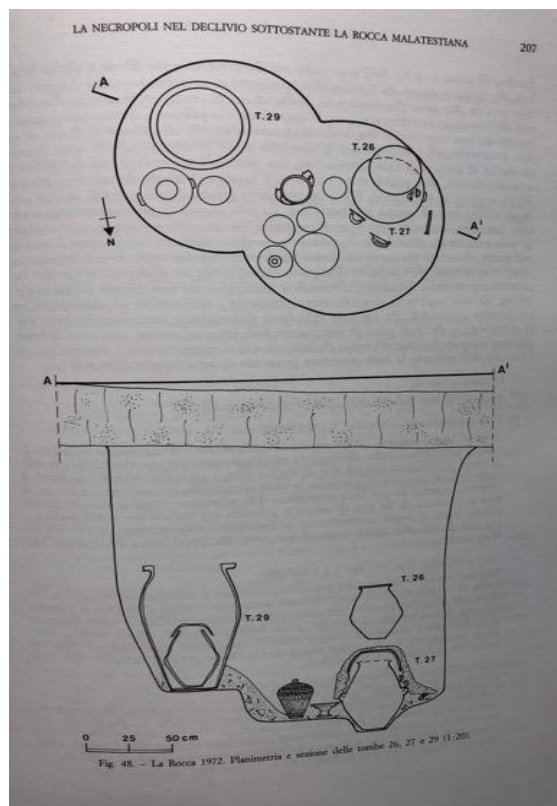


Figure 16: Layout of Tombs 26, 27, and 29. Top: aerial view of the grave pit; bottom: cross-section of the grave pit. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 207.

²⁰⁹ Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, 206-208.

Of the three burials within this tomb, Tomb 27 seems to be the most abundant of material. Tomb 26 includes only a cinerary urn, ten *rocchetti* (spools), and a bronze winged axe.²¹⁰ Additionally, it sits atop Tomb 27, indicating that Tomb 27 is from an earlier date. Tomb 29 is located to the left of the other two urns, and includes an urn inside of a larger urn. It does not include any weaving materials, and so it could be suggested that the burial belongs to a male; the tomb also includes a spear point, furthering this hypothesis. Typically, when there is more than one burial in a pit, it is believed that the burials belong to a family.²¹¹ Perhaps this grouping belongs to a husband, wife, and child. The smaller urn (26) located above Tomb 27 could possibly be the burial of the child. There is evidence that male children were buried with a few weapons, furthering this hypothesis.²¹²

Tomb 27 contains around sixty artifacts, amounting to a rich and important burial. If this is, in fact, the burial of a wife and Tomb 29 is that of the husband, it is intriguing to note that the wives' grave goods are greater in quantity and quality. However, such a hypothesis is based upon speculation according to the objects included in each tomb. Tomb 27 includes various tableware items which can be seen in Table A-IV. Tomb 27 additionally includes various pieces of jewelry, ornamentation, and weaving goods, which can be seen in Table A-V. The following table (Table VI) details the artifacts containing amber from Tomb 27:

²¹⁰ Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, 206.

²¹¹ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 235.

²¹² von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 92.

Table VI: Number of amber items in Tomb 27 of the Lippi *necropolis*.²¹³ Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 206-212.

Item	Number of Item
Pendants for amber earrings	2
<i>Fibulae</i> (bronze and amber)	5
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (swollen leech; bronze, amber, bone)	3
<i>Fibulae enee a sanguisuga</i> (bronze and amber)	1
Amber <i>nuclei</i> from <i>fibulae</i>	3

The objects were found dispersed around the cinerary urn. The abundance of weaving materials, as well as the ornate *fibulae*, suggests that this burial would have belonged to an aristocratic Etruscan female.²¹⁴ The *fibulae* are especially important due to the usage of amber and bone together. Tomb 27 includes three *sanguisuga fibulae* featuring a combination of bone and amber. Two of the *fibulae* are nearly identical and have an elaborate, carved design created by segmented portions of amber and bone (refer to Figure A-13). Unfortunately, the only photos available are black and white drawings from the Verucchio excavation catalogue (see Figure A-17; see Figure A-18 for *comparanda*, also from Verucchio). These drawings do not distinguish the amber from the bone, so it would be difficult to fully analyze the *fibulae*. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on a less elaborate, but similarly constructed, *fibula* which dates to the early

²¹³ I have determined that the Italian term *enea* refers to the thickness of objects; I believe it means that the given object is thicker than usual, as the term is used to describe both *fibulae* and pendants. I have searched extensively and cannot find a direct translation. This can be addressed in further research.

²¹⁴ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 236.

seventh century BCE (see Figures A-19 & A-20). This *fibula* is made up of interlocking bronze disks, with a trim (*rivestimento*) design of bone squares inset with a circular piece of amber alternating with rectangular amber platelets. Some of the amber has cracked; in some places, the amber coatings are completely missing.

In contrast to much of the amber from Verucchio, the amber adorning this *fibula* is not glowing or red-orange. Instead, it is dark red, almost brown, similar to amber objects found in other burials where oxygen has greatly diminished the shine of the fossilized resin. This state may be due to the conditions of Tomb 27, but it is unlikely as other amber objects from the tomb have remained impressively transparent. Perhaps the cracking and wear of the piece caused the amber to fade and lose its glimmering quality; perhaps this amber piece was chosen due to its combination of bone and amber. Furthermore, the *fibula* may have been chosen because the wearer merely enjoyed the way the dark amber looked with the bone, as well as the symbolism that may have been associated with the combination.

The pairing of bone and amber highlights Etruscan biophilia. Amber and bone may not seem to be related at first, but in all reality the materials have much in common as both can be found in nature unlike gold or silver, which must be manufactured. Another similarity between bone and amber is that the two materials were often carved and decorated according to their natural shape.²¹⁵ This connection suggests that the natural quality of the two materials were valued to be more special the less they were altered. Amber's frequent inclusion of organic materials was likely seen as a magical window into the past, and the bones served as remnants of animals whose lives had been

²¹⁵ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 113.

sacrificed for either religious purpose or merely for the sustenance of humans (or perhaps both).

Amber served as a symbol of the sun due to its ethereal glow, and this aspect was highlighted when carving amber into jewelry. The earrings from Tomb 27 were carved into simple discs, which likely would have been thin enough for the sun or other light to shine through, causing the earrings to glimmer and captivate onlookers (see Figure A-21). The *fibulae* containing inlaid amber would have also caught the light of the sun. The most unique and special artifact from the burial is a *fibula nucleo* which was carved into the shape of two ducks (see Figures A-22 & A-23). The ducks sit with their backs facing each other atop the cylindrical portion of the amber core. Perhaps the ducks are meant to be viewed as if they are sitting on the surface of water, in their natural habitat.

In antiquity, the duck was not only an apotropaic symbol but also is believed to have been connected to the underworld.²¹⁶ This cover is the only piece of figured amber that has been found in Verucchio, and the fact that the object has such prominent organic inclusions suggests that whoever commissioned the piece may have asked specifically for it to feature the inclusions.²¹⁷ The inclusions are especially evident in the curved portion which would have covered the bow of the *fibula*. Unfortunately, the photos of the objects are not clear enough to see the types of inclusions present. However, these inclusions are definitely numerous and are large enough that they would have been easily visible to the naked eye, especially in antiquity as the amber would have been more crisp and clear.

The carving of amber was extremely difficult and would have required great artistry, so the commissioning of the *fibula* cover would have been costly. If the owner

²¹⁶ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 92

²¹⁷ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 61.

had wished to have amber without inclusions, they would have had the authority to choose. In contrast, the artisan may have chosen the inclusion filled amber for this highly carved piece in order to create a more meaningful object. Indeed, amber inclusions may have even been sought, due to the connection to everlasting life. The duck motif only adds to this speculation. In antiquity, the duck was a symbol of regeneration; this would suggest that the duck cover was made specifically for the burial of the Etruscan woman and her journey to the afterlife.²¹⁸ The influence from the east is highlighted here, and aids in the dating of Tomb 27. In Greece and Egypt, not only ducks but also birds in general were seen as apotropaic animals and were often depicted in scenes with women.²¹⁹ As ducks were associated with regenerative elements, this could be associated with women as they could produce life. The bird egg was a symbol of rebirth, holding a new life inside of it, almost in a different realm.²²⁰ This idea of life being encapsulated in a timeless manner is highlighted in the aforementioned amber *fibula* cover depicting two ducks. This object itself holds everlasting lifeforms inside, preserved through the process of fossilization. This object provides vital information as to how the Etruscans perceived organic inclusions in their amber goods.

Symbols in nature played perhaps the most important role in Etruscan religion; the reading of bird signs (augury) and signs in sacrificed animals' entrails (haruspicy) were two important occupations in Etruria.²²¹ The ornaments included in burial goods were not merely designated to show wealth or beauty; they would have held religious and symbolic importance. Signs and symbols would have been seen in nearly every aspect of

²¹⁸ Causey, *Amber in the Ancient World*, 92.

²¹⁹ Alexandre G. Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting and the Origins of Visual Humor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2009), 25, 60.

²²⁰ Lisa C. Pieraccini, "Food and Drink in the Etruscan World," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 817.

²²¹ de Grummond, "Haruspicy and Augury: Sources and Procedures," 539.

life, so it would be short-sighted to brush off the importance of natural materials used in jewelry and other ornamentation.

Another tomb which provides a great variety of amber objects is Tomb 3 from Le Pegge *Necropolis* which was excavated in 1970.

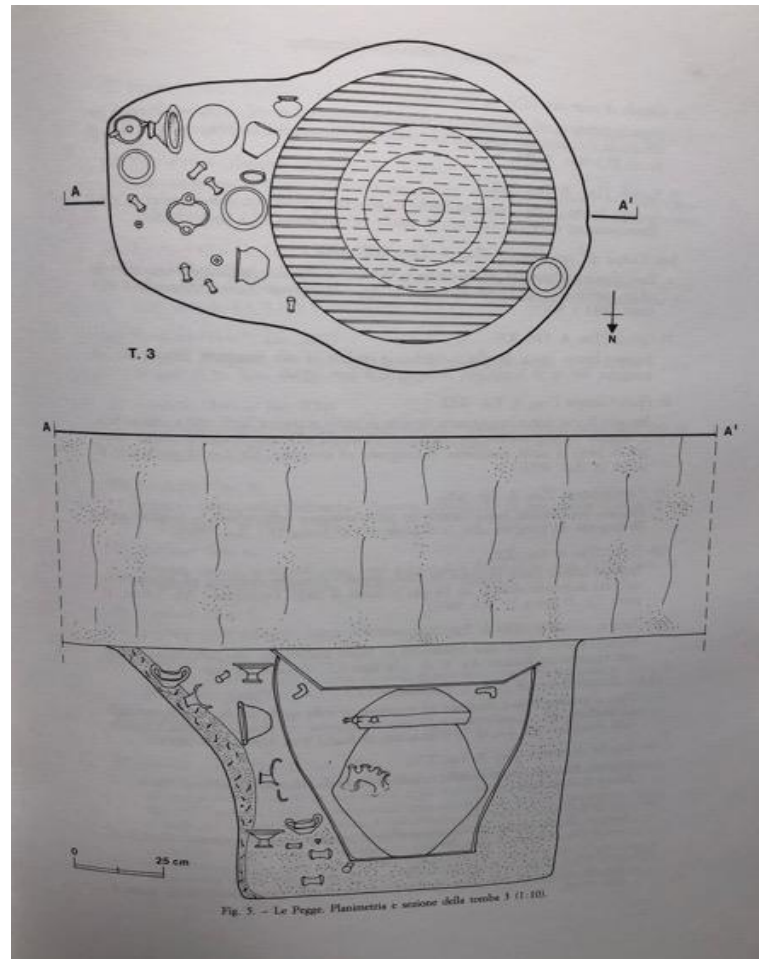


Figure 24: Tomb 3 from Le Pegge *Necropolis*. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 39.

This tomb includes a large barrel (*dolio*) with a biconical ossuary sitting inside of it, covered by a bowl. The nestled urns were surrounded by various grave goods placed to

the east of the containers. The burial included over 70 objects, many of which contain amber. Perhaps the most stunning artifact from the burial is a rectangular pectoral ornament which was likely used in ritual context.²²² The burial also includes carriage parts, a feature that is found in both male and female burials.²²³ The entirety of the artifacts found in Tomb 3 can be seen in Tables A-VII and A-VIII; Table A-VII includes the tableware items, while Table A-VIII includes various objects of ornamentation. The following table (Table IX) outlines types of objects including amber found in Le Pegge Tomb 3:

Table IX: Number of various amber items from Tomb 3 of the Le Pegge *necropolis*. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 39-44.²²⁴

Various <i>fibulae</i> containing amber	3
Amber disks	3 pairs
<i>Nuclei</i> of amber	9
Bone bead covered in amber	1
Bronze <i>sanguisuga fibula</i> with segments of bone and amber	1
Small amber buttons (<i>bottoncini</i>)	170
Rods containing amber (perhaps distaffs)	4
Amber beads	27
Segments of bone with amber settings; segments of amber	37; 4
Pectoral ornament of amber	1

²²² von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 237.

²²³ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 239.

²²⁴ This table includes a condensed version of the list, due to space. See Table A-VIII for a complete breakdown of amber artifacts, along with other objects found in Tomb 3.

The weaving tools, as well as the large majority of amber objects, similar to Tomb 27 from the Lippi Necropolis, show that this tomb likely belonged to an Etruscan female. However, in contrast to the tomb previously analyzed, this tomb also contained horse bits and carriage parts, providing evidence that Etruscan women were not confined to the house as Greek women:²²⁵

The almost consistent presence of horse tack, or carriage parts, or both, in weavers' tombs is also significant, as these indicate a particular social class and possibly one's active presence within the region (the horse reins often show traces of wear). A great number of women—almost as many as the men — appear to have used a carriage.²²⁶

This evidence means that women may have been given the freedom to go about town (or perhaps elsewhere), and it is a contrast to the restrictive connotation linked to weaving goods.²²⁷ The home as the assumed place for women in antiquity is based on the abundance of weaving materials in burials; however, the horse tack argues against the assumption that women were forced to stay indoors and spend the majority of their time weaving clothing for their family. The wear on the carriage parts mean that they were used and not just for show. However, there is still the option that these carriage parts were only used by men and were included in the burial to show the social status of the family. On the other hand, since there is such a disparity of male burials compared to female burials, it is possible that women were trusted with matters of life in the city while men were away at war. Still, it is difficult to assume the societal place of a person based solely on the objects which were chosen for their burial. Overall, it is compelling that both men and women were buried with carriage parts that show traces of use, meaning

²²⁵ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 239.

²²⁶ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 239.

²²⁷ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 239; Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 249.

they were not made for the burial for the sole purpose of exemplifying status during the burial ceremony.

Another type of object is also included in this burial. A nude figurine depicts a woman with hands clasped over her stomach (see Figure A-25). The small clay female figurine could have been an apotropaic symbol, or perhaps even a fertility figurine. Moreover, the figure may be a symbol of mourning when compared to other figurines that have been found in other female Etruscan tombs in Cerveteri as well as Vetulonia. (see Figures A-26 & A-27).²²⁸ Therefore, the statuette may have been meant to represent a mother-goddess of sorts, perhaps even the woman buried, or a nonspecific mourning female. The crude, schematic features could also give the impression that the figurine was made by the woman before she was deceased, or perhaps someone close to her like a child, rather than an artist. Although this figure does not contain any amber, it provides information about the person that was buried, and the combination with copious amounts of weaving goods and amber is a strong suggestion that the burial definitely belongs to an Etruscan woman.

The most interesting object in Tomb 3 of the Le Pegge *necropolis* is the unique “pectoral ornament,” which provides even further evidence for the status of the deceased. The pectoral found in Tomb 3 is distinct from other pectorals found throughout Etruria, and it highlights the Eastern influence of the Orientalizing period (see Figure A-29). The pectoral features an openwork pattern that was carved from one piece of red-orange amber, and would have been difficult to produce due to the intricate carving of the thin piece of amber. The geometric pattern of the ornament includes a horizontal bar which roughly bisects the middle, breaking the spaces above and below into small triangular and

²²⁸ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 79.

rectangular spaced patterns. The border is then lined with carved spheres, which look as if they could possibly be knobs of sorts, affixed to the main rectangular piece of amber through small, inset holes. In its elaborate carving, this piece is different from other amber objects that have minimal carving and seem to highlight the amber's natural, fossilized form. It is unclear whether the rectangular object contains any organic inclusions, but this observation is based on a colored drawing included in various articles and the black and white drawing from the excavation catalogue. However, in the color drawing, dark areas are portrayed on the lower left corner, suggesting that there may have been, in fact, a cluster of organic inclusions. The other dark spots may also serve to indicate there are, in fact, organic inclusions.

Most Etruscan pectoral ornaments are made from metal and typically do not feature many excised areas (see Figure A-28). However, one ornament that is at least similar in design to the decoration from Tomb 3 is a bronze pectoral ornament from Tomb 26 of the Moroni *Necropolis* (one of Verucchio's *necropoleis*) (see Figure A-30).²²⁹ This object also features an elaborate design that would have taken a skilled craftsman. The unique features of both of the pieces could possibly suggest that they were imported from elsewhere in the Mediterranean or even further abroad. As Verucchio was a city known for its large scale importation, it is highly probable that these unique pieces were created elsewhere, especially as they do not resemble the designs of other artifacts found in Verucchian burials.

It is believed that pectoral ornaments would have been sewn onto the front mantle of a woman's clothing, specifically ritual clothing.²³⁰ The pectoral ornament was

²²⁹ Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, 112.

²³⁰ von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 237.

especially important in Egyptian funerary rituals, and a gold pectoral found in Cerveteri depicts imagery that is explicitly linked to Egypt (see Figure A-28).²³¹ The pectoral was supposedly meant to ensure "protection and incorruptibility to the bodies of the dead."²³² Additionally, it was specifically linked to aristocratic women in both Egypt and Etruria.²³³

The *fibulae* found in Tomb 3, in contrast, include designs and patterns that are found in many burials in Verucchio, and strengthen the hypothesis that Verucchio was not only a place of import but also a city of skilled artisans who manufactured amber ornaments. For example, a *sanguisuga fibula* included in the burial goods of Tomb 3 from the Le Pegge *necropolis* is nearly identical to the aforementioned *sanguisuga fibula* found in Tomb 26 of the Lippi *necropolis* (see Figure A-31). The *fibulae* feature a combination of bone, amber, and bronze; furthermore, the design and manufacturing techniques even appear to be the same. These *fibulae* were likely not made specially for the individual or were created by a craftsman as skilled as the one who made the *fibula* bow cover adorned with carved ducks from Lippi Tomb 26. Verucchio includes a wide variety of amber grave goods which are preserved much better than most other Etruscan *necropoleis*, as previously mentioned. The burials from Verucchio are also examples of wealthy individuals who likely made their money from trade. Even though Verucchio was not in mainland Etruria, the city was very much Etruscan, and this is evident throughout the sites and the burials.

²³¹ Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," 109.

²³² Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," 110.

²³³ Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," 110; von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," 237.

Etruscan cities, even in mainland Etruria, were "only loosely linked in a (religious) association".²³⁴ Vetulonia, located near the Tyrrhenian coast in mainland Etruria, was one of the most "important and famous" Etruscan cities.²³⁵ The burials found in Vetulonia differ dramatically from those of Verucchio:

In the *necropoleis* of Vetulonia the characteristic form of aristocratic burials during the Early Orientalizing period was the trench tomb, which contained inhumations or cremated remains. Groups of large trenches were often enclosed within continuous circles (It. *circoli continui*) of carefully worked stone slabs; the circles vary from 15 to 30 m in diameter. Such tombs frequently contained extremely rich grave goods of bronze, gold, silver, ivory, amber, etc., including many objects of Southern Etruscan, Near Eastern, Greek, Sardinian, and Central European origin.²³⁶

The artifacts from Vetulonia's Orientalizing *necropoleis* are categorized in six phases which span a little more than one century:

Table X: Phases of occupation in Vetulonia. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 215-220.

Phase 1	-725 BCE
Phase 2	725-700 BCE
Phase 3	690-660 BCE
Phase 4	660-640 BCE
Phase 5	640-620 BCE
Phase 6	620-600 BCE

²³⁴ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 135.

²³⁵ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 135.

²³⁶ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 99.

Similarly to Verucchio, amber ornaments may have been manufactured in Vetulonia; unworked lumps of amber have been found here, furthering this hypothesis.²³⁷ This amber was also imported from the Baltic, and may have passed through Verucchio before it reached Vetulonia (especially eighth to seventh centuries BCE, when Verucchio was at its prime). Amber is frequently found in the burials of Vetulonia, strengthening the material evidence of amber's worth in Etruria, especially in the burial context. Table A-XI details various types of amber objects found throughout the *necropoleis* of Vetulonia.

I now focus on two female burials from Vetulonia which contain copious amounts of amber. There has been scientific testing of the remains from some of the burials in order to determine the gender of the deceased, but typically the burial goods are used as the primary evidence to identify gender. In the case of Vetulonia, amber was used as a defining characteristic of a female burial. This, unfortunately, may not be completely accurate and could lead to a circular argument. However, the other grave goods (especially elaborate *fibulae*), and weaving goods also are used as indicators of a female burial.

The first burial from Vetulonia I have chosen to study is *Circolo dei Monili*, the Circle of the Jewelry (phase 3, ca. 690-660 BCE), from the *necropolis Poggio alla Guardia*.²³⁸ This burial was excavated in 1889, and contains the remains of two individuals. The two individuals were buried in a single grave, or trench (*fossa*), which was placed in the center of a circular arrangement of stones (*circolo*). The age of those buried in *Circolo Dei Monili* have been identified through dental analysis: one

²³⁷ Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, 100.

²³⁸ Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe ," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 49.

adolescent young-adult and one infant.²³⁹ The gender of both are probably female, as the burial includes an abundance of weaving goods (mainly *rocchetti* (spools)) and fertility figurines. In antiquity, women typically married when they reached puberty (as young as 12 in Rome) and bore children at a relatively young age.²⁴⁰ Perhaps the young adult female was the mother of the infant and both died during childbirth, an occurrence that was not unusual in antiquity.²⁴¹ The abundance of rich burial goods suggest that they were members of an elite family, and also that their deaths were grieved by their loved ones (view the lists of tableware and various other items in Tables A-XIII and A-XIV).

In contrast to the burials analyzed from Verucchio, nearly 10% of the objects from *Circolo dei Monili* are tableware items. The types of tableware are also more varied. This could be due to the fact that two individuals were buried in one *fossa* (pit), explaining why there are so many grave goods in general. Even though various burials in Verucchio had multiple cinerary urns in one pit, the grave goods were located in a close vicinity to their respective urns. Furthermore, the *necropoleis* of Vetulonia were excavated far earlier than those of Verucchio, explaining why the documentation is less thorough in the case of Vetulonia. In the last 50 years archaeology has become a true scientific field, following strict rules and regulations. The findspot of each artifact must be catalogued and recorded, leading to a better understanding of the context of these ancient objects. Much of the information about the objects from *Circolo dei Monili* has been lost over time as there is no way to discern whether a specific item was meant to correlate with the infant or the adolescent female. This also causes difficulty when

²³⁹ Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe ," 49.

²⁴⁰ M. I. Finley, "The Silent Women of Rome," in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 150.

²⁴¹ Finley, "The Silent Women of Rome," 153; Turfa and Becker, "Health and Medicine in Etruria," 857-858.

attempting to reason whether both of the individuals can be correctly identified as female based upon the weaving goods. This brings up the possibility that only one of the individuals was a female. However, the fact that there are no weapons included in the burial goods is strong evidence that the two individuals are, in fact, both female.

Furthermore, the burial contains an abundance of amber objects, which can be seen in the following table:

Table XII: Amber grave goods from *Circolo dei Monili* (total number of objects: 205; 37% amber). Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 49-54.²⁴²

Item	Number of Item
<i>Vaghi di ambra</i> (amber beads of various shape)	ca. 300
Ribbed amber and silver (?) bead	1
Amber pendants	44
Fragments of amber pendants	24
Figured amber pendants	16
Fragments of figured amber pendants	7
Coated arch of <i>fibulae</i> (bronze and amber)	4
Remains of an intact object (amber, bronze, wood)	"fragments"
Discoïd elements of amber	4
Rectangular element of amber	1
Burnt piece of amber	1

²⁴² This number was calculated by treating all groups of fragments as one item, and also treating objects labeled as "numerous", "circa" (ca.), or "fragments" as one item; see Tables A-XIII and A-XIV for the complete list of burial goods.

In general, of the 205 burial goods, objects including amber comprise 37% of the artifacts. Amber pendants make up ca. 22% of the objects and 12% of the total figured pendants. Four of the figured pendants depict nude females with a long braid down their backs, and their hands placed in front of them on their stomach (see Figure A-26), similar to the female figurine found in Verucchio Le Pegge Tomb 3 (see Figure A-25). The female figurines may be apotropaic symbols, fertility figurines, or depictions of female mourners. These pendants would have likely been strung together with shaped pendants to create a necklace (see Figure A-32).

Another example of an amber figurine in *Circolo dei Monili* depicts a unique portrayal that is most likely meant to represent fertility; the description from the catalog explicitly states that this object is entirely unique (a *unicum*) (see Figure A-33). A woman is seated on a throne, with a "*umana o scimmiesca in grembo*" (human or monkey-like figure in lap).²⁴³ However, it seems that the figure in the lap is not really sitting so much as exiting the body of the woman, since its head and arms are only visible. Moreover, *grembo*, the Italian word used to describe the placement of the monkey-like figure, means both womb as well as lap. The angle at which the head of the ambiguous figure extends from the body of the seated woman suggests that it is a representation of a metaphorical, rather than actual, situation. Maybe the seated woman was meant to portray an Etruscan goddess, perhaps even Uni, the mother goddess. Perhaps there were once *comparanda* for the enigmatic carving that were made of carved wood and merely disintegrated. Moreover, there may have been an Etruscan myth that would explain the object. The unusual subject matter raises questions, but it seems to be a definite connection between amber and fertility.

²⁴³ Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, 173.

Other figurines include squatting monkeys with their hands brought up to their faces, as well as a fish shaped pendant (see Figures A-34 & A-35). The frequent imagery of monkeys highlights the strong eastern influence in Vetulonia. This can also be seen in other Etruscan cities, such as *Tomba della Scimmia*, Tomb of the Monkey, in a *necropolis* of Chiusi (ca. 480-400).²⁴⁴ One of the wall paintings depicts a monkey on a leash, likely to highlight the wealth of the family as they were able to afford such an exotic pet.²⁴⁵ Further eastern influence, specifically from Egypt, is found in *Tomba a Circolo* 1895, which is analyzed later in this chapter. Overall, the figured pendants from *Circolo dei Monili* provide ample evidence of eastern influence as well as the symbolic importance of amber. The abundance of figured amber pendants from Vetulonia is a stark contrast to the one figured object from Verucchio, but the apotropaic theme of figured amber is a constant in both cities.

Circolo dei Monili also includes numerous amber *vaghi* (beads) of various shapes which would have likely been used to adorn clothing and/or decorate jewelry (ca. 300). If the beads were strung on bracelets or necklaces, the strings have disintegrated, suggesting they were made from an organic material (such as leather or twine). The clothes which the beads were possibly sewn onto also disintegrated quickly, leaving only the beads behind. Hoards of beads were additionally found in the burials from Verucchio. Another common grave good in Verucchio were the amber *nuclei*, or 'cores' used to decorate the arches of *fibulae*. Bronze *fibulae* decorated with amber and bone were additionally popular items. However, in the graves I have chosen to study from Vetulonia, *fibulae* are more typically made of only metal (bronze most commonly). In

²⁴⁴ Adriana P. Harrison, "Animals in the Etruscan Household," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 1091.

²⁴⁵ Adriana P. Harrison, "Animals in the Etruscan Household," 1091.

Circolo dei Monili, only five *fibulae* contain amber decoration (2%). Instead, *Circolo dei Monili* includes *fibulae* decorated with more expensive materials such as gold and silver, materials that are rarely found in Verucchio. The ten fragments of gold leaf suggest that it was used as some sort of decoration. Gold leaf was popular in antiquity, as gold could be hammered out into extremely thin sheets and used to decorate a variety of objects.

Interestingly, there is one burnt fragment of amber, which may have been used in the burial ritual. Amber was an extremely common material used as incense, and it is believed that amber incense was burned at funerals as a sort of cleansing ritual as well as to provide safety for the voyage to the underworld.²⁴⁶ The burial has been identified as an inhumation rather than cremation, though no skeletal remains were recorded (only dental), so that rules out the possibility of the amber having been burned in a cremation ritual. Also, this charred bit of amber is the only object in the burial goods that has signs of being burned, strengthening the hypothesis that the burial was, in fact, an inhumation. At this time in Etruria, various cities (and families even) had their own preference when it came to inhumation or cremation burials.²⁴⁷ This was likely due to the influx of trade with other cultures, causing an ideological shift. The Etruscans seem to be trying new things out in the Orientalizing period. This experimentation in different styles can be especially seen in the burial known as *Tomba a Circolo* 1895, also from the *Poggio alla Guardia necropolis* (phase 2B: ca. seventh century BCE).²⁴⁸ Similar to *Circolo dei Monili*, *Tomba a Circolo* 1895 contains the remains of two individuals, as there were two

²⁴⁶ Causey, *Amber and the Ancient World*, 69, 94.

²⁴⁷ Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture," 87.

²⁴⁸ Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," 191.

groups of teeth found.²⁴⁹ Dental analysis suggests they were both young adults; again, the genetic testing was indeterminate, but the multitude of weaving goods suggest both people buried were women.²⁵⁰ Many other objects were likely apotropaic or amuleic devices; a vast majority of the amber objects from the burials are Egyptian scarabs. These were likely imported from Egypt, but they may have been fashioned in Etruria in the Egyptian style. The following table outlines various objects including amber found in *Tomba a Circolo* 1895:

Table XV: Amber grave goods from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895 (see Tables A-XVI and A-XVII for a complete list of objects) (*135 objects; ca. 46% of the objects include amber*).

Source: : Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 191-195.²⁵¹

Item	Number of Item
Rings (amber; silver and amber)	2; 1
Pendants (amber)	20
Figured amber pendants (monkeys; fish; "ankle boot")	2; 1; 1
Amber <i>Rivestimenti</i> "Coatings" of <i>fibulae</i>	5
Amber beads (<i>vaghi</i>)	ca. 700
Fragments of Amber beads (<i>vaghi</i>)	61
Fragments of amber pendants	2
Amber scarabs	15
Rectangular amber grommet bead	1
Discs of amber "coatings" (<i>rivestimenti</i>)	7

²⁴⁹ Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe ," 191.

²⁵⁰ Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe ," 191.

²⁵¹ This number was calculated by treating all groups of fragments as one item, and also treating objects labeled as "numerous" and "circa" (ca.) as one item per grouping.

This burial differs greatly from the *Circolo dei Monili*, mainly due to the much smaller amount of grave goods. The biggest variation is the near absence of tableware items. Two fragments from handles were found. Additionally, there were fragments of an *aryballos* found, which would have contained oil or perfume. This burial contains some objects which include silver, but none with gold. The scarabs found in the burial show that those buried had an interest in Egyptian culture (and perhaps religion). The majority of the scarabs are made from amber, highlighting the apotropaic and amuleic function of the objects. Scarabs were popular and widespread amulets used in Egypt; the scarab was carved into the shape of a beetle, and is named after the hieroglyph for "to come into being" or "to exist;" therefore, it is used as an amulet for rejuvenation (see Figures A-36 & A-37).²⁵² Egyptians also often made their scarabs from amber, but faience was more typical. These scarabs, however, have been taken out of their true context, and it is speculative to assume that they had the same function in Vetulonia as they did in Egypt. However, the Etruscans used many other amulets and apotropaic devices, so it would not be completely implausible to say that the scarabs held the same apotropaic functions. Perhaps the Etruscans of Vetulonia had heard of the Egyptian religion and found similarities, sparking interest in the scarabs, and leading them to obtain their own made of their beloved, magical amber (which was inherently protective to the Etruscans).

The grave goods from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895 are 15% scarabs: 11% of which were made of amber and 4% faience. Also included in the burial is a pair of stone and silver scarab earrings. Similar to *Circolo dei Monili*, *Tomba a Circolo* 1895 contains a large quantity of amber beads (ca. 700). Additionally, 19% of the grave goods from

²⁵² Douglas J. Brewer and Emily Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), xxii.

Tomba a Circolo 1895 are amber pendants (figured and various shaped; ca. 3% are figured). Interestingly, figured pendants are extremely similar to those found in *Circolo dei Monili* (the fish and monkey pendants). There are also two fragments from a human figured pendant. Unfortunately, the catalogue does not include images of the figured pendants from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895, only a list of the types of figurines. This is furthermore the case for all of the amber objects from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895. Scarabs made of amber highlight amber's properties of rejuvenation, especially in the sense of being "rebirthed" into the afterlife. As there is no literary evidence available to support the correlation of amber and rejuvenation or rebirth, these sorts of examples are extremely significant.

In general, the two burials from Vetulonia have many similarities, especially in the imagery of the figured pendants (except for the *unicum* of *Circolo dei Monili*). Eastern influence is evident in both of the burials, especially in *Tomba a Circolo* 1895. The burials each contain an abundance of grave goods, even some items of precious metals such as gold and silver. When the analyzed burials of Vetulonia are compared to those of Verucchio, the biggest discrepancy is the quantity of burial goods. The larger quantity of burial goods in Vetulonia compared to Verucchio can be explained by chronology. The Etruscans included more and more precious items in their burials as time went on; the grave goods from the analyzed burials of Verucchio are fewer in quantity and do not include expensive metals such as gold and silver. Overall, the burials of Vetulonia contain a far greater variance of types of objects when compared to the burials of Verucchio. The biggest difference is the abundance of figured amber found in

Vetulonia, as well as a larger quantity of objects made of precious metals. In Table A-XVIII, I highlight the main similarities and differences of the four analyzed burials.

Both of the cities' *necropoleis* additionally contain burials of children, even an infant in Vetulonia, amongst the interments of adults. Scholars have suggested that many Etruscan civilizations buried their children separated from their elders.²⁵³ These cities contrast this belief, and points out the fact that the "Etruscan identity" was not set in stone. Both Verucchio and Vetulonia, however, played important roles in the Etruscan world through trade and manufacture of goods. Vetulonia, along with nearby Populonia, was likely a major city for intermediary trade between the Mediterranean and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, as well as Northern Africa (Carthage).²⁵⁴ Furthermore, Vetulonia "produced large bronze coinages in the third century BCE," which would have been distributed throughout Etruria and the Mediterranean.²⁵⁵ Vetulonia remained an important Etruscan city-state until the period of Romanization (ca. 4th century BCE), and its involvement in trade and strategic alliances with other Etruscan cities likely fueled the aristocrats of the city.²⁵⁶

Verucchio, in contrast, was located in an area which was extremely important for trade throughout the Mediterranean, and faced strife over the years as other civilizations and people competed for control of the Adriatic.²⁵⁷

Several reasons can be given for the end of the Villanovan *necropoleis* just after the middle of the 7th century BC. One of them is probably the

²⁵³ Becker and Turfa, "Health and Medicine in Etruria," 857-858.

²⁵⁴ Matteo Milletti, "Etruria and Corsica," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 249; Jean Gran-Aymerich, "Etruria Marittima," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 328.

²⁵⁵ Daniele F. Maras, "Numbers and Reckoning," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 487.

²⁵⁶ Letizia Ceccarelli, "The Romanization of Etruria," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 28, 30.

²⁵⁷ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 101.

internal struggle for power...Another factor that might have contributed to the instability and the crisis that brought the Villanovan system at Verucchio to an end is the significant activity in the Adriatic region of Umbrian groups...The cultural, political and economic reconstruction feasible from our present knowledge of Verucchio, mark the site as a rising centre that gained importance in a relatively short period...Its Villanovan cultural reality came to an end in the second half of the 7th century BC.²⁵⁸

The multicultural influence of Verucchio is evident in burial goods, and can be explained by their significant trade network on the Eastern coast. Vetulonia, although on the western coast of Italy, seems to have a similar degree of influence from other cultures, especially the Egyptians, Corsicans, and Carthaginians.

Studying the burials from the Orientalizing periods of both cities shows just how much the Etruscan culture was shaped by the east (i.e. Greece and Egypt), yet how various "Etruscan" cities incorporated these new ideals into their own "proto-Etruscan" (or Villanovan) identity. The emergence of a new culture is difficult to study, as there is typically no literary evidence, and scholars are led to make speculations about the preserved material culture. The many similarities between the burial goods from Verucchio and Vetulonia, cities on opposite coasts of the Italic peninsula, show how far the Etruscan culture spread in the Villanovan and early Orientalizing periods. Trade between the various cities would have further spread both the material culture as well as the non-material culture of which we have little evidence. The quantity and quality of amber objects found in burials (both male and female) throughout Etruria provides insight into the Etruscans' innate reverence for nature: biophilia, the overarching theme of the multifaceted Etruscan civilizations.

²⁵⁸ von Eles, "Research in Villanovan *Necropoleis* of Verucchio, 9th to 7th century BC", 101-102.

Chapter V: Conclusion and Results

Overall, the purpose of my thesis was to study the amber grave goods of Etruscan women to gain a better understanding of their place in the Etruscan culture during the late Villanovan period to the early Orientalizing period. The first chapter served as a brief introduction to the Etruscan culture and the plan for my thesis. The second chapter detailed the characteristics of amber by examining Greek and Roman literature that speaks of amber's magical and healing properties as well as various mythological stories of its formation. Chapter Three focused on amber's association with women throughout the ancient world. This chapter also detailed the way women may have influenced the Baltic amber trade as it has been linked to the trade of textiles. With this contextual background in mind, I analyzed the amber grave goods from two Verucchian female burials as well as two Vetulonian female burials in Chapter Four. This final chapter showed the emergence of a unique culture that is found from the Po plain to the Campania region, a culture that is heavily influenced by both Egypt and Greece. However, out of the analyzed tombs, Egypt seems to have shaped the Etruscan culture more so than Greece.

The Egyptian style can be found throughout Etruria; it is likely that artisans came directly from Egypt, bringing tools and materials.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, it can be assumed that these artisans brought with them their religious beliefs and explanations for the richly

²⁵⁹ Camporeale, "Foreign Artists in Etruria," 887, 888.

symbolic objects they produced. The Egyptians often made scarabs out of amber, so it is likely those found in Vetulonia were created by Egyptian artisans. These artisans would have hired native Etruscan apprentices, who would eventually work on their own.²⁶⁰ Therefore, the Egyptian artistic methods would have been absorbed by the Etruscan culture; likely, the Etruscan artists melded the Egyptian style with their own, creating a unique style.

Another example of artisans who likely traveled far distances to teach their craftsmanship are those who arrived in Verucchio with imported amber.²⁶¹ Similar to the aforementioned process, artists from the Baltic area likely brought their tools and such with them. Their apprentices incorporated the northern style with the Etruscan style, creating intricate fibulae and other ornamentation (see Figure A-13 for a drawing showing the reconstruction of a popular fibula style worn by the women of Verucchio). The amber pectoral found in Tomb 3 of Le Pegge *necropolis* also shows influence from foreign artisans. These artisans helped shape the Etruscan culture and likely fueled the misconceptions surrounding the Lydian "origin" of the Etruscans. In the Villanovan and early Orientalizing periods, the cities of Etruria had just found wealth and entered the competitive Mediterranean trade routes—the influx of wealth can be seen through the analysis of grave goods.

The graves I analyzed from Verucchio both date to ca. 620 BCE, the transition from the Villanovan to the Orientalizing period. The analyzed Vetulonian graves contain higher quality grave goods as well as a larger quantity and are likely 30 to 40 years later than the Verucchian ones. Furthermore, while there was some Egyptian influence in

²⁶⁰ Camporeale, "Foreign Artists in Etruria," 887.

²⁶¹ Camporeale, "Foreign Artists in Etruria," 887.

Verucchio, there is far more in Vetulonia, suggesting that more trade between Egypt and Etruria occurred within those years. Additionally, the Orientalizing period is the latest time period when elite Etruscan women were weaving their own garments.²⁶² The textiles instead began to be manufactured in factories of sorts.²⁶³ The aristocratic Etruscan women may have lost their influential place in the trade world, perhaps offering a new hypothesis for the decline of Verucchio in the late Orientalizing period. The excavated burials of Verucchio provide evidence of far more female burials compared to men. This could imply that the women were involved in the trade of goods, specifically amber and textiles. However, this is of a speculative nature and is based upon limited evidence.

The status of women in the Etruscan culture has caused much debate from ancient to modern times. A fundamental idea behind this research is the commonly discussed aspect that women were allowed greater freedom in the Etruscan society compared to Roman and, especially, Greek cultures.²⁶⁴ The place of women as well as the frequency of amber included in their burials represents the Etruscan's deep and innate respect for nature. The famed Etruscan forms of divination additionally represent this biophilia. They were constantly observing the natural phenomena of the world around them. Etruscan biophilia is clear and is especially evident throughout the Villanovan and Orientalizing periods as evidenced by the great quantity and quality of amber artifacts found in Etruscan tombs.

²⁶² Margarita Gleba, "The World of Etruscan Textiles," in *The Etruscan World* ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 807-808.

²⁶³ Gleba, "The World of Etruscan Textiles," 808.

²⁶⁴ Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," 246.

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APPENDIX — FIGURES

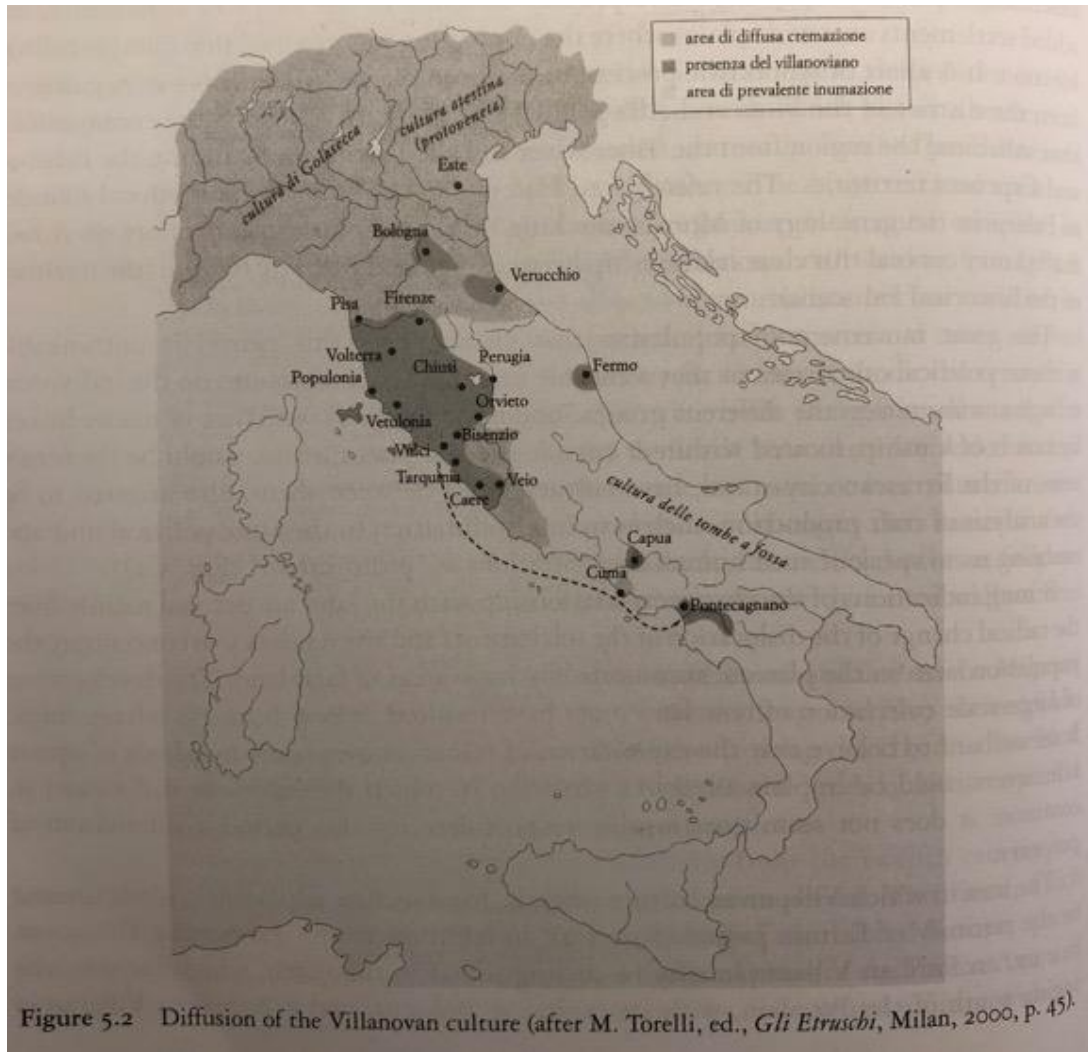


Figure A-1: Diffusion of the Villanovan culture. Light grey indicates areas of cremation burials, dark grey indicates the Villanovan culture, white indicates prevalent areas of inhumation burials. Source: Gilda Bartolini, "The Villanovan Culture: At the Beginning of Etruscan History" in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean Turfa, (London: Routledge, 2013), 82.



Figure A-2: Example of magazine articles comparing people from Murlo, Italy to their Etruscan ancestors. Source: Annalisa Coppolaro Nowell, Goran Soderberg, Anthony Tuck, *L'avventura Etrusca di Murlo: 50 anni di Scavi a Poggio Civitate*, (Monteriggioni: Ara edizioni, 2017), 21.



Figure A-3: Ancient Baltic Amber Trade Route. Verucchio was the main hub of import in Etruria. Source: Beatrice Orsini, *Ambra: le origini, il mito e il commercio nell'antichità*, (Emilia Romagna: Dossier, 2010), 30.

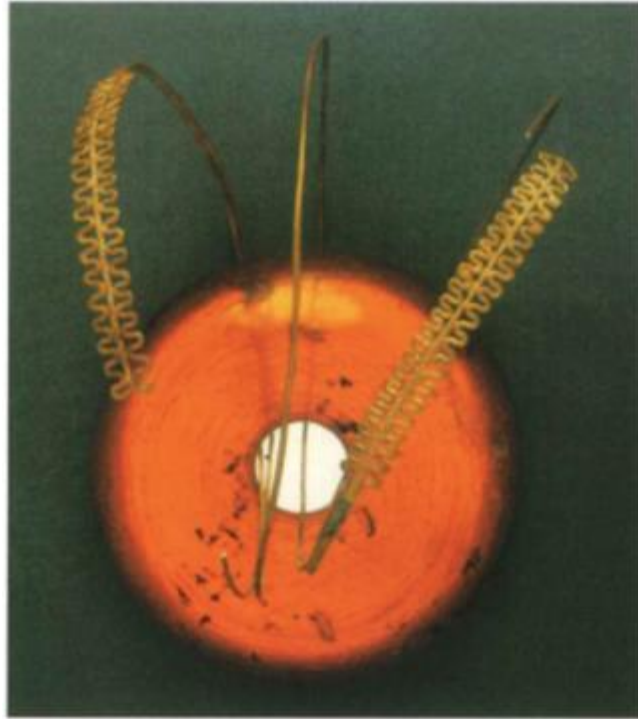


Figure A-4: Close up image of the earring which features organic inclusions. Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 108.

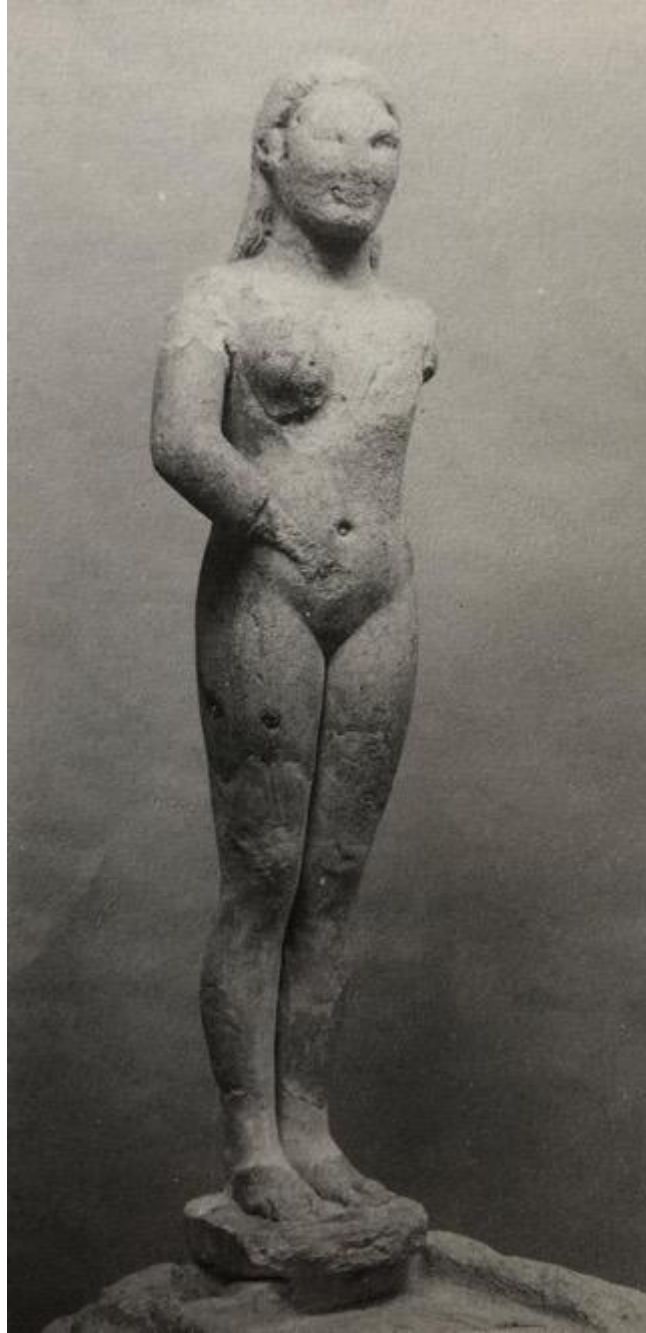


Figure A-5: Venus of *Cannicella*, ca. 550 BCE. Statuette of the Etruscan fertility goddess Veii from the Cannicella *Necropolis* of Orvieto. Now housed in the Palazzo Claudio Faina, a private museum in Orvieto. Source: Larissa Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," in *Women in the Classical World*, eds. Elaine Fantham et al., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 254.

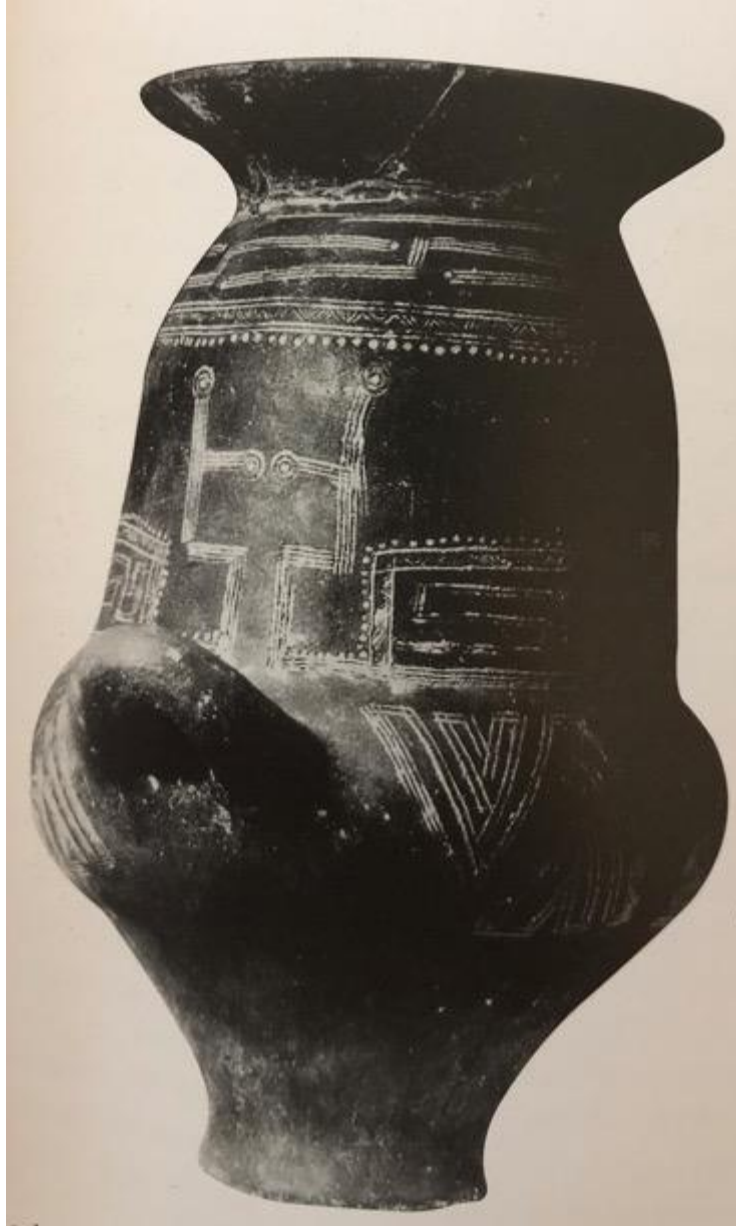


Figure A-6: Example of biconical urns typically used to house the remains in the Villanovan culture. This is the style of the urns of the analyzed Verucchian burials. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 7.



Figure A-7: Example of hut shaped urn used to house the remains of high-ranking citizens in the Villanovan period. These urns could very likely be an example of what Villanovan homes looked like. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 6.



Figure A-8: Example of an anthropomorphized canopic ash urn from Chiusi. Photo taken by the author, October 12, 2019 in the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale* (Chiusi).



Figure A-10: Example of *serpeggiante fibula* which was typically made of bronze and worn by Etruscan men. Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 95.



Figure A-11: Example of a *sanguisuga fibula* which was more ornate and sometimes contained more types of material than the previous design. These examples are used to show the shape of the *sanguisuga fibula*. The *sanguisuga fibula* was typically worn by Etruscan women. Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 126.

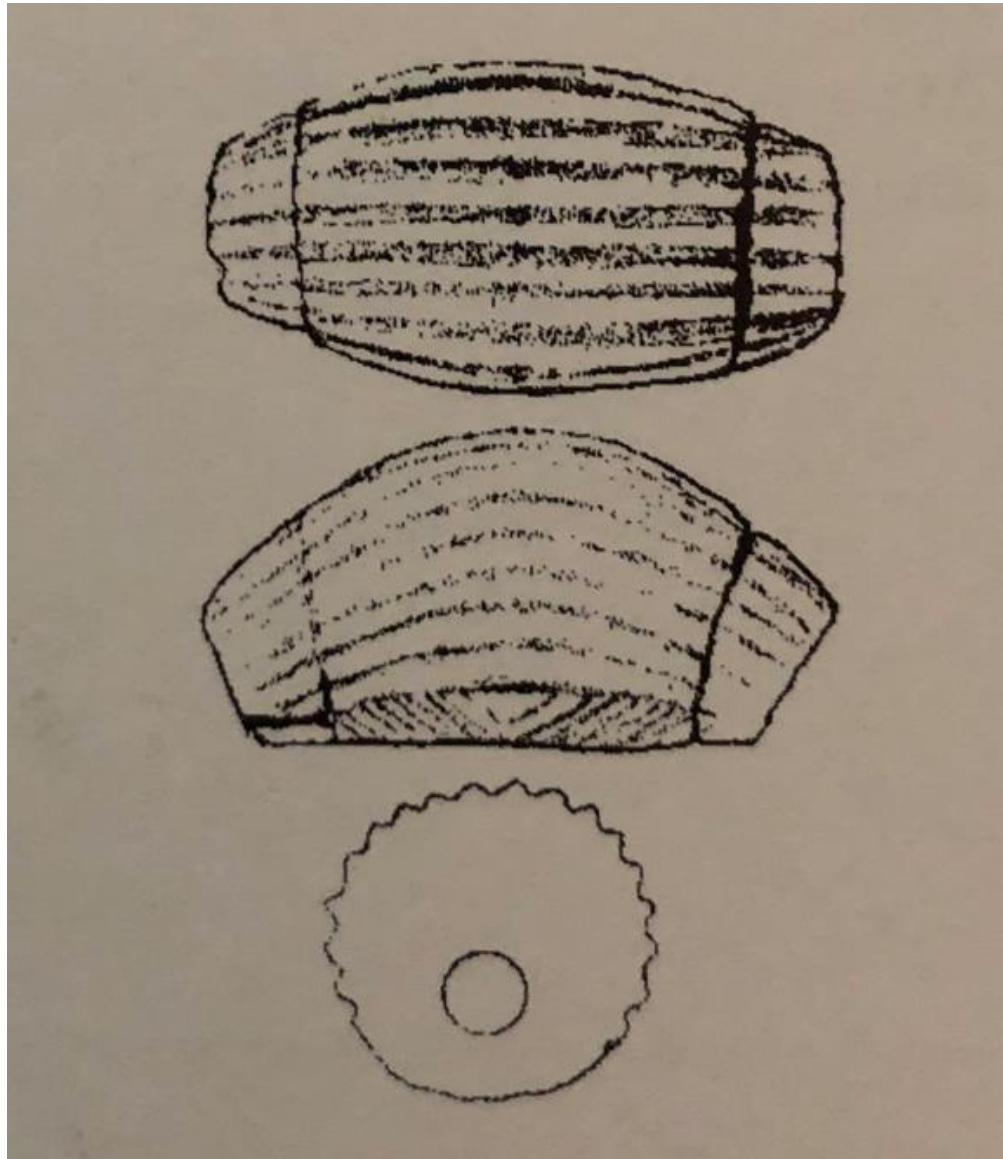


Figure A-12: Example of an amber *nucleo*. The hollow center would have allowed the *nucleo* to be attached to a bronze *fibula* as decoration. Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 121.

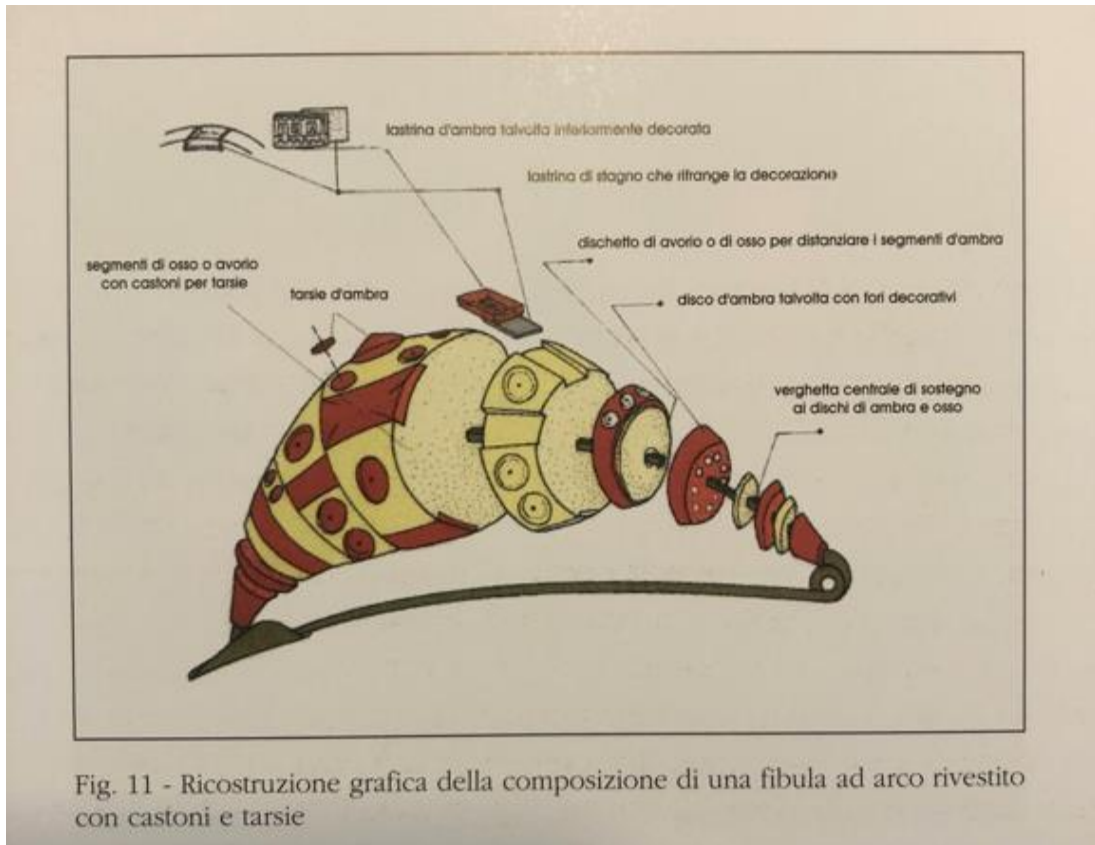


Figure A-13: Reconstruction of the composition of the *fibulae* made of bone, amber, and bronze. Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 121.



Figure A-14: Amber objects found in a female burial from Southern Etruria (Salerno: *sala consilina*, 1957, *tomba 360 zona A* (ca. 8th-7th century BCE). This example shows the cloudy, dark appearance of the amber after it oxidized. Also notice the *sanguisuga fibula* on the shoulder. Salerno Archaeological Museum (photo taken by the author).

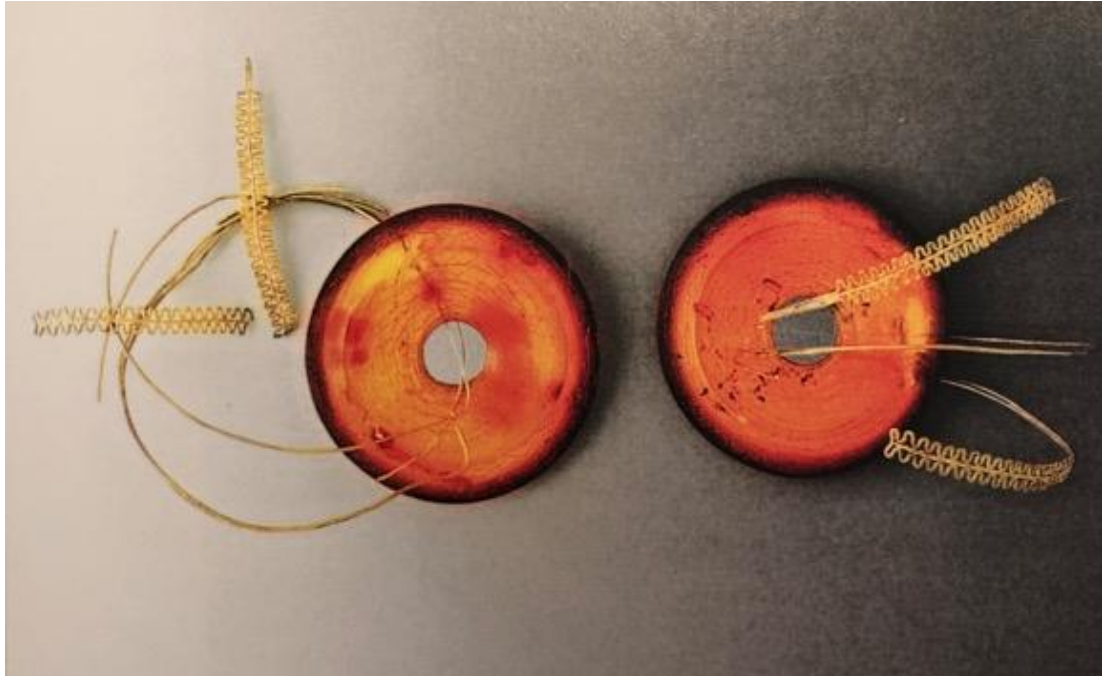


Figure A-15: Earrings from Tomb 23/1969 of the Moroni *necropolis* (Verucchio, first half of 7th century BCE). The unoxidized amber earrings look as if they are glowing, and the array of organic inclusions is prominent in the right earring (see Figure 4 for a close up view of inclusions). Verucchio, Museo Civico Archeologico 8410-850. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 43.

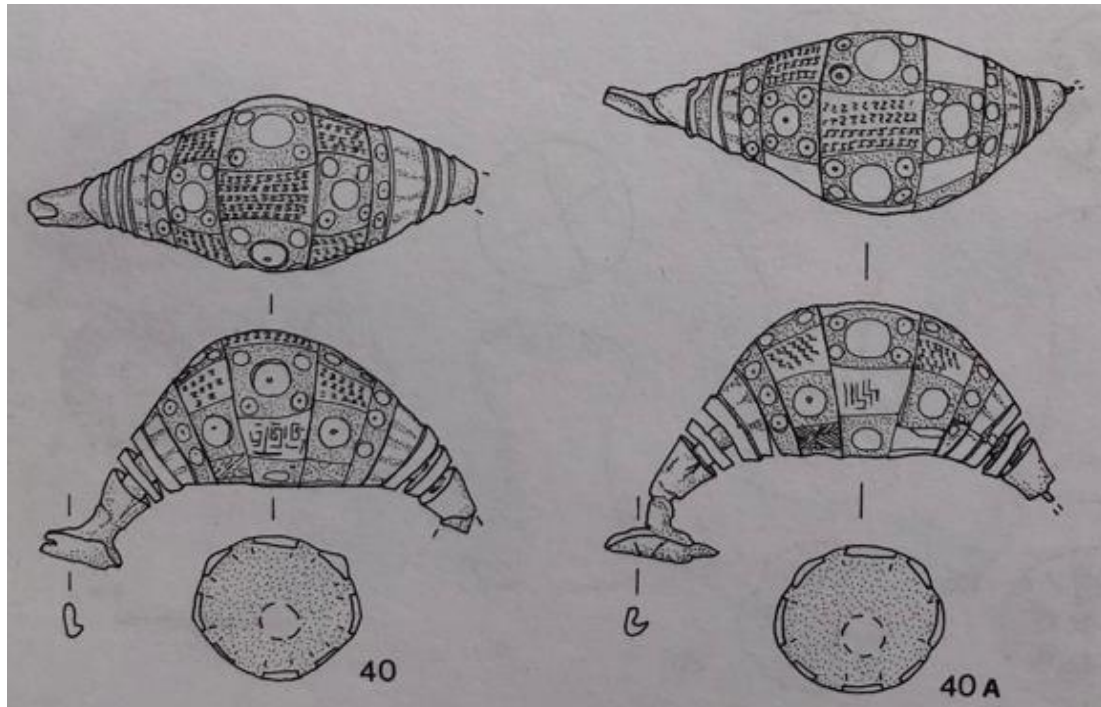


Figure A-17: Drawings of the elaborate *sanguisuga fibulae* from Lippi, Tomb 27 (first half of 7th century BCE). This object is made of bone, amber, and bronze. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 98.



Figure A-18: *Comparanda* for the above *fibulae*, also from Lippi (Tomb 47, first half of 7th century BCE) Museo Civico Archeologico 11675. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 43.

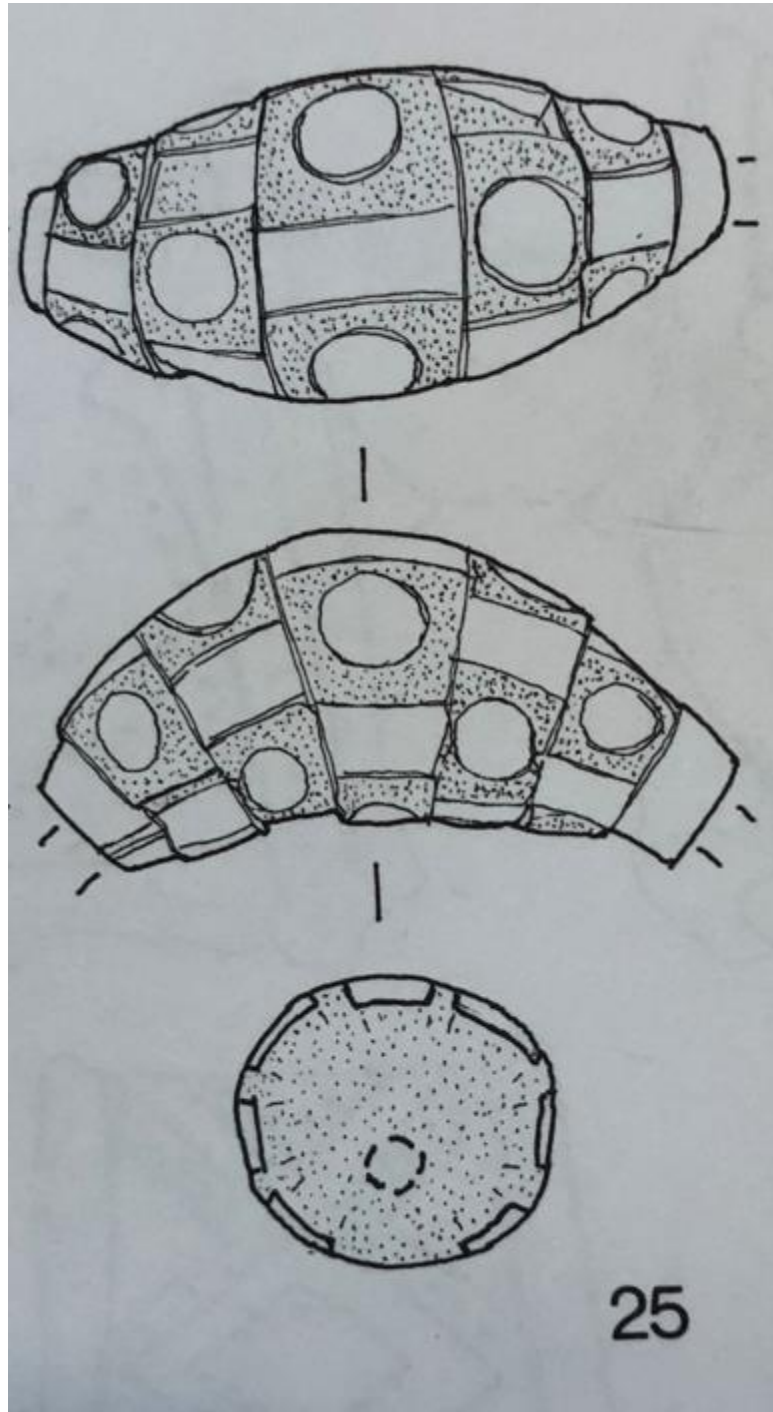


Figure A-19: Drawing of the *sanguisuga* amber, bone, and bronze *fibula* from Lippi Tomb 27 (first half of 7th century BCE). Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 98.



Figure A-20: Image of the *fibula* in Figure A-17. Verucchio, *Museo Civico Archeologico* 11385. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 43.

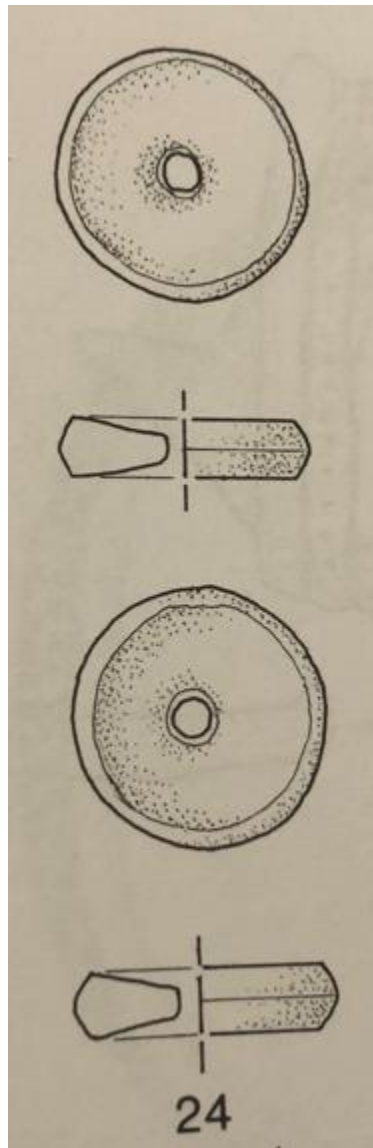


Figure A-21: Simple amber earrings from Tomb 27. These were carved into thin disks, possibly in order to better catch the light of the sun. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 98.

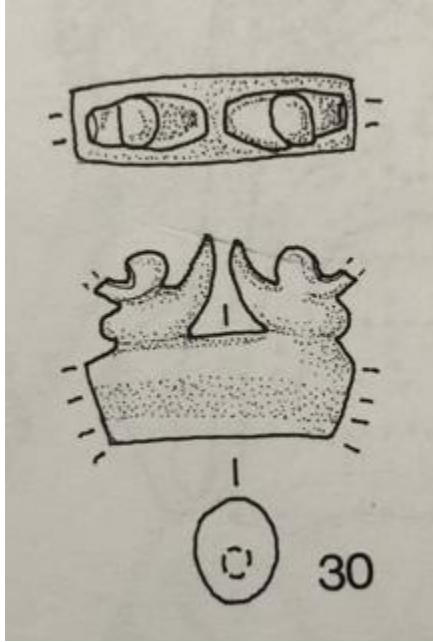


Figure A-22: Drawing of the figured *fibula* cover from Lippi Tomb 27. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 98.



Fig. 10 - Rivestimento di fibula in ambra, con paperelle. Necropoli Lippi, tomba 27/1972

Figure A-23: Color image of the *fibula* cover from Lippi Tomb 27. This *fibula* cover contains noticeable organic inclusions. This would have been difficult to produce, so the organic inclusions were probably desired to be included. Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 111.

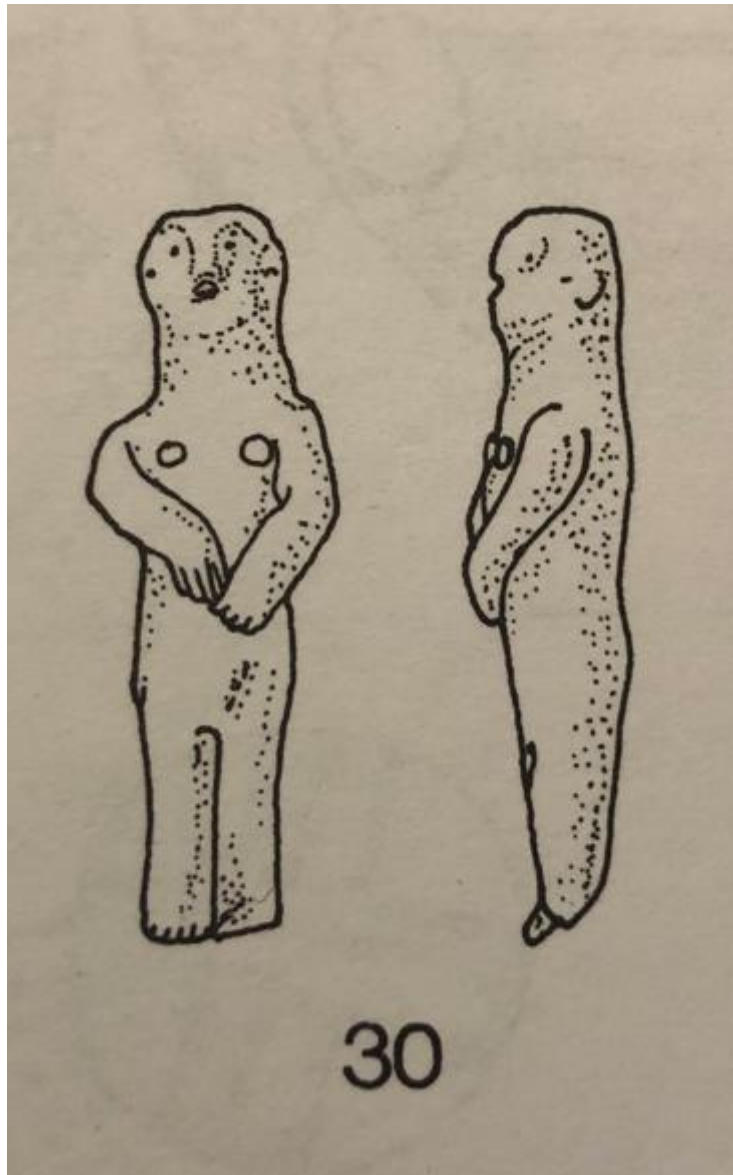


Figure A-25: Drawing of the small nude female figurine found in Le Pegge, Tomb 3 (early Orientalizing period). Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 6.



Figure A-26: Figured pendants of female mourners from *Circolo dei Monili*, Vetulonia.
Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*,
(Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di
Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), tavola 79.



Figure A-27: Statuettes of mourners from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Sorbo Necropolis, Orvieto, ca. 650 BCE. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 79.

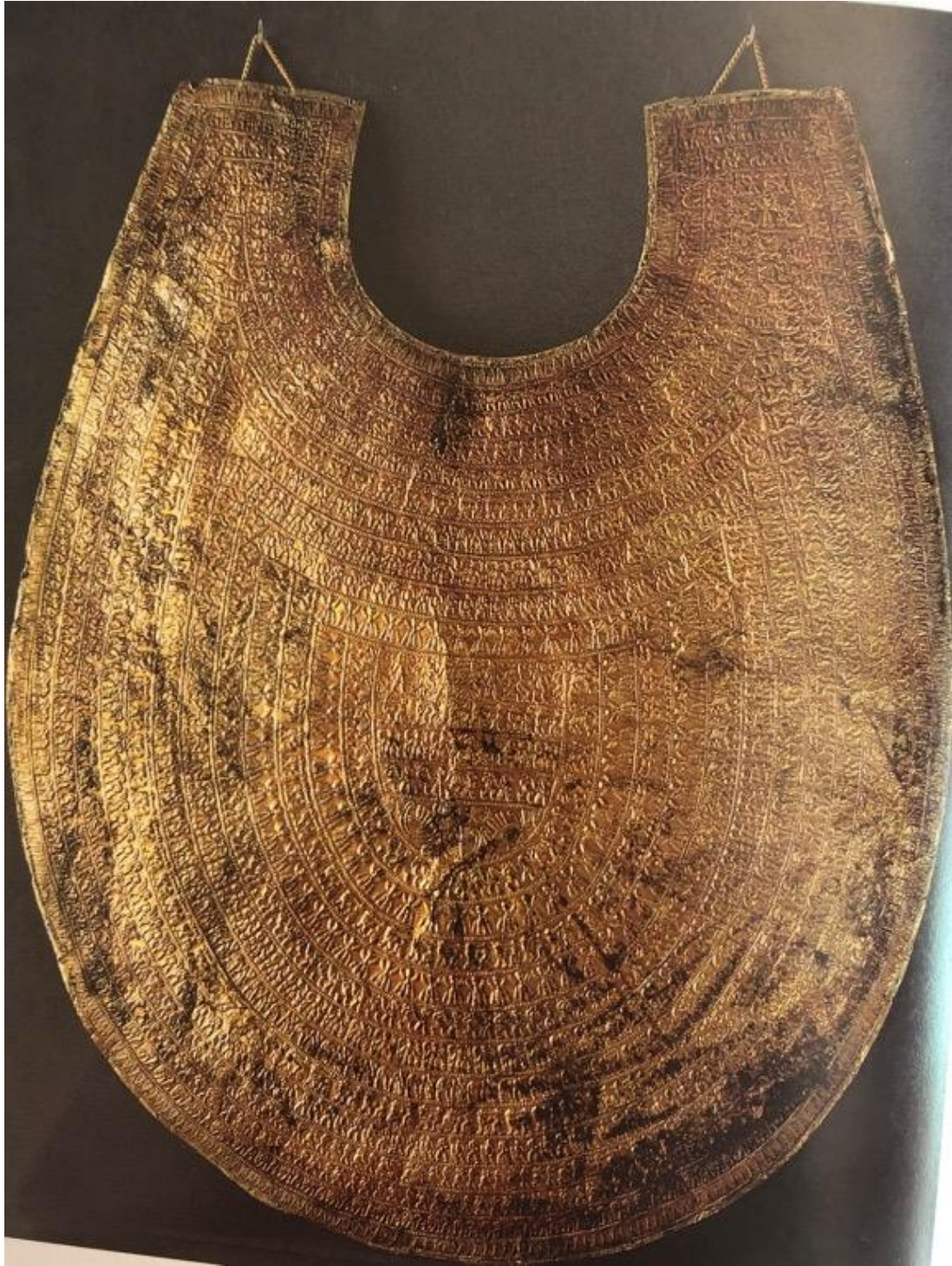


Figure A-28: Gold pectoral ornament from Cerveteri. The Egyptian design exemplifies the Egyptian influence on the Etruscans, especially as the pectoral was used in Egyptian funerary rituals. Source: Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 76.

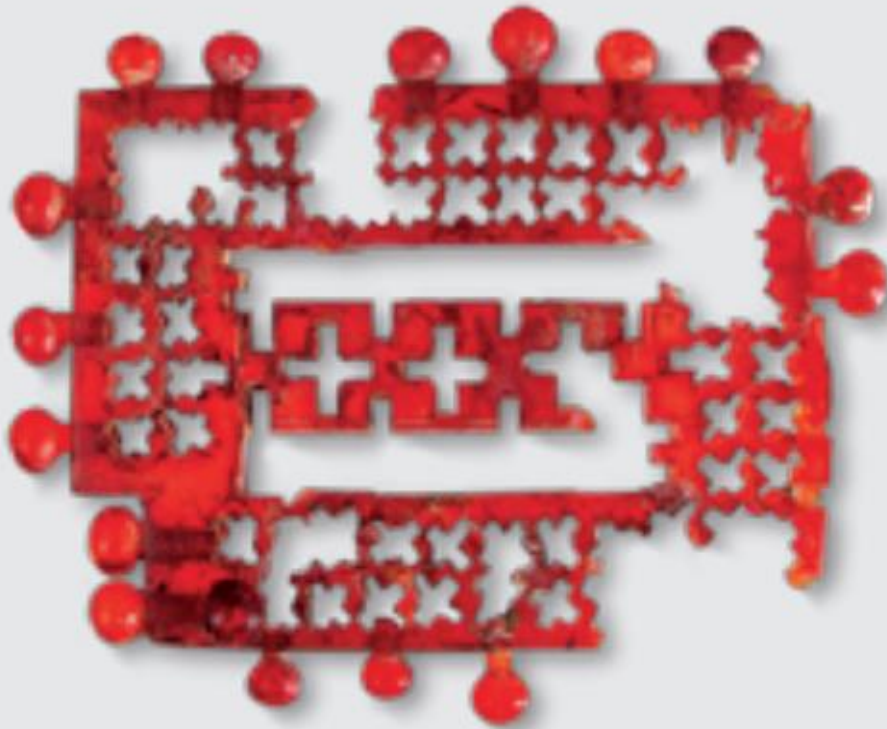


Fig. 7. Amber chest ornament, Tomb Le Pegge 3/1970

Figure A-29: The pectoral from Tomb 3, Le Pegge 1970. Source: Patrizia von Eles, "The Princesses of Verucchio," in *'Princesses' of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History* ed. Nikolas Chr. Stampolidis, (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2012), 237.

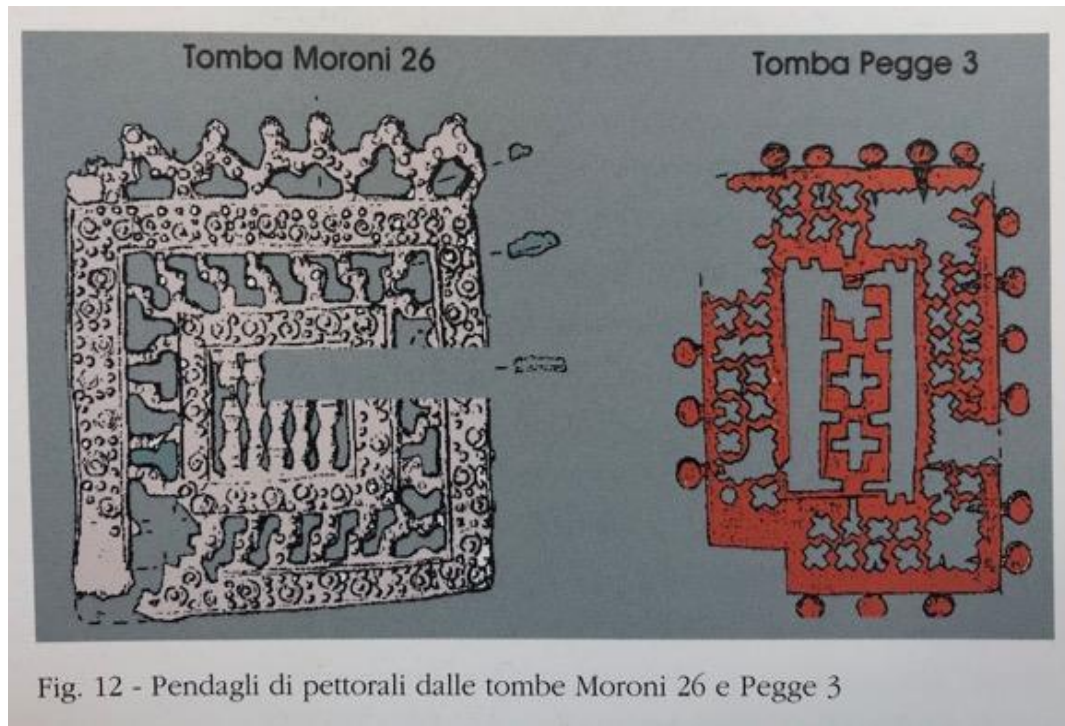


Fig. 12 - Pendagli di pettorali dalle tombe Moroni 26 e Pegge 3

Figure A-30: The pectoral (left) from the Tomb 26 of Moroni, Verucchio. This is one of the only pectoral ornaments that can be used as a *comparandum* for the pectoral found in Tomb 3 of Le Pegge 1970 (right). Source: Edilberto Formigli, *Fibulae: dall'età Del Bronzo Allalto Medioevo: Tecnica e Tipologia*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2003), 112.

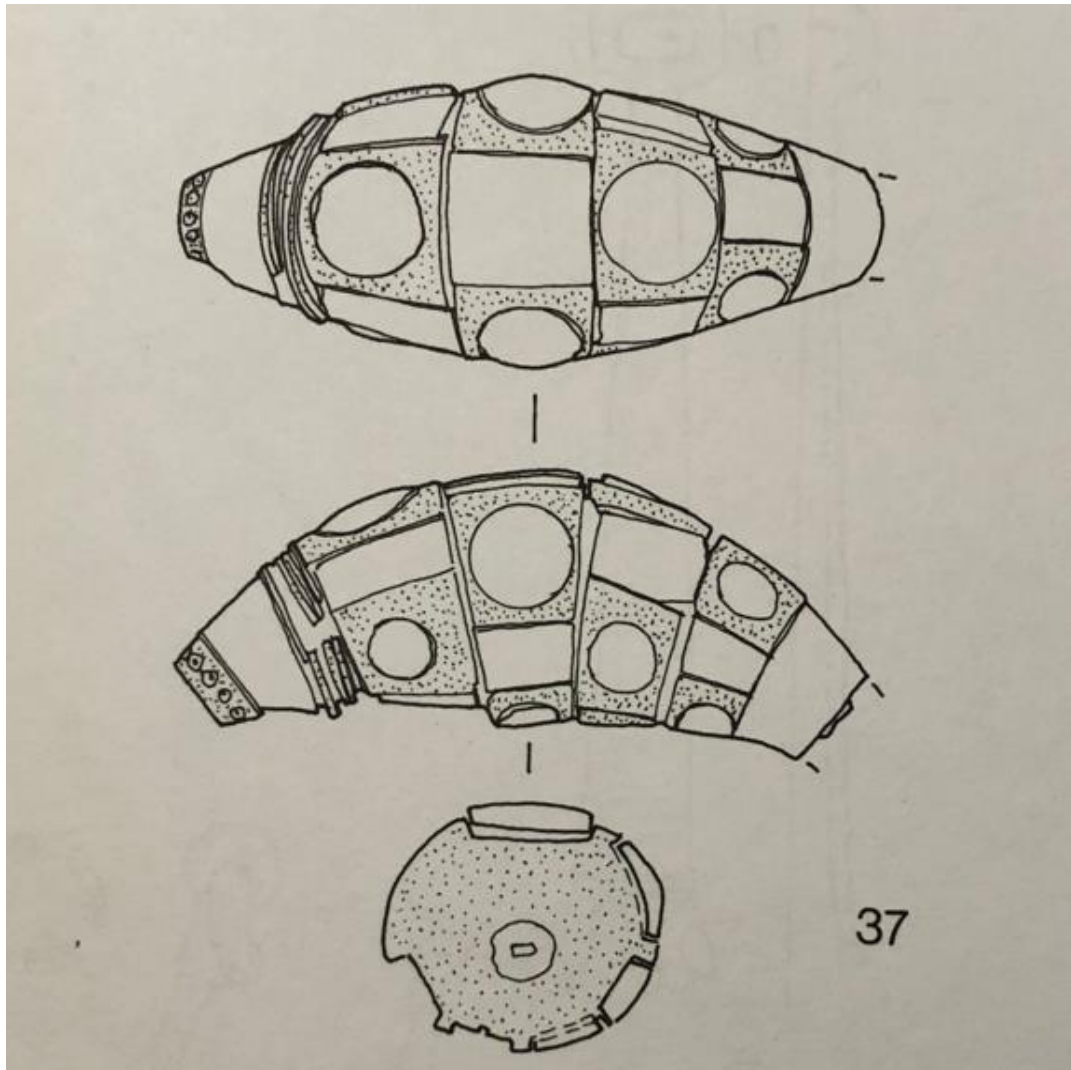


Figure A-31: Drawing of *sanguisuga* fibula from Tomb 3 of Le Pegge. This *fibula* can be compared to the one found in Tomb 27 of Lippi (Figures A-19 and A-20). Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), *tavola* 6.



Figure A-32: Restrung necklace from *Circolo dei Monili*. This necklace includes figured amber pendants depicting the (mourning) female figurines, as well as the amber monkey figurines. Various shaped pendants adorn the rest of the necklace. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), *tavola* 79.



Figure A-33: *Unicum* pendant from *Circolo dei Monili*, Vetulonia. This pendant portrays an image unique to all known objects in Vetulonia. The seated woman has a monkey-like figure either sitting in her lap or exiting her womb. This object may be representing Uni, the nature goddess. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), *tavola* 79.

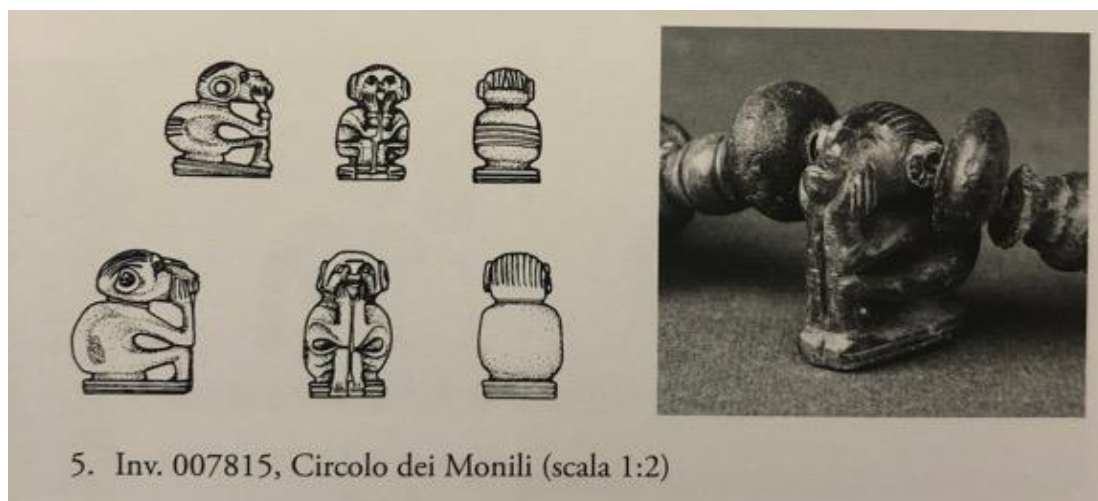


Figure A-34: Monkey pendant from *Circolo dei Monili*. This object is included on the restrung necklace in Figure A-32. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), tavola 79.



Figure A-35: Fish pendant from *Circolo dei Monili*. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), tavola 79.



Figure A-36: Example of a scarab from *Circolo dei Monili*. There aren't any images provided for the grave goods from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895, however, many amber scarabs were found in the tomb. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), *tavola* 83.



Figure A-37: Color image of the underside of the scarab pictured above. Source: Camilla Colombi, *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), *tavola a colori* 18.

APPENDIX — TABLES

Table A-III: Percentage of amber and weaving instruments in grave goods of the Lippi and Le Pegge *necropoleis* (see Datasets A-i-A-iii). Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 206-208.²⁶⁵

	Overall percentage of burials containing weaving goods (i.e. female burials)²⁶⁶	Overall percentage of female burials containing amber	<i>Nuclei</i>	<i>Fibulae</i>	Earrings	Necklaces	Beads
Lippi <i>Necropolis</i> (1970 excavation) 26 burials	50%	85%	29%	16%	26%	8%	15%
Lippi <i>Necropolis</i> (1972 excavation) 163 burials	39%	63%	19%	21%	14%	0%	9%
Le Pegge <i>Necropolis</i> (1970 excavation) 24 burials	46%	91%	41%	11%	11%	8%	21%

²⁶⁵ These percentages have been found by creating spreadsheets of the amber objects in each excavated burial from the Gentili volume.

²⁶⁶ This is the main piece of evidence used to determine whether a burial belongs to a female.

Table A-IV: Number of tableware items in Tomb 27 of the Lippi *necropolis*. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 206-212.²⁶⁷

Item	Number of Item
<i>Situliform</i> vases	5
Cylindrical vase	1
Drinking vessels (<i>cantaroide tazze</i> (stemless cup); <i>coppa</i> (stemless cup with one handle); <i>coppetta cantaroide</i> (stemless cup with one handle))	3; 1
Fruit platters	2
Large bronze cistern handles	2

Table A-V: Number of various items in Tomb 27 of the Lippi *necropolis*.²⁶⁸ Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 206-212.

Item	Number of Item
<i>Rocchetti</i> (spools)	17
Spindle whorls	2
Pendants for amber earrings	2
<i>Fibulae</i> (bronze and amber)	5
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (swollen leech; bronze, amber, bone)	3

²⁶⁷ The vases and drinking vessels seem to have Greek influence, but are not completely identical to their Greek counterparts, suggesting they were made by Etruscan artisans.

²⁶⁸ I have determined that the Italian term *enea* refers to the thickness of objects; I believe it means that the given object is thicker than usual, as the term is used to describe both *fibulae* and pendants. I have searched extensively and cannot find a direct translation. This can be addressed in further research.

<i>Fibulae enee a sanguisuga</i> (bronze; bronze and amber)	2; 1
<i>Enea Fibula</i>	1
Amber <i>nuclei</i> from <i>fibulae</i>	3
Tapered tubes of bone	1
<i>Enea</i> pendants	11
Bone distaff head	1

Table A-VII: Number of tableware items in Tomb 3 of the Le Pegge *necropolis*.
Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 38-44.

Item	Number of Item
Shallow bowls (with no handles or stem; <i>impasto</i>)	5
Fruit platters with stems (<i>bucchero</i> ; <i>impasto bruno</i> (dark <i>impasto</i>))	1; 1
<i>Ollettina</i> (round vase; <i>impasto</i>)	1
Small ladle (<i>impasto bruno</i>)	1
Vases	2
Drinking vessels (biconical basin (<i>impasto bruno</i> cup); <i>tazzine cantaroide</i> (<i>impasto</i> ; two handles and no stems))	1; 4

Table A-VIII: Number of other items in Tomb 3 of the Lippi *necropolis*. Source: Gino Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 38-44.

Item	Number of Item
<i>Rocchetti</i> (spools)	43
Spindle whorls (clay)	10
Female figurine (clay)	1
<i>Enea fibula</i> with amber	1
Amber disks	3 pairs
<i>Nuclei</i> of amber	9
Bone bead covered in amber	1
Bronze <i>sanguisuga fibula</i> with segments of bone and amber	1
Bronze <i>sanguisuga fibula</i> with amber	1
Small amber buttons (<i>bottoncini</i>)	170
Glass and amber beads	"numerous"
Segmented amber and bronze rod (perhaps a distaff)	1
Molded rod of amber (perhaps a distaff)	1
Small bronze rod with amber globes (perhaps a distaff)	1
Blue glass bead from fibula	1
Amber beads	27
Yellow glass beads	12
Bone distaff head	1

Bone distaff head with amber settings	1
Bone disk (perhaps distaff head)	1
Segments of bone with amber settings	37
Bronze pins (<i>spilloni</i> ; likely hair pins)	2
Bone rod (distaff?)	1
Ambiguous pieces of amber (<i>vaghi d'ambra</i>)	2
Segments of amber	4
Bronze pendants	6
Group of equine bits	4
Small bronze fibula	1
Bronze leech fibula	1
Diamond shaped belt (<i>lamina enea</i>)	1
Pectoral ornament of amber	1

Table A-XI: Types of artifacts containing amber in a small selection of Vetulonian tombs. Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 2—Tipi," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 125-137.

Tomb	<i>fibula</i>	rings	"Vaghi" or necklaces	appliques	pendants	figurines	spindle
<i>Circolo del Monile d'Argento</i>	X						X
<i>Circolo dei Monili</i>	X		X	X	X	X	
<i>Secondo Circolo delle Pellicce fossa</i>	X		X				
<i>Circolo del 1896</i>	X						
<i>Circolo del Tridente</i>		X	X		X		
<i>Tomba delle tre Navicelle</i>			X				
<i>Circolo di Bes</i>			X			X	
<i>Tomba del Cono</i>				X	X		
<i>Tomba a Circolo 1895</i>		X	X		X	X	

Table A-XIII: Tableware from *Circolo dei Monili*. Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 49-54.

Item	Number of Item
Ladle	1
bowls	4
Bottom of jar (<i>ollo</i>)	1
Pottery handle	1
Bronze handle	2
Ring base	1
Fragments of walls of vase	10
cups	4
Fused tank	1
Stem or knob from the foot of a vase	1
Fragment of bronze biconical elements	1
Globular vase	1
<i>Situla</i> (bronze)	1

Table A-XIV: Grave goods from *Circolo dei Monili* (total number of objects: 205).²⁶⁹ Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 49-54.

Item	Number of Item
Cone-shaped tool	1
<i>Vaghi di ambra</i> (amber beads of various shape)	ca. 300
Ribbed amber and silver (?) bead	1

²⁶⁹ This number was calculated by treating all groups of fragments as one item, and also treating objects labeled as "numerous" and "circa" (ca.) as one item per grouping.

<i>Rocchetti</i> (spools)	19
<i>Rocchetti</i> fragments	13
Spiraled spindles	7 fragments
Hairpin	1
Amber pendants	44
Fragments of amber pendants	24
Figured amber pendants	16
Fragments of figured amber pendants	7
Silver pendants	4
Rings (bronze; iron; silver)	1; 4; 5
Fragments of <i>sanguisuga fibulae</i> (leech <i>fibulae</i>) (bronze)	6
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (leech <i>fibulae</i>) (bronze; iron)	5; 2
Hollow <i>sanguisuga fibulae</i> (silver)	2
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (leech <i>fibulae</i>) (gold)	3
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (leech <i>fibulae</i>) (gold and silver)	3
<i>Sanguisuga fibula</i> (leech <i>fibula</i>) (silver or bronze)	1
Fragments of lozenge <i>fibulae</i>	2
Lozenge <i>fibulae</i>	2
Fragments of <i>navicella fibula</i>	2
<i>Fibulae</i> with lowered arch (bronze)	10
Needle and spiral of <i>fibula</i>	1
Arch and spiral of <i>fibula</i>	1

Fragments of iron <i>fibulae</i>	12
Fragments of bronze <i>fibulae</i>	5
Coated arch of <i>fibulae</i> (bronze and amber)	4
<i>fibulae</i> (gold and silver)	4
Fragments of arched <i>fibulae</i> (bronze)	5
Staff/needles of <i>fibulae</i> (gold and silver)	3
Fragments of needle, spiral, and rings (from <i>fibula</i> ?)	8
Belt buckle	1
Bronze carriage equipment (horse bits, buckles for horse harness)	5
Chain	1
Chain links	ca. 65
Fragments of chain links	41
Fragments of rings and rods	ca. 26
Fragments of horse bits	5
Fragments of bands with studs	3
Remains of an intact object (amber, bronze, wood)	"fragments"
Bracelets	4 fragments
Spindles	1
Discoid elements of amber	4
Rectangular element of amber	1
Crowns of teeth	5
Scarabs	3

Gold necklaces	4
Golden <i>Borchietta</i> (?)	1
Fragments of silver leaf	2
Fragments of gold leaf	Ca. 10
Burnt piece of amber	1
Unidentified fragments (ceramics, wood, metals, terracotta)	ca. 60

Table A-XVI: Tableware from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895. Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 191-195.

Item	Number of Item
Fragments of handles	2

Table A-XVII: Grave goods from *Tomba a Circolo* 1895 (135 objects).²⁷⁰ Source: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 191-195.

Item	Number of Item
<i>Armille</i> (bracelets) (bronze, stone)	2; 1
Fragments of <i>Armille</i> (bracelets) (bronze; stone)	11; 15
Bronze belt buckles	3
<i>Sanguisuga fibulae</i> (leech <i>fibulae</i>) (bronze)	21
Arched <i>fibulae</i> (bronze)	3
Rings (bronze, iron, amber)	2; 1; 2
Ring (silver and amber)	1
Fragments of amber rings	2

²⁷⁰ This number was calculated by treating all groups of fragments as one item, and also treating objects labeled as "numerous" and "circa" (ca.) as one item per grouping.

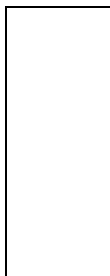
Pendants (bronze; amber)	1; 20
Figured amber pendants (monkeys; fish; "ankle boot")	2; 1; 1
Spiraled spindles	14 fragments
Spindle-shaped beads	2
Spindle whorls	6
<i>Rocchetti</i>	11
Fragments of <i>aryballos</i>	"fragments"
Amber <i>Rivestimenti</i> "Coatings" of <i>fibulae</i>	5
Amber beads (<i>vaghi</i>)	ca. 700
Fragments of Amber beads (<i>vaghi</i>)	61
Fragments of amber pendants	2
Losange <i>fibula</i>	1
Silver "Fibula a mignatta"	1
Amber scarabs	15
Faience scarabs	5
Rectangular amber grommet bead	1
Discs of amber "coatings" (<i>rivestimenti</i>)	7
Fragments of discs of amber "coatings" (<i>rivestimenti</i>)	3
Fragments of amber rectangular elements	7
Glass beads	21
Fragments of glass beads	44
Casted glass and stone (?) bead	1
Fragments of glass beads	5

Flint arrowhead fragment	1
Crowns of teeth	ca. 5
Group of unidentified objects (were disorganized in the flood of Florence in 1966) bronze, amber, iron, bone, <i>bucchero</i> , pottery	n/a
Shapeless fragments of wood	1 box
Scarab earrings made of soapstone (steatite) and silver	2

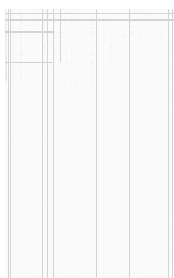
Table A-XVIII: Types of objects found in the burials analyzed (Vetulonia: *Circolo dei Monili* and *Tomba a Circolo* 1895; Verucchio: Tomb 26 and Tomb 3). Sources: Camilla Colombi, "Catalogo 1—Tombe," in *La necropoli di Vetulonia nel periodo orientalizzante*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 49-54, 191-195; Vinicio Gentili, *Verucchio Villanoviana: il sepolcreto in località Le Pegge e la necropoli al piede della Rocca Malatestiana*, ed. Giorgio Bretschneider, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2003), 38-44, 206-212.

Burial	Fibulae containing amber	<i>Vaghi</i>	Pendants	Pectoral	Scarabs	Figured pendants	Rings	Butt ons	Weaving goods
<i>Circolo dei Monili</i> (Vetulonia)	X	X	X			X			X
<i>Tomba a Circolo</i> 1895 (Vetulonia)	X	X	X		X	X	X		X
Tomb 26 (Lippi 1972, Verucchio)	X	X	X					X	X
Tomb 3 (Le Pegge 1970, Verucchio)	X	X	X	X				X	X

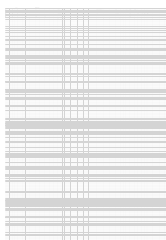
APPENDIX — DATASETS



Dataset A-i: Amber objects from the burials in the Lippi *necropolis* excavated in 1970. Microsoft excel sheet linked.



Dataset A-ii: Amber objects from the burials in the Lippi *necropolis* excavated in 1972. Microsoft excel sheet linked.



Dataset A-iii: Amber objects from the burials in the Le Pegge *necropolis* excavated in 1970. Microsoft excel sheet linked.