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Etrusco-Italic Monumental Architectural Space from the Iron Age to the Archaic Period: An Examination of Approach and Access

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by

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This dissertation is a study of the patterns of approach and access in the Etrusco-Italic world utilizing the archaeological evidence of the first monumental structures in Italy. A great deal of attention has been devoted in previous studies of early Etruscan and Latial architecture to the nature of a structure's plan and the categorization of function for different building types. This has led to a greater knowledge of the diversity and development of Etrusco-Italic building technologies and architectural planning. My work

expands upon the progress already made in these prior studies by employing a new method of evaluation that deepens our understanding of how Etrusco-Italic buildings were meant to be approached, viewed from afar, entered and moved through. Using the archaeological remains of settlements in the Etrusco-Italic world as a guide, I recreate the ancient approach routes via land and water, the visual effect of entryways and the mechanics of movement inside structures and building complexes. I begin my survey of these processes with the origins of hut settlements in the Iron age and continue through the Archaic period with two case-studies of monumental architectural complexes at the Etruscan sites of Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa. The resulting patterns are indicative of an Italic spatial awareness suitable for a variety of functions from the public, private and sacred spheres. A final look at similar approach and access patterns in the monumental spaces of early Rome illustrates the transmission of this architectural tradition into the Roman world.

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Introduction

Why Approach and Access are Important in Italic Architecture

This is a study of how ancient people approached and moved through the first monumental architectural structures on the Italian peninsula. While there is evidence for some building during the Bronze Age in Italy, it was at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age that the first community settlements were formed. Landscape and topographical position were important in the development of these communities as can be seen by the attention that was given to the placement of the earliest structures in locations advantageous for visibility and physical approach from nearby land or water routes. As more and more buildings were constructed at sites in Italy, more attention was given to the articulation of boundaries and the marking off of space, either within a larger community, between exterior and interior spaces or as a subdivision of interior space. This process, which took place largely between the Iron Age and the Archaic period, was foundational for the Italic notion of creating and dividing architectural space.

Recently in archaeological and anthropological scholarship a focus has been placed on space and its importance as a reflection of the social behavior and actions of ancient societies. Architectural spaces are being used as evidence of gender relations, class distinctions and economic and political practices. An important result of this research has been the conclusion that not all societies view space in the same way and that spatial practice can be as socially diverse as funerary, artistic or other social behaviors. My study does not attempt to use space as an indicator of the social practices of any Italic culture, but rather I use space as a tool for evaluating a tradition of spatial

practice in Italy and its eventual continuity throughout the Roman and later historical periods. I have chosen therefore to focus on the primary ways spatial practice manifests itself in architecture; namely patterns of approach and access.

Approach and access can tell us a lot about a building. Movement toward and through a building is the means by which a visitor understands that structure. Without this process of discovery the building has no meaning and thus the visitor cannot determine its function. Discovery on the part of the visitor combined with impact on the part of the building creates functional knowledge. Thus, for the archaeologist looking at silent architectural remains, these two elements must be reconstructed for a full understanding of ancient buildings to take place.

Throughout the architectural history of Italy there are countless buildings that generate impact on the visitor by the means of approach. Today the visitor to Rome is able to view the Basilica San Pietro from a distance down the column-lined street of Via della Concilazione, however when the Piazza San Pietro was first designed it was embedded within the densely-packed quarter of the Borgo and the visitor meandered through a maze of streets before emerging in the open arms of the surrounding colonnade. The effect was one of surprise and the impact of the massive sacred structure at the center of the visitor's view would have only increased anticipation of entry and further discovery of the building beyond. A similar pattern can be seen in ancient Rome upon arrival to the enclosed precinct adjoining the Pantheon or in Medieval Florence when finally entering the Piazza della Signoria. This effect is not limited to the space of the piazza, but also can be seen in the use of the courtyard in the Renaissance or Baroque

palazzo. Consider the visitor to the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, who walked through a narrow entryway separating the space of the palace from the forecourt of the piazza outside, and confronted an open courtyard lined with columns. The whole area was richly adorned and offered the visitor potential for further movement on all four sides. Visual cues of art and accessible areas such as staircases or hallways allowed the visitor to decide and proceed. This entire process has its origins in the ancient Roman atrium house, where enclosed atria and open garden peristyles met visitors and moderated their progress through the public and private parts of the house. These are merely a few examples of the demonstration and continuation of the processes of approach and access in Italy. Many others could be cited and many more exist throughout Italy and the corpus of western architecture today. My study returns to the beginnings of architecture in Italy to establish how these patterns developed. By doing so, the earliest monumental architectural structures in Italy are better understood as the ancestors of all Italic spatial practice—public, private and sacred.

I have chosen not to begin this study with Roman architecture. While it is certain that Roman building types and methods have shaped the architecture that has followed, Roman architecture is itself the product of many outside influences. As a member of and eventual ruler of the ancient Mediterranean, Rome was an amalgamation of cultural and artistic elements, including Greek, Egyptian, Near-Eastern and Central European. All of these cultures have their place as contributors to Roman artistic and architectural traditions, however I have elected to study the original and most accessible contributor to Roman traditions, the native cultures that inhabited the Italian peninsula prior to the

flourishing of Rome. Due to landscape, topography and environment, a concept of space is naturally a product of native ideas and practices. Other cultures may eventually add refinements and adaptations, but only once a conceptual framework has been established. Thus, I have turned my attention to those cultures that immediately preceded the Romans; principally the Etruscans and Latins of central Italy. These peoples were certainly not alone, and I acknowledge their cultural debt to Greek, Near-Eastern and Punic influences, in addition to other regional groups of ancient Italic peoples, such as the Picenes, Faliscans and Umbrians. Prior to the Romans it is impossible to isolate one dominant culture on the Italian peninsula, however the Etruscans and the people of Latium maintained a relatively unified, although at times fractious, sphere of influence. For this reason I use the term Etrusco-Italic inclusively to describe the cultural parameters of this study, indicating a strong element of Etruscan culture tempered by the traditions of other nearby native peoples from the northern limits of Campania to the upper reaches of Etruria during the time span under consideration. I use the term as representative of one body made up of various native Italian groups with similar, but not identical, cultural practices. Etrusco-Italic is not synomous with Etruscan, although the Etruscans are major contributors to Etrusco-Italic tradition.

Chapter I

Methods for Interpreting Space, Approach and Access

Previous studies of Etrusco-Italic architecture have devoted much attention to the categorization of function based on different building types and plans.[1] These studies have increased awareness of the diversity and development of Etrusco-Italic building technologies. In addition numerous remains of non-funerary architecture have been excavated at Etrusco-Italic sites in central Italy to the north and south of Rome, which testify to a vast architectural knowledge and theoretical system that went beyond simple constructional expertise. These ancient cultures viewed buildings as more than mere two-dimensional plans. It is precisely this notion of the built structure as a product of its environment and the importance of its arrangement for approach and access that is the subject of this study of Etrusco-Italic architecture.

Recently archaeologists and anthropologists have begun to delve into the larger question of how ancient structures were intended to be experienced and how ancient architectural remains can serve as indicators of culture and identity. Several of these methods have been incorporated into my own methodology for evaluating space, approach and access. The history of the study of space begins with the theoretical principles of spatial archaeology, which attempt to understand the articulation of cultural and societal values through built space.[2] Many of spatial theories have been developed by

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[1] A. Böethius (1978), *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture.* New Haven: Yale University Press. G. Colonna (1986), "Urbanistica e Architettura," in M. Pallottino, ed., *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*. Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 371-530. M. Torelli, ed., (2000). *Etruscans.* Milan: Bompiani.

[2] For a summary see M. P. Pearson and C. Richards (1994), "Ordering the World: Perceptions of Architecture, Space and Time," in M. P. Pearson and C. Richards, eds, *Architecture and Order.*

anthropologists and incorporate geography, semantics and cosmology. Related to these anthropology-based studies is an approach that merges the raw data of archaeological material with spatial syntax theory, a method for analyzing the modular components of buildings as indicative of particular functions or societal principles of arrangement.[3] The specific application of such theories to ancient architecture has occurred most frequently with regard to domestic space, most notably at sites with a wealth of architectural remains such as Pompeii.[4] At the same time art historians have approached the same body of evidence with the same goal: to understand the social context of buildings within the environment of ancient Roman society.[5] Their studies have relied on textual, architectural and decorative evidence as a means for recreating the experience of the ancient viewer in the domestic setting. In addition there is the traditional approach of classical archaeology, which privileges the evidence of the archaeological record itself. Some scholars have argued for interpretation of ancient spaces on the basis of material finds alone, while others contend that archaeological data is best used in conjunction with literary and other sources for optimal understanding.[6]

Approaches to Social Space, London: Routledge, and S. Kent, ed. (1990), *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[3] M. Grahame (1997), "Public and Private in the Roman house: the spatial order of the Casa del Fauno," in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (*JRA* Supplement 22), Portsmouth, 137-164.

[4] R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. (1997) *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (*JRA* Supplement 22), Portsmouth and R. Laurence (1994), *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, London: Routledge.

[5] J. R. Clarke (1991), *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.- A.D. 250: Ritual, Space and Decoration*, Berkeley: University of California Press and A. Wallace-Hadrill (1994), *Houses and Society at Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, B. Bergmann (1994), "The Roman House as Memory Theater: the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii," *Art Bulletin* 76, 225-256.

[6] For a perspective on the changing role of classical archaeology see S. L. Dyson (1991), "From New to New Age Archaeology: Archaeological Theory and Classical Archaeology—A 1990s Perspective," *AJA* 97, 195-206. For the importance of artifact analysis and the archaeological record in the interpretation of

A large body of scholarship on the importance of space and spatial arrangement is now available to the archaeologist attempting to reconstruct ancient architectural principles. Some methodologies are more applicable to ancient architecture and archaeological remains than others. In this chapter I will explore the theories and previous scholarship that are most relevant to my study of Etrusco-Italic architecture and set forth a new means of evaluating the architectural attention to approach and access from the Iron Age to the Archaic period. No single previous method is appropriate to Etrusco-Italic architectural remains, as certain limitations in the nature of the evidence affect each specific application. In some cases there is a lack of literary testimony; in other cases, a lack of substantial wall foundations or evidence for thresholds. The architectural experience of Etrusco-Italic buildings has thus remained elusive. The methodology utilized in this study goes beyond previous work by uniting theoretical notions of space with the Etrusco-Italic archaeological record. By combining methodologies employed by architects, art historians, structural anthropologists and archaeologists, I have developed a new means of evaluation that incorporates the individual strengths of other approaches to ancient spaces. Complementing traditional studies of Etrusco-Italic architectural typology, this study allows for a deepening of our understanding of the ancient architectural experience by elucidating how the first monumental structures in Italy were meant to be approached, entered and moved through.

I.1 A history of spatial analysis in archaeology

ancient space see P. Allison, ed. (1999), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* London: Routledge. For a discussion of literary sources and their relevance to the archaeological record, see L. C. Nevett (1997), "Perceptions of Domestic Space in Roman Italy," in *The Roman Family in Italy*, B. Rawson and P. Weaver, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 281-299, and L. C. Nevett (1999), *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4-52.

In recent scholarship the term "spatial analysis" in archaeology has two connotations: 1) the study of spatial patterning and distribution as it relates to archaeological data, including artifacts and settlement groups,[7] and 2) the study of architecture and the use of space within buildings.[8] The second is essentially derivative of the first. The idea of studying space and distribution belongs to geography. Its application to archaeological data is relatively recent, largely originating from David Clarke's work, *Spatial Archaeology* (1977). This work represents a period in the science of archaeology where theoretical concepts of urban space and population distribution were being applied to specific bodies of archaeological data. Clarke employed theory outside traditional archaeology to organize archaeological data for study beyond the more traditional means of typology and stylistic appreciation. The result of Clarke's work was a greater awareness of the urban landscape's utilization of space and the importance of spatial arrangement and patterning in the formation of cities. At nearly the same time H. Lefebvre developed a theory of social space in *La production d'espace* (1974), where he divided the physical notion of space and its function in society into three parts: spatial practice, or the organization of space; representations of space, or the signs and codes of a society's space; and representational spaces, or the symbolism encoded in space.[9] The major conceptual contribution of Lefebvre was the separation of the notion of spatial practice and spatial representation, or how space is used distinguished from how space is

[7] I.Hodder and C. Orton (1976), *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[8] For example, Kent (1990).
[9] R. Laurence (1997), "Space and Text," in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (*JRA* Supplement 22), Portsmouth, 9.

viewed by others.[10] This general distinction still separates the traditional archaeological and art historical approaches to space.

Anthropologists and archaeologists have applied these theories to different bodies of data from both the new and old world, thus generating further refinements on the original work or Clarke and Lefebvre.[11] For example, as the notion of space has been examined, spatial archaeology has become more focused on individual locations or settlements, while larger regional work has been subsumed under the title "landscape archaeology." Landscape archaeology, which also originated from geography, attempts to understand the relationship between human beings and their environment and includes study of population levels, resource management and environmental constraints.[12] The influence of spatial theory is evident among this discipline, as emphasis is placed on the landscape as a locus for social activity. Christopher Tilley has added a phenomenological aspect to landscape archaeology with his assertion that "the landscape is both a medium for and an outcome of action and previous histories of action" and his interpretative model of considering landscape as a narrative that must be read as a text of past experiences.[13] Tilley's work is representative of many of the attempts to apply spatial theory to archaeology in that his research data is taken from prehistoric societies. The application of such a theoretical construct to a prehistoric body of evidence has some advantages. As space is considered to be a neutral dimension in which all activity shall

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[10] Laurence (1997), 9.
[11] Kent (1990) and M. P. Pearson and C. Richards, eds. (1994).
[12] C. Tilley (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments* Oxford: Berg, 22-23. See also J. F. Cherry (2002), "Vox POPULI: Landscape Archaeology in Mediterranean Europe," *JRA* 15, 561-573.
[13] Tilley (1994), 7-34.

take place, it provides a medium for comparative analysis and allows a means of quantifying human action with consistency across cultures. In the absence of literary and historical testimony this proves to be a powerful methodology. The disadvantages of such an empirical approach naturally arise from the lack of attention to specific elements of human variation in studies that purport to be about human behavior.[14] A phenomenological approach, which takes into account the specific landscape and architectural experience of each site under consideration, is one means of compensating for this deficiency. Without close attention to the archaeological data this method produces mere conjecture. In addition, the sterility of the empirical model does not always interact well when applied to substantial remains from cultures with textual and historical documents such as ancient Greece and Rome.

I.2 The application of spatial archaeology to classical archaeology

The notion of space as a locus for social activity, as well as the concept of the monumentalization of space as a product of a social and cultural impetus has had a dramatic impact on the study of Greek and Roman archaeology. As has been the trend within spatial archaeology itself, in classical archaeology the field has been subdivided between landscape archaeology and localized spatial analyses of the architectural structures of everyday life. Among classical archaeologists the richest forum for the application of such methodology has been among domestic structures, particularly in the town of Pompeii. In fact based on recent scholarship, it might be assumed that to a classical archaeologist spatial analysis is a methodology that is reserved only for

[14] Tilley (1994), 10-11.

household space. This assessment would be incorrect. While the complex system of interior room division in houses has proved to be ideal for studying the importance of spatial arrangement in ancient buildings, one must remember that these structures were not the only architectural creations of antiquity. To examine only domestic structures as typical of ancient conceptions of space skews our view of the ancient importance of spatial division within public or sacred structures. The proliferation of spatial analyses of domestic structures produces the false assumption that any spatially complex ancient structure of unknown function must be a residence. The dangers of such presuppositions, particularly among the archaeological remains of cultures without textual documentation such as the Etrusco-Italic people, will be explored at greater length below.

Certainly a residence was an important and multifaceted structure in ancient society. In fact the complexity of the house, especially in terms of cultural divisions between public and private spheres or other divisions based on gender or social class, is both compelling and instructive. Unlike other ancient buildings such as temples, basilicas, theaters and baths, the house seems to be the only structure which easily allowed for the combination of different spheres of activity: public, private and sacred. Recent studies have elucidated many social aspects of Greek houses,[15] and for Italic examples one need not look further than Vitruvius' discussion of the importance of public areas within private homes (6.5.1)[16] for confirmation of the blending of function

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[15] Nevett (1999) and N. Cahill (2002), *Household and City Organization at Olynthus,* New Haven: Yale University Press offer important insights on the divisions within Greek households, particularly relating to gender, economics and social ritual. Both studies rely heavily on artifactual evidence in conjunction with the archaeological remains and literary references.

[16] *Nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem*

within Roman houses. The fusion of societal antitheses, such as public and private, male and female, and their articulation within the ancient house underscores the importance of the division of space in these structures. However, the question of whether the theories of spatial archaeology can offer a suitable methodology for material evidence that is so diverse, as well as supported by other types of artistic, artifactual and literary evidence, is worth further consideration. The theoretical notion of space as universal for all cultures would allow ancient Greek and Roman spaces to be understood as neutral architectural entities removed from antitheses such as those named above. The literary record, on the other hand, proves that these antitheses are the very aspects that defined the use of space in both practice and representation. Clearly, the application of spatial theory to ancient Greek and Roman remains must accommodate both textual and archaeological documentation.[17]

One of the methods that has been used to relate the theories of space to ancient evidence is the technique devised by structural anthropologists known as access analysis. It was developed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson as a means of mediating between the material realm of physical space and the abstract realm of social relations and behavior. Hillier and Hanson essentially transferred theoretical concepts about the abstract entity of space to a specific entity of built space. A building is a unique artifact, in that it combines its own physical appearance with its role in society in an intimate fashion. Hillier and Hanson remark: "Society enters into the very nature and form of

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maiestates perfectae; praeterea bybliothecas, basilcas non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas, quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur.

[17] Laurence (1997).

buildings. They are social objects through their very form as objects. Architecture is not a 'social art' simply because buildings are important visual symbols of society, but also because, through the ways in which buildings, individually and collectively, create and order space, we are able to recognize society."[18]Because the relationship between the physical realities of architecture and the abstract concept of social space is difficult to describe, Hillier and Hanson created a neutral vocabulary for this important social aspect of architecture and a means to quantify the social logic of architectural spaces.

Briefly summarized, access analysis is based on the patterns of social interaction created by the layout and arrangement of individual spaces within a larger architectural entity. The most important factor in creating these patterns is the permeability of the structure, i.e. how entrances and physical layout actually control and mediate movement throughout the structure. Hillier and Hanson developed a way for visually representing this with the "access map." An “access map” of a building is created by graphically indicating all internal spaces with circles and then linking those that intercommunicate with one another. This is then "justified" with respect to the exterior, by lining up all the spaces that are one step from the exterior, all those that are two steps, etc. Analysis of this plan determines each room’s potential for social interaction, both on a public level between the structure’s inhabitants and visitors, and on a more restricted private level between the inhabitants alone. The public nature of a building is measured in terms of its global relations, or how accessible the space is from any other space within the structure or from its exterior. While the more private nature of a building is measured in terms of

[18] B. Hillier and J. Hanson (1984), *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2.

local relations, or how much control a particular space exerts on movement to and from its neighboring spaces. By creating an "access map" and determining aspects of a building's global and local relations, one gains a better understanding of movement within the structure, as well as the relationship between inhabitants and visitors.

In access analysis emphasis is placed on the ground plan of excavated structures. In this way, access analysis owes much to its ancestors, space syntax theory and the linguistic notion of morphic language. Spatial syntax theory assumes that the arrangement of space is particular to a certain society and is understood by its members as a social language. Modular and syntactic studies are used to recover these principles from the material evidence.[19] Attempts to apply this theory to the archaeological data of the classical world have been limited but two are worthy of mention here. An approach based on modular arrangement was used by Donald Preziozi to study Minoan palaces in the early 1980s.[20] Preziosi's study looked at the patterns of spatial organization in Minoan palaces in an attempt to recreate a unified language of architecture that would have been understood by the Minoan architect and palace patron. His emphasis is on architectural organization and what it means to an ancient viewer. According to Preziosi, no element of the palace plan is accidental, but rather adheres to a code that is as indecipherable to us as a foreign language. We can only look for patterns in the hopes of understanding the basics of the code and appreciating the significance of its variants.[21] A

[19] Hillier and Hanson (1984), 45-51 for a discussion of the principles of morphic language as they relate to access analysis. They draw heavily on mathematics and social sciences.
[20] D. Preziosi (1983) *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification* (*Approaches to Semiotics* 63), Berlin: Moutin.
[21] Preziosi (1983), 155-156.

second study that privileges the use of ground plans is J. T. Smith's study of Roman villas.[22] Smith analyzes Roman villas from Italy to Britain, but his approach is less modular in method or conclusion than Preziosi. He is concerned more with classification of villa types rather than their individual architectural components and uses spatial syntax theory on a limited basis. His conclusion that villas housed more socially complex units than single families is based upon the structure and arrangement of the villa plan types and is thus the product of spatial archaeology.

Among classical archaeologists access analysis, rather than strict modular or syntactic studies, has found wider application and audience. It has been employed most frequently to domestic structures at Pompeii. Ray Laurence used it to measure the occurrence of public activity on certain city blocks at Pompeii. His interest was primarily the global relation of individual houses with the street. He was able to determine in a comparison of access maps drawn for properties of *Regio* 6 and *Regio* 7 that access was possible to greater depths in the properties of *Regio* 6. He combined this information with a study of the occurrence of doorways in those same regions to conclude that spatial arrangement at Pompeii was determined by the amount of social activity and the density of settlement in a particular region.[23] Mark Grahame utilized access analysis to study the language of public and private in one particular house at Pompeii, the *Casa del Fauno*.[24] He analyzed the house in terms of global and local relations and determined that the house's core area for interaction was its southern end near the entrance, while the

[22] J. T. Smith (1997), *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure* London: Routledge.
[23] Laurence (1994).
[24] Grahame (1997).

peristyle possessed a much lower potential for interaction. He also determined a differentiation between strangers and inhabitants in the accessibility of public areas on the eastern and western boundaries of the house.[25] Grahame concludes that the spatial principle that guided the organization of the House of the Faun was privacy and a "defensible hierarchy," which regulated interactions between inhabitants and visitors.[26]

Both of these examples provide interesting views of social interaction in the domestic spaces of Pompeii. However, there are several limitations. One is the lack of textual evidence utilized in the studies. Grahame's conclusions about the importance of privacy as a major factor in the organization of space in the Roman house coincides with an argument of Andrew Riggsby, who examines the nature of public and private in the Roman house based on literary evidence for the type of activity that might be conducted in a *cubiculum*.[27] Riggsby's emphasis is on behavior rather than space, but his statement that "being in a given area does not so much allow behavior as it compels actions 'appropriate' to that space"[28] is not that far off from Grahame. One difference between the two studies rests with Riggsby's ability to more clearly define the diverse types of activity in the rooms of a house and thus make suggestions about the moral and ethical implications of the distinction of space. Unfortunately the unbiased approach of

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[25] Grahame (1997), 161-162.
[26] Grahame (1997), 163-164. Grahame's findings have been expanded into a larger study: M. Grahame (2000), *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii* (BAR International Series 86), Oxford: Archeopress in which he uses the ground plans of a number of Pompeian houses to further develop his method for interpreting built space. He admits that his methodology is limited in its ability to recreate identity in Pompeian houses to discovering "whether identities were created at the level of the individual or the level of the collective," 98.
[27] A. Riggsby (1997), "'Public' and 'Private' in the Roman house: the case of the *cubiculum*," *JRA* 10, 36-56.
[28] Riggsby (1997), 36.

Grahame's emphasis on ground plans alone leaves the rooms void of a human component, and it is difficult to envision them as active spaces.[29] This is also the root of another criticism of access analysis: as a method of interpreting space it does not account for the frequency of usage for a space. One room may have been entered many times in one day, while another might have been entered only once every few days, or very rarely in the case of a storage space.[30] Again, access analysis fails in terms of understanding the specific relationship between space and activity in a Roman house.[31] For a structure as intricate and complex as the Roman house, with such a vast amount of supporting evidence with which to reconstruct the nuances of its usage, access analysis should not be employed as the primary method of interpretation. Clearly it is more suited to material with less textual support. In addition the primary benefit of access analysis for both Grahame and Laurence is the ability it gives the scholar to see all the possibilities for one specific type of activity: movement, both from exterior to interior, as well as from interior spaces. Perhaps the technique, with appropriate attention to textual and archaeological evidence should be reserved for studies of how an entire structure functioned within a larger environment, rather than used to reconstruct the individual components of space within a building.

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[29] A similar criticism can be raised against a study that attempts to combine access analysis with iconographic analysis of visual material, B. Longfellow (2000), "A Gendered Space? Location and Function of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries," in E. Gazda, ed. *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii: Ancient Ritual, Modern Muse*, Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and University of Michigan Museum of Art, 24-37. Longfellow attempts to use the spatial divisions illustrated by access analysis of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii to suggest feminine usage of the well-known room adorned with megalithic wall paintings. However, access analysis makes no distinction between the gender of whom entered a room, and can only account for a possibility of usage distinguished between inhabitant and visitor.

[30] R. Taylor (2002), " 'Reading' space in the houses of Pompeii's *Regio* VI, *JRA* 15, 441-442.

[31] Similar criticism has been raised about space syntax theory in general. For a discussion of both sides of the issue see Pearson and Richards, eds. (1994), 29-30.

I.3 Alternative methods of interpreting space

Thus far the most successful methods for interpreting ancient architectural spaces have come from disciplines outside of classical archaeology. In addition to the studies cited above art historians and architectural historians have developed methods for studying the organization of space which incorporate social history in such a way as to recreate the architectural structures as active environments. These methods rely heavily on visual and textual evidence, while always maintaining the building plan itself as the most important guide.

Two separate studies of the space of the ancient Roman house emerged in the early 1990s and seem to have ushered in the flurry of interest in the domestic spaces of ancient Italy. John Clarke and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill both used physical evidence from Roman houses at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia to learn more about the role of the household and its rituals in Roman society.[32] In both studies the house is seen as the backdrop against which the social behavior of Roman life takes place. Wallace-Hadrill focuses on the spatial structure of the house as a measure of social status, household structure, trade and productivity and luxury, while Clarke recreates the space of the ancient house by revitalizing the visual cues that would have informed the ancient viewer. For Clarke, more than Wallace-Hadrill, the space of the house and its decorative ensembles take an active role in facilitating the ancient household rituals of the public, private and sacred spheres. At the same time both of these studies emphasize the plan of the house as the medium for movement and access, with Clarke giving specific attention

[32] Wallace-Hadrill (1994) and Clarke (1991).

to the visual gaze of the ancient viewer. Both of these studies observe the principles set out by spatial theorists by giving primary attention to the household space as a locus for social activity. However, they are more successful than Grahame or Laurence at adapting these theories to ancient evidence because they unite individual building plans with specific archaeological and textual evidence, thus allowing for cultural distinctions. In addition, Clarke's active involvement on the part of the ancient viewer progresses beyond the sterility of spatial analysis to provide an experiential view of the ancient household.

A second example of successful spatial analysis comes from the architectural history of seventeenth-century palaces in Rome. Patricia Waddy has studied the architectural layout of Baroque palaces utilizing the structures themselves combined with documentary evidence of their construction.[33] Obviously a study of Baroque architectural history differs from a study of ancient buildings in the type of evidence that can be used. In many ways, the principles are the same. The palaces of Baroque Rome were designed to facilitate various functions. Waddy views these functions and their physical manifestations—comfort, accommodations for women, servants and noble family member, cleanliness, pleasure, display and parking, as a consideration in building design. The other equal component is movement and organization. She astutely points out that these two aspects are inseparable, as "one way of understanding organization is through movement through the building, and one result of organization is control of that movement."[34] Thus the plans of several representative palaces in Baroque Rome are

[33] P. Waddy (1990), *Seventeenth Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
[34] Waddy (1990), 68.

analyzed in terms of these factors, following the movement of both inhabitants and visitors, while incorporating the design concepts of the architect preserved in written documents. Again, as with the work of Clarke and Wallace-Hadrill on Roman houses, the space of the Baroque palace emerges as both the setting and the facilitator of function as Waddy allows the individual building plans to transcend their two-dimensional aspect.

The important contribution of both of these examples is the combination of close analysis of the building plan with the available archaeological, visual or documentary evidence. As Waddy points out spatial organization is best understood by recreating the sensation of moving through a particular space.[35] This is the intention of the original architect and thus should be of prime importance when attempting to understand the social impact of the spatial arrangement of a structure. Clearly art historical studies which emphasize the importance of seeing and being seen in the experience of visual and material culture serve as an important foundation for this type of methodology.[36] The attempts to understand large-scale urban environments, such as the recent work by Diane Favro on Augustan Rome,[37] also utilize an experiential interpretation of ancient space. However, all of these methods can be misleading when appropriate documentary evidence is not used in conjunction with the theoretical constructs. This is particularly true when the process is one of reconstruction, as it is by necessity with ancient architectural remains. The process is even further complicated when the documentary

[35] Waddy (1990), 67-69.
[36] J. Berger (1973), *Ways of Seeing*, New York: Penguin Books.
[37] D. Favro (1998), *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

evidence of the corpus of material to be studied is limited, as is the case with the material of this study, Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture.

I.4 A new approach for interpreting Etrusco-Italic monumental spaces

As discussed above, spatial analyses have become more common with regard to particular groups of ancient architecture, such as Greek and Roman houses. However, in the Etrusco-Italic world from the Iron Age to the Archaic period, very little attention has been paid to the spatial arrangement and architectural experience of buildings. In fact, Etrusco-Italic archaeology is an ideal forum for such studies for several reasons.

First, new discoveries have provided a unique and fresh body of material for study. Etruscology has long been dominated by an intense interest in funerary monuments. The innumerable tombs dotting the central Italic landscape have been a source of information on Etruscan attitudes toward daily life, afterlife, art, religion, and even, architecture.[38] Etruscan necropoleis, such as the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, have been used to ascertain information about Etruscan city planning as their layout and tomb design often imitates the plans of settlements and household interiors.[39] Recently, this situation has begun to change. A number of settlement sites have been excavated and have greatly contributed to our knowledge of Etrusco-Italic architecture from the Iron Age to the Archaic period by providing examples of spatially complex

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[38] L. Bonfante (1986), "Daily Life and Afterlife," in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, L. Bonfante, ed., Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 232-278.

[39] F. Prayon (1986), "Architecture," in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, L. Bonfante, ed., Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 180: "The discovery that the desired architectural forms of the tombs could be carved out of the tufa allowed the tomb builders to imitate, quite spontaneously, the interior shape of a house, reproduced in all its detail."

buildings of everyday life.[40] Examples of houses, temples and public buildings have complemented our previous knowledge of Etruscan building practices. In addition, at several Etrusco-Italic sites, principally Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa, early examples of large spatially-complex buildings, unable to be easily placed within the category of house or temple, have also come to light. While a great deal of effort has been directed toward identifying and classifying these buildings in terms of function and usage,[41] very little energy has been directed to a close analysis of the spatial architectural experience of these structures or their overall relationship to the landscape and surrounding environment. Thus, the recently uncovered settlement architecture in Etruria and Latium, combined with the copious funerary evidence, presents a great deal of new material which can be used to evaluate spatial architectural conceptions in pre-Roman Italy.

Second, much of the religious and societal practice of early Italic peoples, particularly the Etruscans, is centered on a conception of space and one's position within the spatial hierarchy of the cosmos.[42] Etruscans, and later Romans, based their relationship with divinities upon a mutual communication of ritual sacrifice and interpretation of signs. It was commonly known in the Roman world that Etruscans made

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[40] For a recent summary see L. Donati (2000), "Civil, Religious and Domestic Architecture," in *Etruscans*, M. Torelli, ed. Milan: Bompiani, 313-333.

[41] The question of the function and classification of the monumental structures at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa will be discussed at length below. To date a consensus on the function of these monumental structures has not been reached, despite a number of recent publications that unequivocally refer to them as "palazzi," Torelli (2000) and G. Sassatelli (2000), "Il Palazzo," in *Principi Etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa* (Catalog of the Exhibition), G. Bartoloni, et.al. eds., Venice: Marsilio, 143-153.

[42] P. Catalano (1978), "Aspetti spaziali del sistema giuridico-religioso Romano," *ANRW* II 16.1, 440-553, esp. 442-461.

the best priests and interpreters of divine signs.[43] In fact, the Latin word for a seer, *haruspex*, is derived from an Etruscan word. The Etruscan process of interpretation of signs was largely based upon a spiritual sense of place. Upon entering a specifically sanctified locale, the *templum*, a *haruspex* "read" the sky, which was divided according to two principle axes into four quarters. All divine communication was perceived in this orthogonal universe. The seer could recognize the divine sign and its relevant divinity as bounded by the physical region in which it occurred. In addition, the ancient Roman rite of ploughing a sacred furrow to mark the boundaries of a new city seems to have its origin in the *etrusca disciplina*.[44]

For Etruscans, in addition to its ritual applications, a sacred sense of space defined the worship of divinities. That Etruscan religious practice afforded significance of place to divinities can also be seen from a famous passage in *de Architectura* of Vitruvius:

> *Id autem etiam Etruscis haruspicibus discipliarum scripturis ita est dedicatum, extra murum Veneris, Volcani Martis fana ideo conlocari, uti non insuescat in urbe adulescentibus, seu matribus familiarum veneria libido, Volcanique vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videantur liberari. Martis vero divinitas cum sit extra moenia dedicata, non erit inter civis armigera dissensio, sed ab hostibus ea defensa a belli periculo conservabit. Item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo nomine semper homines, nisi per sacrificium, necesse habeant adire; cum religione, caste sanctisque moribus is locus debet tueri. Ceterisque diis ad sacrificiorum rationes aptae templis areae sunt distribuendae.* (1.7.1-2)

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[43] M. Beard, J. North and S. Price (1998), *Religions of Rome Volume II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 60.

[44] Vitruvius 1.4.9 For a discussion of the *etrusca disciplina* in relation to town planning see I. D. Rowland and T. N. Howe (1999), *Vitruvius Ten Books on Architecture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 152-156.

> Now with the Etruscan haruspices in the writings of their disciplines, the dedication is as follows: that the shrines of Venus, Volcanus, Mars are therefore to be situated outside the wall, so that venereal pleasure may not be customary to young men and matrons in the city, and, by summoning the power of Volcanus outside the ramparts with ritual and sacrifices, the buildings may seem to be freed from fear of fires. But since the divinity of Mars is dedicated outside the ramparts, there will not be armed quarrels among the citizens, yet he will keep the ramparts defended from the danger of war. So also the name of Ceres in a place outside the city, under which name (i.e. *Ceres extra urbem*) men (unless by sacrifice) must always approach her; since that place must be kept religously, purely and with strict manners. And to the other gods sites fit for temples with a view to the methods of sacrifice are to be arranged.[45]

Not only does this passage illustrate the relationship between place (*locus*) and its sacred significance, but it firmly attributes such a conception to the Etrusco-Italic world. In her book, *The Gods and the Place*, Ingrid Edlund-Berry explores the relationship between location, both natural and architectural, and the worship of divinities in Etruria.[46] Her study illustrates a clear Etruscan and native Italic tradition. A physical space, and all that is associated with it, was initially viewed as sacred because it represented a realm of the gods. Put another way, a divine spirit was seen as inhabiting all spaces. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Etrusco-Italic world was transforming itself from a series of unorganized settlements to more permanent communities, the first examples of man-made monumental space would interact with this notion of the sanctity and physicality of space.

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[45] F. Granger, trans. (1983), *Vitruvius. Ten Books on Architecture*, (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

[46] I.E.M. Edlund-Berry (1987), *The Gods and the Place: Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700-400 BC),(Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4º, 43), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome.

Finally, the monumental architecture excavated in Etruria and Latium serves as the earliest example of monumentalized space in the Italic world and is thus an important predecessor to the architectural structures of ancient Rome. Beginning in the Iron Age inhabitants began to build permanent structures to meet domestic and communal needs. According to spatial theory, these early built environments were reflections of the Etrusco-Italic social conception of space. Any notion of a division between the public, private and sacred spheres would have begun to manifest in this process of creating architectural boundaries. In addition this was the first time that ideas about a settlement's position within a larger landscape setting would have been realized in physical form. From the first Iron Age structures, spatial ideas continued to develop alongside with new architectural creations. Monumental structures of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods are some of the first large-scale buildings in Italy utilizing stone foundations and tile roofs.[47] As such they have often been interpreted as pivotal structures in the history of Italic architecture and recent studies that label them as precursors to the Roman house emphasize their importance in the transmission of Etrusco-Italic architectural principles into the Roman world.[48]

A few attempts to consider the spatial quality of Etrusco-Italic architecture have already been made. Vedia Izzet has looked at the form and meaning of both ritual space and funerary architecture.[49] Her research focuses on the visual cues that a temple or the

[47] J. M. Turfa and A. Steinmayer (1996), "The Comparative Structure of Greek and Etruscan Monumental Buildings," *PBSR* 64,1-39.
[48] Colonna (1986) and Donati, (2000).
[49] V. Izzet (1996), " 'Engraving the Boundaries': Exploring space and surface in Etruscan funerary architecture," in *Approaches to the Study of Ritual Vol.2,* J. B. Wilkins, ed., London: Accordia Research

entrance of a tomb would have provided to the ancient viewer to facilitate interpretation of the iconography and meaning of the structure. Izzet places less emphasis on the experience of the interior of a particular architectural space or its consequent relationship to the exterior of the building because she is dealing with structures that are well-defined. A different type of study of Etruscan spaces was conducted by Dorothy Dvorsky Rohner.[50] This study looks at patterns of movement on the interiors of Etruscan domestic structures. Here also, Dvorsky Rohner begins her study with assumptions regarding the type and usage of the architectural space, in this case domestic structures.[51] While these studies have added to our knowledge of what specific Etrusco-Italic architectural forms might have communicated to an ancient viewer, the question of how different types of architectural spaces worked or might have been adapted to specific spatial needs has yet to be addressed with regard to Etrusco-Italic architecture.

In order to do this, I have developed a method that utilizes spatial theory in conjunction with archaeological evidence to deepen our understanding of the experience of the first architecture in Italy. In previous scholarship only the spatiality of well-defined structures—temples, tombs, dwellings—has been examined. In my study I will use space as a tool for understanding structures that are not clearly defined. In fact, Etrusco-Italic evidence is ideal to such analysis if it is unencumbered by preconceived notions of how

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Centre, 55-72 and V. Izzet (2001), "Form and Meaning in Etruscan Ritual Space," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 11, 185-200.

[50] D. Dvorsky Rohner (1996), "Etruscan Domestic Architecture: An Ethnoarchaeological Model," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, J. Hall, ed. Provo: Museum of Art, Brigham Young Univeristy, 115-145.

[51] The findings of this study are particularly inconclusive because one of the domestic structures under consideration is the monumental area at Acquarossa, a site whose function is not necessarily domestic. In addition the ground plans used in Dvorsky Rohner's study are not in accordance with the archaeological remains or the excavators' comments in the site's publication.

interior spaces should be arranged. Under these circumstances the architectural remains of early Italy will allow an unbiased reconstruction of the ancient conceptions that motivated division and allocation of space. In addition, I will take the study of space beyond the physical walls of Etrusco-Italic spaces. As Patricia Waddy states the organization of space is dependent upon movement.[52] However the process of movement is not limited to the building's interior, but begins before the building is even entered. For this reason, in order to understand the spatial environment of early Etrusco-Italic monumental structures, I will combine a study of interior access and movement with a consideration of the location of the building within the overall environment. A complete study of the spatial orientation of a structure must include the significance of approach and visibility on the building's exterior, as a visitor begins to experience architecture before he actually enters it.

Finally, I will apply this method of looking at architectural space to the urban environment of early Rome. From the Iron Age to the Archaic period the site of Rome had much in common with the Etrusco-Italic settlements under consideration in this study in terms of topography, architectural practice and awareness of the natural environment. By evaluating the approach routes and architectural spaces of the future capital of the Mediterranean with the same methodology used for other Etrusco-Italic sites I believe that certain similar patterns in the use of space emerge. These patterns are not the result of direct imitation by the Romans, but rather are indicative of the transmission of and adherence to a larger architectural tradition. The ancient Romans placed much value in

[52] Waddy (1990), 68.

tradition. In discussing the importance of the past to the ancient Romans, Catharine Edwards emphasizes the significant role that physical places played in maintaining and illustrating tradition. She likens the city of Rome itself with its buildings of different periods to the funeral of a Roman aristocrat where everyone dressed up as the ancestors of the deceased to create a single parade of figures from different ages.[53] The same perception of the traditions of the past complementing the trends of the present can be seen in the collection of architectural ideas as well. The late Republican architect Vitruvius demonstrates an awareness of prior architectural tradition throughout the text of the *de Architectura*, as he prominently displays his "ancestor masks" by referencing and referring to previous architectural treatises by both Greek and Roman architects. Etrusco-Italic tradition was as much a part of Roman architecture as Greek, Near Eastern or Egyptian practices were, perhaps given its proximity, even more so. Looking at the approach and access patterns of Early Rome next to those of contemporary Etrusco-Italic sites makes this abundantly clear.

Finally, this study does not attempt to define the parameters of public, private or sacred space in the Etrusco-Italic or the Roman world. The socialization of our own architectural experience does not allow us to view ancient remains without, at least in part, projecting our own ideas about the propriety and localization of public and private behavior onto them.[54] In order for successful interpretation to take place our modern

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[53] C. Edwards (1996), *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 27-43. For the complete description of the typical funeral of a Roman aristocrat where the family members of the deceased don ancestor masks of deceased relatives and process through the streets to the Rostra in the Forum Romanum, see Polybius 6.53.

[54] These two antithetical terms are used often in spatial analyses of ancient architecture, especially houses. In modern usage they are applied to many spheres of daily life. Generally in the 20th century English

conceptions must exactly correspond with those of the ancient architects and building patrons. This is obviously not the case. Architectural historians and sociologists have argued that our modern notion of public and private life is the product of 19th century England where the formation of an English middle class coincided with industrialization and the movement of production from the home to the factory.[55] It has been argued that in the ancient world, and particularly the Roman world, distinctions between public and private life were much less clear.[56] This issue is further complicated when studying the architecture of pre-urban Etrusco-Italic societies in which, it has been said, no such distinction existed at all.[57] Thus, in order to avoid modern misconceptions, I will not approach the architectural remains of the Etrusco-Italic world as belonging to one particular type of public, private or sacred structure, but instead will begin by considering

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language, the meanings of public and private fall within several categories of usage. The first relates to the contrast between the community, or "the general public," versus the individual, "the private sector." This distinction may also include the notion of government within community, as in the difference between public and private schools, the former funded by the state, the latter by the school's individual patrons. A second signification of the terms "public" and "private" relates to the modern sensibility of privacy, or the distinction between what is commonly accessible to all versus what is prohibitively restricted to select few, as in "public grounds" and "private property." This distinction can be applied to property, architecture or even information, as in matters of "public record" or details of one's "private life." Closely associated with this definition is the terms' final connotation of open versus concealed or confidential, as in the terms "private speech" or "private parts." Thus in contemporary usage the terms "public" and "private" seem to fall into two categories: those which distinguish between some variation of the community versus the individual, and those that differentiate between what is accessible and inaccessible.

[55] R. J. Lawrence (1990), "Public collective and private space: urban housing in Switzerland," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, S. Kent, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 77-78.

[56] In the Greek world it has been noted that gender distinctions corresponded to distinctions between public and private spaces. David Cohen observes "(Athenians) thought of public space in terms of places where men gathered: the agora, the Assembly, the courts, the baths, athletic grounds, and so on…private space in this narrow sense is largely female space, enclosed, hidden guarded, dark. Public space, on the other hand, is associated with men and with the public activities through which men pursue reputation and honor." D. Cohen (1991), *Law, Sexuality and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 72. In the Roman world status seems to play the larger role, Wallace-Hadrill (1994), 17-37. See also A. Riggsby, (1997) and A. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995), *Spazio privato e spazio pubblico nella città romana*, (Collection de École Française de Rome 210). Rome: École Française de Rome.

[57] Bonfante (186), 232.

each complex as a multifunctional space. I will allow the patterns of access and approach to dictate my thoughts on how particular spaces within the structure may have been utilized and experienced. In this way, approach and access, combined with the physical archaeological record, will be the primary tools for evaluating space.

Chapter II

Predecessors and Prototypes for Approach and Access in Etrusco-Italic Monumental Architecture

It is common in studies of early Italic and Etruscan archaeology to trace the architectural development "from hut to house."[58] A survey of the earliest architecture in Italy frequently begins with simple, hut dwellings and progresses through Etrusco-Italic monumental buildings, eventually ending up at the Roman atrium house.[59] Along the way, a number of different types of structures are encountered, but emphasis is generally placed on the development and organization of domestic, dwelling space. Any type of linear survey such as this can be misleading, as local variation and natural and topographical factors exert influence upon the model. But even more important is the functional bias that a survey of domestic structures creates on the study of architectural remains.[60] Because the size and form of a dwelling is seen as a reflection of the social status of its owner, the varied archaeological remains from proto-historical and historical Italy are sometimes read as evidence of social stratification. Structures with little more than postholes or low foundation walls are capable of conferring "prestige" on an aristocratic elite class of hut dwellers. In some cases other artifacts are included in the

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[58] The phrase "Of Huts and Houses" seems to have originated with Frank Brown's article, F. Brown (1976), "Of Huts and Houses," *In memoriam Otto J. Brendel: essays in archaeology and the humanities*, L. Bonfante, et.al, eds., Mainz: von Zabern, 5-12. Most recently the phrase was adapted to "From Huts to Houses" for the conference held in Rome at the Swedish Institute in 1997. J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, eds. (2001) *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies; Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September* (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4 , 56), Stockholm: The Swedish Institute in Rome.

[59] L. Donati (2000) and G. Colonna (1983).

[60] The importance of the household as an archaeological unit that must be considered separately from other archaeological units is discussed in relation to a variety of new world archaeological sites in G. Coupland and E. B. Banning, eds. (1996), *People Who Lived in Big Houses: Archaeological Perspectives on Large Domestic Structures* (*Monographs in World Archaeology* 27), Madison: Prehistory Press.

hypothesis, but more often than not, assumptions about the status of a certain structure's "owner" are made on the basis of an established social progression from hut to house.

The danger of this linear thinking is that it leads to circular argumentation. Larger huts are interpreted as belonging to a ruling elite. A ruling elite is believed to exist on the basis of the evidence for large huts. When architecture with stone foundations appeared in Italy this model was transferred to it: small structures for the working population, large palaces for the elite. The purpose of my survey is to remove the monumental structures of early Italy from this type of thinking. Before assigning notions of status to archaeological remains I judge that those remains should be considered first as architecture—enclosed spaces built within a larger environment. Instead of classifying the particular function of an architectural space as public, private or sacred, I consider how that architectural space may have functioned within public, private and sacred spheres based on the principles of its location and orientation. Even a simple structure such as a hut will not be automatically categorized as dwelling space. A hut by definition is merely an enclosure lacking stone foundations with at least one point of entry and sometimes an interior hearth. Such a space can occur in solitary contexts, or among other similar constructions and could have been used for storage, stables, meeting areas, or the daily activities of personal life.

Early examples of Etrusco-Italic architecture are vital to understanding the architectural tradition in Italy. No piece of architecture appears suddenly in the environment without planning or an impetus behind it. Whether the motivation for construction and orientation of a building was to honor a sacred spot, to adapt to a rough

terrain or visible approach route or to provide a shelter that was large enough for the number of inhabitants, every ancient builder-architect planned a structure that met a particular need. I believe that the Italic attention to location and spatial division was born with the first Etrusco-Italic architectural attempts and continued to develop into Roman architecture. This chapter will establish the visible manifestations of this process by examining the siting of settlements with attention to natural approach routes, access from centralized space and distinctions between interior and exterior transitions via thresholds. The survey of these processes from the late Bronze Age to the Archaic period illustrates the beginnings of continuity of architectural tradition on the Italian peninsula.

II.1 Natural landscapes for visibility and approach

The central Italian landscape is one that is particularly lush, composed of high plateaus on outcroppings of volcanic tufa stone, cut by a number of rivers, streams and smaller waterways that connect to the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas. It is a land characterized by hills enclosed by ravines and deep channels. Certainly the early settlement patterns of central Italy are reflections of this landscape.[61] Most archaeological survey and excavation work for the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age has been done in the region of Southern Etruria (Figure 2.1). This area is typical of the model described above. It is first of all, dominated by water, including the lakes, Bolsena and Bracciano, as well as the Tiber and Fiora rivers and their tributaries. The tufa rock that predominates in the area is easily cut. When this occurs naturally the result is high plateaus above deep

[61] A recent discussion of the importance and character of the Etrusco-Italic landscape, including environmental and geological considerations can be found in G. Barker and T. Rasmussen (1998), *The Etruscans.* London: Blackwell, 10-42.

ravines with running water. Human intervention has produced the array of rock-cut tombs and caves that can be seen in the hillsides of towns such as Blera, Sutri and Norchia. In the northern reaches of Etruria, rivers such as the Ombrone and the Arno create a similar river valley landscape in the areas surrounding Siena and Florence. These rivers and their tributaries connect central Etruria with the metal-producing region along the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.

Water and, in particular rivers, were important boundaries for the first settlements in Italy. One reason for this is the symbolic significance that early Italic and ultimately Roman religion attributed to the magical and supernatural power of rivers and their gods.[62] A second motivation for the association between early settlements and waterways was defense. Small, isolated settlements on high plateaus were ideal for defense because it provided the inhabitants with a wide view of anyone approaching on surrounding waterways.[63] An important corollary is that while those inhabiting or using such high structures would be afforded an expansive view, others approaching or traversing the waterways would have a view of structures on top of prominent outcroppings. This type of visibility may have been one of the reasons for the decorative roofs of huts, known through their representation on funerary hut urns. Finally, the relationship between natural topography and settlements may have contributed to regional exchange, both economic and cultural. Etruria witnesses some of the earliest settlements in Italy. According to Marco Pacciarelli, this is due to the natural resources and the geography of

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[62] L. A. Holland (1961) *Janus and the Bridge* (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*), Rome: American Academy in Rome and Edlund-Berry (1987).
[63] G. Bartoloni, (2000), "The Origin and Diffusion of Villanovan Culture," in *Etruscans,* M. Torelli, ed. Milan: Bompiani, 57.

many waterways, which he claims promoted economic development and perhaps venues where people could meet to hold markets, cult activities or other social gatherings.[64]

Thus, water was an important consideration in the siting of even the earliest Etrusco-Italic settlements. While the topography of the region has changed slightly from ancient to modern times, it is largely possible to recreate the paths of ancient waterways, and their consequent relation to the architectural remains at various sites. Unfortunately, the earliest Etrusco-Italic settlements did not leave behind much evidence other than postholes and cuttings in the tufa rock. Therefore the elevations of huts must be inferred from such foundational tracks and comparative material such as hut-shaped funerary urns and modern Italian shepherd huts.[65] Careful attention to the location and orientation of these archaeological remains, combined with a recreation of the ancient viewer's perspective upon approach and entry to various monumental structures, will establish the beginnings of Etrusco-Italic practices for architectural approach and visibility.

Luni sul Mignone

One of the most well-known Bronze Age sites in Italy is Luni sul Mignone, located in Southern Etruria in the Tolfa hills.[66] Occupation of the site may go back as far

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[64] M. Pacciarelli (2000), *Dal vilaggio alla città: la svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica*. Florence: Insegna del Giglio.

[65] For an example of this that resulted in the full-scale reconstruction of an Iron Age hut at the site of Fidene (Rome) see A. Bietti-Sestieri, et. al. (1990) "Fidene: la struttura dell'eta del ferro," *Archeologica Laziale 10*, 115-120 and A. Bietti-Sestieri and A. de Sanctis, "L'edificio dell I eta del Ferro di Fidene," *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies; Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997* (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 4* , 25), J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 211-221.

[66] J. R. Bengtsson has recently completed a Ph.D. dissertation that will provide new information on the relationship of the site of Luni sul Mignone to its surrounding landscape: J. R. Bengtsson (2001), *Luni sul Mignone och dess kringland. En diakronisk studie av ett mellanitaliskt landskap och dess arkeologi*, Ph.D. dissertation, Lund University. At present a short English summary is available for this data and new

as the 4th millennium BC when the settlement was concentrated on the eastern edge of a tufa cliff known as Tre Erici. However, by the Bronze Age it appears that the settlement was concentrated on the center of the tufa outcropping known as Luni (see Figure 2.2).[67] This plateau is surrounded by cliffs and rivers on three sides: the Vesca on the south, the Mignone on the west and the Canino on the north. Of these three rivers the Mignone formed an important boundary between Tarquinia and Caere in the historical Etruscan period and must have been the primary connection between the earlier settlement at Luni and the potentially larger settlement centers on the coast.[68] In considering the siting and orientation of the settlement at Luni, the proximity and convenience of the Mignone river must be of the highest importance.

The Bronze Age or Apennine settlement at Luni is known primarily for its "long-houses" which run in a nearly complete line across the center of the plateau (Figure 2.3). The structures are rectangular in shape and are of substantial size for this period.[69] At the time of construction the floors of the houses were cut into the rock at a depth of between 1.2 meters and 2 meters. The excavators have reconstructed these structures as houses with floors of rammed clay, walls of rough stone and roofs of thatch or straw. Together the three buildings create a unified line across the center of the plateau, suggesting a degree of planning and orientation. It has been noted by the excavators and other scholars

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research, which includes an alternative chronology for the late Bronze Age material and new evidece for later habitation on the site. Further publication will certainly add to my interpretation in this study.

[67] The site is first mentioned by this name in the *Liber Pontificalis* in reference to a rebellion during the life of Pope Gregory II (715-731), although the excavators posit that the name goes back to the Roman and Etruscan periods, C. E Östenberg (1967), *Luni sul Mignone e problemi della preistoria d'Italia*. (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 4º, 25), Lund: Gleerup, 25-30.

[68] Late Bronze Age material has been found at most of the major Etruscan centers, including Caere and Tarquinia. See Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 56.

[69] South House: 42 m. x 4 m.; North House: c. 30 m. x 4 m.; Middle House: 7 m. x 4 m.

that defense may have been one of the primary reasons for the houses' alignment on the plateau.[70] With the exception of the northeast corner the plateau is naturally defended by sheer cliff sides and the waterways below. Evidence of fortifications from various periods of the site's usage located on the northeast side of the plateau indicates that this area was seen as the primary point of penetration.[71] It is in this corner that we can assume the plateau was most accessible. The placement of the "long-houses" in the center of the plateau, separated from the plateau's entrance by traces of a moat, as well as the distance of the plateau itself, argues that immediate access was not a concern in the placement in the houses. The fact that there was a moat on both the east and west sides of the "long-houses" suggests a more enclosed and less accessible settlement space. In addition their location in the center of the plateau does not allow visibility of the structures from the waterways or possible approach routes, thus further minimizing the visual accessibility of the settlement. In the Bronze Age settlement at Luni it appears that visibility and approach from the surrounding region and its rivers was not a priority, although awareness of their importance is indicated in the efforts made to restrict them.

This appears to change in the late Bronze Age.[72] At this time a monumental structure occupied the northwestern corner of the plateau, near the point where the

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[70] Östenberg (1967), 105-109; T. W. Potter (1979), *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 37-39.

[71] C. E. Östenberg (1962), "The Excavations at Luni," in *Etruscan Culture, Land and People* New York: Columbia University Press, 322-324 for a discussion of the site's fortifications. See also p. 194 for the evidence for an Etruscan road linking Luni to the metal rich deposits of the Fosse delle Cave to the south. This road would have reached Luni below the south of the plateau, but the natural topography of the region would have dictated uphill progress to made on the eastern side.

[72] P. Hellström (2001), "Reflections on the function of the Monumental Building at Luni sul Mignone," *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies; Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997* (*Acta Instituti*

Canino river joined the Mignone (Figures 2.2, 2.3). The structure is noteworthy in terms of its size and its proximity to a natural nearby cave at its southern corner. It is a perfectly rectangular structure with a horizontal floor, surrounded by bedrock at various levels rising higher toward its southern side. Based on the visible remains it appears the building was dug out of bedrock to a depth between 3 and 6 meters.[73] The siting of this building along the northern edge of the Luni plateau creates an optimal viewing point from the Mignone river as one approached from the coastal regions. The Mignone river runs toward Luni from the north and joins with its tributaries directly below the Luni plateau at the northern end, allowing the greatest opportunity for visibility from river traffic (Figure 2.2). Based on the lack of roof tiles found in the vicinity of the structure, Pontus Hellström reconstructs a thatched roof rising to a height of 8 meters (Figure 2.4).[74] In addition to its height, the potential placement of wooden decorative elements on the roof could have only added to the visibility of the structure from a distance. While the southern façade of the structure was composed of a natural cave and bedrock formation, the northern façade was distinguished by the visible usage of man-made architecture. Because the lower ground on this side is more suitable to entry it has been proposed as

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Romani Regni Sueciae, 4 , 25), J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 163-169 calls the monumental building "protovillanovan." The term protovillanovan is a descriptive term attached to a body of similar material culture from the late Bronze Age in central Italy (1300- 900 BC). It is the only chronological information provided by P. Hellstöm in his recent article about the monumental building at Luni, In his original publication of the building he dated it to 700 BC at the end of the Iron Age. P. Hellström (1975) *Luni sul Mignone II: The Zone of the Large Iron Age Building (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 4º, 27), Lund:Gleerup, 96-97.

[73] Hellström (1975), 67-72 and Hellström (2001), 163-166.

[74] Hellström (2001), 164 . This figure is based on a width of the building of meters and a roof as steep as 60°.

the most likely entrance to the structure itself.[75] Standing immediately in front of this northern façade, the height of the walls and the roof would have obscured the view of the more difficult to reach natural formations that composed the southern portions of the structure and thus the visitor's knowledge of the depth and plan of the interior of the structure would have been less clear. However, the approach toward the structure, both from beyond the plateau and on the plateau itself would have provided the visitor with this knowledge. The cave and the higher bedrock on the south would have been most visible from the plateau itself. Since the entry point for the plateau on foot was the eastern corner, a visitor would have had to cross much of the plateau and a moat before reaching the northern façade of the structure. Such movement would have added to the impression of the structure gained on earlier glimpse from below and a greater understanding of its components would have been slowly revealed. Despite the fact that its immediate façade prevented a clear view of its structural details, a variety of visual effects were available at different stages on the route of approach which allowed the visitor a functional understanding of where and how to enter the monumental structure. Unlike the earlier phase of the site, where little attention was paid to the visibility of the plateau from the surrounding waterways, during the late Bronze Age, while there was most likely an increase in river traffic between settlements inland and the coast,[76] the

[75] Hellström (1975), 72.

[76] Hellström (1975), 93-97 discusses the strategic role that Luni may have played in the culture of the Tolfa region, particularly in connection with settlements at Tarquinia. The importance of Luni to the settlement pattern of Southern Etruria is also discussed by Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 53-56. Recent survey work in this area from the Bronze Age until the Roman period is presented in P. Hemphill (2000), *Archaeological investigations in southern Etruria (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 4º, 28) Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome. The occurrence of a number of sites along the Vesca and Mignone rivers during the Iron Age is suggestive of the rivers as means of communication.

architectural emphasis began to include visibility in a way that it had not been utilized before.[77] Glimpses of a structure on approach from the water or high neighboring outcroppings of land created an awareness of a place in an otherwise unknown environment and a series of restricted views on approach added an element of anticipation.[78] This type of approach would continue to develop within the Etrusco-Italic tradition and remains an architectural feature in Italy today. In the case of the Luni plateau, it illustrates a dramatic shift away from the more enclosed, less visible Apennine settlement of the Bronze Age, and signals a change in the architectural planning of approach.

Sorgenti della Nova

Located north of Tarquinia, the late Bronze Age site at Sorgenti della Nova has been documented through careful excavation since 1974.[79] As was the case at Luni, the site occupies a tufa plateau in the Fiora River valley at the confluence of two rivers, the Varlenza to the north and the Porcareccia to the south. Near this spot the source of the La Nova River rises up, giving the site its name. Unlike Luni, where the settlement appears to have been concentrated on one high plateau, the structures at Sorgenti della Nova were located on various levels due to the artificial terracing of the tufa outcropping (Figure

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[77] The question of the viability of ancient waterways is a notoriously troublesome one. It is difficult to document exactly when certain water routes were utilized in the protohistoric world. Even with a well-documented literary record, as is the case with the Tiber River, we are at a serious disadvantage from the Bronze Age through the Archaic period. See S. Quilici Gigli (1986), "Scali e traghetti sul Tevere in epoca archaica," *Archeologia Laziale* 12, 71-89. Landscape analysis with regard to settlement visibility may be a means of making progress in this respect. A case, such as Luni in the late Bronze Age, where there is a clear shift of visibility of structures toward to the waterways, may indicate a newly viable water route.

[78] *Etruscan Culture, Land and People* (1962), 194-195 mentions the expansive view of the region from the peak of Castellaccio di Monte Cozzone along the southern land route towards Luni.

[79] For a summary see N. Negroni Catacchio (1983), ed. *Sorgenti della Nova. Una communità protostorica ed il suo territorio nell'Etruria Meriodale* (Catalog of the Exhibit), Arezzo: Viella.

2.5). Several areas of the plateau have produced evidence for huts of various sizes and shapes, but the greatest concentration of structures was on the top of the plateau and the northern side of the hill along an artificial terrace. Four huts have been excavated on the highest part of the plateau varying in shape (two round, two rectangular) and size. One of these huts had a floor dug out of the bedrock to a depth of 1.3 meters. A greater number of huts have been found on the side of the hill along artificial terraces. These huts' foundations consisted of depressed areas in the bedrock with postholes and have been reconstructed as oval-shaped. In the vicinity of the huts on the hillside were rock cut caves that seem to have been used contemporaneously with the huts, perhaps residentially. The entire site has been interpreted as a prototype for monumental complexes on the basis of the presence of structures of different size and shape and potentially diverse functions.[80] A look at the potential approach routes to the site demonstrates a second type of approach pattern that continued to be used in late Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture.

In the case of Sorgenti della Nova the approach differs from its late Bronze Age contemporary, Luni sul Mignone. At Luni the distant viewer is afforded glimpes of a structure monumental in size and perhaps its roof. The structure was placed on the north of the plateau to be highly visible at the point of convergence of the rivers, but the full

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[80] N. Negroni Catacchio (1989) "L'abitato del bronzo finale di Sorgenti della Nova (VT): possiblità di confronti con i modelli abitativi dei centri villanoviani," *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale etrusco Firenze* , F. Maetzke et. al, eds. Rome: Giorgio Bretschnieder, 271-283. For a recent summary of the protourban elements of the settlement categorized as private, common, collective and public see N. Negroni Catacchio and L. Domanico (2001), "L'abitato protourbano di Sorgenti della Nova: dagli spazi dell'abitare all'organizzazione sociale," *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies; Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997* (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 4* , 25), J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 337-359.

knowledge of the site was delayed until the viewer reached the plateau, a feat accomplished by circumventing the hill and arriving at the eastern slope. At Sorgenti della Nova, the effect is just the opposite. The least accessible point of the plateau is the southern side, overlooking the Porcareccia River, where little or none of the settlement is visible. The two most accessible areas, the north along the Varlenza and the northwest at the source of the La Nova would have afforded the best views of the settlement, either the huts along the side of the hill from the Varlenza or the tops of the roofs along the plateau's summit from the spring (Figure 2.5).[81] Like modern Italian towns built on tufa outcroppings, the impression from below is one of urban organization. Instead of reserving a knowledge of the overall layout of the site for those who have physically reached its confines, the viewer at Sorgenti della Nova is provided with a more complete impression when moving toward the site due to an open approach. This allows the visitor to better infer the complexities of a multifunctional settlement before reaching it.

Both of these sites, Luni and Sorgenti della Nova, possess similar topography and take advantage of the effects of approach and visibility. The former is suited to the approach of a single building while the latter emphasizes the diversity of settlement. Other Etrusco-Italic sites with nearly the same topography, such as San Giovenale and Veii, provide evidence of similar settlement orientation patterns (Figures 2.6, 2.7).[82]

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[81] Negroni Catacchio and Domanico (2001), 348.

[82] The site of San Giovenale lies in the same region of Southern Etruria as Luni sul Mignone, and like Luni has been excavated by the Swedish Institute in Rome. It occupies a high outcropping of tufa rock surrounded on three sides by rivers, the small Carraccio di Fammilume to the north and the Vesca on the west and south. The earliest Bronze Age remains are found on the interior of the plateau on the eastern side that is accessible to the surrounding countryside. While an area even further on the interior of the plateua, the "Borgo," possesses later Etruscan domestic structures, Iron Age huts and eventually houses have been uncovered in the regions of the plateau along the river routes, the "acropolis," indicating a changing

Unlike Luni and Sorgenti della Nova, these sites had a longer life and thus demonstrate other possibilities for adaptation and refinement to the visibility patterns seen at Luni and Sorgenti della Nova. Together all of these examples serve as important documentation of the development of the Etrusco-Italic understanding of a site's location within its overall environment as a communicative tool to those approaching the structure from a distance. These patterns can be documented in the early settlements at Rome, a site whose topography, natural resources and landscape environment differs little from those presented above.

The Palatine Hill (Rome)

The early settlement on the Palatine hill at Rome has a much different post-Iron Age life than the others discussed above. Unlike Luni and Sorgenti della Nova, where the sites fell out of substantial use after the Iron Age, Rome continued to flourish. Changes to the landscape of this famous city make it difficult to reconstruct its earliest occupational environment, but like the late Bronze Age examples above, water and the elevation of hills seem to have played a major part.

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awareness and preference for using the river as a means of visual access, P. G. Gierow (1986), "Introduzione topografica e storia degli scavi e delle ricerche: San Giovenale," in *Architettura etrusca nel Viterbese: ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956-1986*, Rome: De Luca, 27-30 and C. Nylander (1986), "Urbanistica: San Giovenale," in *Architettura etrusca nel Viterbese: ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956-1986*, Rome: De Luca, 37-40 The ancient city of Veii occupies a high tufa plain of triangular shape with two rivers meeting at its southern point, the Fossa della Mola to the west and the Cremera to the east. While Iron Age settlements have been found at various points on the plateau, most congregate on its edges. In addition the 'acropolis" of the site, Piazza d'Armi, occurs at point above the confluence of the rivers, where there is evidence of an Iron Age settlement as well as a later monumental structure of the late sixth century BC. J. B. Ward-Perkins (1961), "Veii: the historical topography of the ancient city," *PBSR* 29 and E. Stefani (1944), "Scavi archeologici a Veio in contrada Piazza d'Armi," *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* 40, 178-290.

The origins of Rome are located according to myth and the archaeological record on the Palatine hill, particularly in the southeast corner known as the Cermalus. [83] In this area a number of Iron Age huts have been documented during various archaeological campaigns of the twentieth century. [84] The number, size and orientation of the huts changed throughout the Iron Age and into the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. The earliest building activity in the area occurred c. 900 BC and consisted of simply a large oval hut near the so-called Scalae Caci. In successive phases this single hut was replaced by other, smaller huts, resulting in a "compound" of huts in this area during the late Iron Age and Archaic periods (Figure 2.8). [85] The huts are all located in the same area on the southwest corner of the hill, a short distance from edge overlooking the Tiber River and the Velabrum. The location and positioning of postholes has allowed the reconstruction of a small portico on the east side of one of the huts of the second phase (late Iron Age 750-650 BC). This could have served as an entry space. A similar entryway is suggested, although less clear from the archaeological evidence, for the large hut of phase one as well. [86] In addition during this second phase there is evidence of a rudimentary boundary wall to the east of the huts. Small interruptions of the foundation trenches of this wall on

[83] A recent synthesis of the mythological and archaeological evidence can be found in A. Carandini and R. Cappelli, eds (2000). *Roma Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città* (Catalog of the Exhibit) Rome: Electa.
[84] For a summary of these archaeological campaigns see C. Angelelli and S. Falzone (1999), "Considerazioni sull'occupazione protostorica nell'area sud-occidentale del Palatino," *JRA*, 5-32 and P. Brocato, "Dalle capanne del Cermalus alla Roma quadrata," in *Roma Romolo Remo e la fondazione della città* (Catalog of the Exhibit) A. Carandini and R. Cappelli, eds., Rome: Electa, 284-287.
[85] A. Carandini (1997) *La nascita di Roma* Torino: G. Einaudi, 62-68, 618-622 and Angelelli and Falzone (1999). For a discussion and plans of the various phases of the Cermalus huts see Brocato (2000), 284-287.
[86] Brocato (2000), 284 .

both its north and south ends have been interpreted as possible entry points to the area.[87] This wall lines up with the path of the Scalae Caci, a natural slope up the Palatine hill on its southwestern edge and a logical approach route for anyone arriving at the southeast base of the Palatine hill near the Tiber River.

In addition to the Tiber River, early Rome was crossed by a number of smaller, subsidiary waterways (Figure 2.9). Erosion and continuous building has changed the face of a city that was once characterized by channels of water cutting through steep natural hillsides. Louise Holland comments in her study of the god Janus and the early development of Rome that "…such towns as Ardea and Veii…now show more evidence on the character of primitive Rome than Rome itself."[88] The Palatine hill was certainly no exception in terms of natural ruggedness. It was surrounded by water on nearly all sides, with the exception of its northwestern face toward the valley that would later become the Roman Forum. The southeast corner, where the earliest settlement on the Palatine was located has much in common with the examples of late Bronze Age villages discussed above. Like both Luni and Sorgenti della Nova, the southeast corner of the Palatine is at the confluence of two streams as they meet the larger Tiber River. It is not clear how visible the huts would have been to early traffic on the Tiber, as they are smaller than the Luni structure and fewer in number than the hill side huts of Sorgenti della Nova. Nevertheless, their location on the hill in close proximity to the primary route of the

[87] Brocato (2000), 284-285.
[88] Holland (1961), 30.

Scalae Caci and the Tiber River indicates that visibility and approach were included among the considerations of their orientation.[89]

The above examples have illustrated the importance of waterways, particularly rivers, in the siting and orientation of some of the earliest Etrusco-Italic settlements, including Rome. In addition to water, other landscape features contributed to locating Etrusco-Italic sites so as to capitalize on visibility from approaching visitors. Surrounding hillsides, lakes, and even the sea itself, may have contributed to the location and siting of settlements to increase visibility of their various structures.[90] In many cases, the process of viewing a monumental structure within its environment was the first step in its approach. Once the visitor viewed the structure, certain ideas about its orientation, placement within a larger setting, and entrance capacity, would have begun to take shape. In some cases, as at Luni sul Mignone, the visitor was left in anticipation, able to ascertain the plan or function of the structure though limited glimpses on the approach route. In other cases, a first glance of a settlement provided much more information about the overall layout and approach for the site and its structures. In all situations the initial

[89] The proximity of the Scalae Caci as a means for the inhabitants reaching the Tiber River for water needs must also be considered as a motivating factor. Archaeological evidence has shown that at least by the second phase of the settlement a channel for collecting water had been dug in the region of the huts and by the later Archaic phase there was a cistern. These water collection devices on the top of the hill suggest that the Scalae Caci path between the Tiber and the Palatine huts was not used solely for the transportation of water.

[90] The Etrusco-Italic site of Poggio Colla in the Mugello valley in northern Etruria provides such an example of approach and access in relation to other landscape features. While the site occupies a high plateau above the Sieve River, evidence of other settlements in the area on neighboring hills, particularly the evocatively named Monte Giove, indicates that the monumental structure at Poggio Colla was oriented to maximize visibility in the surrounding region. Excavation is ongoing and recent finds may further elucidate the exact routes of approach to the monumental complex. See P. G. Warden and M. L. Thomas (2000), "The Season at Poggio Colla (Vicchio di Mugello)," *Etruscan Studies* 7, 133-143 and P. G. Warden, M. L. Thomas and J. Galloway (1999), "The Etruscan Settlement of Poggio Colla (1995-98 excavations)," *JRA* 11, 111-122.

visual impact of the structure and its consequent route of approach was the product of an early Etrusco-Italic architect's awareness and manipulation of the unique features of the surrounding landscape.

II.2 Centralized space as a point of access

A second means of approach was intended for visitors at a closer distance. In these instances the priority of visibility and approach shifted from the natural environment to the built environment. The above examples illustrated a variety of patterns for the arrangement of structures within a settlement: a solitary, large structure; a number of different-sized structures on terraces; a cluster or group of structures on a high plateau. In all cases the buildings were oriented with attention to visibility on approach from afar, whether from the waterways below the plateaus, or from the surrounding hills, or from across the area of the site itself. In all of these cases the exterior of the structure or group of structures was the directive that elicited response from the ancient viewer. Another type of Etrusco-Italic settlement, particularly common in the Iron Age or Villanovan period, functioned differently in terms of orientation. These settlements, often located in lower plains near the coast instead of on inland water routes, prioritized access and approach from within the settlement itself by means of a centrally located open gathering space. From this central space both newcomers and inhabitants of the site were provided with visual and physical accessibility to the structures around them. Several examples will elucidate this type of approach.[91]

[91] In addition to the examples discussed below, a similar topographical situation exists at the important Etrusco-Italic site of Caere (Cerveteri). While the site is known primarily for its necropoleis, excavations in the area of the urban center were conducted under the direction of Mauro Cristofani. His death has

Tarquinia (Calvario)

Tarquinia is one of the most important cities in the Etrusco-Italic world. It is most famous for its painted tombs, but the living areas of the settlement have also shed light on the Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period. Ultimately a Roman city, Tarquinia is a major point for contact and continuity between the Roman and Etruscan worlds. Excavation has been conducted at several regions of the ancient site, most notably the area of the Monterozzi necropolis and a slightly elevated plain within the confines of the ancient city that appears to have been a focus for religious activity (Figure 2.10). Recent excavations on the Pian della Cività have uncovered evidence for a sacred enclosure used throughout the Iron Age and into the fifth century BC.[92] Not far from this newly-excavated space in the southeastern corner of the plain of the ancient city are the remains of the fourth-century temple, Ara della Regina. The topographically diverse regions of the city produced different access patterns throughout the its history. The monumental architecture of the city center followed patterns of approach and visibility similar to those discussed above and eventually refined them to accommodate interior movement, as I

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prevented a full publication of the architectural remains of the area, but finds indicate that the plateau of Vigna Parrocchiale was occupied from the Iron Age through the Roman period. No specific traces of hut foundations were uncovered, but ceramic evidence suggests Iron Age habitation. During the Orientalizing and Archaic periods several phases of monumental building were accomplished, which have been interpreted as phases of a residence, which is later replaced by a temple and an arena-like structure (comitium?) in the fifth century BC. The nature of these finds is intriguing and relevant to this study but their incorporation into it awaits further detailed publication. For a summary see, A. Maggiani (2001), "L'area della città. La Vigna Parrocchiale," in *Veii, Cerveteri, Vulci. Città d'Etruria a confronto* (Catalog of the Exhibit), A. M. Moretti Sgubini, ed. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 121-122.

[92] For a detailed excavation report of these campaigns see M. Bonghi Jovino and C. Chiaramonte Trerè (1997) *Tarquinia: testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica: scavi sistematici nell'abitato: campagne 1982-1988*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretscheider. Bonghi Jovino discusses the "monumentality" of this structure in light of Near Eastern evidence and "princely sacred-civic" function in M. Bonghi Jovino (2000), "Il complesso "sacro-istituzionale" di Tarquinia," *Roma Romolo Remo e la fondazione della città (*Catalog of the Exhibit), A. Carandini and R. Cappelli, eds., Rome: Electa, 265-267 (with reconstruction drawing).

will discuss later in this chapter. However, earlier settlement patterns at Tarquinia, at a part of the site located in a less visually prominent region, serve as an example of a different type of Etrusco-Italic approach and access organized around centralized space.

In the region of the Monterozzi necropolis to the south of the ancient town evidence of early habitation has been found. A small conglomeration of Iron Age huts, similar in size and shape to some at Sorgenti della Nova,[93] has been brought to light.[94] Unlike the previous examples discussed above, this group of structures do not sit on an elevated plateau, nor are they located within visible distance from the local river Marta or even the nearby coastline. It is the orientation of the huts in relation to one another, rather than topographical features that is of primary importance (Figure 2.11). Despite differences in size and shape, the huts are arranged in close proximity to one another. The only space distinguished from the huts is a central open space between them. This space served as a centralized access zone where visual contact between the huts and an approaching visitor could be made. A visitor was able to receive visual cues that would facilitate a decision as to where and how to enter one of the particular structures. In addition this space exercised a degree of control over the access of the huts, since all visitors by necessity had to pass through the centralized zone in order to enter any one of the huts. Some scholars have suggested that the size and shape variance of the huts is due

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[93] N. Negroni Catacchio (1986), "La fase di transizione bronzo-ferro in Etruria alla luce degli scavi di Tarquinia," in *Tarquinia: richerche, scavi e prospettive (atti del convegno internazionale di studi La Lombardia per gli Etruschi*), M. Bonghi Jovino and C. Chiaramonte Trerè, eds., Milan: L'Erma di Bretscheider, 227 notes the similarity as well for huts at Veii.

[94] A number of publications discuss the huts and their relationship to other contemporary settlements including Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 65-70 and Bartoloni (2000). Details of the excavation are found in R. E. Linington (1982), "Tarquinia, località Calvario: recenti interventi nella zona abitato protostorico," in *Archeologia nella Tuscia: primo incontro di studio, Viterbo 1980*, G. B. Caporali and A. M. Sgubini Moretti, eds. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 117-123.

to social stratification among the inhabitants,[95] while others have indicated that it may be a feature of differentiation between public and private function.[96] In either case the centralized space between serves as a unifier by controlling the access to the individualized structures and providing the visitor with a full exterior view of the huts in relation to one another prior to entrance. Where the overall approach allowed for less interaction between the architecture and the surrounding environment, emphasis is placed instead on the centrality of shared space as a means of access and approach.

Ficana

This type of central access as a means of approach is further developed at Ficana. The site of Ficana, located between Ostia and Rome, sits on the hill Monte Cugno overlooking the Tiber River to the north. It is approximately 7 kilometers inland from the Tyrrhenian Sea. Continuous habitation has been documented on the hill beginning in the eighth century BC. The earliest inhabitants lived in huts arranged on the northeast corner of the hill, which would have afforded visibility towards and from the nearby Tiber River (Figure 2.12). As was the case with Luni and Sorgenti della Nova, the most visible portion of the hill was not the most convenient means of approach due to the abruptness of the hillside. Excavators conjecture that the hill's most accessible route of approach would have been on its west side due to the building of a defensive agger here in the early part of the eighth century BC.[97] As with the monumental late Bronze Age building at Luni, the actual approach and entrance to the huts at Ficana was delayed as one traversed

[95] Bartoloni (2000).
[96] Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 68.
[97] A. Magaganini and E. Rystedt (1985), "Ficana" *Case e Palazzi d'Eturia*, S. Stopponi, ed. Milan: Electa, 164-177.

the hilltop. Once the hut area was reached the access to the huts was controlled by their arrangement around a loosely articulated open central space.

Between the two primary phases of habitation in this area (Phase I: 760-690 BC; Phase II: 630-600 BC) the space between the huts was narrowed allowing for a closer relationship between hut groups that has been attributed both to kinship and diverse functions.[98] In both phases the huts were arranged on two sides of a quadrilateral space, thus leaving two sides open for access and two sides closed by built space (Figure 2.13). In the first phase, the structures included a long, narrow dug-out hut that occupied the southern side of the arrangement, along with several smaller oval huts on the south and north. In the later phase the huts were much more closely arranged, but it was again the southwestern side of the space where the arrangement of the huts was more linear and tightly connected. Instead of one long hut, several smaller oval huts occupied this area. The formation of central space in both instances was rudimentary, but the attention to a linear arrangement of structures facing each other across an open space suggests an early awareness of centralization as a means of facilitating access between structures.

A later Archaic building on the site also utilized the principles of centralized access seen in the earlier hut arrangements, and refined them for use in a single structure. The structure, which is preserved only in part, is located due south from the huts in the southeast corner of the site (Figure 2.12). It is composed of two rooms, which do not

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[98] J. R. Brandt (1997), "Space and Orientation: Some Observations on Settlement Organization in Iron Age Latium," *ActaAArtHist* 9, 143-169 proposes that the site is arranged on the basis of 30 x 30 meter segments between kin groups. E. Jarva, "The Function of Huts and Houses with reference to the Latin Settlement at Ficana," *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies; Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997* (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 4* , 25), J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 189-194 argues that the huts were organized according to their varying functions.

appear to have communicated with each other, linearly arranged with entrances to the south. The presence of a few tufa blocks to the south of the western wall indicate that the structure may have also had a neighboring component to the south which would have created a small "courtyard" space to the south of the building (Figure 2.14).[99] In rubbish pits to the south of the structure within this "courtyard" space a banqueting service was found, leading to the proposal that this was the home of an elite member of Ficana society.[100] A look at the approach route and access for this structure adds to its distinctive nature. The building is certainly isolated from the major approach routes to the site, both visually and physically. It is almost due south of the area of earlier huts, and like those huts, uses a partial enclosure as a means of controlling access. Approach to this structure was not direct, but from most parts of the hill required a circuitous route to its southern facade. Like the monumental structure at Luni sul Mignone, the effect is one of anticipation and delayed understanding of the building as a whole. This is only accomplished once the visitor reaches the “courtyard” that precedes the structure itself. Thus, by the Archaic period a structure at Ficana combines both the topographic approach with centralized access. The two processes together serve to distinguish the structure by prolonging the approach and emphasizing the act of crossing its boundaries. This illustrates a continuity of Etrusco-Italic tradition in the region, as well as within the architectural practices at the site.

Satricum

[99] A. Rathje, (1983) "A Banquet Service from the Latin City of Ficana," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 12, 9-10.
[100] Rathje (1983), 26.

Perhaps the clearest example of this Etrusco-Italic architectural continuity can be found at the early Italic site of Satricum. Excavations conducted sporadically in the region during the nineteenth century and regularly since the 1970s have revealed the picture of a continuous settlement and sanctuary from the end of the ninth century BC through the Roman period.[101] The site is located south of Rome on a low plain along the Astura River overlooking the Pontine marshes. Like many of the examples seen thus far it most certainly would have relied on waterways for a means of approach. The major buildings in all periods are located on the "acropolis," the north corner of which protrudes slightly to correspond to a bend in the Astura River (Figure 2.15). The first settlement on the plateau, which dates to the end of the ninth century BC was composed of oval huts of various sizes arranged primarily in the southwestern portion of the acropolis. Several clusters of huts have been distinguished, but the overall plan is one of huts and hut groups in a semi-circular arrangement around open space to the north and northeast. By the seventh century BC there was a water basin in this space[102], as well as a paved road leading to it from the northwest slope of the hill (Figure 2.16). Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink hypothesizes that during the earlier phases of the hut settlement a water feature of some type occupied the space in the center of the plateau until the seventh century lacus was constructed.[103] Later in the beginning of the sixth century BC the huts were slowly replaced by buildings with stone foundations (Figure 2.17). While the later

[101] For a summary of the excavations and archaeological remains of Satricum see the primary publication of the site in two volumes. M. Maaskant-Kleibrink (1987), *Settlement Excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere (Satricum), Volume I*, Gronigen: E. Forsten and M. Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), *Settlement Excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere (Satricum), Volumn II*, Gronigen: E. Forsten. Votive material and ancient literary references indicate that Satricum was sacred to the goddess Mater Matuta.
[102] See Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), 108-109 for background on water cults in early Latium.
[103] Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), 108.

structures on the hill are more architecturally complicated, with their own individual patterns of access and movement, throughout its history, the site in general maintained its original plan: a concentration of buildings facing a central *lacus* to the northwest. By the middle of the sixth century BC with the construction of a temple on the southeast portion of the plateau, the centralized *lacus* and the space around it became the primary point of access for all structures, monumental and otherwise, on the acropolis.

In this case, centrality is maintained at the site and emphasized by the continual arrangement around the *lacus*. This is confirmed by the overall approach to the site. The open central space on the acropolis, the eventual location of the lacus, was the focal point of approach during all phases of the site. Excavators suggest that the acropolis was accessible from its long northwestern flank, and evidence of an Archaic road to the northwest of the plateau has been documented (Figure 2.15).[104] Although no gates or specific entryways to the plateau have been found, this same road appears to have run the length of the acropolis from the northwest to the southeast corner, where it descended to the Astura River. Excavation on the acropolis suggests that the road's extension on the plateau and the seventh century BC water basin are contemporary. It is likely that the transverse road is a paved articulation of an even earlier path or road that dates to the beginnings of the Iron Age settlement and that the water basin is a physical manifestation of the centrality of this area.

[104] Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), 18-28 presents a summary of all the roads found in the region and on the plateau to date. See also B. Heldring (1998), *Satricum: A Town in Latium*, Amsterdam: Foundation Dutch Centre for Latium Studies, figure 29.

Because the road enters the plateau from the northwest, a visitor would naturally encounter the centralized space before gaining access to the huts or later, the buildings on the site. In addition the location of many of the structures on the southeastern part of the hill would have restricted views from the Astura River, making the visual impact of the northwestern approach even more dramatic after a long approach path.[105] As with the previous examples at Tarquinia and Ficana, the centralized space ultimately maintains control over the further access of the site's buildings. The Iron Age settlement at Satricum had at least 40 huts of different sizes in the center of the acropolis. The excavators have assigned a variety of functions to them including, dwelling spaces, cooking sheds, storage areas and, in one case, a temple.[106] Thus, the centralized space would have allowed visitors and inhabitants visual and physical access to a number of vital urban functions, serving as an early type of public gathering space.

As at Ficana, the same spatial principles that were applied to the site overall, were later applied to individual structures. Once architecture with stone foundations makes its appearance at Satricum, the principle of centralized space is incorporated into the some of the built structures as well. Two courtyard buildings are documented at Satricum in the beginning of the sixth century BC: Building A and Building B. Of the two, Building A is the better preserved (Figure 2.17). The buildings' plan, two continuous wings of rooms around a courtyard enclosed on three sides, has been compared to the Etrusco-Italic

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[105] Ridge-pole akroteria from the second phase of the temple (c. 500 BC) would have been an exception. They are a later feature of the approach and visibility patterns of the site. See P. Lulof (1996), *The Ridgepole Statues from the Late Archaic Temple at Satricum*, Amsterdam: Univeristy of Amsterdam.
[106] Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), 113-123.

"palazzi" that are central to this study and will be discussed below.[107] It is important to note the continuity of centralization as a feature of access and approach throughout the building phases at Satricum. From the organization of the Iron Age huts around a central water feature to the courtyard plan of Building A, the point of access at Satricum is generally from a centralized space. At a site where the approach route is more the product of man-made roads, and less dependent upon the visibility of river traffic or nearby hillsides, centralization of space became the most important means of communicating access.

II.3 The mechanics of interior movement

The examples above have demonstrated the relationship of the exterior of a structure to its larger environment. The approach to a space becomes more and more focused as the visitor nears the goal. Thus, one final type of approach and access remains for examination: the articulation of a threshold for entrance to the interior of a building. This concerns the passing over or through a doorway and moving from one space to another, a particularly important transition in the Etrusco-Italic world where a great deal of emphasis was placed on boundaries.[108] In addition the effects of a distant approach route or the accessibility of an exterior centralized space that have been the topic of the previous sections of this chapter only have significance once the intended interior space is entered. For the earliest structures of the Etrusco-Italic world it is very difficult to

[107] Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992), 130-136.
[108] For the sacred nature of boundaries in the Etrusco-Italic world, see Edlund-Berry (1987), 37-38-; 137-138.

document doorways in the archaeological record.[109] In the case of huts there are no remains at all, as only postholes record the positioning of the structure on the ground. Later buildings with stone foundations are also difficult to read because a doorway is not always marked by a cavity in the foundation walls. Sometimes the doorway of a room or building included the foundation wall, which served as a literal boundary to step over. For this reason it will remain difficult to precisely demarcate the doorways of early Etrusco-Italic building spaces. However, there are occasions when certain observations about spatial arrangement can be made with or without actual doorways. The examples chosen below are those that illustrate specific attention in the architectural remains to the importance of entrance and the complexities of access throughout a structure. Close attention will be paid to the accuracy of the archaeological record.

The monumental late Bronze Age hut at Luni, discussed above, was oriented on the tufa plateau in such a way as to be visible from the surrounding region. Once a viewer had reached the plateau the hut would have also been prominent. As stated above, the hut was most likely approached from the east, by way of a slightly circuitous route to bring the viewer in contact with its northern entrance. The presence of an adjoining cave to the south would have made entry from this side more difficult, as would have the higher levels of natural bedrock in this region. Because the structure was dug out of the bedrock, entering it required an act of descent. The interior of the hut has been reconstructed with an artificial horizontal floor above the natural bedrock (Figure 2.4). Evidence for this is

[109] See Izzet (1996) and Dvorsky Rohner (1996) for previous studies of doorways and thresholds in early Etrusco-Italic architecture. For a technical study of ancient thresholds see, R. Kyllingstad and E. Sjöqvist (1965), "Hellenistic doorways and thresholds from Morgantina," *ActaAArtHist* 2, 23-34.

suggested by cuttings for horizontal floor beams 3-3.5 meters above the natural floor. This is slightly below the bedrock level on the exterior, requiring a step down. The natural floor continued to descend from the entryway, eventually to a depth of 6 meters, while the artificial floor maintained the level of the entrance, thus providing continuity with the point of entry. There are other examples of similar structures that utilized depth as a means of articulating interior space. The earlier Apennine huts at Luni were cut out of the bedrock at a depth of nearly 1.5 meters. Large structures at Monte Rovello, San Giovenale and Sorgenti della Nova all provided entry into space between 2-3 meters below the level of the surrounding bedrock.[110] Such early examples indicate that a controlled depth change was a familiar means of marking the passage from one space to another.

Another early method of distinguishing between interior and exterior spaces was the creation of a boundary wall. An example has recently been excavated on the plain of the ancient city of Tarquinia, Cività (Figure 2.10). Here archaeologists have uncovered a sacred enclosure associated with the graves of infants and a young boy. The gradual development of a monumental building in this area began in the eighth century and continued to the fifth century BC.[111] The first rudimentary building in the area dates to the eighth century BC when the gravesite was enclosed simply with polygonal stone walls. By the early seventh a new building was built, Building *beta*, which was a small two-roomed sacellum with a pronaos and a cella with an altar, surrounded by an

[110] Hellström (2001), 166-167.
[111] For a thorough publication of this site see Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Trerè (1997). Summaries are available in D. Ridgway and F. R. Serra Ridgway (1999), "New Aspects of Tarquinia, Veii, and Caere; and a New Etruscan Overview," *JRA* 12, 440-452 and Bonghi Jovino (2000) for a reconstruction drawing.

enclosure wall on all sides (Figure 2.18). Unlike the previous structure in the area, this complex was oriented east-west, with the more prominent of two proposed thresholds in the outer wall facing east.[112] Maria Bonghi Jovino suggests religious motives as the reason for the orientation change.[113] In addition, she likens the building plan and the axiality to sacred enclosures from palaces in the Near East.[114] It is important to note that unlike Near Eastern palaces where a sacred space is placed on a central axis to facilitate visibility within an overall building plan, the Tarquinia enclosure was not part of a larger structure and would have been highly visible within the landscape itself. It did not need to be further distinguished from its surroundings.

The axiality of the building and the surrounding boundary wall may instead be a feature for distinguishing the entrance. There are possibly two gates that access the north side of the Cività plain in the vicinity of the complex (Figure 2.10). One would allow a visitor to approach the building from the east and the other from the west. The western approach would be the more circuitous, while the eastern would be direct. On both approaches the complex would be visible across the plain. Thus the threshold in the outer boundary wall is an important means of differentiating the process of approach from the act of entering the building. The process is repeated for the visitor who crosses the second threshold into the interior of the sacellum, and yet again at the threshold between the pronaos and the cella. In the case of this complex, thresholds and access mark the

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[112] This threshold is suggested by "fondazioni molto robuste che ben avrebbero potuto sorreggere un portale," Bonghi Jovino (2000), 266.
[113] Bonghi Jovino (2000), 265.
[114] Bonghi Jovino, (2000), 265.

progression of less to more sacred space. For this reason a clear articulation in the walls of the structure is vital to their function.

Both of these examples illustrate the origins of the mechanics of interior movement in Etrusco-Italic architecture. For these early buildings the process of interior movement was relatively uncomplicated, either simple exterior-interior movement or straightforward progression from one space to the next without multiple options for further movement. In both cases the crossing from one space to the next was an important part of the visitor's experience of the architecture. We have seen throughout this chapter how approach begins in the overall landscape and moves into the built environment. By the seventh and sixth centuries BC, some Etrusco-Italic building complexes were adding other modes of interior movement and access possibilities, such as placement of architectural decoration to direct viewers toward other accessible areas of a structure or additional wings with interior spaces. As the architectural process developed, so the sophistication of approach and access was adapted alongside it. The principles of visibility and approach within the landscape and the usage of a centralized space as an entrance area did not disappear with later architectural refinements. Instead, the monumental Etrusco-Italic buildings of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods adapted these principles and added further intricacies of interior movement to suit an increasing diversity of building function and usage.

II.4 Conclusions: Etrusco-Italic "palazzi"

The climax of this development can be found in the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" of the seventh and sixth centuries BC. In these complexes the spatial processes of approach and

access converged to create a type of structure unique in the ancient Mediterranean world. These monumental complexes combined earlier architectural traditions to meet a multifunctional need of public, private and sacred space. They survived only for a short time and when they eventually fell out of use at the end of the sixth century BC, the patterns of approach and access that characterized them were dispersed among the developing realms of Roman architecture, such as public, gathering spaces or domestic interiors. Their pivotal position in Etrusco-Italic architecture makes them worthy of special consideration.

The Etrusco-Italic “palazzi” appear in Italy in the midddle of the seventh century BC. Instead of simple one or two room structures as was previously the architectural pattern, these buildings were distinguished by several rooms arranged in linear wings around a central courtyard. In addition, these new structures utilized monumental building materials and had stone foundations and tile roofs, with walls of tightly packed earth or mudbrick. Unfortunately, these architectural features are among their least discussed attributes. When the two most frequently-cited examples, at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa (Figures 2.19, 2.20), were given the designation "palazzo" by Italian archaeologists, indicating that they served as dwellings and administrative centers for wealthy rulers who maintained control over the surrounding territory, they became more important as symbols of economic, political and cultural change in the Etrusco-Italic world than as unique architectural entities.[115] The designation “palazzo” and its

[115] For the social and economic dimensions of the “palazzi” see M. Menichetti (1994), *Archeologia del potere. Re immagini e miti a Roma e in Etruria in età arcaica*. Milan: Longenesi and L. A. Flusche (1999),

accompanying elite political power is far from certain.[116] Material finds are varied and characteristic of domestic, public, sacred and production contexts. The architecture of the complexes themselves does not adhere to a unified model and is by no means solely characteristic of the large, urban administrative residences with which the word "palazzo" is usually associated in Italian architecture.[117] In commenting upon the dangers of classifying these buildings as "palazzi" without more concrete evidence for such a designation, Ingrid Rowland says, "…we have no means of knowing for certain what either building or [its architectural decoration] were actually used for. It seems more constructive to call attention to our persistent uncertainty than to bury it deep under layers of conventional wisdom."[118]

An example of this type of thinking can be seen in the buildings' association with political power. Because of the designation "palazzo," they have also been linked to other courtyard structures associated with politics and ruling power, namely the Regia in Rome

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Etruscan Domestic Architecture of the Orientalizing, Archaic and Classical Periods (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana).

[116] The designation of these structures as "palazzi" began in the 1970s with the publication of the finds from excavations at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa. For particularly noteworthy early discussions see, M. Cristofani (1975), "Considerazioni su Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena), *Prospettiva* 1, 9-17. A. R. Staccioli (1976), "Considerazioni sui complessi monumentali di Murlo e di Acquarossa," in *Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon: L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine*, Rome: École Française de Rome, 471-492 and M. Torelli (1983), "*Polis* et 'palazzo.' Architettura, ideologia e artigianato greco in Etruria tra VII e VI sec. a.C.," in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la républicque romaine*, (Collection de École Française de Rome 66), Rome: École Française de Rome, 471-492. By the 1980s the designation of 'palazzo" had begun to receive general acceptance without question and incorporated into discussions of Etrusco-Italic architecture, as evidenced by the exhibition catalog, S. Stopponi, ed. (1985), *Case e palazzi d'Etruria* Milan: Electa, which included discussions of Acquarossa, Poggio Civitate, Ficana, Castelnuovo Berardegna, the Regia at Rome, Satricum and Montetosto. Recent publications continue to present the "palazzo" designation as fact, including Torelli (2000) and S. Haynes (2000), *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* London: British Museum Press.

[117] The Italian architectural "palazzo" refers to a large, urban administrative center. It is usually residential in character, serving as the home to a ruling family or aristocrat, but it can also be public, as in the "palazzo comunale" or "palazzo pubblico," which served as municipal or civic administrative centers. It can also refer to an apartment building. In all cases a "palazzo" is a feature of the urban landscape.

[118] I. D. Rowland (2001), "Etruscan Secrets," *New York Review of Books* (July 5, 2001), 17.

and the Prytaneion in Athens.[119] However, marked differences in their architectural layout, size and proximity to urban centers cast doubt on this association. For example, the "palazzi" at Poggio Civitate and Montetosto are isolated, the former on a hill plateau and the latter in a funerary, non-urban context. Conversely, the Prytaneion, the Regia, and monumental buildings at Satricum and Acquarossa are more similar in size, architectural plan and their location within a larger settlement.[120] This, and many other observations, make it clear that the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" are not uniform in design or function and that attempts to overshadow these differences by masking them behind the political or social connotations of the name "palazzo" only inhibits accurate evaluation of the architectural remains.

It is my intention to return the analysis of these structures to the certainty of their architectural remains. It is as architecture that they are truly revolutionary. In terms of construction, building material, architectural planning and spatial awareness they greatly advanced the progress of architecture in Italy. Their architects and planners utilized many of the Etrusco-Italic architectural traditions of their predecessors, while at the same time refining them and adding to them to create the first truly multifunctional spaces in Italy.

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[119] C. Scheffer (1990), "Domus Regiae—A Greek Tradition?" *OpAth* 18, 185-191. For a formal discussion of the architectural characteristics of prytaneia see S. G. Miller (1978), *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 25-37.

[120] Scheffer (1990) illustrates the similarities between these four structures and proposes that their unified form is the product of Greek influnence upon Etrusco-Italic builders. The Prytaneion (Building F) at Athens is 18.5 x 27 meters; the Regia at Rome is 22 x 22 meters; the monumental building at Acquarossa is 32.7 x 27.2 meters; Buildilng A at Satricumis 25 x 24.2 meters. This is a dramatic difference from the Archaic structure at Poggio Civitate which measured c. 60 x 60 meters. In terms of location the Prytaneion was in the Athenian agora, the Regia in the Roman Forum, while the monumental building at Acquarossa and Building A at Satricum are both in monumental districts of a larger settlement.

An examination of these processes provides a more accurate demonstration of the architectural experience and usage of the complexes.

The two most frequently mentioned examples of Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" are building complexes at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and the monumental area at the site of Acquarossa, which are the focus of the next two chapters. Although they are often paired the two sites are vastly different in terms of size, building plan and patterns of access and approach. Other examples of "palazzi" mentioned frequently are Building A at Satricum, the Regia of the Roman Forum, the funerary complex at Montetosto, as well as less well-preserved structures as Poggio Buco, Ficana and Castelnuovo Berardegna. Some of these sites possess remains that are too fragmentary or unreadable to contribute to this analysis.[121] Others serve as interesting comparanda to the examples at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa, each of them highlighting different architectural developments in terms of access and interior movement.

The first development is the incorporation of the centralized access space into the interior of the complex. In the previous examples of this chapter an open, centralized access space was a feature of a settlement and did not necessarily belong to one particular building, but rather was a unifying feature for a cluster of structures. By the time structures with stone foundations were replacing huts in Italy, the central space became a

[121] The remains at Poggio Buco are too fragmentary to draw any specific conclusions about access and movement. The site is located in Southern Etruria on the plateau of Sparne above the confluence of three rivers, the Fiora, the Bavoso and the Rubbiano. A monumental complex of the late seventh/early sixth century BC was excavated on the plateau's eastern edge at the end of the nineteenth century and is known only by photos and the existence of related architectural frieze plaques. From this evidence it is not possible to conjecture about the placement of doorways or the boundaries of interior rooms. See G. Bartoloni (1992), "Palazzo o Tempio? A proposito dell'edificio arcaico di Poggio Buco,"*Archeologia e Storia Antica* 14, 9-31. A "palazzo" is usually mentioned at the site of Castelnouvo Berardegna. Disturbance to the excavation site makes any archaeological conclusions impossible in this case.

device to facilitate access to various rooms within a single structure or complex. With Satricum's Building A or the building at Ficana discussed above these courtyard features were seen as a sign of continuity within the spatial practices of the site. However, the idea of centralized space as a means of access was not limited to sites where centralized settlements had preceded such structures. The site of Montetosto is an interesting example of a "palazzo" because unlike Italian “palazzi” it was not located in an urban context. Instead it possesses a funerary context, located near a large tumulus on the ancient road between Caere and Pyrgi (Figure 2.21).[122] The building is similar in plan to the other "palazzi," composed of a square measuring 54 x 54 meters, and at least two wings of rooms and evidence of an enclosing wall on the other two sides (Figure 2.22). Giovanni Colonna concludes that the main entrance to the complex was on the west side where there are foundations for a small vestibule leading directly to the central space.[123] There are no indications for other doorways, but the layout of the structure makes it clear that the individual rooms would have been most easily entered from the central space. Such an assumption is also possible for Building A at Satricum and the Regia in the Roman Forum, as well as Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa. In addition, in all of these cases, the centralized space is the largest space in the complex and the most accessible.[124] The Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" refine the use of centralized space seen already in settlements to include accessibility to interior spaces within a single complex.

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[122]G. Colonna (1963), "Un nouvo sanctuario dell'agro ceretano," *StEtr* 31, 135-147 and G. Colonna (1985a), "Montetosto," *Case e palazzi d'Etruria*, S. Stopponi, ed. Milan: Electa, 192-196.

[123] Colonna (1985a), 193.

[124] At Poggio Civitate the central courtyard of the Archaic Building is not immediately accessible in that a small vestibule must be passed through before reaching it. Likewise the fourth phase of the Regia has a small room that precedes the courtyard.

I believe that this use of centralized space has contributed to the buildings' designation as "palazzi." The central courtyard is an accepted feature of ancient palatial complexes, as can be seen in discussions of palace compounds in Bronze Age Greece and the ancient Near East.[125] However, the use of a central court in the Etrusco-Italic complexes may be derivative of earlier Italic traditions of access and interior movement, rather than an imitation of Eastern palatial characteristics. A notable parallel has been made between the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" and the contemporary Cypriote palace at Vouni (Figure 2.23).[126] In both structures a courtyard occupies the central axis of the complex structure. However, an important difference between the palace at Vouni and the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" is the relationship between the exterior and interior and the accessibility of the central space. The Vouni courtyard is removed from the exterior by a vestibule and accompanying rooms that are nearly equal in size to the space of the courtyard itself. In addition, the central space of the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" communicates with all or nearly all of the spaces of the rest of the complex, while the Vouni palace possesses an entire wing of rooms to the southwest removed from its courtyard—a component of a palatial complex for storage and living quarters that is lacking in the Etrusco-Italic examples. The same objection can be raised with potential comparisons to the even earlier courtyards of palaces on Minoan Crete.[127] In the Etrusco-

[125] E. Gjerstad (1933), "Further Remarks on the Palace at Vouni," *AJA* 37, 589-598. See also I. Nielsen (1999), *Hellenstic Palaces Tradition and Renewel*, Aarhus: Aaruhus University Press, 54-61.
[126] Torelli (1985), "Introduzione," *Case e Palazzi d'Etruria*, Milan: Electa, 28-29 and I. Nielsen, (1999), 61.
[127] See C. Palyvou (2002), "Central Courts: The Supremacy of the Void," in *Monuments of Minos: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces* (*Aegeum* 23), J. Driessen, et.al., eds. Liège: Universite de Liège, 167-177. She refers to the courtyards as urban semi-public spaces where the entrance is controlled and is used by the

Italic examples the centralized space is not simply the focal point of the structure, but serves as the principle portal for movement into the other spaces. It is thus a continuation of an Italic tradition of access and facilitation of movement. This does not mean that similar functions, such as gatherings and demonstrations, could have occurred in these diverse centralized spaces, but in the Etrusco-Italic examples the centralized space maintains greater control over all the other spaces of the complex. This is not the case in the courtyards of the Eastern palaces, where there are a number of such controlling spaces, decreasing the function and visibility of the courtyard itself.

A second development in terms of interior movement is the number of rooms within the complex and deeper patterns of accessibility. Unlike the early examples of Italic interior mechanics at Luni and Tarquinia, the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" have rooms with the ability to give access to more than one space beyond them. Instead of linear patterns of access some of their rooms may offer access to two spaces beyond in a Y-shaped pattern. Such an arrangement can also be seen in the Etruscan tombs of Cerveteri, with the eventual adaptation of even further divisions.[128] This is an important distinguishing factor between the "palazzi" and other centralized structures in Italy such as the continuous wings of open cell-like rooms of the sanctuary at the Etrusco-Italic port of Pyrgi.[129] or the chambers behind the U-shaped stoa at the Greek colony of Locri, the Centrocamere, which dates to the seventh century BC.[130] In both cases, the centralized

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public under particular conditions. She notes that certain quarters of the palace totally lack communication with the central court or that intercommunication between these quarters is by an indirect route, .

[128] Izzet (1996), 66-68; figure 2.

[129] G. Colonna (1985b), "Il sanctuario di Leucotea-Ilizia a Pyrgi," *Santuari d'Etruria*, G. Colonna, ed. Milan: Electa, 127-130.

[130] M. Barra Bagnasco et. al., eds. (1977), *Locri Epizefiri I* Florence: Laruffa.

space is surrounded by porticos facing an open side on the sea. The individual rooms are not interconnected in any way and possess no access other than doorways towards the central space. These examples have been identified with the worship of female goddesses (Leucothea and Aphrodite) and the cell-like arrangement of rooms around a central space has been suggested as suitable for the ritual enactment of sacred prostitution.[131] Finally the later development of south Italian *macella* at Pompeii and Naples may also be offered as examples of comparable structures with wings of rooms around a central space, but yet again their surrounding rooms are all open to the central space with no depth of access or movement.[132] It is the patterns of access and the mechanics of interior movement that clearly distinguish the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" from these other structures in Italy.

At the same time the Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" do not share the more complicated patterns of interior movement that one sees in early examples of Roman houses, such as at an early atrium house at the Etrusco-Italic site of Roselle or the farmhouse recently excavated beneath the Rome auditorium, both of which are discussed in the final chapter. These structures represent even further refinements of the Etrusco-Italic spatial traditions of interior movement in the realm of private architecture. While this is one manifestation of the continuity of the Etrusco-Italic tradition in Roman architecture, one must also consider how the patterns of approach, access and movement impacted the public sphere of architecture and the development of spaces for gathering and visibility. A closer look at the patterns of approach and access in the two most notable Etrusco-Italic "palazzi," at

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[131] For the cult of Aphrodite at Locri see, M. Torelli (1977), "I culti di Locri," in *Locri Epizefiri I*, M. Barra Bagnasco, et. al., eds., Florence: Laruffa. *147*-156. For the suggestion of sacred prostitution at Pyrgi, see G. Colonna, (1985b).

[132] N. Nabers (1973), "The Architectural Variations of the Macellum," *OpRom* 9, 173-176.

Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa, both illustrates how Etrusco-Italic spatial patterns are equally appropriate to public and private functions in these structures, while also foreshadows their separation during the development of Roman architecture.

Chapter III

Monumental Architecture in Etruria: Poggio Civitate (Murlo)

Poggio Civitate (Murlo) is located approximately 20 kilometers southeast of Siena in the fertile hills of Tuscany. "The Hill of Cities"[133] has been excavated since 1966, initially under the direction of Kyle M. Phillips, Jr. While it is known for its rich corpus of artifacts, including distinctive architectural terracottas, it is also an informative source of Etrusco-Italic architectural history.[134] Its Archaic period "palazzo" and the preceding monumental complex of the Orientalizing period provide two important examples of Etrusco-Italic building traditions and techniques (Figure 3.1). The Archaic building is a massive 60 x 61 meter complex composed of an enclosed courtyard surrounded by four wings of continuous rooms.[135] It was constructed sometime near the beginning of the sixth century BC and destroyed by 525 BC. The Orientalizing complex, on the other

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[133] I. Rowland (1994), "Early Attestations of the Name, 'Poggio Civitate,'" R. D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds, *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 3-5.

[134] The bibliography associated with Poggio Civitate (Murlo) is extensive. A summary of publications associated with the site is provided in K. Phillips, Jr. (1993), *In the Hills of Tuscany*: *Recent Excavations at the Site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. In addition submissions by many of the scholars and archaeologists associated with the site can be found in R. D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds. (1994), *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. A recent summary of the history of excavation and interpretation of the site, as well as extensive bibliography, can be found in S. Campana (2001), *Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena Volume 5: Murlo*, Siena: Nuova Immagine, 282-292.

[135] The nomenclature of this building and the others from the earlier phase of the site varies and has changed as the excavations have continued and new evidence has been found. For a summary see, N. T. DeGrummond, " Poggio Civitate: A Turning Point," *Etruscan Studies* (1997), 23-40. I believe that the complications associated with nomenclature are a result of the duration of the ongoing excavations and indicative of the uncertainty associated with archaeological discovery. The earliest excavation reports refer to the Archaic building as a "temple." As excavations continued and its massive dimensions were understood the building was referred to as "the large building" and as discussions of its function became common it was referred to alternatively as a sanctuary, meeting hall, or forum. With the discovery of earlier structures beneath it, the Archaic structure began to be called the Upper Building. In order to avoid confusion I will defer to chronology and refer to the building as the Archaic complex.

hand, was composed of three separate buildings: a rectangular building c. 8.5 x 39 meters beneath the western flank of the Archaic structure,[136] portions of a three-roomed structure beneath the southern flank of the archaic structure and a third building to the southeast with three rows of columns but no foundation walls, indicative of a covered shed or portico space.[137] This complex was destroyed by fire near the beginning of the sixth century BC. Although neither building complex had a particularly long life, together they are instructive for understanding the development of approach and access in the Etrusco-Italic world. This is particularly noteworthy because of the well-documented relationship between the two building phases on the site.

As with the other Etrusco-Italic "palazzi" much debate has characterized discussions of the Orientalizing or the Archaic complex's function. It is my intention to liberate the architecture of the site from prescribed notions of the function of a palace, a sanctuary, a public square or any other potential designation. Instead I undertake a close look at the architectural remains of the site. Using the three processes of approach and access already seen to have been at work in the years prior to the Orientalizing and Archaic periods—approach and visibility from the natural landscape, articulation of centralized space and mechanics of interior movement—I evaluate the architectural

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[136] In most of the excavators' publications this building is known as the Lower Building. In order to avoid confusion I will refer to it as the western component of the Orientalizing complex.

[137] A plan or detailed discussion of these components of the Orientalizing complex has not been published together. The "Lower Building" is discussed in Phillips (1993), 51-78. The cohesiveness of the Orientalizing complex has been noted by A. Tuck, (2000) "Architecture and Community at Poggio Civitate," *Etruscan Studies* 7, 109-112. The function of the three buildings is not known. Based on artifactual evidence a residential function for the western component has been assumed. The architecturally open nature of the southeast building combined with the discovery of a number of materials associated with the production of terracotta, bronzework, ivory and glass has led to the designation of this structure as a workshop. The tripartite nature of the southern component is evocative and could indicate a sacred function, but artifactual evidence is inconclusive.

experience of the monumental buildings at Poggio Civitate. The result is not a building that can be defined with a single description, but a multifunctional space, which combines many elements of its predecessors and demonstrates continuity with the Etrusco-Italic architectural tradition.

III.1 Approach and visibility of the monumental complex

The hill of Poggio Civitate is dominated by a high plateau that was likely its primary area of habitation. The eastern portion of this plateau, the Piano del Tesoro levels off and is the site of the major architectural finds and the location of the Orientalizing and Archaic period monumental complexes. The western portion of the hill rises slightly forming a spur known as Poggio Aguzzo where excavators have found evidence of a necropolis (Figure 3.2).[138] On all sides of the hill the terrain is steep, but on the eastern and western sides the path to the plateau above slopes making an approach on foot possible.

Because of the relatively isolated position of the hill, the monumental complex on its high, flat plateau was most likely visible from a great many directions in the surrounding region. We have already seen how Etrusco-Italic architects utilized such views to impact the visitor during approach or before entering the structures. This could have either created a sense of open invitation to potential viewers of the complex or conversely may have been intended as a form of visual domination or intimidation. Kyle Phillips noted that the hill's isolated position created a lack of natural defense. He suggested that this indicated a hill of "peaceful habitation and not military

[138] A. Tuck (1996), "New Burials at Poggio Aguzzo (Murlo): Economic and Cultural Development in Orientalizing Period Etruria," *AJA* 100, 399-400.

domination."[139] However, the impact of a strong visual presence in the region cannot be underestimated in terms of establishing at least a subtle hint of domination. While excavations on Poggio Civitate are ongoing, no significant traces of a substantial settlement outside of the monumental complex have been uncovered on the immediate hillside to date. Survey in the territory of Poggio Civitate and the nearby village of Murlo conducted in conjunction with the project, "Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena," has revealed a concentration of Orientalizing and Archaic habitations in the area immediately below the northern edge of Poggio Civitate, near the modern town of Lupompesi, as well as to the southeast scattered along the land route to the Ombrone River (Figure 3.3).[140] The proximity of local settlements indicates that one of the factors in the siting and orientation of the monumental complex at Poggio Civitate was visibility for a local community. However, both the Archaic complex and the Orientalizing structures could have accommodated a substantial number of people, suggesting that visitors outside of the regional population approached the hilltop as well. Therefore a complete understanding of the approachability must take into account both types of visitors.

The geographic position of Poggio Civitate is another factor which would dictate that approach and visibility were concerns of the architects of the complex. Poggio Civitate is well-situated within the larger setting of northern Etruria, located at the eastern boundary of the metal-bearing mountains of the Maremma, linking it to the prosperous

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[139] K. Phillips, Jr. (1970), *Poggio Civitate: The Archaic Etruscan Sanctuary* (catalog of the exhibition) Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 21-22.
[140] Campana (2001), 291.

metal trade of this region along the northern shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea.[141] Siena to the north and the Crete, a region particularly known for rich soil and clay, to the east provided Poggio Civitate with ideal resources for agricultural and ceramic production (Figure 3.4). In addition it was connected to major Etruscan centers by water. It is north of the Ombrone River, a major river linking the coast and inland Etruria (Figure 3.4). The site would have been linked to the Ombrone by way of its tributary, the Crevole, which winds around the western edge of Poggio Civitate. Poggio Civitate was at an important crossroads for both land and water traffic.

The importance of the Ombrone River as a nexus for communication between inland Etruria and the coast has already been noted. By means of it and its tributaries, in particular the Arbia, Chiani, Merse and Orcia, travellers and inhabitants of the region were connected to the settlements of Populonia and Vetulonia on the Tyrhennian Sea, as well as Chiusi, the Chianti region and the Arno valley. During the Orientalizing period, when trading and commerce facilitated the creation of a greater number of sites in Etruria than had existed previously, the Ombrone region became populated with a number of new, smaller sites, some possessing great wealth. Poggio Civitate was one such location, although archaeological evidence indicates that it wasn't alone. Other settlements were established at nearby Castelnuovo Beradenga and Asciano (Molinello) during this period (Figure 3.4).[142] Finally Pliny tells us that the Ombrone was a navigable river in

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[141] G. P. Warden (1984), "The Colline Metallifere: Prolegomena to the study of Mineral Exploration in Central Italy," in *Crossroads of the Mediterranean. Papers delivered at the International Conference on the Archaeology of Early Italy, Haffenreffer Museum, Brown University, 8-10 May 1981*, T. Hackens, N. D. Holloway, and R. R. Holloway, eds. Lovain: Higher Institute of Archaeology and Art History, 349-364.
[142] Haynes (2000), 112.

antiquity.[143] Certainly the proximity of the Ombrone River exerted a strong influence on the location and orientation of structures at Poggio Civitate. Kyle Phillips pointed out the visibility of Poggio Civitate from the Ombrone River by noting that, in conjunction with the settlement of Montalcino to the south of the Ombrone, Poggio Civitate would have dominated the river route between the coast and inland locations.[144]

It is difficult to determine at what point the monumental complex at Poggio Civitate would have been visible to traffic on the Ombrone River. The tributary Crevole forks away from the Ombrone to the northwest at the modern village of La Befa and passes the point of Monte Pertuso before continuing around the western side of Poggio Civitate. This side would have afforded a view of Poggio Aguzzo, obscuring the elevation and decoration of the monumental complex.[145] The Ombrone continues east after it leaves the junction with the Crevole and turns north near the modern town of Buonconvento, ultimately reaching Asciano and Castelnuovo Beradegna, two sites that have provided evidence of seventh-century settlement and necropoleis.[146] Without

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[143] Pliny, *Natural History* 3.8

[144] Phillips (1993) 2.

[145] I will return to the rooftop decoration of the monumental complex at Poggio Civitate. The rich and vast rooftop display of the Archaic Building is unmatched in the Etrusco-Italic world of this period. Certainly it was a significant factor in the visibility of the structure both from afar and at closer distances. See I. E. M. Edlund-Berry (1992), *The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider. The importance of akroterial statuary as Etruscan innovation in visual impression was first understood with the discovery of the terracotta sculptures from the Portonaccio Sanctuary at Veii. "…the [Portonaccio] group in its entirety was to be viewed from below, sideways, the statues following each other in a straight line along the pitched roof. No other example of this manner of architectural decoration had previously been noted. There could be little doubt that it represented Etruscan innovation, contrary to Greek architectureal taste and not matched anywhere outside of Italy." O. Brendel (1978), *Etruscan Art*, New York: Penguin Books, 239. Interestingly Brendel takes note of the continuity of architectural tradition in Italy as he likens this Etruscan decoration to the Baroque facades of St. Peter's and the Lateran Basilicas in Rome.

[146] For recent finds in the Valle del Ombrone, including Castelnuovo Berardegna and Asciano, see E. Margani (1991), "Castelnuovo Berardegna (Siena): Necropoli principesca in località Poggione, Tombe B e C (1983 and 1985)," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 92-92 (1990-1991), 5-86, E. Margani (1992),

knowledge of ancient vegetation patterns, it is impossible to conjecture whether any portion of the eastern elevation of the monumental complex at Poggio Civitate was visible from this distance on the Ombrone, although certainly once Buonconvento was reached intervening hills would have blocked successful viewing. However, the placement of the monumental complex on the eastern plateau of Poggio Civitate, the Piano del Tesoro, strengthens the possibility that the complex was meant to be visible from the eastern side. I would suggest that the Ombrone River as a route between the coast and other contemporary settlements, such as those at Asciano (Molinello) and Castelnuovo Beradegna, was a major factor in the placement of the Poggio Civitate complexes in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Between Buonconvento and La Befa monumental architecture may have been visible on this highly trafficked waterway. A visitor with previous knowledge of the complex would know that the tributary of the Crevole provided access to the western side of the hill; others may have chosen to stop near Buonconvento and access the complex by foot from the southeastern side (Figure 3.5).[147] And viewers not intending to visit the complex at all may have at least glimpsed it and its decorative roof.

The next question to consider in terms of the setting of the complexes is by what route a visitor was intended to reach the plateau of Poggio Civitate. In order to answer

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"Castelnuovo Berardegna (Siena): L'orientalizzante recente in Etruria settentrionale: Tomba A della necropoli principessa del Poggione (1980)," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 42-43 (1988-1989), 5-84 and E. Margani (1991), "Asciano: Le sculture tardo-orientalizzanti del Tumulo del Molinello," *Studi Etruschi* ,56 57-68. For a brief discussion of this region, see Haynes (2000), 112-114.

[147] Based on survey in the area a number of habitations with earth walls have been discovered in a relatively straight line from La Befa to Poggio Civitate. This evidence, in conjunction with a consistent natural topography, establishes a hypothetical route from the Ombrone River to Piano del Tesoro from the southeast of 4.97 km. Campana (2001), 280.

this question two factors must be addressed: the topography of the hill and the location of entrances among the architectural remains. As stated above the climb to the plateau Piano del Tesoro is steep, especially the northern and eastern sides of the hill. Today for a visitor ascending to the Piano del Tesoro the easiest routes are the western slope for relatively direct access[148] and the slightly more circuitous southeastern approach. Convincingly these points of access correspond with the archaeological remains for entrance to the Archaic complex. The excavators discuss three potential points of entry to the structure: one on the eastern flank, another on the western flank that lines up with the eastern entrance and a third from the northern side of the structure which passes through two rooms on the western flank before giving way to the courtyard (Figure 3.6).[149] The eastern and western entrances are most likely the primary entrances to the complex, as they would have been the most direct means of reaching the centralized space of the structure from the exterior. Also, either on land or by water, the western and eastern sides of Poggio Civitate are the most visible and accessible approach routes. As demonstrated above, beginning in the Orientalizing period, the Ombrone River and its tributary Crevole combined with the land route from Buonconvento must have served as the main routes to Poggio Civitate for visitors. Some from further north might also have come this way through Buonconvento, simply staying on the Ombrone River until this point. The western approach may have been reserved for a local population. A settlement at Podere L'Allodola near the modern town of Lupompesi has been conjectured due to survey

[148] This is the most common route used today to reach the remains of Piano del Tesoro. It is made accessible by a path that is a remnant of a medieval path in the same area. To date an ancient road has not been uncovered, but continuity into the middle ages adds to the likelihood of an ancient path in this area.
[149] K. Phillips, Jr. (1972), "Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany, 1971" *AJA* 76, 251 and Phillips (1993). Unfortunately erosion has made it difficult to fully interpret the eastern side of the complex.

work.[150] Evidence for a number of small, earthen houses and at least two farmhouses located along the Crevole River indicate a strong local presence in this area.[151] These residents may have used the river as their access to Poggio Civitate and thus would have approached from the western side of the hill.

Of these two possible approach routes, let us begin with the southeastern, as it is the more visible of the two and perhaps, due to its wider visibility, the more frequently used. A visitor arriving at Poggio Civitate by way of the Ombrone River would have already had glimpses of monumental architecture and perhaps some of the decorative elements of the roofline. Although, at a distance probably only shapes would have been distinguishable on the horizon rather than the specific human and animal terracotta sculptures that adorned the Archaic building's ridgepole. From this direction the visitor would have begun to ascend the hill slightly east of Monte Pertuso where the hill's initial ascent is not steep (Figure 3.5). This route would progress along the southeastern slope toward Piano del Tesoro. On the hill itself the view of the plateau above would be obscured. This delay provided by the circuitous route, particularly after the glimpses of the complex from a distance, would have created a sense of anticipation on the part of the viewer, similar to the effect produced by the landscape at Luni sul Mignone, Satricum and Ficana. As at these other sites, the orientation of the buildings at Poggio Civitate is suited to the nature of the landscape in such a way as to produce this effect.

As the approach route leveled off the first buildings came into view. At this point, with the appearance of architecture to the approaching viewer it is necessary to

[150] Campana (2001), 280.
[151] Campana (2001), 276-282.

distinguish the visual effects of the Orientalizing complex from those of the Archaic complex. Obviously some factors in approach were the same in both periods, but as stated earlier, the architectural differences between the two complexes are noteworthy. Certainly a close relationship existed between the two phases and it is likely that the Orientalizing complex had a definitive effect on its successor. However, to appreciate how certain architectural features were inherited from one phase to the next, a detailed discussion of the two phases must be undertaken individually.

The Orientalizing complex (c. 650-600 BC)

The Orientalizing complex was planned with approach in mind and later served as a foundational influence for the Archaic complex. Of the three components of the Orientalizing complex, the southeast building or workshop was the first to come into view on the southeastern approach route (Figure 3.7). In addition to being the first-encountered structure at Poggio Civitate, the nature of this building differs from the others on Piano del Tesoro in that it does not possess foundation walls, but rather is a stoa-like structure (Figure 3.7). Wooden columns surmounted 41 stone column bases and supported a tile roof that was decorated with alternating canopic heads and lion spouts. There is no indication that there were walls of any kind surrounding this structure.[152] The open nature of the structure, combined with evidence of terracotta moulds, unfired roof tiles laid out to dry, and other materials associated with the manufacture of ceramic, glass and ivory, supports the structure's identification as a workshop.[153]

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[152] E. Nielsen, "Some Preliminary Thoughts on New and Old Terracottas," *OpRom* 16 (1987), 91-119.
[153] See A. J. Nijboer (1998), *From Household Production to Workshops: Archaeological Evidence for Economic Transformations, Pre-Monetary Exchange and Urbanism in Central Italy from 800 to 400 BC*,

The southeast building is unique among contemporary and later structures on the hill in terms of its orientation and position in the southeast corner of the plateau. It was placed at a bend in the access path that allowed a full, rather than gradual, view of the workshop building (Figure 3.7). This view was perfectly suitable to the east-west orientation of the structure. Erik Nielsen has speculated that the east-west orientation of the building and the southern exposure of the long side facilitated the drying of tiles within the open structure.[154] I would add that the building's position and orientation on the hill is the result of the natural landscape, combined with a practical need to dry tiles. It may not have been originally intended as the first structure that one would encounter from the southeastern direction, but its location was necessary to catch breezes for drying. Because this approach route was the one best suited to the natural landscape, the workshop served as an important introduction to the site. In particular the ornate terracotta decoration produced inside was literally on display from the exterior as the visitor moving from the east around either long side of the building viewed the female and male heads and lion spouts on the building's lateral sima.[155] This would emphasize the on-site production done within the structure.[156]

Groningen: University of Gronigen for a study of early workshops in Etruria and Latium, including their structural characteristics.

[154] E. Nielsen (1987), 92.

[155] E. Nielsen suggests that the alternating female and male heads may have been placed on opposite sides of the southeast building. The apotropaic nature of the canopic male heads may dictate their placement on the side of the building facing away from the central plateau and instead directed towards the approach from the southeast, E. Nielsen (1994), "Interpreting the Lateral Sima at Poggio Civitate," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, R. .D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds., Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 64-71.

[156] The question of why this utilitarian building is decorated in the same fashion as the other buildings on the site,was considered by E. Nielsen (1987), 119: "That so utilitarian and unceremonial a building was decorated in such an elaborate fashion will necessitate a reconsideration of the identification of buildings and their function solely on the basis of their architectural members." In this same article E. Nielsen also

During the Orientalizing period two additional buildings occupied the plateau; a three-roomed structure located slightly northwest of the workshop and a rectangular building oriented on a north-south axis on the western edge of Piano del Tesoro (Figure 3.8). Stratigraphic analysis indicates that together with the workshop these structures were constructed in the middle of the seventh century BC and destroyed shortly before 600 BC. Both buildings occupied the southwestern corner of Piano del Tesoro and the western placement of these structures in relation to the workshop suggests that the seventh-century BC visitor would have progressed in that direction and have come into visual contact with the three-roomed structure first. A path still exists along this route, perhaps as a trace of ancient practice. No intervening structures have been found between the workshop and the other Orientalizing buildings on Piano del Tesoro. Thus, the visitor seems to have crossed an empty region of the plateau from the workshop towards the other Orientalizing buildings. This would have created an opportunity to form an impression of the buildings' plans and relationship to one another. We cannot say with certainty where the entrance to either structure was located. It is entirely possible that the visitor was intended to loop around western edge of the two perpendicular structures and wait until reaching the open space between both buildings before understanding the complete layout. Such a process of visual delay and anticipation is consistent with the Etrusco-Italic tradition seen at earlier sites such as Luni sul Mignone, Tarquinia and the Archaic building at Ficana.

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points out the similarity between the lateral sima of the southeast building and the courtyard of the Archaic complex. It is interesting that the most public space of the later complex draws on the visual memory of an earlier structure that had occupied the primary position in the approach of the Orientalizing complex.

Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the architectural remains of the Orientalizing complex makes further accurate analysis of this or other architectural processes impossible. In addition to approach within the landscape, the Orientalizing complex must have had a significant role in the development of the centralized space and the interior movement patterns of the Archaic complex. And certainly the multifunctionality of the Archaic complex derives from its three distinct predecessors. At the same time the details of the destruction of the Orientalizing complex must have had significant impact on the planning of the subsequent complex.[157] The Orientalizing buildings all suffered destruction at the same time, most likely by a conflagration that began in the workshop. The dramatic nature of this fire has been preserved in a set of footprints found on the floor of the workshop, where workers hastily ran, trampling drying roof tiles, in their haste to evacuate the burning building.[158] Some of the factors that were critical in the layout and orientation of the Orientalizing complex may have become less important in the Archaic complex in favor of issues of fire safety and/or defense. The southeast corner of the plateau, either as a point of entry or because of its potential vulnerability to fire or attack, would thus be a focus of attention yet.

The Archaic complex (c. 600-525 BC)

The basic route of the southeastern approach to Poggio Civitate did not change much for the visitor in the sixth century BC. Probably the former site of the workshop would again be the visitor's first close-up view of the complex, although now the sight would be the southeast corner of a large, single square-shaped structure. The viewer may

[157] DeGrummond (1997), 34.
[158] E. Nielsen (1987), 91-92.

have been able to make out the plan of the structure, at least as far as the eastern and southern flanks (Figure 3.9). In the distance one could see twin watchtowers rising above the northeast corner and southwest corner of the building.[159] Looking west, along the building's southern flank there would have been defensive walls within view, most likely enclosing a small courtyard with a well.[160] The proportions of the building itself would have seemed massive. From the corner view, the viewer could see the full extent of the 60 x 60 meter structure, a single expanse of architecture larger than any other known from this period or earlier. Consider this visual effect with the addition of terracotta decoration. The exterior wall of the Archaic complex was adorned with gorgon head antefixes that were attached to the end of the roof cover tiles at a slight tilt so as to glare down at any visitor approaching the building.[161] Each side of the structure possessed approximately 113 antefixes.[162] Thus the visitor looking on from the southeast corner would see a crowd of at least 226 gorgons glowering down and protecting this imposing

[159] The defensive fortifications of the southwest including a guard/sentry room and a narrow passageway were excavated in the late s and appear on several later plans of the site. E. Nielsen (1991), "Excavations at Poggio Civitate," *Studi e Materiali* 6, 247 suggests that there is a deliberate symmetry to these rooms diagonally across the complex that takes advantage of the precipitous terrain on the north and south sides of the hill, allowing unobstructed views of the valleys below.

[160] E. Nielsen (1991).

[161] J. Neils (1976) "The Terracotta Gorgoneia of Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *RömMitt* 8, 4-5.

[162] Neils (1976), 5. This number is based on the tile fall on the outside of the northern flank of the complex. The heavy concentration of fragments of antefixes, pantiles, cover-tiles, ridge-tiles, akroteria, and frieze plaques at a parallel distance of 6-9 meters from the foundation wall has led to the supposition that the tile fall is the product of a collapsed wall. The number of 113 takes into account the length of the northern foundations, the pan-tile width and the roof overhang. It is assumed that the gorgon head antefixes adorned all sides of the complex on the exterior and that the fragments of the highly decorative lateral sima associated with the archaic building were reserved for the building's inner courtyard, E. Nielsen (1994), 64. Phillips (1993), 30 places gorgon antefixes above the porch overlooking the central courtyard. I am inclined to follow E. Nielsen who attributes them only to the building's exterior. "Though an interior placement is not impossible, the gorgon, an appropriate apotropaic device, would make little sense as a decorative element facing the interior courtyard." E. Nielsen (1994), 70.

structure. The overwhelming impression must have been one of size and limited access—a sharp contrast to the openness associated with the Orientalizing complex.

A similarity with the earlier complex exists in terms of the anticipatory approach a visitor must employ to reach the complex's points of entry. As stated above, the archaeological evidence supports entrances on the eastern and western flanks of the Archaic complex. Because there was no entrance on the south, from the southeastern approach a visitor would have to make his way around the edges of the complex in order to gain access to the building. We have already seen how the southeast corner affords a complete view of the setting and exterior plan of the archaic complex (Figures 3.9, 3.10). However, while the visitor has some idea of the architectural plan of the complex, the actual encounter is still delayed by further approach. The eastern entrance was the more direct and required only a simple loop around the southeast corner of the building. For this reason it was likely the primary entry point for the complex from this direction. In order to gain egress at the western entrance, the visitor would have had to continue on the path to the west, around the southwest tower and even a bit to the north along the western flank of the building. This action duplicates that described for accessing the two western buildings of the Orientalizing complex and may be a remnant of the former practice. That this route was trafficked is indicated by the presence of the tower, guard path and hypothetical enclosure around the well. Clearly there was a perceived need to shield portions of the building from the view of those approaching from this direction. As with other aspects of the Archaic complex, this may be a modification from the more open, inviting approach of the Orientalizing complex while still preserving the previous route.

The possibility of a strictly western approach to the complex of Poggio Civitate must also be considered. The closest water source to the hill is the Crevole, a tributary of the Ombrone that encircles the western side of Poggio Civitate. It is unknown whether this waterway was navigable in antiquity, yet its name is derived from Etruscan word roots, perhaps indicating Etruscan usage.[163] The particularly close association with the Archaic habitations in the vicinity of Lupompesi, another locale tracing its name back linguistically to the Etruscans,[164] may be a strong indication of the Crevole as a water route for local people living in this region to the north of Poggio Civitate. Today, no one reaches the site by boat. Those approaching by car take the more direct western route up the slopes of the Poggio Civitate and then proceed on foot by way of a clear path. This path, largely used only by shepherds, hunters and the modern archaeologist, may retain the route of an Etruscan road. Unfortunately, there is no clear artery from this path to the monumental complex. Surely a view of the massive Archaic structure was possible along the route, and if the visitor veered toward the building it could have been accessed through the entry point in the western wall. On the other hand, he may have been deterred by the proximity of the southwestern tower and preferred to follow the path around to the southeastern corner and a fuller understanding of the building's layout and entry points, perhaps finally entering on the east. This spiral approach route was also necessary to a lesser degree on the other side of the building. The concentration of structures on the southwestern portion of Piano del Tesoro in the Orientalizing period suggests some attention to approach from this direction in the seventh century BC. However, given the

[163] Rowland (1994), 4 (n. 5).
[164] Rowland (1994), 4 (n. 8).

obscure visibility of the Orientalizing structures from any topographical features at that time, I would suggest that such an approach was reserved for locals familiar with the area. Also the necropolis of Poggio Aguzzo on the western ridge of the hill may have associated this portion of the site with exit rather than entrance.[165]

In summary, it is clear that the orientation and siting of both the Orientalizing and Archaic complexes at Poggio Civitate were influenced by considerations of approach and visibility. The Etrusco-Italic architects of the ancient monumental complex of either period must have conceived of a project that adapted the location of buildings to the approach route that was best-suited to the natural topography of the region. The placement of both complexes along the main east-west ridge of Poggio Civitate takes advantage of the greatest visibility from primary water and land routes of the region. In addition it is suited to the most facile approach routes up the hill. The southeastern approach would have been primary for visitors in both periods, but by the sixth century BC it had been modified to account for defense. It is important to note that the preferred approach to Poggio Civitate is not the most direct. Because of the natural appearance of the terrain, the visitor is afforded momentary diverse views of the complex on the journey toward it, gleaning hints of its meaning and intention along the way, but delaying full appreciation of it until entry. As we have seen with other sites, the placement of buildings is adapted to this natural effect in the Etrusco-Italic landscape of hills and waterways to create a sense of surprise upon entry or first sight of a monumental structure. In some

[165] Finds from the tombs on Poggio Aguzzo attest to the early use of it as a necropolis. See A. Tuck (1996), *Burials from Poggio Aguzzo: The Necropolis from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Brown University).

cases this effect is enhanced by the built environment, as we shall see in the development and refinement of centralized space in the monumental building complex at Poggio Civitate.

III.2 Centralized space as a point of access

Once a visitor reached Piano del Tesoro a range of views and choices of movement awaited. In the case of the Archaic monumental building complex, the views available to a visitor were restricted and closed. From the building's exterior it would have been impossible to imagine the elaborate layout of the interior or the richness of decoration beyond the outer walls. The act of movement from exterior to interior is particularly pronounced in the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate. It is not known whether the building possessed a monumental entranceway that was distinguished on the outside. The foundations reveal entry points perfectly in line with each other on the eastern and western flanks. The eastern flank of the building is incomplete due to the damage and destruction of erosion, but in all plans of the structure the flank is restored as closed (Figure 3.6). The hypothetical entrance on the eastern flank is based on the presence of a preserved doorjamb that aligns with the south doorjamb of the entrance into the complex from the west.[166] The eastern entrance, as reconstructed, was a grander space for entry in contrast to the narrow passageway of the western flank. This space has been termed a guardroom, but it also could have served as a more spacious *fauces* to the structure than its less elaborate western counterpart.[167] Such an entrance would have been suitable as the primary entry for the complex given the eastern flank's high visibility and

[166] Phillips (1972), 251.
[167] Phillips (1993), 9 refers to this space as a "guardroom."

approachability. No evidence of any decoration distinguishing the entryway has been uncovered to date, but elaborate entryways are not characteristic of Etrusco-Italic architecture.[168]

Whether entering the Archaic complex from the east or the west, the visitor was channeled through a covered passage or hall and emerged in a great courtyard (Figure 3.10). This open-air space was surely the largest enclosed courtyard that any contemporary viewer had ever seen. It is not quite square, measuring 43.2 meters on the north and south and 40.35 meters and 40.5 meters on the west and east respectively. All four sides were enclosed. Three sides possessed a colonnaded portico, while the western flank allowed direct access to the spaces beyond. A great deal of terracotta decoration adorned the roof and the lower spaces of the eaves above each colonnade.[169] Lateral simas with female heads and feline water spouts, as well as four varieties of relief sculpted frieze plaques were available to the visitor's gaze around the courtyard. In

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[168] There is little Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture that preserves doorways to a full height. The best source for doorways and their lack of articulation is funerary architecture. See Izzet (1996).

[169] The greatest amount of published material on the site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo) regards the Archaic terracotta decoration. For a summary see Phillips (1993) and K. Phillips, Jr. (1985), "Poggio Civitate (Murlo)" in S. Stopponi, ed. *Case e Palazzi d'Etruria,* Milan: Electa, 98-127. For individual elements, I mention only the most recently published summaries of research. For the akroteria see Edlund-Berry (1992). For the frieze plagues see A. Rathje (1993), "Il fregio di Murlo: Status sulle Considerazioni," in *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute of Rome (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 50), E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö. Wikander, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 135-138 and M. von Mehren (1993), "The Murlo Frieze Plagues. Considerations on their Distribution and Number," in *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute of Rome (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 50), E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö. Wikander, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 139-145. For the lateral sima see K. Phillips, Jr. (1990) "The Lateral Sima from Poggio Civitate (Murlo): Notes on Early Etruscan Craftsmanship," *OpRom* 18, 61-98 and E. Nielsen (1994). For the gorgoneia see Neils (1976). A synthesis of all Etruscan architectural terracottas, including those at Poggio Civitate, is in progress, N. A. Winter (1997), "Work in Progress on a New Synthesis of Etruscan Architectural Terracottas," in In *Deliciae Fictiles II: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas in Italy held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome 12-13 June 1996,* P. S. Lulof and E. M. Moormann, eds. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 237-239.

addition the roof was embellished with terracotta sculptures of animal and human forms. Although each of the four sides of the building are distinct in terms of the number and arrangement of rooms, the greatest diversity occurs on the western side of the courtyard. In addition to being the only side without a colonnade, it possesses a small, rectangular enclosure that breaks into the openness of the space. The space is completely distinct from the walls of the western flank and its foundations are a great deal less substantial, indicating that it may not have been roofed.[170] It is aligned with the only room of the western wing without a foundation wall adjoining the courtyard space. The uniqueness and centrality of this arrangement was certainly intended to grasp the viewer's attention upon entry into the courtyard.

Many of these features of the courtyard have figured prominently in discussions of the Archaic complex's function. The courtyard feature is critical to the designation of the building at Poggio Civitate as a "palazzo." The decorative akroteria consequently have been interpreted as forms of aristocratic display suitable to such a palatial space.[171] The openness and vastness of the courtyard space itself have been noted as appropriate to the gatherings of a political league of Etruscan cities.[172] And the unique arrangement on the western side of the courtyard has been termed a "templum," providing an enclosure

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[170] Phillips (1993), 9.

[171] Menichetti (1994) and M. Torelli (1997), *Il range, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, Milan: Longenesi. For the aristocratic associations with the Orientalizing decoration see L. Flusche (2001), "Aristocratic architectural iconography at Poggio Civitate." In *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of ancient societies: proceedings of an International seminar organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997,* J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson eds., (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4°, 56), Stockholm: The Swedish Institute in Rome, 171-177.

[172] Edlund-Berry (1987).

for a priest to interpret signs from the sky before a sacrifice.[173] The emphasis on the courtyard in all arguments about function underscores it as the primary space within the complex itself. Clearly in terms of size and placement it is the most visible and accessible space in the complex. Therefore in any assessment of the approach and access of the complex the courtyard deserves particular attention.

We have seen in previous examples how a central space can serve as a means of access to other structures. This process began in late Bronze Age settlements with the articulation of a centralized zone between huts and continued to develop within the Etrusco-Italic architectural tradition. From these origins it is logical to think of a central space as an area for a visitor to interpret and decipher visual cues regarding entrance and access to other spaces beyond. Once this type of access became common in individual structures, as well as settlements, the potential for different types of visual impact increased. The courtyard in the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate, which certainly derives from the centralized space between the individual Orientalizing buildings, is an excellent example of how this type of access developed within a single monumental structure.

Upon entry into the courtyard of the Archaic complex a visitor would have become aware of several factors: light, columns, terracotta decoration and potential access to spaces beyond the courtyard. Let us take each of these in turn. Perhaps the most basic method of distinguishing one space from another is the movement from covered to

[173] Phillips (1993). This is not the only suggestion that Phillips offers for the usage of the "templum." He also proposes that the space could have been used as an enclosure for sacred animals or animals awaiting sacrifice. In either case he presupposes a sacred function of the space.

uncovered, or from darkness to light. Whether from the east or the west, a visitor did not enter Poggio Civitate's courtyard directly. Instead the visitor moved through an enclosed passage before entering the courtyard: on the east a room and on the west a narrow corridor. From the east the vistior would have left the room and exited to a covered porch with views of the courtyard beyond through a colonnade. This transitional space, still partially considered interior space because of the roof, while simultaneously outside of the entry area, would have moderated the abruptness of movement from dark to light. Such an effect was not possible on the western side where a colonnaded porch did not connect the entry to the courtyard. Thus the eastern entrance was the more distinct of the two, strengthening the possibility that this entrance was more frequented.

The courtyard is further distinguished by the use of columns. Three colonnades have been reconstructed on the basis of the intercolumniation determined by the extant column bases on the north, east and south flanks of the building (Figure 3.10). Only one column, which lines up with a twin on the eastern side of the courtyard, stands on the west flank of the building.[174] Together with the columns of the southern façade, these columns create a U-shaped portico. The remaining columns form an L-shaped portico encompassing most of the eastern flank and the entire northern flank. The western portion of the courtyard does not possess columns, but rather a visitor is confronted with the unique arrangement of a singular protruding room and a recessed open space behind it. In this way, the columnar arrangement around the courtyard differentiates three separate areas of the building beyond. At the same time, the repetitive use of columns adds to the

[174] Phillips (1972), 252 .

sense of enclosure within the four-sided courtyard. In a space easily large enough to hold gatherings of groups of people, the columns communicate unity and, when taken together with the towers seen from the outside of the building, safety. Finally, the columns add grandeur and distinction to the already noteworthy courtyard. Size alone did not distinguish this space for the ancient viewer, but in addition the columns lent support to the notion of its suitability for large, public audiences. Unlike the columns of the Orientalizing workshop, which fulfilled the practical function of supporting the shed-like structure's roof, the Archaic colonnade is an addition to the building itself, in part functional and in part decorative. Without the colonnade the Archaic complex would still stand, but it would lack an important feature which separates the courtyard from other spaces in the building. In earlier Etrusco-Italic architecture we have not seen columns used in this quantity or as non-structural members of a building. The use of the column here is obviously intended to add to the monumentality of the structure. In ancient architecture, columns are not usually associated with the mundane or ordinary, but rather are used as a mark of distinction, as on temple facades or in ornate peristyles. In later Etruscan and Roman architecture, the column continues to demarcate architectural spaces, often as either sacred or public.[175]

The placement of architectural decoration

The importance of the courtyard was further defined by the placement of architectural terracotta decoration. The study of Etrusco-Italic architectural terracottas has become a field unto itself, and a significant portion of this corpus of material has come

[175] See Wallace-Hadrill (1992), 20-23 on the public nature of columns and the connotation of status that they bring to Roman houses.

from Poggio Civitate. Material from both the Orientalizing and Archaic phases of the site has greatly added to our understanding of the iconography, style and manufacture of architectural terracottas in Italy, as well as widened the scholarly view about what types of buildings possessed such decorative embellishment.[176] It is now understood that terracotta revetment could be a major part of the decorative scheme of buildings of a public, private and sacred nature and that it was not reserved for only one type of structure. Thus, the flourishing of terracotta plaques, akroteria and antefixes as a means of visual display on the buildings at Poggio Civitate should not be used to define the functional nature of the complex, but rather their placement and visibility can elucidate how the various architectural components of the complex functioned.

The visitor to Poggio Civitate would have had some idea of the richness of the decoration from the exterior of the building. Glimpses of the akroteria on the ascent toward the structure and views of the gorgon-headed antefixes would have provided some hint of the attention given to the building's decorative program. It is far from certain where any of the decorative pieces were displayed on the building. However, with the exception of the gorgoneia, the other three components of the visual program—the frieze plaques, the lateral sima and the seated and standing akroterial sculpture—were visible

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[176] See the two volumes of the *Deliciae Fictiles* congresses: E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö. Wikander (1993), eds., *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute of Rome (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4°, 50), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome and P. Lulof and E. Moorman (1997), eds., *Deliciae Fictiles II: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas in Italy held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome 12-13 June 1996,* Amsterdam: Netherlands Institute in Rome. For the intricate issue of the identification of buildings on the basis of architectural terracottas, see H. Damgaard Andersen (1993) "Archaic architectural terracottas and their relation to building identification." In *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute of Rome,* E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö.Wikander eds., (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 4°, 50), Stockholm: Swedish Institute of Rome, 71-86.

from the central courtyard.[177] The freize plaques are the most intricate in design and due to their size require the most attention in order to appreciate the details of the varied scenes. While we do not know where they were placed on the building, I suggest that, for several stylistic and compositional reasons discussed below, they complement the function of the courtyard as an access space, and were thus placed in the courtyard above the columns of the portico where they could be best deciphered. Above this, at the edge of the roof, and projecting slightly above it would have been the lateral sima of feline water spouts and female heads. Finally, along the ridge-pole of each of the wings of the complex, the seated and standing akroteria dominated the roof. The standing figures were presented in profile along the axis of the roof and the seated figures were placed across the roof axis.[178] It is not known whether the seated statues faced toward or away from the courtyard, but given their high visibility in this location, a face toward the courtyard viewer seems more likely.[179] While the exact visual experience of the courtyard must be considered hypothetical, attention to the visitor's viewpoint may shed some light on the décor's placement and arrangement within the enclosed space.

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[177] This is not a definitive point. Based on find spot and distribution, it has been argued that some of the frieze plaques may have been displayed on the exterior of the building, von Mehren (1993), 139-145. The findings are inconclusive. Based on my experiential analysis, as well as stylistic and iconographical considerations, I judge that the plaques were reserved for the inner courtyard.

[178] I. E. M. Edlund-Berry (1993) "The Murlo Cowboy: Problems of Reconstruction and Interpretation," in *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute of Rome (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4°, 50), E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö. Wikander, eds., Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 119.

[179] Many publications assume that the statues faced the courtyard. For example, Haynes (2000), 119: "The larger human figures were placed across the ridgepole so as to look into the courtyard…" However, Edlund-Berry indicates that there is no definitive physical evidence for determining which direction the statues faced, Edlund-Berry (1992), 205.

Of the terracotta decoration at Poggio Civitate, the frieze plaques are the most visually diverse.[180] They occur in four variable scenes (listed from most to least numerous): a horse-race, a banquet, a procession and an assembly (Figure 3.11). The variety of the scenes and the attention to detail within each is assurance that the plaques were not simply decorative, but were intended to be seen and interpreted by a viewer. Annette Rathje has pointed out that the plaques represent a "narrative" element in the decorative program of the complex, which she likens to stone reliefs from the palaces of Neo-Assyrian kings.[181] An Italic tradition for this type of visual expression can be seen in many examples from sixth-century Etruria and Latium, but differences in presentation of particular scenes indicate that the Murlo frieze plaques were produced for specific usage on the Archaic complex.[182] This implies that these narratives were to be read by a viewer and thus had a particular rhetorical function within the experience of the complex.[183] There is no conclusive evidence regarding the placement of the plaques on the Archaic building. Due to their narrative nature I judge that visual accessibility was a major concern in their arrangement.[184] Based on the fragments recovered, von Mehren has

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[180] For a summary of the ideological background of the frieze plaque scenes see Haynes (2000), 120-126.

[181] A. Rathje (1994), "Banquet and Ideology: Some New Considerations about Banqueting at Poggio Civitate," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, R. D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 95.

[182] Other plaques with comparable scene have been found at Tuscania, Velletri, Acquarossa and Rome (the Regia and the sanctuary at Sant'Omobono). Specific differences as they relate to the Murlo frieze plaques will be included in the discussions of the various scenes.

[183] Rathje interprets the plaques as indicative of events that would have taken place in the complex at Murlo. "The frieze carries a message that may be interpreted as propaganda promoting some of the real people who were connected with the big building at Poggio Civitate," Rathje (1994), 95. This interpretation relies on the establishment of a power structure between authorities at Poggio Civitate and those subjected by them. This does not necessarily have to be the case for the images to be narrative. They may be reflective of social practice, but they may also be read as legend, myth or ancient history.

[184] For the visual impact of narrative relief sculpture in an Etruscan and Roman context, see R. Brilliant (1994), *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

concluded that there were a sufficient number of plaques to cover three sides of the courtyard, perhaps corresponding to the three sides with columns.[185] In lieu of better evidence it is worthwhile to consider how the narrative was meant to be read from the courtyard and where it may have begun and finished for the viewer.

The four scenes of the Murlo frieze plaques do not compose a complex narrative. Rather it is a story based on the repetition of familiar scenes that the viewer might have known from other contexts, such as decorative ceramics. Two of the scenes make use of movement and two of the scenes are static. Of the moving scenes, the horse-race scene moves from left to right with a cauldron at the right extreme on each plaque, and the procession scene moves from right to left.[186] The stationary scenes differ from each other slightly: the banquet scene is arranged symmetrically around a central tripod and cauldron, while the assembly scene illustrates figures all facing to the right arranged in a line. The banquet and horse-race scenes are connected by the use of the cauldron as a conspicuous element in the composition of each individual plaque. The two other frieze plaque scenes complement each other by direction.[187] The procession moves uninterrupted to the left, and the assembled figures are seated facing right. Unlike the horse-race and banquet scenes there are no objects to obstruct the linear movement of the visitor's gaze when viewing either the procession or assembly plaques. The

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185 von Mehren (1993), 145. See also Phillips (1993), 43-45.

186 J. P. Small has argued that the direction of Etruscan art is derivative of the patterns of written language. Because the Etruscan script was read from right to left, the dominant direction of Etruscan narrative art is from right to left. Because Greek art and script move from left to right, she proposes that such movement in Etruscan art is a realization of Greek influence. J. P. Small (1987), "Left, Right and Center: Direction in Etruscan Art," *OpRom* 16, 125-136.

187 Phillips noted the "pairing" of the frieze plaque scenes. His observations do not concern the composition of the scenes but rather an ideological pairing of the subject matter, Phillips (1993), 40-45.

symmetrically repetitive banquet or the horse race broken up by the cauldron in each scene may have compelled the viewer to fix his or her gaze or perhaps direct it upward to the other features of the decorative program.

Based on these observations the banquet and horse-race plaques should have been displayed in areas of the courtyard where the viewer was meant to pause, while the other two scenes may have been utilized where movement and progression were necessary. Because the distribution pattern of the plaques is inconclusive in determining which plaques were displayed where, but rather is indicative of a scatter of different scenes throughout the courtyard, it is possible that the scenes were mixed around the courtyard. Possible sites where a viewer would have been compelled to halt his or her gaze might have been near entrances, near the enclosure of the west wing or in front of the unique two-story northern wing. Find patterns do indicate larger quantities of banquet and horse-race scenes in these areas.[188] Direction and movement in the composition of different scenes indicates that the frieze plaques were displayed in such a way as to appear continuous and available to the visitor's eye. From the perspective of approach and access, careful attention to their positioning allowed the plaques to interact with other architectural elements of the courtyard, such as the entrances within the varied wings to further spaces beyond.

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[188] A sealed deposit of banquet and horse-race frieze plaques and sima fragments were documented on the southeast corner of the building according to Phillips (1993), 40. This would correspond to the area of one of the entrances. The greatest number of banquet frieze plaques have been uncovered on the exterior of northern wing. It is possible that given the large number of this style that they decorated both the interior and exterior facades of the north wing. In addition one must consider that most of the architectural decoration of the complex was disposed of in pits outside of the courtyard and thus not indicative of where such decoration was displayed on the structure. For distribution patterns, see von Mehren (1993), figs. 1-5.

The next significant component of the decorative program of the Archaic courtyard at Poggio Civitate is the lateral sima, an ornate gutter system that decorated the roofs of the interior courtyard. The evidence and number of the fragments indicate that the lateral sima adorned three sides of the courtyard, and find spot analysis suggest that it was the northern flank that lacked lateral sima decoration.[189] The usage of a lateral sima seems to have been particular to Etrusco-Italic sites in the Orientalizing and Archaic periods and there are no direct precedents in the Greek or Near Eastern worlds.[190] The earliest lateral sima in Etruria is documented at Poggio Civitate on the Orientalizing workshop building discussed earlier. Functionally and stylistically, it developed into the lateral sima associated with the Archaic building at Poggio Civitate, which is even more of a hybrid in relation to other lateral simas in Etruria and Latium.[191] The lateral sima of the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate is a distinctive local feature and therefore surely worthy of special note by a visitor. The correlation between the appearance of the Orientalizing and Archaic lateral simas at Poggio Civitate has been discussed by Erik Nielsen. He has convincingly demonstrated that artistically and structurally the Orientalizing lateral sima is the predecessor of the lateral sima of the courtyard of the

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[189] For a summary of the issues relating to the lateral sima of the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate see, Phillips (1993), 31-38. The placement of the lateral sima on the interior courtyard was first suggested by N. Winter (1977), "Architectural Terracottas with Human Heads from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *ArchCl* 29, 25-26. Phillips (1990) suggests that the sima covered three sides of the enclosed portico. See also E. Nielsen (1987) and (1992).

[190] Ö.Wikander (1994), "The Archaic Etruscan Sima," *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, R. D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 61.

[191] The lateral sima from the Orientalizing workshop at Poggio Civitate is the earliest lateral sima in central Italy. It is simply a slight border at the edge of the roof tile with a feline head water spout in the middle and antefixes of female/male heads covering the joins. A variant of this type comes from Acquarossa. The type from the Archaic complex is a further variant where the female heads are no longer true antefixes, but merely decorative protomes attached to the cover tile. This type of lateral sima has only been found elsewhere at Poggio Buco. See Ö Wikander (1992), 61.

Archaic complex.[192] This establishes an associative continuity between the two areas. The Orientalizing visitor saw the lateral sima of feline water spouts and female/male heads as on approach to the workshop building from the southeast. At this time the impression was one of openness, both due to the arrangement of structures on the hill and the lack of walls around the southeast building. The Archaic visitor would have encountered similar lateral sima images—this time composed of feline water spouts and decorative female heads and rosettes—upon entering the first open and inviting space of the enclosed complex, the courtyard. This would have been particularly noticeable in contrast to the enclosed and forbidding appearance of the exterior with its gorgon antefixes. Thus, the originality of the lateral sima form in the courtyard would call attention to previous associations: openness, invitation, as well as production and display of architectural terracottas. For such an impression to be successful a visitor would have had to be acquainted with the earlier Orientalizing complex, implying local renown and familiarity.

The crowning glory of the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate in terms of architectural decoration was its roof. Aligned along the ridgepole of the building were statues of standing and seated human and animal figures. The statues varied greatly in size and pose and represented both human figures, male and female, and animal figures. The statues can be divided into several types: seated males, seated females, running/standing/striding humans, large animals (real or mythical), and small animals (real or mythical). Edlund-Berry estimates between twenty and twenty-five seated or

[192] E. Nielsen, (1987).

standing figures; ten males with wide-brimmed hat and hands held horizontally, nine females with hands held vertically and at least four standing figures with shod feet.[193] The animals are more difficult to assess. A nearly complete sphinx has been restored, along with a number of smaller animals ranging in classification from feline to boar.[194] Several statue fragments preserve points of attachment with the ridgepole itself, assuring their placement on the roof of the building complex.[195] One fragment preserves paint, in the form of a meander pattern on the bottom of a seated figure's garment and brown and white paint on the shoes.[196] It is likely that all of the statues possessed embellishment in paint to make their features more discernable. Finally, the hands of the seated figures appear to have grasped an added object. When compared to the hands of the seated figures pictured in the assembly frieze plaques this indicates that they may have each held individual implements, which would have also increased the visually accessible features of the statues from distance.

To a visitor in the courtyard of the Archaic building at Poggio Civitate the akroteria must have been an astonishing sight. The sheer diversity in type, number and size would have been overwhelming, appearing as a mixture of humans and animals against the sky. But even more noteworthy would be the decorative form itself. While different types of akroteria decorated huts, homes and other structures from the Iron Age forward, including the Orientalizing buildings at Poggio Civitate, no decorative scheme

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[193] Edlund-Berry (1992), 177-178.
[194] Edlund-Berry (1992), Appendix II, 223-224.
[195] Find spot distribution indicates that the seated figures could have been placed on the ridgepole of the elaborate two-story northern wing of the complex, while the other statue types adorned the other roofs surrounding the courtyard. This arrangement was suggested by Phillips (1993), 21-24. For a plan of the site with the distribution of statue fragments. See Edlund-Berry (1992), Ill. 3.
[196] Edlund-Berry (1992), Cat. No.I.1.3, 28-29

had included so many forms of figures sculpted in the round, rather than the previous cut-out type. The only parallels for decorative akroteria sculpted in the round occur later in the sixth century BC in Latium and Rome.[197] This vivid modeling in three-dimensions would have made these forms more immediately accessible and lifelike. The visitor had probably glimpsed the sculptures when approaching the building from the outside, but the most full view would have been reserved for the courtyard. Given the optimal viewing point from the courtyard, I conjecture that the statues faced toward the interior of the structure. However, a frontal view of the figures would not have been possible from all points of the courtyard. It is likely that only from the edge of the southern flank would a visitor get the most complete frontal view of the figures, and given this distance, he would certainly not have been able to make out specific stylistic details. Rather, as Edlund-Berry has suggested, the predominant features seen when viewed from below would have been the silhouette of the figures, the distinctive hat in the case of the seated males, as well as the clenched fists with implements.[198] Thus, the visual effect of the statues was an overall impression and not a specific interpretation.[199] The viewer got a

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[197] These examples would include the famous statue group from the Portonaccio Temple at Veii and the Athena-Hercules group at the Sant'Omobono sanctuary in Rome.

[198] Edlund-Berry (1992), 184.

[199] An identification of the figures is not integral to an interpretation of the statue's visual effect. Much attention has been given to their identification and iconography within an overall interpretation of the site. Most recent publications regard them as ancestors in the tradition of later Roman *imagines*, Haynes (2000), 120; M. Menichetti (2000), "Political Forms in the Archaic Period," 206-207 and S. Bruni (2000), "Sculpture," 374 in *Etruscans*, M. Torelli, ed., Venice: Bompiani. While the arguments for this association are compelling, the attribution of the statues as ancestors is far from certain. Edlund-Berry (1993), 121 points to the statues' non-funerary context in her refutation of them as ancestors. Phillips (1993), 23 reminds that "interpretations of the seated figures must take into account their accompanying host of human and fantastic figures." The presence of at least four standing figures, in addition to the sphinxes and other animals, on the Poggio Civitate roof argues against Etruscan ancestral imagery, where the central icongraphical feature is the seated pose. See H. I. Flowers (2000), *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

sense of being surrounded not only from the enclosure of the courtyard, but from the crowd of figures above as well. While rooftop decoration would not have seemed out of the ordinary to an Etrusco-Italic viewer, the presence of human and animal figures on the roof, rather than vegetal decorative motifs, would have been unfamiliar. With the sky as their backdrop the statues might have inspired a sense of awe and reverence in the viewer below.

For the ancient visitor to the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate a number of factors would have distinguished the centralized space. The movement from light to dark, the use of columns and the placement of architectural decoration all compel the visitor to halt in the courtyard and contemplate the nature of the monumental complex. This is particularly dramatic, given the shift from the building's closed exterior to such an open and expressive locale on the interior. This may be a result of the Etrusco-Italic fondness for an anticipatory approach, which leaves the viewer uninformed about the full nature of a structure until immediately prior to entry. Whatever criteria the visitor may have met for access to the courtyard resulted in the visual reward that the courtyard granted in terms of size, structure, diverse arrangement and architectural decoration. The visitor's role as an active participant in movement through the structure temporarily shifted to a passive one of observation and interpretation of visual stimuli. However, in terms of architectural function, the courtyard at Poggio Civitate was primarily an access space. Once inside the courtyard a visitor had the opportunity to enter a number of adjoining spaces. In this way, it was also a refinement of the earlier Etrusco-Italic practice of utilizing a central area as a means of access to individual structures within a settlement,

with added architectural features that emphasize its size, location and importance within a single complex. The courtyard is a unique space with controlled access that also controls access to other spaces. It remains to consider how the courtyard and the rooms beyond continued to utilize this access to articulate further interior movement.

III.3 The mechanics of interior movement within the Archaic complex

The above discussion emphasizes the importance of the courtyard to the overall function of the complex. Certainly, the courtyard was the most accessible space from the building's exterior. It also exercised the most control over penetration into the other parts of the structure. Several thresholds between the courtyard and its adjoining rooms are preserved and visible as breaks in the foundation walls *in situ* today.[200] However, the incomplete state of preservation of the walls of the Archaic complex creates a difficulty in reconstructing the doorways.[201] Thus, throughout the complex, but particularly along

[200]Some doorways are depicted on the published plans of the building Three plans of the Archaic structure are published in Phillips (1993), figs. 7, 8 and 9. Modified plans are also published in various works as distribution maps: E. Nielsen (1987), fig. 11; Edlund-Berry (1992) , ill. 3; von Mehren (1993), figs. 2-5. Unfortunately the available plans, drawn at various points during the excavation's history, illustrate slight differences in the location of doorways. Some of the published plans of the site err on the side of caution and do not posit doors where none is apparent, thus leaving some rooms pictured with no means of access at all. On the plan in Phillips (1993), fig. 7 several rooms have been depicted without doorways or any form of access (R 10, R 8, R 14, R 15, R 16, R 3, R 4, R 5). Edlund-Berry's (1992) plan follows this one, also blocking off R 13 and R 12.

[201] Phillips reconstructs pisé walls with stone foundations as the primary construction technique at Poggio Civitate. This reconstruction is based largely on excavation of the agger, a protective mound covering the north and west flanks of the Archaic structure. During the early excavation of the agger mound, several profiles of rammed earth walls were documented, one preserved up to . m. See Phillips (1969), "Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany, 1968," *AJA* 73, 333-339, ill. 2. The walls, supported by stone foundations and resting upon a leveling course or beam, would have been constructed by compressing clay and earth within a wooden framework. Once the framework was removed, the earth would dry and harden in the sun. The walls would have been reinforced with reeds or some other thin, hay-like material, acting essentially as an aggregate, to tighten the binding within the wall. Such construction would have been strong enough to maintain the weight of the roof, as well as the proposed second-story of the northern flank. In addition, pisé construction would have been sufficiently fireproof and waterproof, Phillips (1993), 13-14. The wall construction techniques of pisé and mud-brick do not always leave archaeological traces of thresholds, especially at points where erosion or natural deterioration has reduced the height of foundation walls, or in some cases completely worn them away.

the eroded eastern wing and the badly-preserved southern wing, certainty regarding doorways is not possible. However, the mechanics of interior movement dictate that each room had at least one door and that there was at least one room on each wing with a door facing the courtyard since the entrances led all visitors directly to the courtyard (Figure 3.12).[202]

The greatest number of doorways adjoining the courtyard would have been one for each space adjoining it—seventeen. This is unlikely, given certain observations drawn from the variety of plans of the site. First of all the northwest and northeast corner rooms were not included, as they do not seem to have communicated with the courtyard at all, unlike the southwest and southeast corners, which according to two plans, opened up to the portico on the southern flank. Of the two large rooms on the northern flank of the building the western one is never pictured with a threshold facing the courtyard. Finally the two equally-sized rooms on either side of the open, recessed space behind the "templum" on the west side of the courtyard may not have had doors adjoining the courtyard. Instead their thresholds may have been on the sides facing the recessed space, as indicated with the southern room (Figure 3.9).[203] The "templum" itself gives no indication of a doorway, and due to the slight nature of its foundation walls may not have

[202] One exception to this statement may be evident on the northwest corner of the building. There seems to have been a third entrance to the complex here that gave access to the two northern rooms of the western flank and entered the courtyard under the northern portico. Phillips (1993), 9 proposes that this private and protected entrance was somehow connected with a small, multi-roomed structure on the northern terrace of the site. Unfortunately, this building is rarely discussed in publication, creating difficulties assessing its chronological relationship to the buildings on the site.

[203] Figure 3.9, after a drawing by D. Peck (in Phillips (1993), fig. 8) illustrates a break in the wall of the southern room. Figure 3.6, after a drawing by H. Linden (in Phillips (1993), fig. 7) does not indicate this opening. The Peck drawing is the more recent of the two and is closer to the actual preserved remains.

had been intended to be entered at all.[204] The southern flank is the hardest to assess because its foundations are the most fragmentary.[205] Given the fact that nearly every cross wall between the uneven sized rooms, with one exception, seems to be complete, I judge that each room possessed a threshold facing the courtyard. Thus, if we include both entrances and the recessed space behind the "templum", the total potentially accessible areas from the courtyard would be fourteen—five on the south, four on the west, one on the north, at least three on the east and the "templum." Using the terminology of access analysis, it can be said that the courtyard possesses both high global and local relations.[206] With fourteen immediate neighbors and a maximum of two boundaries to cross to reach the courtyard from the exterior or any space within the complex, it is possible to assume that it was the most visited room in the complex. In this way it illustrates the intersection between public and private function within the complex: its easy accessibility makes it ideal for gatherings of many strangers, while its control over other spaces in the structure restrict those spaces on behalf of a few.

Certain wings of the courtyard are more closed off, with fewer entrance options, while others offer choice and variety. The northern flank with one entrance was the most restrictive, while the southern flank, with five individual entrances, was certainly the

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[204] Phillips (1993), 9 calls its walls "slight," indicating that it was an open-air structure rather than a roofed structure. There are indications in the published plans of the site that the enclosure had a threshold on the eastern side facing the more open space of the courtyard and a potential visitor entering the complex from the east. This seems to be the most logical point of entry for the room, but the meager wall foundations make it impossible to confirm the presence of a threshold here.

[205] Many plans illustrate this flank with four rooms (outside of the corner rooms), but other drawings illustrate five. The confusion is due to the presence of walls beneath associated with the Orientalizing phase. With contradictory evidence in separate publications, a sure attribution must be delayed until the publication of a recent and full plan of the southern component of the Orientalizing complex. I prefer to restore the flank with five rooms.

[206] Grahame (1997), 150.

most accessible. This pattern of movement is also apparent in the accessibility of the corner rooms. The northern corners are inaccessible from the courtyard, while the southern corners could have been entered from beneath the portico. The west wing was distinguished by the architectural oddity of the enclosure and its related rooms. Unfortunately, the east cannot be fully understood. If it were the entry point of the structure, the other wings would receive the greatest attention for further movement due to the movement of the visitor's natural progression. Even the columns of the portico emphasize the different patterns of accessibility. The U-shaped colonnade of the south with the east and west corners preceded rooms that were all immediately available to the visitor, while the L-shaped portico of the north and east stood in front of rooms less reachable from the courtyard space. The western side, with its unique architectural features and no portico was a different sphere altogether, perhaps a location meant to be observed, and not entered by all. Inside the courtyard of the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate the ancient visitor was confronted by entrance patterns that were markedly different on each side of the open space.

From the courtyard the visitor has fourteen options for further movement. Two of these options would be the entry/exit points on the east or west. It is possible that, given the potential for gatherings within the courtyard, many visitors simply conducted business there and then exited the complex. This would then leave twelve spaces for further movement within the complex itself. Of those spaces nine are closed, in that they provide no further access to space beyond and possess no door other than the one that the visitor had just passed through. The other three spaces are open and transitory,

controlling access to deeper interior space within the complex. The high number of closed spaces flanking the courtyard indicates a high visual accessibility to the complex in general. The ancient visitor would have been able to form a relatively accurate estimation of the plan of the entire complex simply from glancing around the courtyard. The high number of closed spaces also adds to the simplicity of the plan of the structure in terms of facilitating movement. With only a few exceptions the interior movement was simple, requiring the crossing of only one threshold from the courtyard space. In this way, the mechanics of interior movement functioned in a similar fashion to other examples we have seen, such as the single-room monumental hut at Luni sul Mignone or the straightforward approach to the sacred enclosure at Tarquinia. This process also replicates the interior mechanics of other centralized structures such as the buildings at Ficana and Satricum. However, a few spaces added a new dimension to the mechanics of interior movement by allowing for a more complex pattern of deeper penetration into the structure. The usage of these open spaces signals a new understanding of the mechanics of interior movement and a distinction of different types of space for more restricted, private usage.

Two of the three open spaces available to the visitor of Poggio Civitate invite discovery of the more intimate and less available parts of the complex, the recessed space behind the "templum" enclosure (19) on the western flank and the large eastern room on the northern flank (4).[207] Both controlled access to other spaces beyond, while at the same

[207] The third space seems to be simply an extension of the entryway. The room numbered 11 on figure 3.12 possessed a threshold facing the courtyard and also a second door leading to hypothetical room 12, or the entrance way on the eastern flank of the building. Phillips (1993), 9 speaks of a guardroom in association

time being controlled by the courtyard. Their main function was one of transition, allowing access to more private rooms beyond. While the visitor entering them was not necessary awarded privacy, a knowledge of further spaces beyond was available once the visitor had gained access to them. These open rooms increased the awareness of the plan and layout of the overall structure by allowing the visitor visual access to rooms not perceivable from the courtyard. In this way, they were probably more exclusive than the closed rooms that were within every courtyard visitor's direct gaze. They elicited active participation on the part of the visitor, while at the same time communicating a sense of private invitation.

First let us take the example of the western flank of the courtyard. This side was architecturally distinct, lacking the same portico that preceded the other flanks of the building and containing the three rooms associated with the "templum." Without the portico the viewer would have a direct sight line to the rooms of this wing, but the "templum" enclosure in the courtyard was an obstacle for a complete view. A visitor desiring to enter this space would have had to move around the enclosre within the courtyard, and once he emerged on the western side, would have seen the recessed space (19) which had been previously restricted from view. The lack of a threshold here serves to connect this space with the courtyard itself as if it were an extension of it rather than a separate room. The lack of visibility associated with the recessed space bestows a sense of privilege to the visitor who is invited to discover it. This sense of privilege is extended

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with this entrance and this room may have utilized in conjunction with it. I have chosen to restore room 11 as open, with two separate thresholds because that is the way it was pictured in the first publication of the plan of the Archaic complex in 1972 and again in Phillips most comprehensive 1993 publication.

to the visitor entering the confines of space 19 by providing a further view of the two closed spaces on either side, rooms 18 and 20. These previously inaccessible rooms are now made available, their entrances controlled by the space just entered. A high degree of privacy is apparent in their position. In terms of size these rooms are identical and it is impossible to conjecture what may have distinguished them from one another in antiquity. Their twin-like nature may indicate an analogous function. Taken together with the "templum" space, this wing provided an experience of invitation and discovery, but also a particularly exclusive one. This process of revelation combined with enclosed private space can be seen as an interior refinement to the Etrusco-Italic anticipatory approach method seen in earlier settlements, as well as the approach to both the Orientalizing and Archaic complexes at Poggio Civitate.

One last option for movement within the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate is entry into the rooms of the northern flank. Because of the tile fall uncovered on the exterior of the northern flank, Phillips posited a complete wall collapse on this side of the structure. In addition the foundation walls are thicker on the northern flank of the building. On the basis of these factors, Phillips suggested that the northern wing of the structure was two-stories high.[208] Such height would give the wing a commanding presence over the courtyard, particularly if the other three wings were lower-storied buildings.[209] Most visitors' experience of the northern wing occurred on its exterior facade. The interior, on the other hand, seems to have been reserved for an invited few.

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[208] Phillips (1993), 16-17.

[209] Phillips (1993), 16-17, points out that during excavation no tiles made or cut to fit the line resulting from the intersection of two tile roofs of equal height. Thus he puts forth the possibility of a two-story

A visitor would enter the northern flank by passing under the portico and then progressing into the large eastern room (14) of the two rooms that compose the side. It is noteworthy how large the northern flank rooms are in relation to the other rooms around the central courtyard. They are equal in width to the combined width of the southern flank and its portico,[210] and their combined length equals the length of the flank minus the corner rooms. The poor preservation of the southern wall of room 4 allows for the possibility of more than one threshold or doorway into the space, similar to the multi-entranced basilicas of later Roman date. Such a large expanse of covered space must have been yet another source of surprise and wonder for someone unaccustomed to monumental buildings in the sixth century BC.[211] As one entered from the south, it would have been necessary to adjust one's gaze along the long axis of the room to realize the possibilities for further movement. Room 14 is an open space with three neighbors, thus possessing a high degree of control over the flow of movement within the wing itself. Its function is transitional and it is not likely that a visitor remained within the space very long or that it was a considered a final destination.

From this room the visitor had the option of progressing toward the other large room (15) on the northern flank or the northeast corner room (13) adjoining the tower complex. In his early site reports, Phillips documents evidence for both of these thresholds and suggests that the door from room 14 to room 13 was partially blocked by

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northern flank, slightly lower eastern and western flanks, equal in size to each other and abutting the walls of the northern flank, and an even lower southern flank.

[210] Phillips (1993), 10.

[211] See J. Turfa and A. Steinmayer (1996), "The Comparative Structure of Greek and Etruscan Monumental Buildings," *PBSR* 64, Table 2, for a list of monumental buildings in Etruria and Latium, 7th to 2nd centuries and their dimensions.

repairs done to the wall in relation to increased wall support for the tower.[212] Room 13 itself is a closed space with no access to the two rooms jutting off the eastern wing to the north. It is one of the most private rooms in the entire complex as it requires a minimum of four thresholds to cross to reach it from the exterior and it is controlled by only one other space. Structurally, it is significant as one of the four corners of the complex. It is tempting to hypothesize a similar function for the corner rooms because they are all equal in size. Phillips saw this parity as an illustration of sophisticated architectural planning and structural unity.[213] However, in terms of accessibility, the rooms differ from one another. The corners on the southern side of the building are easily reached from the courtyard via only one threshold. On the other hand, room 13 is much deeper within the interior of the complex and surely is to be considered a more private space. Room 16, the northwest corner, is an open, transitional space and was an alternative entrance into the complex from the north. Located on the northern terrace of the plateau, it is a less trafficked place and thus a less public entrance. In addition, in terms of local relations it controls, and is controlled by, only one other room of the complex (17). Like its northeastern counterpart, it is removed from the courtyard, adding to its level of privacy.

The final space to consider in the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate is also its largest after the central courtyard, the larger of the two rooms on the northern flank (15). It measures 10 x 23.25 meters, making it one of the largest covered spaces in Archaic

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[212] Phillips (1968) "Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany, 1967," *AJA* 72, 121-124 and Phillips (1969) discusses his hypothesis for repairs done to the wall of the northern flank in the northeast corner in relation to the tower complex on the basis of the triangular spur of foundation material in the corner of Room 13.

[213] Phillips (1993), 10.

Etruria and Latium.[214] If a visitor chose to move into this room from room 14 it would have been an act of westward progression. Western movement and gaze in the courtyard had brought the visitor in contact with architecturally complex features, as well as the juxtaposition of visible and non-visible space, resulting in the effects of an anticipatory approach. The westward movement from room 14 to 15 also seems to have been movement into restricted space. It is a closed space with no other neighbors besides room 14. Like room 13, it is one of the most private spaces in the complex with the least accessibility and control of movement. Its size, in conjunction with its more private location, is suitable for a number of different gatherings, including banquets, assemblies and sacred ceremony. In addition, its walls seem to have been reinforced with pilasters for supporting a high roof. Phillips proposes that it may have been open from floor to roof for the entire two-story height of the structure.[215] The deep interior position of the room would require some system of lighting, artificial or natural, if it were to be used to host events of size and import and thus it may be on of Italy's earliest examples of a clerestory system.[216] Because of its width and the possibility that it was open at a two-story height, this room in particular is vital to the understanding of Etrusco-Italic roof technology. Jean Turfa has argued that Etruscan monumental roofs made use of an innovative system of tie-beam trusses and tension members to resist the considerable

[214] Based on the table of monumental buildings in Turfa and Steinmayer (1996), the only comparable spaces in this time period were the southeast building at Poggio Civitate (6 x 48 meters), Building C at Acquarossa (9 x 24 meters) and the Capitoline Temple in Rome (53 x 62 meters). The entire northern flank, presumably covered beneath one roof measured 10 x 61.5 meters.
[215] Phillips (1993), 16.
[216] Phillips (1993), 16-17, compares the architectural experience of this room to the Romanesque church of Sant'Antimo near Montalcino.

weight of terracotta tile roofs supported by mudbrick and pise walls.[217] As we have seen, this room at Poggio Civitate was distinguished in terms of both its width and height. The additional weight of its tile roof, complete with akroterial sculptures, could not have been supported without a tension-resistant roofing system Thus, if it possessed a cathedral ceiling with clerestory lighting as originally suggested by Phillips, it would have had a remarkable effect on the visitor, who would have moved into a completely enclosed, covered space, yet one still capable of producing light. The spaciousness of the high roof, combined with light, would have been a serious contrast to the darkness of the simpler roofing systems typical to the other cubicle-like spaces surrounding the Poggio Civitate courtyard. One may suppose that this innovative attempt at architectural grandeur is indicative of a grand function for the space itself, as is later the case with Roman, and ultimately early Christian, basilicas.[218]

III.4 Conclusions

The above discussion has demonstrated how Etrusco-Italic processes of approach and access affected the orientation and interior design of the Orientalizing and Archaic complexes at Poggio Civitate. The same processes which we have seen developed at earlier Bronze Age and Iron Age sites were employed at Poggio Civitate to maximize a visitor's architectural experience. The incorporation of all three types of approach and access—awareness of landscape and topographical features, articulation of centralized access space and the mechanics of interior movement—demonstrates both the

[217] Turfa and Steinmayer (1996), 31.
[218] See Turfa and Steinmayer (1996), (appendix 2) for the consideration of the roof of the northern wing of the Poggio Civitate complex as a transitional hybrid in Italic roofing tradition spanning from the Archaic period to Roman and Christian basilicas.

multifunctionality and the monumentality of the Poggio Civitate complexes. At the same time, refinements and adaptations to the earlier patterns of approach and access indicate changing architectural needs during the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, as well as local variation.

The monumental architecture at Poggio Civitate was situated in such a way as to promote its visibility and approach for local populations as well as to visitors arriving on foot or by way of the Ombrone River. All were afforded various glimpses and far off views of the complex, but one could only appreciate the complex as a whole after completing a lengthy approach by way of a path between the complex and the important artery of the Ombrone River. Such a visitor's experience of the complex was one of suspense and anticipation until reaching the southeast corner of the plateau of Piano del Tesoro. In the Orientalizing period the southeast building or workshop, with its open approach to the other structures on the plateau, allowed the visitor to comprehend the general orientation and architectural layout of the structures on the hill. By the Archaic phase the approach had become more visually closed-off, with the visitor left unaware of the architectural plan of the complex until gaining further access to the building's interior. The addition of such anticipatory approach to the experience of the interior was a refinement from its usage in earlier Etrusco-Italic settlements.

The centralized courtyard at Poggio Civitate is another Etrusco-Italic type of access. At Poggio Civitate it originates in the Orientalizing period and flourishes in the Archaic period. The courtyard at Poggio Civitate derives from the arrangement of the Orientalizing complex, which possessed an open space between the two known structures

on the southern corner of the plateau. By the mid-sixth century BC, the courtyard had evolved into a regularized square with four wings of rooms on its sides. While the approach utilized anticipation, the courtyard utilized surprise and visual accessibility as part of the viewer-response. The effects of size, light and decoration combined to overwhelm the visitor who had entered the space of the courtyard in a way that no other structure of this period had done before.

Lastly, the arrangement of rooms around the courtyard and the visitor's potential for movement into them is the most significant innovation in terms of access and approach seen at Poggio Civitate. The access patterns of the Archaic complex are both inherited from Etrusco-Italic tradition and indicative of more complicated patterns of interiors yet to come. First of all, the southern flank, including the east and west corners, is characterized by a series of closed rooms adjoining the courtyard space. They are all accessed through the portico and do not appear to have any means of intercommunication. Thus, they are easily accessible, both visually and with progressive movement, by any visitor to the complex. This openness is balanced by the more restrictive access pattern of the northern flank, where only one room is open and allows further movement into the spaces beyond. The rooms themselves are larger and more spacious allowing for groups of invited guests. The western flank, opposite the primary entrance into the courtyard, is distinguished by several architectural features, including the lack of the portico and an arrangement of rooms with one enclosure jutting into the courtyard space obscuring the view of another room behind. This combination of both open and restricted access patterns indicates specialization among the diverse wings of

the complex. On the one hand, visitors were provided with a full view of the architectural components of the complex, and on the other hand, certain visitors were allowed a more complete knowledge than others. This expansion of interior spaces foreshadows the complicated patterns of movement in later Roman interiors.

The late Bronze Age and the Iron Age had already introduced the traditions of spatial organization and multifunctionality. At Poggio Civitate those processes were monumentalized and confined. It is impossible to know the exact impact of the Poggio Civitate complex on later Etrusco-Italic architecture. During its lifespan it was relatively isolated and its destruction in c. 525 BC was complete. The building was disassembled and the site was covered by a mound erasing it from memory.[219] The architectural practices from which its spaces were created were not erased and continued to be realized in varied manifestations elsewhere, such as the contemporary site of Acquarossa.

[219] Initial excavation revealed a pit to the west of the building where various pieces of the roof decoration appeared to have been buried at the time of destruction. For this reason, Phillips and Edlund-Berry propose a ritual destruction of the complex. See I. E. M. Edlund-Berry (1994), "Ritual Destruction of Cities and Sanctuaries: The 'Un-founding' of the Archaic Monumental Building of Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," in R. D. De Puma and J. P. Small, eds. *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 16-28. Contra: DeGrummond (1997).

Chapter IV

Approach and Access in Southern Etruria: Acquarossa

Excavations at the Etrusco-Italic site of Acquarossa, located approximately 6 km. north of Viterbo (Figure 4.1), began in 1966 and continued until 1978.[220] They were undertaken by the Swedish Institute in Rome, and were under the direction of Carl E. Östenberg until 1975. As at Poggio Civitate (Murlo), excavations at Acquarossa have contributed greatly to our knowledge and understanding of Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture. The site, which occupies a hill plateau and comprises c. 32 hectares, has produced evidence of approximately 75 buildings from the middle of the eighth century to the end of the sixth century BC. During this time the plain of Acquarossa developed

[220] The bibliography for Acquarossa is vast. Several aspects of the site's architecture and finds have been published individually by the Swedish Institute in Rome under the titles *Acquarossa I-VII* (1981-1994) (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:1-7), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome (C. Wikander (1981), *Acquarossa I: The Painted Architectural Terracottas, Part I, Catalogue and Architectural Context*, (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:1), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, C. Wikander (1988), *Part II, Typological and Decorative Analysis*, (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:1), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, C. Scheffer (1982), *Acquarossa II: Part II, The Cooking Stands*, (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:2), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, M. B. Lundgren & L. Wendt (1982), *Acquarossa III: Zone A*, (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:3), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, E. Rystedt (1983), *Acquarossa IV: Early Etruscan Akroteria from Acquarossa and Poggio Civitate (Murlo), (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:4), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, M. Strandberg Olofsson (1984), *Acquarossa V: Part I, The Head Antefixes and Relief Plaques, A Reconstruction of a Terracotta Decoration and its Architectural Setting (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:5),Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, Ö. Wikander (1986), *Acquarossa VI: Part , The Roof-Tiles, Catalogue and Architectural Context (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:6), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, M.B. Lundgren, et. al. (1994) *Acquarossa VII: Trial Trenches, Tombs and Surface Finds (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:7), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome. Despite the thoroughness of these publications, no unified site report is available. The most helpful synthetic discussions of the site are C. E. Östenberg (1975) *Case etrusche di Acquarossa*, Rome: Multigraphica Editrice and the catalog of an exhibit held in Viterbo in 1986, *Architettura Etrusca nel Viterbese: Ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956-1986* (1986), Rome: DeLuca.

from several small areas of hut settlements to a community of between 4000-7000 inhabitants at the time of the site's destruction in c. 525 BC.[221]

The site has provided many examples of Etrusco-Italic house plans and numerous architectural terracottas, which have contributed valuable information about all types of Etrusco-Italic building and roofing techniques.[222] For this study, the primary area under investigation is a portion of the site denoted Monumental Area F and a small adjoining area denoted Zone C (Figure 4.2). Like Poggio Civitate, this area had two significant building periods in the Orientalizing and the Archaic periods: the first from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the sixth century BC, and the second, remarkably shorter, from c. 550-525 BC. The structures preserved here are often referred to as "palazzi," although many of their compositional features are dramatically different from the complexes at Poggio Civitate or other "palazzi." The early complex at Acquarossa, c. 625-600 BC, is composed simply of a triangular courtyard running N-S with buildings on the east and south (Figure 4.3). The predominant structure in this complex is a rectangular building, 25 m. in length, lying NW-SE. In addition to the south there are indications of the remains of at least one other structure and a well. Outside the immediate vicinity of courtyard, the excavators identified two other structures, House J to the west and House H to the north beyond the rectangular building. After the destruction of this complex in c. 550 BC, a second complex was built. This later complex, the better

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[221] C. Persson (1994) "The Field Architect's Urbanistic Notes," in *Acquarossa VII: Trial Trenches, Tombs and Surface Finds*, M. Lundgren, et. al., eds. *(Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4 , 38:7), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 293-294 for a discussion of this population figure.

[222] The discovery of architectural terracottas from the site used as decorative features on domestic architecture destroyed the earlier commonly held notion that decorative terracottas were solely used on temple and sacred architecture.

known of the Acquarossa monumental structures, has some similarities to its predecessor (Figure 4.2). It is also organized principally around a courtyard. There are two main buildings: A, approximately 10 meters,[223] and C, approximately 25 meters in length, which stand at right angles to one another; A on the north and C on the east. Two other structures belong to the complex: Building B seems to be a northern continuation of Building C, and Building D is attached to the southwest corner of Building C by means of a precinct wall. A second complex (E-G), similar in layout to this one but with its courtyard open to the east, has been uncovered to the west of Buildings A-D (Figure 4.2). This complex consists of a two-room structure (Building E) to the south and a one-room structure (Building G) to the north. Building G may belong to the earlier building period and remained standing during the later phase. There is also a precinct wall that runs north-south and joins the Buildings E and G. The two individual complexes (A-D & E-G) are separated by a road or drainage system of considerable depth. Finally there is a two room structure (Building F) to the south of the above-mentioned complexes located across a paved road. [224]

The following discussion focuses on the monumental courtyard structure (A-D) during the later phase of the site. Although this structure is often compared to the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate, it is significantly different. It is more than half the size of the Poggio Civitate complex and its courtyard is open on one side, rather than fully enclosed.

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[223] There is some question as to the actual length of this structure as its eastern extension is not well-defined. Strandberg Olofsson reconstructs Building A with three columns and a length of approximately 13 m on the basis of the amount and distribution of associated terracotta plaques and antefixes, M. Strandberg Olofsson (1989) "On the reconstruction of the monumental area at Acquarossa," *OpRom* 17, 180.

[224] Due to the lack of available published material, this study will focus on the complex of Buildings A-D. Where information is available, I will consider Buildings E, G and F, but most publications and excavation reports of Acquarossa's monumental area have omitted an in-depth discussion of them.

It is also located among other structures in a populated settlement. These important factors are often overlooked in accounts that designate both the complex at Poggio Civitate and at Acquarossa as "palazzi." As in the last chapter, my study will not focus on the function of the Acquarossa complex, although many previous discussions have.[225] Rather I will evaluate the architectural remains in light of the Etrusco-Italic patterns of approach and access. Such analysis not only demonstrates the mulitfunctionality of this building complex, but also highlights its unique architectural needs based on its topography and location within a larger settlement.

IV.1 Approach and visibility of the monumental area

Unlike its contemporary at Poggio Civitate the monumental area at Acquarossa was not an isolated complex of buildings, but rather was accessible only by traversing a well-populated settlement. Thus the monumental area at Acquarossa must be considered as an integrated part of a larger community. A visitor not residing in the town of Acquarossa, in addition to reaching the larger site of the town itself, had to navigate through the town to locate the monumental area. A resident of the town would have had a different experience all together. This potential visitor would not have had to negotiate the surrounding terrain to reach the town, but could chose a varied route depending on what part of the overall settlement the journey began. In fact, the same individual could have approached the monumental complex differently at different times. The variety of approach options would have had to have been a consideration for the architect/planner of this complex. Therefore, I will begin with the furthest approach (i.e. a stranger arriving

[225] In particular, see Strandberg Olofsson (1984) and M. Torelli (1986) "Review of Acquarossa I, II, IV & V," *Gnonom* 63, 259-267 and Strandberg Olofsson (1989).

from outside the town) and then consider the various routes to the monumental area from within the settlement itself.

The town of Acquarossa was located amidst other settlements that have yielded evidence of ancient habitation. Immediately to the north is the later Roman settlement of Ferentium. More contemporary with the habitation period of Acquarossa are the early settlements on Monte Piombone and a possible Etruscan settlement on Monte Casoli, near the modern town of Bomarzo (Figure 4.1). In addition, within a radius of 10 km from Acquarossa, Bagnaia, Vitorichiano, Grotte S. Stefano, Bomarzo, Celleno and Montefiascone all possess some evidence of ancient Etrusco-Italic habitation. Thus, Acquarossa was potentially a member of a relatively large community of neighboring settlements. The finds at the above-mentioned sites do not show evidence of contact with the cities of inner Etruria.[226] Presumably most of the traffic into Acquarossa was from the surrounding communities and no major commercial thoroughfare appears to have traversed the town.[227] Thus, the average visitor to the town, and perhaps the monumental area, would most likely have been a member of a local population and familiar with the surroundings. The routes to Acquarossa may have been tailored to this type of visitor, who would not have needed much assistance in locating their destination. Natural formations, such as rivers and hills could have served as markers and guides, making such a path difficult for us to reconstruct today. However, the natural surroundings of the

[226] C. B. Persson (1986), "Acquarossa Urbansitica," in *Architettura Etrusca nel Viterbese: Ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956-1986*, Rome: DeLuca.
[227] Persson (1986), 40.

plateau of Acquarossa today can provide some indication of how one approached the site from outside the town.

The Acquarossa plain (Figure 4.4) is an isthmus, bounded by two streams, the Acqua Rossa, so named for the reddish, iron-rich water, to the north, and the Francalancia to the south. Both of these waterways join to the Vezza to the east, which eventually feeds into the Tiber River. The plain itself is of soft volcanic tufa and is delimited by steep and difficult scarps on all sides except to the south where it possesses a natural connection to the Monti Cimini. The sides are particularly precipitous to the north and west where they descend nearly 60 meters into deep gorges. To the northwest there is another protrusion, called the Pian del Sale, measuring approximately 200 x 300 meters. Today the sides of the plateau are densely vegetated. It is likely that their appearance has not changed drastically since antiquity, although the presence of the settlement itself might have lessened the amount of vegetation on the sides. Major alterations to the site since antiquity have been due to modern plowing and natural erosion, which is evidenced more commonly in the center of the plain than on the hill slopes. The building remains on the hill edges are better-preserved and indicate that there was a concern for the visibility of the settlement in antiquity.

The primary means of access to the Acquarossan plain was most likely to the south at the natural connection between the plain and the Monti Cimini, the Campo dei Pozzi.[228] However, a plan of the excavation zones (Figure 4.5) reveals that this point of access is at a great distance from the monumental area at zones C and F. In addition, this

[228] The question of approach to Acquarossa must be considered solely in terms of the natural landscape and surroundings. There are no traces of walls or gates anywhere on the plateau. Persson (1994), 290.

means of access requires movement through the entire excavated settlement, including an area of the necropoleis at Tre Marie. While it is common practice in the Roman period for major thoroughfares into towns to be lined with funerary monuments, this type of display is not often associated with Etruscan urban planning. For example, the monumental Banditaccia cemetery of Cerveteri and the Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia, both cities with a substantially greater influx of non-residential visitors than Acquarossa, are located on roads outside of the confines of their respective settlements. These necropoleis are not organized around a major traffic artery into the town proper. A southern approach to the monumental area of Acquarossa for non-residents is unlikely since it would consist of a lengthy route through both the settlement and the necropolis. More importantly, this route is less accessible from the Tiber River, as it requires one to navigate from the Tiber's tributary Vezza, completely around the Acquarossa plateau to its southern point. A southern land approach is feasible, but the Tiber River and its tributaries form the area's primary communication route.

Given the circumstances described above a more direct and accessible approach to the monumental area for non-resident visitors to Acquarossa must be sought. The Pian del Sale in the northwest seems to be a logical connection point. It is easily reached from the Vezza via the Acqua Rossa river, and remains of an ancient bridge, perhaps Etruscan, have been detected to the northwest (Figure 4.4). Even more suggestive is Pian del Sale's possible connection with a well-defined road traversing the monumental area. A road, of possibly two ancient phases, runs between monumental areas F and C (Figure 4.2). The road curves slightly at the northeast corner of Building F in Area C and continues to the

southwest towards the remainder of the settlement and Campo dei Pozzi,[229] and to the west towards Pian del Sale. In its latest phase, the road is 4 meters at its narrowest point, and edged with tufa curbstones to protect the carriageway. The curvature and direction of the road seem to suggest a thoroughfare between Pian del Sale, the monumental area and the remainder of the site.[230] The curvature and direction, which differ from the orientation of the buildings in the monumental area, also suggest that the road was not part of an urbanized plan, but rather a pre-existing feature that may have been a factor in the development of the monumental area.[231] An earlier road, approximately 80 cm below the later road, appears to be too narrow for cart traffic, but probably would have allowed the passage of animals.[232]

Thus it is possible that a non-resident approached Acquarossa at Pian del Sale and continued along a road, originally constructed to accommodate not only the foot traffic of locals, but also pack animals of travelers. This road led directly to the town's monumental center after a relatively short distance. Once there, the traveler could continue to the southwest to the remainder of the settlement or beyond to the Monti Cimini or the site's necropoleis. The evidence for the road predating the monumental building suggests that it was a primary factor in selecting the site for the monumental complex. If travelers

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[229] It has been suggested by Persson that as the road continues to the southwest it may pass a temple situated on the highest part of the Acquarossan plain. He notes that in trenches 53 and 73 pieces of architectural decoration of monumental size, including parts of a column capital, were uncovered. He hints that these pieces may have outfitted a temple that would have been connected to the monumental area F and C by way of this common thoroughfare. Persson (1986), 42.

[230] Persson (1986), 42.

[231] The earliest buildings in the area, particularly Building D in Area F seem to follow the orientation of the road slightly. Persson suggests that the earliest buildings, i.e. Building D and remains of a few others, were oriented to the pre-existing road. The "status" of the road and its orientation allowed it to remain unchanged, even after later buildings further divergent from the road's orientation are added. Persson (1994), 299.

[232] Persson (1994), 299.

entering the site near Pian del Sale used the road, then at least to the buildings' planners, an approach to the monumental complex from the west is an important consideration in shaping a visitor's architectural experience of the complex.

Residents of Acquarossa could have approached the monumental complex from the west. However, very few residential structures have been uncovered in this direction. There are a few houses in the vicinity of Pian del Sale, particularly in Zone N (Figure 4.5) where the houses have been interpreted as related to one another by a regularized urban plan. This regularity is similar to the planning evident during the later architectural phases of the monumental complex in Zones F and C, and potentially illustrates an architectural connection between the two areas.[233] It is unlikely that the siting of the monumental area was contingent upon accessibility for these residents. The greatest concentration of domestic structures at Acquarossa has been uncovered on the south of the plateau. While this may be attributed to the lack of erosion in this area, it certainly indicates a potentially large population to the southeast and southwest. For these residents a southern approach must have been the primary means of access to the monumental building complex. This could have been accomplished by way of a north-south route traversing the plateau and joining the previously mentioned road between Zones C and F as it curved to the west.

This road connecting the southernmost portion of the plateau and the western protrusion at the Pian del Sale by means of the monumental complex is a necessary and likely main thoroughfare. The majority of the Acquarossa population, living in the central

[233] Persson (1994), 300-301.

area of the plateau, would approach the monumental area by heading north. On such an approach, the first real glimpse of the monumental area would come as the viewer rounded the curve in the road near the corner of Building F. This is the opposite vantage point from those approaching from the west. These visitors were most likely non-residents coming from the Pian del Sale. The southern approach affords a view that encompasses portions of the complex at various points, allowing the approacher to see glimpses of the number and size of the buildings but not a full view of the complex, an anticipatory approach that we have seen in several manifestations already. This vantage allows one to perceive the scope and layout of the complex, but excludes a view of the western façade of Zone F's Buildings A-D or the eastern façade of Buildings E-G. This is accomplished only after the visitor has walked around the southern edge of the complex in either direction. If either the western façade and its accompanying courtyard or the eastern complex (E-G) was intended to be the primary entrance of the complex, then access for one approaching from the south, more probably a town resident, is delayed until he has rounded at least the southern wall of structure D.

In addition, the southern approach, unlike the western, brings the visitor to a fork in the path calling for a choice of roads on which to continue. The southern approach road curves to the west upon entering the monumental area and seems to dictate further movement in that direction. This would ultimately take the visitor to the western façade of structures A-D. However, at this juncture perhaps a visitor could alternatively choose to continue moving north or east. The well-preserved road between Zones C and F is bounded by tufa curbstones to the south and west, but not to the north or east. It has been

suggested the north and east curbstones have been destroyed or lost due to heavy modern ploughing or rainwater drainage and runoff.[234] I suggest that the road was not bounded by curbstones on these sides in order to facilitate access to other roads (4.6). A northern road would allow passage between the two monumental complexes in Zone F, structures A-D and E-G,[235] and an eastern road would continue around the southern edge of E-G around a corner to its eastern façade, echoing the same route to the west. The southern approach to the monumental area allows visitors from this direction not only a greater visual appreciation of the size and plan of the complex, but also greater mobility, by way of varied routes, with which to navigate movement towards and through it. This type of approach favors residents, who possess a prior knowledge of the site and its surrounding topography.

One final point of approach to the monumental building complex in Zones C and F must be considered: that to the northeast. Östenberg noted a possible access point to the plateau on its easternmost point. While no traces of a road have been located in the area, designated Zone M (Figure 4.5), trial trenches have revealed the remains of an unidentified building, roof tiles and ceramics.[236] There is also evidence of structures north of the monumental areas. The remains of domestic structures have been identified in

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[234] Persson (1994), 298-299.

[235] There is a "ravine" between these two structures bounded by the eastern wall of Buildings C and B and the wall of Building E and its continuation to the north. No paving stones have been found in connection with this road, but they could have easily washed down the slope of the hill, as the area has traditionally been a major outlet for drainage and rain runoff from the plateau. The ground level in ancient times sloped downward 2 m. over approximately 25 m. (a gradient of 8%) and water runoff from the southern approach road would certainly have occurred through here. See Persson (1994), 297-299. However, I see no reason that the passage must be considered only as a drainage space. It could easily have been a thoroughfare, which also allowed drainage of water. It seems likely that the skilled Etruscan engineers would have preferred to direct water runoff by way of a road rather than allowing it to run over the foundations of the structures in the area.

[236] Östenberg (1976)"Acquarossa-Ferentium: Campagna di Scavo 1975," *OpRom* 9, 35-37.

excavation zones O, P and R to the north of the monumental area (Figure 4.5).[237] And finally a fossa cut into the tufa rock of the plain, c. 3-5 meters in depth, has been uncovered to the north of zone F (Figure 4.2). The function of the fossa is unknown, but Östenberg speculated that it could have served as a cutting in order to level the area for a road.[238] This might indicate another area of residence and a thoroughfare from the eastern tip of the plateau to the northeast corner of the monumental complex. Such an approach might continue to the eastern façade of the complex E-G and complement the western approach to structures A-D. Unfortunately, very little of the eastern portion of the structure has been discovered. Alternatively, if the approach included a road in the area of the above-mentioned fossa, one might enter the monumental area at the northern end of the road between structures A-D and E-G, climbing the slope upwards to reach the juncture of the southern approach road.[239] While these possibilities are evocative, there is too little evidence to assess their feasibility.

Several conclusions can be drawn regarding the approach and orientation of the monumental zone at Acquarossa. First, based on the relationship between the site's location and the surrounding settlements and topographic features, the most likely entry

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[237] Zone O: trial trenches 29, 41 and 99; Zone P: trial trench 98; zone R: trial trench 97, L. Wendt and M. B. Lundgren (1994), "Trial Trenches and Surface Finds," in *Acquarossa VII: Trial Trenches, Tombs and Surface Finds,* M. B. Lundgren, et. al., eds., *(Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae,* 4 , 38:7), Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 32-67.

[238] Östenberg (1976), 32-33.

[239] C and Ö Wikander note that "a group of revetment plaques" was found in the central part of the gully between A-D and E-G. It is uncertain whether the terracottas belong to a structure in the monumental area or whether they washed down from the south and became lodged under fallen blocks of Building C. On the basis of their find spot and style the Wikanders assign them to the early phase of monumental area F. They are perplexed at the possibility of a decorated façade facing the gully: "It seems slightly strange that the back should have had such a decoration when the front had none," C. and Ö Wikander (1990), "The Early Monumental Complex at Acquarossa: A Preliminary Report," *OpRom* 18, 189-205, esp. 197-201. However, if the "gully" were in fact utilized as part of an approach route, perhaps the existence of architectural decoration might not seem so strange.

point for a visitor arriving by land or water would be on the western edge of the plain at the protrusion called Pian del Sale. From this point a visitor would then travel east toward the city proper, encountering the monumental area first, at its western façade, particularly the portion centered on structures A-D. This view does not allow a full perspective of the complex as a whole, but rather concentrates on the initial impact of only these four buildings and its centralized courtyard space. For the non-resident visitor the approach to the monumental complex is short and frontal with immediately available visual effects.

Second, the experience of a southern approach, more probable in the case of a resident of Acquarossa, is just the opposite. Such an approach necessitates a walk through the city. The monumental complex is only one among many buildings viewed on this route. Upon reaching the complex, the resident is confronted, not by a straightforward façade, but rather a juncture of roads and a choice of direction. In every case, the effect of the complex's primary façade, whether it is to the west (A-D) or the east (E-G), is delayed until after turning the corner of the southern wall. Unlike the western approach, this approach affords a greater understanding of the scope of the complex. The anticipatory approach in this case emphasizes the architectural plan and dimensions of the structure from the exterior, while delaying the visual impact of the interior central space.[240]

I suggest, therefore, that the monumental complex at Acquarossa is sited in order to provide the non-residential visitor with a more frontal, direct approach with a visual goal obtainable in a short distance. This presupposes a lack of knowledge about the

[240] There are several other potential means of approach to Acquarossa's monumental center, including the possibility of arriving from the north or northeast. A lack of evidence prevents further study of these approaches. It seems likely that in these cases the visitor would be forced to follow a circuitous route, similar to the southern approach route, to the building's entrance.

structure of the complex and facilitates the visitor's approach by providing a directional guide and visual orientation point. The more complicated approach reserved principally for residents is less concerned with the frontal impact of the structure, but rather allows a more practical overall view of the complex's components and layout. Because an orientation to the structure is not necessary, the approach is less about directing one's entry into the complex, and more about facilitating one's movement once inside. These considerations of approach are very different from those at Poggio Civitate. While the larger environment and topography was the primary factor in the orientation and siting of the Poggio Civitate complexes, at Acquarossa these concerns are secondary to the relationship of the complex to other urban structures.

IV.2 Centralized space as a point of access

Once a visitor reached the monumental complex at Acquarossa a centralized space served as an area for close observation and entrance to the individual structures that composed the complex. We have seen this process already at earlier Bronze Age and Iron Age sites, as well as the monumental enclosed courtyard at Poggio Civitate. However, unlike the courtyard at Poggio Civitate, at Acquarossa the courtyard space was open on one side, thus allowing both visual and physical access at a distance from the buildings themselves (Figure 4.7). At Poggio Civitate the enclosed courtyard was hidden from the approaching visitor’s view until the actual point of entry. As we shall see, the courtyard at Acquarossa functions differently for each individual type of approach. For the non-resident visitor the courtyard represents a visual goal, while the resident visitor is completely excluded from the view of the courtyard until the final moments of approach

and access. Both types of approach have been seen in the Etrusco-Italic tradition, but, as its immediate predecessor, it is the relationship between the earlier Orientalizing courtyard to the late Archaic courtyard that is most informative in the development of the centralized space at Acquarossa. For this reason, I include a brief summary of the early complex and the origins of its courtyard.

The early complex (625-550 BC)

On the basis of roof tile fragments, C and Ö Wikander date the first structures in Area F, Buildings D and J, to c. 625 BC. Both of these structures, which are referred to as "irregularly placed,"[241] are actually aligned with the road running between Zones C and F (Figures 4.2, 4.3).[242] This indicates that at the time of construction, the road was already an existing thoroughfare and that the buildings were adapted to its direction.[243] The road, passing from the west to the south was the integral original factor in orienting the buildings and locating their entrances. Because of the lack of archaeological evidence, it is difficult to assess the exact placement of doorways for Buildings J and D. Entering the area via the road from either the south or the west, it is likely that a visitor may have had access to Building D from its southern flank. Building J sits elevated on a slight bedrock plateau above and to the west of Building D.[244] The lack of structural remains renders it impossible to reconstruct any point of entry for this structure, but if the road is the primary thoroughfare in the area, perhaps the building was also entered from the façade

[241] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 204.
[242] Persson (1994), 299. Interestingly Building G of the eastern complex, which is also dated to the end of the 7th century on the basis of terracotta revetments, is also aligned similarly to Buildings D and J and the road. Persson (1986), 42.
[243] Persson (1994), 299.
[244] Very few remains of the building can be identified, but the excavators are certain of its existence due to finds of architectural terracottas.

facing the road. Postholes have been identified to the north of Building J, but they have not been definitively assigned to the structure. There is not much evidence for the architectural decoration of these buildings. Based on the scattered find spots of roof tiles and revetment plaques near Building D, Charlotte Wikander suggests that "both its façades had decoration," yet she is unsure which was the primary façade of the building.[245] Thus, there is no reason to assume an early "courtyard" in the area north of Buildings D and J. Rather, the direction of the road and the available remains of Buildings D and J indicate that the earliest buildings in Zone F were situated according to the pre-existing road and were most likely entered through doorways on the side opposite the eventual courtyard space.[246]

Sometime in the years following the construction of Buildings D and J, further changes appear to have been implemented in the monumental area of Acquarossa. At this time a third building to the northeast of D and J, a well,[247] and a courtyard are added to the area (Figure 4.3). These modifications mark an important development in terms of approach and access. While the earlier structures appear to have been sited in terms of their approachability from the road, these new structures do not follow the same orientation and, in fact, favor a frontal approach from the west. In c. 600 BC a shift in the

[245] C. Wikander (1988), 35.
[246] A third structure may be associated with this area during this period. Beneath the floor of the later Building C the excavators uncovered a substantial destruction layer, ceramics, roof-tiles and architectural terracottas. It is presumed, on the basis of stratigraphy and stylistic analysis of the ceramic and terracotta evidence, that there was a building of an earlier date somewhere in this vicinity. However, it cannot be associated with or dated earlier than structures D and J with any certainty, C and Ö Wikander (1990), 191.
[247] The Wikanders associate the well with the early phase on the basis of ceramics and the surrounding architectural remains. The wall of the southern room of Building C (from the later phase) passes immediately above the upper edge of the well, indicating that it was constructed after the well was filled in C and Ö Wikander (1990), 194-195.

architectural plan of the monumental complex, signaled by the creation of a centralized courtyard space may have changed in the primary route of approach.

The most significant addition was a rectangular building running northwest-southeast in the approximate position of the later Building C. Beneath the central wall of Building C archaeologists uncovered a line of tufa blocks, which were interpreted as an outer wall in a building pre-dating the later Building C. (Figure 4.3). The excavators did not discover the remains of a parallel boundary wall for this structure. It is assumed on the basis of stratigraphic evidence that the back wall of Building C is identical with the back wall of this earlier building. This wall, which would form the eastern boundary of the early building, sits directly on bedrock with smaller blocks piled up against its inner side. C and Ö Wikander have determined that these remains are part of the original construction of the early building, which are then re-used in the construction of Building C.[248] This evidence indicates that at the beginning of the sixth century BC the monumental complex was enlarged and an additional rectangular building was sited to the northeast of the pre-existing structures D and J.

Unlike these previous structures of the monumental area, this new building does not align with the road to the southeast, but rather favors a direct approach from the west. Evidence of postholes along its western façade suggests a porticoed "front," and a north-south cutting in the bedrock to the west of the building suggests a courtyard. Excavators uncovered three postholes at a distance of approximately 1.00-1.20 meters from the building's central wall. A fourth posthole was documented slightly more than 4 meters

[248] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 200.

south, yet was never drawn in the excavator's field plans. A fifth posthole (9.10 meters from the third) has been documented, but at a distance of only 80 cm from the central wall. This evidence suggests that this façade of the building had some sort of colonnaded exterior facing a visitor approaching the building from the west. C and Ö Wikander suggest that the building possessed a longitudinal saddle-roof over the inner rooms and that the closely-placed postholes are evidence of a separate portico with a shed-roof.[249]

The development of the preceding courtyard is certainly also a major change in the arrangement and approach of the complex at the beginning of the sixth century BC. The excavators noted the presence of a distinct cutting in the bedrock to the west of the longitudinal building. This cutting delineates the western boundary of a triangular shaped courtyard.[250] The courtyard appears to have been bounded by the portico of the longitudinal building to the east, the façade of Building D to the south and the juncture of the east and west sides in an apex at the north. The bedrock area to the west of the cutting continues at a higher level than the floor levels of the courtyard and the buildings surrounding it.[251] Thus as the visitor moved away from the road and towards the structures of the complex, there was a necessary step down upon entering the courtyard. This would have been a significant action marking the transition from approach to

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[249] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 200.

[250] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 202-205. The Wikanders argue that the triangular form of the courtyard in the early complex at Acquarossa is contemporary with examples at Satricum and perhaps the Orientalizing complex at Poggio Civitate. Their dating of the Acquarossa complex would place it earlier than related constructions in Athens (Agora, Building F) and Rome (Regia V). They hypothesize that the development of the irregular courtyard signifies the first step in a shift of political power from private to more public spheres in central Italy. See also Scheffer (1990).

[251] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 201. During the construction of the later courtyard all earlier remains were essentially destroyed on this higher level. Therefore it is impossible to determine if there were structures in this area in the early complex. Three postholes have been noted in the tufa, but it impossible to assign them to this period.

entrance. In addition the change in ground level would effectively mark the boundaries of the courtyard space, and experientially isolate the area from previous surroundings. A similar use of a shift in ground level was seen as a means of demarcating entrance in the monumental Iron Age hut at Luni and other contemporary structures. As in the hut at Luni, at Acquarossa once the ground level changed upon entering the courtyard, it continued at the same level. The floor levels of the buildings surrounding the early courtyard correspond to that of the courtyard itself. This heightens the sense of separateness for the entire monumental complex from other architecture nearby. The sixth-century development and modification of the monumental area in Zone F focused on delineating and marking the area of the courtyard as the primary means of access to the structures beyond. The addition of the depressed courtyard provides the entire monumental area with an increased significance and emphasizes its position as a separate space. At the moment of entrance, the visitor comprehends that the monumental complex is a cohesive unit and a space experientially and perhaps, symbolically, set off from its surroundings.

The architectural decoration on the early monumental complex c. 600 BC is essential to appreciating the courtyard's role as a zone of approach and access. I have suggested that buildings D and J may have had exterior terracotta decoration on their façades facing the southern road. With the addition of the triangular courtyard to the north and the longitudinal building to the northeast one might expect a decorative program that was visually accessible to the visitor in the courtyard. The archaeological evidence indicates just the opposite. The only examples of revetment plaques or

architectural tiles from this phase, some still with well-preserved paint,[252] were uncovered in the drainage gully or road, running to the east of the longitudinal building between it and the area of later structures E-G (Figure 4.2). The Wikanders, troubled by the lack of this building's decoration facing the courtyard, suggest that the plaques decorated the rear of the structure because the shed-roof construction would preclude their use in the front.[253] One solution to this dilemma is that the decorative program did not address the courtyard in this early period. The visitor approaching the complex from the north, northeast or south would have confronted painted decorative terracottas that beckoned continued movement around the building to the courtyard and access to the individual buildings. This would have continued the practice begun with the first structures (Buildings D and J) where each building's relationship to the road was primary. The visitor approaching from the west would not have viewed decoration, but rather cues from the architecture itself and the eventual shift in ground level would announce the courtyard as the principal area of access.

The later complex (c. 550-525 BC)[254]

Archaeological evidence indicates that the early monumental complex was a victim of a fire in c. 550 BC and then rebuilt between 550-525 BC. This Archaic complex

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[252] Acquarossa Type II A: Rev F78 and F 79: C. Wikander (1988), 36.

[253] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 201. The Wikanders are cautious about this reconstruction, given the strongly decorative local traditions. Building A at Satricum and "several early Latial temples" without decorative terracottas are cited as examples of contemporary buildings lacking a decorative program on the principal façade.

[254] M. Strandberg-Olofsson has published the majority of available material regarding the architectural arrangement and reconstruction of the later monumental complex in Area F at Acquarossa. In particular, M. Strandberg-Olofsson (1986), "L'area monumentale di Acquarossa," in *Architettura Etrusca nel Viterbese: Ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956-1986*, Rome: DeLuca, 81-92, Strandberg-Olofsson (1989) and M. Standberg-Olofsson (1994), "Some interpretational aspects of the Acquarossa/Tuscania mould-made terracottas and their architectural context," *Opus Mixtum*, 135-147.

represents another transition in the monumental architecture at Acquarossa. The interior courtyard becomes more articulated as a separate entrance space, but still utilizes its opposite exterior façades as a means of communication to the visitor, as it had done in the earlier phase. The later monumental complex was constructed among the remains of the early complex, in some cases using its structures as foundations. The resulting complex of structures, composed of an irregularly shaped courtyard and four buildings referred to as A, B, C and D (Figure 4.2),[255] continues the processes of spatial development and attention to approach and visual accessibility that had characterized the early monumental complex. [256]

The principal buildings of the complex, Building A and Building C, were on the north and east sides respectively (Figures 4.2, 4.7). They may have been separated in the northeast corner by Building B, but the remains of this structure are not well understood and little attempt has been made to reconstruct its relationship to Buildings A and C.[257] Buildings A and C flank the courtyard in a perfectly perpendicular manner, and the exterior perimeter of each building facing the courtyard is delineated by a row of blocks. Both buildings possessed a portico. Roughly in line with and slightly inside of the boundary blocks in front of Building C archaeologists discovered two column bases *in*

[255] Due to the lack of available published material, this study will not consider the entirety of the monumental zone at Acquarossa. Previous studies have omitted an in-depth consideration of Buildings E, G and F.

[256] The division of publication responsibilites of Monumental Area C and F (C and Ö Wikander: the early complex, and M. Strandberg-Olofsson: the late complex) has inadvertently led to a lack of understanding of the relationship between these two phases. In all major discussions of the architecture in Area F, the early and late complexes are dealt with separately. There is, to my knowledge, no discussion that undertakes to investigate the relationship of the first complex to the construction of the second.

[257] The reconstruction of the monumental area by Strandberg-Olofsson does not consider Building B, Strandberg-Olofsson (1984) and (1989).

situ and have postulated three others along this same line to the north.[258] A similar arrangement of column bases is indicated in front of Building A. Again, slightly inside and roughly in line with the boundary blocks, archaeologists have found three circular holes, which may have been foundation pits for column bases.

Buildings A and C presented colonnaded facades to the courtyard on the west and north sides of the complex.[259] Each building was decorated on the courtyard façade with a related series of sculpted terracotta frieze plaques and identical terracotta female-head antefixes. Building C was decorated with female-head antefixes and frieze plaques along the lateral sima facing the courtyard. Building A seems to have had a more elaborate decorative plan, with female-head antefixes and all four frieze plaques placed on the façade facing the courtyard in a combination of lateral and raking simas. Strandberg-Olofsson emphasizes that only the sides of Buildings A and C that faced the courtyard were decorated; no other associated terracottas were found along other sides of the buildings.[260] Strandberg-Olofsson has completed a reconstruction of the roofs of Buildings A and C, based on the find-spots of the accompanying roof-tiles and frieze plaques.[261] In her reconstruction (Figure 4.8), Building C possesses a longitudinal two-faced roof with a ridge running north-south and one of the slopes facing the courtyard on

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[258] Strandberg Olofsson (1984), 15: "The approximate positions of three more bases to the north were indicated in the stratification by delimited local disturbances in the stamped soil of the floor level in the portico and underlying levels."

[259] Of the four structures associated with the later monumental complex at Acquarossa, little is known regarding the sequence of their construction. Given the brevity of the complex's use it is likely that they were built contemporaneously and planned as a single unit. The following discussion will treat them in such a manner.

[260] Strandberg-Olofsson (1989), 177 She notes (n. 35) that several fragments were found in the gully east of Building C between it and Buildings E-G. Since they have joined with fragments from the courtyard she accounts for their location "as an effect of later disturbances" to the site.

[261] Strandberg-Olofsson (1984), (1986) and (1989).

the long side. For Building A, she reconstructs a gabled construction with an inserted sloping roof facing the courtyard.[262] The differing roofs, a few differences in the subject matter and placement of frieze plaques associated with Buildings A and C and size are the only obvious variances in their outward appearance.

The southern side of the complex is difficult to understand. Despite the damage associated with the fire c. 550 BC, it seems that at least one building, and maybe a second, occupied this wing of the complex. Unlike Buildings A and C, which flank the courtyard with even facades, Building D seems to jut into the courtyard on the south at an irregular angle. This is probably due to the fact that Building D represents either the same structure or a rebuilt version of the building in this space in the earlier complex. Its irregularity is, in fact, due to its original regular placement in line with the road running through the area. However, despite its seemingly "irregular" orientation it is certain that Building D existed contemporaneously with the more regularized structures A and C. The archaeological remains indicate that a precinct wall ran to the west from the southwest corner of the southernmost room of Building C to the extant remains of Building D. Because the southernmost room of Building C existed only in the complex's latest phase,[263] it seems that the wall must also be a construction of the later phase. This wall is the only indisputable point of connection between the structures of the

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[262] The reconstruction of the roof of Building A has been challenged by Torelli (1986) who suggests a shed roof for Building A. Strandberg-Olofsson answers Torelli's objections in Strandberg-Olofsson (1989), 180-182, arguing for a recessed gable. N. A. Winter has recently argued that the recessed gable roof originates in late Archaic Etruscan architecture and is derived from Campanian Etrusco-Italic temples which were incorporating features of the Doric style, but could not accommodate such architecture in mud-brick and wood without the innovation of the recessed gable, N. A. Winter (2002), "The Origin of the Recessed Gable in Etruscan Architecture," paper presented at *Deliciae Fictiles III* [Conference held at the American Academy in Rome, November 2002].

[263] C and Ö Wikander (1990), 202 and Ö Wikander (1986), 153.

monumental building complex. The exact extent and plan of Building D has not been determined. If the portico of Building C extended to and joined the precinct wall, it seems likely that Building D includes the small quadrilateral structure immediately west of Building C's portico and the western wall that joins to the blind precinct wall. Several foundation blocks extending to the west indicate that the Building D also continued in this direction.[264]

The roughly U-shaped arrangement of buildings, surrounding a trapezoidal courtyard and opening to the west,[265] favored approach from the west (Figures 4.2, 4.7). This continues the approach pattern that was begun in the earlier complex with the addition of the triangular courtyard and the long, shed-roofed building with its western façade. The visitor on the western approach road would have perhaps only glimpsed the roofs of the buildings of the monumental complex. As the road entered the monumental area slightly to the south of the complex, the visitor's first view would have been at an oblique angle. At this point, one may have been able to perceive the full extent of the size and layout of the complex, but not the individual details of the structures. For this it was

[264] The possibility of a second building on the southern flank exists to the southwest in the area of the earlier Building J. It is unclear from published accounts whether this hypothetical building, like Building D, is considered a part of the complex for both phases, or if it was only part of the earlier complex. Strandberg-Olofsson mentions the possibility of such a structure in both her 1984 book, 21 and her 1989 article, 166. However she does not refer to it as Building D. The Wikanders (1990) assign it to the earlier complex (as discussed above), but do not indicate that it was destroyed by they fire in c. 550 BC There is no reason to assume that it wasn't a part of the later complex. It is out of the range of areas affected by the fire of c. 550 BC. In addition, the courtyard of the later complex is leveled in the northwest corner, thereby changing the earlier triangular shape to a more trapezoidal shape. Such dramatic action is not undertaken in the southwest corner, where in fact the bedrock on which the early Building J rests, is left intact and juts even further into the courtyard than the proposed façade of Building D. This indicates that Building J may have remained in the later period.

[265] All reconstructions of the area consider the western side of the courtyard to be devoid of architecture.

necessary to move directly into the area and the courtyard.[266] Building C would be the most visually accessible to the approaching visitor, and as in the earlier complex, the preceding portico would have alerted the visitor to the possibility of further entrance into the structure, and also have served as a directional cue as he left the approach road. The primary means of entrance to the courtyard, and thereby to the individual buildings of the monumental complex, appears to have been on the courtyard's western side and perhaps a small area in the southwest corner of the complex, where there were no architectural structures.[267] As one neared the courtyard the other buildings of the complex would have come into view, in particular Building J to the left, while the ground level began to slope slightly to the right. As in the Orientalizing complex, the actual entry into the courtyard space would have required a step down.

Several architectural features would have been noteworthy to a visitor entering the Archaic courtyard at Acquarossa: the colonnaded facades of the surrounding structures, the depressed entryway and the use of architectural decoration (Figure 4.7). The first two features are modifications from the earlier complex and the last one is new to the courtyard, but not the site as whole. In the later complex the courtyard is given even greater importance as a transitional and entrance space for the complex as a whole.

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[266] Strandberg-Olofsson (1994), 138 suggests that the entrance to the courtyard was probably to the south, west of Building D. She postulates that perhaps the postholes located on a higher level of bedrock west of Building D could have formed a covered entrance to the complex. Given the orientation of these postholes, this entrance point would more accurately be described as southwest and would equally favor those approaching the complex from the west and the south.

[267] Strandberg-Olofsson (1993), 138 suggests that the entrance to the monumental complex was to the south and she may mean this area. She postulates that the postholes located on a higher level of the bedrock west of Building D could have formed a covered entrance to the complex. It is important to note that Building J is at a higher level than its fellow buildings and the level of the courtyard, and that if in fact it served as an entrance to the complex the difference of ground level would echo the different levels encountered in the action of entrance into the earlier complex.

It is the only mutual space shared by any of the complex's individual buildings. Strandberg-Olofsson has stated that because the decoration of Buildings A and C occurs only on facades facing the courtyard, the courtyard—and not the separate buildings—is the complex's primary architectural unit.[268] Two factors serve to emphasize the courtyard's importance: the level and the shape. As in the early complex the courtyard was located at a lower level than the ground level of the western approach. At the western boundary of Building A, the approaching visitor would have had to step down into the courtyard. In fact, the western portion of Building A is itself cut into the tufa rock at exactly the same line as the western courtyard boundary, indicating that the two actions were undertaken simultaneously. In order to accomplish this change it would have been necessary to level the considerable bedrock outcropping in the area. This effort speaks to the importance of creating both the lower level of the courtyard and its new shape. The act of stepping down offsets the courtyard as a space distinct from the approach route and signals to the visitor that he has arrived at his destination. The leveling also modifies the courtyard's shape. In the Archaic complex the western boundary of the earlier courtyard was extended further west. Thus, the courtyard lost its triangular shape and became roughly trapezoidal, with a jagged and irregular south side. The reshaping of the courtyard allows access from it to all of the buildings within the Archaic complex.

The placement of architectural decoration

As in the monumental Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate, a program of architectural decoration served to further distinguish the courtyard space. Little is known

[268] Strandberg-Olofsson (1989), 177.

about the terracotta revetment of the earlier complex, but it is fair to assume that architectural decoration was utilized to a lesser degree on the Orientalizing structures than on the Archaic buildings. In this period, both at Acquarossa and throughout the region, architects were using different forms of architectural embellishment to communicate visually with viewers in architectural spaces. In the last chapter I demonstrated how this process functioned in a completely enclosed space. At Acquarossa, the open courtyard needed a number of features to mark it off as unique and different from others encountered on the approach route. We have seen how the architecture of the portico and roofs, as well as the lower ground level accomplished this. It remains to consider how the architectural decoration was incorporated into the experience of the centralized access space at Acqurossa.

Buildings A and C faced the courtyard with perpendicular colonnades and were elaborately decorated. Female head antefixes and terracotta frieze plaques adorned both buildings and served to unify them visually.[269] However, the design and placement of frieze plaques differed on the two buildings. It seems unlikely that from a distance the details of the frieze plaques would have been visible to the visitor, but once in thcourtyard the various scenes and figures depicted on them were discernable. Brightly colored paint would have aided the process. The figured frieze plaques from the monumental area at Acquarossa illustrate four different scenes: Type A, Heracles and the Cretan bull, Type B, Heracles and the Nemean lion, Type C, a banqueting scene and

[269] Stray finds of the same four types of frieze plaques and the same type of antefix have been found outside monumental area F. To my knowledge no published account illustrates or identifies the find-spots of these pieces, Strandberg-Olofsson (1994), 146.

Type D, a dancing or *komos* scene (Figure 4.9). Both Types A and B depict Heracles as the central character flanked by members of a military or civic procession, including soldiers and chariots. The processions are similar, but not identical. At the head of the procession in the Type A plaques is a chariot drawn by winged horses and a man, facing the opposite direction and holding a two-pronged staff. Heracles and the bull occur in the middle, followed by two armed warriors. The Type B plaques reverse the direction of the procession. As on the Type A plaques, one figure faces against the processional movement—an armed soldier at the head of the procession who glances backward. The procession is headed by a figure on horseback. Heracles again occupies the middle, this time with a lion, and he is now followed by a single rider in a chariot drawn by two (non-winged) horses. While the iconography of these plaques is important and much-discussed,[270] their placement and visual availability on Buildings A and C is also an integral factor in establishing their significance and function.

Based on find-spot distribution, computer models and other factors such as evidence of paint and nail holes, Strandberg-Olofsson has proposed a reconstruction of the placement of architectural decoration on Buildings A and C.[271] She posits a row of female-head antefixes placed at the end of the roof slope in accordance with their function. Strandberg-Olofsson places plaques of Type A on Building C, in a frieze running along the eaves of the building below the antefixes.[272] Given the figural

[270] For a summary of recent discussion, see Strandberg-Olofsson (1994).
[271] Strandberg-Olofsson (1984).
[272] Strandberg-Olofsson (1984), 73. Her placement here, rather than along the architrave, is based solely on a conjectured "protective function of the plaques" in preventing the absorption of water by the wooden rafters.

representation on these plaques the visual effect of their placement on Building C would be of a procession moving toward the building's southern end. Such a cue would direct the visitor visually to the southern end of the complex, including Building D, the precinct wall or even the road beyond. It may also have directed the visitor's gaze to the southern end of Building C, which possessed the aforementioned autonomous entrance. Each frieze plaque shows the same scene, with Heracles and the bull near the center. Thus the effect was not a continuous narrative to be "read" by the visitor as the procession moved southward, but rather the repetition of the same moment in the procession again and again. The lone figure facing the procession at the far right of each plaque serves as a visual boundary and emphasizes the repetitiveness of the scene. Continued exposure to the same scene would have strengthened the possibility of the visitor's recognition of and turning away from the scene. Finally the strict horizontal nature of the images on the frieze would not have drawn the visitor's attention upward toward the roof. If Building C possessed a ridgepole running north-south (as Strandberg-Olofsson reconstructs), then it is probable that any acroterial sculpture would have been set on the ridge longitudinally, most likely at the ends.[273] Such an arrangement would not be viewed at its best from the courtyard, where the visitor would not have faced the acroterion, but from the southern, and possibly northern approach roads. Thus, the frieze would have allowed the focus of the visitor in the courtyard to remain firmly on the building itself.

Given the southward movement of the frieze decoration on Building C, it is logical to assume that the viewer's orientation moved in that direction, toward Building

[273] Rystedt (1983), 109. See also 83-85 for a discussion of architectural attribution of the few akroterial fragments attributed to Zone F.

D. Unfortunately very little is known about this building in its latest phase. It was probably not void of decoration, despite the fact that none of the terracotta revetments found on the site are associated with it. Without further evidence it is impossible to know how a figural decorative program on Building D would have affected the visitor to the monumental complex. It is important to note here that Building D was already differentiated from its counterparts within the courtyard space. Building D does not follow the strict perpendicular alignment that Buildings A and C do. In addition, its western portion occurs where the depression of the courtyard begins, and the building itself may have occupied more than one level. The diverse orientation and plan of Building D already called attention to the structure, indicating that it possessed a different function or meaning than the others, perhaps a space of symbolic or ritual significance that was not disturbed in the later rebuilding and organization of the complex. In the case of Building D a decorative program may have been of secondary importance in arousing the visitor's interest or further approach.

Finally the visitor to the monumental complex would turn toward the northern flank, encompassing the elaborate façade of Building A. Following the reconstruction of Strandberg-Olofsson, this structure possesses the most complicated and varied program of architectural decoration of the buildings within Acquarossa's monumental complex. The roof of this building is debated, but Strandberg-Olofsson argues for a structure composed of a gable with an inserted roof (Figure 4.8). She proposes this because it is the only possible reconstruction that possesses enough space for the placement of the great number of frieze plaques associated with the building, roughly 40 meters of frieze. This

raises an interesting question from the point of view of construction: was the roof chosen to accommodate the complicated program of the frieze plaques or were so many different frieze plaques produced to accommodate the spacious needs of the roof? Both the distinctive roof structure and the abundance of frieze plaques would have been immediately apparent to the visitor looking at Building A from the courtyard. In every way the structure must have stood out among the others in the complex and certainly would have visually engaged the visitor for a greater length of time.

It is difficult to determine what architectural feature of Building A would first arrest the gaze of the visitor to the monumental complex. The female head antefixes would be a familiar sight, after the visitor's experience with Building C. The arrangement of the frieze plaques on Building A was quite different from that of Building C. Strandberg-Olofsson reconstructs 4 areas of the roof carrying frieze plaque decoration: the two raking simas that meet at the peak of the roof, the edge of the roof below the antefixes, and the architrave. Only the row beneath the antefixes corresponds with an area decorated with frieze plaques on Building C. Strandberg-Olofsson reconstructs the two procession scenes on the two raking simas: Type A (Heracles and the Cretan bull) on the western sima and Type B (Heracles and the Nemean lion) on the eastern sima. Visually each procession moves toward the central peak of the roof and they "meet" at the highpoint of the roof (Figure 4.8). This arrangement directs the visitor's gaze upwards and emphasizes the roof's peak and may argue for the placement of an akroterial

sculpture on this façade facing the courtyard.[274] In addition the movement of Heracles in procession on both sides of the roof toward the central apex may be indicative of the hero's movement via his labors (i.e. Cretan bull and Nemean lion) toward his eventual apotheosis.[275] The use of paint, the repetition of the individual scenes and their similarity to one another, and the continued use of the Heracles procession scene on Building C all would have facilitated the viewer's comprehension of the iconography. Once the viewer's gaze had encompassed the roof as a whole, the two rows of frieze plaques below the inserted roof and its already familiar female head antefixes would be available with just a downward glance. Certainly the scenes on these plaques would have been legible to the viewer, as once again paint would have enlivened the images and the plaques would have been even closer to eye level. The visitor would have seen two rows of scenes quite different to those looked at thus far: repeated scenes of banqueting (Type C) and of dancing (Type D). In these plaques some figures face right and some left. There does not seem to be a privileged directional orientation, as there had been on plaques A and B. In addition there is no evidence to suggest that these plaques occupied separate levels on the building's façade, but may have been intermingled, thus creating a more static sense in the viewer. Unlike the other scenes discussed above, a reading of plaques C and D would not have motivated the viewer to make a change in the direction of his or her gaze. Rather

[274] E. Rystedt (1983) indicates that there are very few akroterial fragments from area F, but there is one fragment from the courtyard found in close proximity to Building A.

[275] A similar association would have been made when viewing the akroterial sculpture from the Archaic temple at Sant'Omobono in Rome. Although the roof structure was not the same, was crowned with an akroterial sculpture depicting Minerva and Hercules. It has been assumed that the sculpture represents Hercules' apotheosis. The sculpture positioned at the apex of the pediment of the temple would have been best viewed from the temple's front façade. See P. S. Lulof (2000) "Archaic terracotta acroteria representing Athena and Heracles: manifestations of power in Central Italy," *JRA* 13, 207-219.

it is likely that, having read the details of the frieze plaque scenes, a visitor would have turned toward the question of how and where the buildings of the complex were accessible.

IV.3 The mechanics of interior movement within the later complex

The above discussion has focused on the process of movement towards and into the monumental complex and its centralized courtyard. It has shown that, whether a visitor approached the area from the west or the south, the first experience of the monumental area was in the courtyard, which was partially delineated in the early period and more completely formed by the surrounding buildings of the later complex. The courtyard was the visitor's primary visual and physical goal on approach to the monumental area, and it was also the point from which entry to the other structures was controlled. Like the courtyard at Poggio Civitate, the centralized space at Acqurossa had a high degree of control over the access of the buildings of the complex and also was the most accessible space to the exterior of the complex. Again, in the terminology of access analysis, we can say that the courtyard had high local and global relations. This indicates that in practice it was a focus of activity within the complex. Based on its potential for frequent interaction with visitors, it is certainly possible that the courtyard space was used for gatherings. It also served as a transitional space that directed movement into the interior depths of the complex and was the common point of exit for the visitor. A look at

the patterns of interior movement originating in the courtyard reveals a continuation of the Etrusco-Italic tradition of interior access.[276]

If the courtyard is considered the exterior of the building, the visitor had the option of entering three spaces: the portico in front of Building A (1), the first room of Building B (5)[277] or the portico of Building C (4) (Figure 4.10) These spaces possess several similarities. First they are all accessible from the courtyard and give access to at least one space beyond. They are transitional in that access to them is controlled (by the courtyard), but they also control access to other deeper interior spaces. Their overall accessibility from the exterior is high as a visitor is only required to cross one other space in order to reach them. The two porticoes are more accessible than the entrance to Building B (5) because of their open architectural nature. They do not require admission at a certain point, but rather can be penetrated at several points. Visually the porticoes were equally accessible, but the portico of Building C may have been the more frequented destination, as it continued the eastward approach of the visitor from the west and did not necessitate a directional change. The portico of Building C also provided

[276] For an earlier attempt at understanding the spatial arrangement of this complex see Dvorsky Rohner (1996). My discussion of the process of movement within the interior of the buildings of the monumental complex at Acquarossa will be limited to the buildings of the later complex. As was the case with questions of doorways and points of entrance for the buildings of the early complex, the archaeological remains are insufficient to conjecture as to the placement of walls and thresholds or the possible patterns of movement in the structures.

[277] A reconstruction by Östenberg (1975), p. 165 (fig. 16) reconstructs the door to room within the portico of Building C (4). Strandberg-Olofsson (1989) does not reconstruct a door in the same position because there is no opening in the western wall of room 5. She reconstructs the door instead at the opening in the west wall towards the courtyard. Strandberg-Olofsson suggests that the opening in the wall between the portico of C (4) and room 5 was caused by a later disturbance of vines. Building B and its relationship to the other structures in the complex is not well understood. Strandberg-Olofsson's reconstruction of the monumental area does not include Building B as part of Building C, despite the fact that the two buildings appear to share a wall (180, fig. 25). Visual and physical accessibility from the courtyard to this building was largely precluded by the extension of Building A's portico into the courtyard.

access to three other spaces (8, 10 & 11). In fact, in terms of its proximate relationship to immediate neighbors and accessibility within the structure the portico of Building C (4) is the most useful space in the complex. After the courtyard, the portico of Building C was probably the most visited space, as it was necessary to pass through to gain access to these other rooms. Its size precludes it from accommodating large numbers of people at the same time, although it is likely that many passed through it and thus created opportunities for visitors to encounter each other. It facilitates movement from both the interior of the building and the exterior, allowing inhabitants to move throughout Building C, without having to enter the courtyard or other rooms of Building C, and it allows visitors to penetrate into the other rooms of the structure more efficiently.

From the portico of Building C (4) the visitor most likely would have moved into room 8. The entrance to this room would have been the most visible to the visitor from the portico and would have permitted the greatest visibility of the space beyond. It was composed of an open threshold, nearly the entire length of the eastern edge of room 8, with a column in the center (Figures 4.2, 4.7). The visitor would have been able to discern the plan and layout of the rooms beyond, particularly beneficial for one unfamiliar with the structure. Room 8 was also an open space, controlling the access to its flanking rooms, 7 and 9. Like space 4 before it, it is both a controlled and controlling space. It is less accessible from the exterior than 4, as it is one threshold further within the structure. It is also more difficult to reach from other rooms within the complex, requiring the inhabitant or visitor at times to re-enter the courtyard or portico (4). Thus, it is more isolated and its depth inside the structure makes it more exclusive. However, its

placement on direct visual axis from the courtyard and its use as a further controlling space indicates that it works closely with its immediate neighbors to create a particularly obvious path of movement for one entering it.

The flanking rooms (7 and 9) represent the visitor's first encounter with a closed space. These are completely controlled rooms, only accessible to the visitor who has completed the necessary passages through the portico (4) and room 8. This allows for a greater level of privacy in these rooms, but given the relatively public quality of room 8, it is likely that these rooms were not entirely private. They both have a public neighbor in room 8 and their thresholds may be evident visually from the entrance between the portico (4) and room 8. Thus, as closed spaces they allow for some separation from a larger crowd, but they are also directly related to the very public procession that is facilitated architecturally between the courtyard, the portico of Building C and room 8. Their interior depth adds a more exclusive character to them, as it is necessary to pass through the greatest number of thresholds to reach them both from the exterior [3] and the interior [6].

Upon entry into either room the visitor's journey came to a temporary end. No further forward movement is possible, as there is no door other than the one the visitor would have just passed through. In room 9 excavators have uncovered the remains of benches placed along the western, southern and eastern walls. The estimated width of the benches is c. 0.8 m. The benches, together with an hypothesized off-center doorway[278]

[278] The supposition of an off-center door is based on the fact that the bench in the northwestern corner abuts the northern wall. Unfortunately the exact placement of the threshold is indeterminable from the archaeological remains, but it was surely located in the northern wall. An off-center door may have created

and room 9's architectural arrangement behind an anteroom (8) and a preceding portico, have led to the conclusion that room 9 served as Greek style formal dining room.[279] In addition, the spatial arrangement of this room supports its use for some sort of banqueting. It is accessible to the more-frequented parts of Building C via its communication with room 8, but as its entry is controlled it is ideal for an activity that should not be interrupted or is subject to some form of invitation or restricted access.

Returning to the portico (4), the visitor to Building C also had the option of entering its southern room (10). The threshold between the portico and room 10 appears to be the only means of access into or out of room 10. This is confirmed by the presence of the benches along the southern wall of room 9, the only common wall between 9 and 10. Room 10 is a closed space and, with the exception of the portico, it is isolated from any other room in the complex. Only from the portico, the doorway to room 10, which was hidden from view in the courtyard, would become visible. It is separated from the visual axis between the courtyard, the portico and room 8 and the more common route through this building. The entrance to room 10 lacks the grandeur that 8 possessed, and its corner placement necessitates a certain degree of foreknowledge of its presence. With only one direct neighbor, it is suitable to a high degree of privacy. The same can be said for the tiny enclosure to the west of it, room 11. This room is similarly closed and visually isolated from the courtyard. It is even further secluded from the visitor's initial entry into the portico, as it is around the corner and faces east. Unfortunately its

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a visual disparity with the "twin" door of room 7, for which the central threshold is more clearly indicated in the archaeological remains.

[279] B. Bergquist (1973) "Was there a Formal Dining-Room, Sacred or Civic, on the Acropolis of Acquarossa?" *OpRom* 9, 21-34.

relationship to the courtyard and Building D is too difficult to determine from the available archaeological remains, and in fact it may have simply served as an open enclosure, rather than a distinct room.

From the courtyard there are at least two remaining access points. There is the possibility that access to Building D was available from the courtyard, but the lack of archaeological remains once again prevents a detailed discussion. Although Building B appears to have been accessible, its placement at an oblique angle behind the façade of Building A did not make it a visually obvious choice. Room 5, while less visibly accessible than the other entrances from the courtyard, would have allowed access both to the room beyond (6) and also to the remaining portion of Building B that is not well understood.[280] Like room 8 it is an open space with control over two subordinate spaces, but the physical arrangement of these spaces is less linear. In the case of room 5 each subordinate space possesses a different directional relationship with the open space of 5. Room 6 to the east is accessible by continuing in the same eastward direction that the visitor would have been moving in since his initial approach to the complex. It is interesting to note that rooms 6 and 10, with their preceding transitional spaces, 5 and 4 respectively, flank the more public and visually accessible portion of Building C. During the later construction phase, it is possible that the addition of room 10 to the earlier form of Building C may have been an attempt to create a symmetry with Building B, which belongs to the earlier building phase. Spatially these two wings allow for seclusion and withdrawal from the public eye.

[280] The threshold in the northern wall of room 5 is not certain.

Finally, it remains to consider the possibilities for movement into Building A. The rooms behind the portico of Building A (1) are not well preserved. There have been several attempts at reconstruction. The western portion of the building is better preserved because it was cut down into the bedrock in order to create its ground plan (Figure 4.2). A narrow room (3) that does not extend to the west as far as the portico is discernable among the remains. According to Strandberg-Olofsson a doorway leading directly into this room from the portico is evident.[281] It is unclear whether this narrow room communicated directly with the room next to it (2). It is also impossible to determine how many rooms were located in the eastern portion of Building A. At least one is certain (2). The exclusion of others is based largely on Strandberg-Olofsson's reconstruction of eastern extension of building and its roof structure, which is debated. Based on the lack of other evidence I follow Strandberg-Olofsson and accept the reconstruction of two rooms behind the portico, both with access from the portico, but without a threshold between each other. Such a configuration would be similar to that of spaces 5 and 6 and 4 and 10: a transitional open space leading to a closed space beyond. Once the visitor has entered the portico, there are two options for further movement, each of which is a closed space and the end of the journey. Unlike the more complex processional movement into the center of Building C, the accessibility of Building A is direct, limited to a depth of only one threshold.

The patterns associated with movement into and within the interior of the Acquarossa complex are similar to others seen thus far. The more open and directly

[281] Strandberg Olofsson (1989), 166.

accessible northern side of the complex functions with the same visual and physical accessibility as earlier hut settlements or the larger "palazzo" structures with single, one-entry rooms arranged around a central courtyard space, such as the Archaic buildings at Ficana and Satricum. On a larger scale, this same pattern was used in the southern wing at Poggio Civitate. It is immediate and direct. The western flank of the courtyard demonstrates a different pattern. This type of movement is more sophisticated and complex than the northern flank. The visitor is given a degree of choice in moving through the rooms and the depth of the interior may not have been available or easily accessible to all visitors of the complex. This pattern of movement seems to be an Etrusco-Italic innovation and development of the late Archaic period. It was used in the northern flank of the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate as well, indicating a simultaneous refinement to earlier Etrusco-Italic patterns at both sites. In terms of visual effect, this pattern increases the sense of the viewer's surprise with the introduction of separate, possibly restricted spaces, which were not part of the viewer's original impression of the complex from the highly accessible central space. In terms of how this experience is articulated once a visitor has reached the interior spaces, the two complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa are somewhat distinct from one another. The Poggio Civitate complex relies on size and perhaps also its roofing structure to impress the visitor upon entry, while at Acquarossa the rooms are smaller and comparable in size to other structures that the visitor may have entered. Instead, in this case, the visitor is affected by the specific features of the room, such as the banqueting couches in room 9. In both cases the predominant effect is an awareness of a new architectural ordering of

space. Such an architectural arrangement facilitates the practice of social convention, such as banqueting, gathering or sacred ritual. A more intricate example of this process, with increased options for movement, which communicate the status and position of the visitor with each step into a particular room, is ultimately seen in the ancient Roman house or the palaces of Baroque Rome.[282]

IV.4 Conclusions

Several of the same spatial processes and developments witnessed among Etrusco-Italic architecture from the late Bronze Age to the Archaic period can be seen in the development of the monumental area at Acquarossa. First, as has been seen to be the case at other sites, the natural landscape is important to the siting and orientation of the site. The site occupied a high, tufa plateau at the intersection of two tributaries, thus giving the plateau a high degree of visibility from these waterways. The importance of this arrangement is suggested by the occurrence of a great deal of the settlement architecture at Acquarossa on the edges of the plateau, where visibility would be the greatest. In addition, both waterways eventually join the Tiber river, which allows for communication between larger and perhaps more prosperous Etrusco-Italic settlements to the south. Because Acquarossa was slightly removed from the major traffic route of the Tiber, it is likely that it was situated to take part in a more localized community of settlements. This is also obvious in its orientation, with a greater emphasis placed on the relationship of monumental architecture to other structures and roads around it, than to an overall visibility within the landscape. This is a significant difference from the

[282] J. R. Clarke (1991) and P. Waddy (1990).

contemporary complex at Poggio Civitate, which seems to have relied on visibility from the Ombrone River and adapted its primary approach route from that direction.

The growth of the monumental complex at Acquarossa and its continued use was dependent upon the road system connecting it with the remainder of the site and local areas. The earliest buildings (D, J and G), which differ in their directional orientation from the later structures, align with a road running through the monumental area from westward to southward direction. It seems likely that these structures were initially constructed to facilitate access from the road for visitors approaching the monumental area either from the southern or western directions. The later buildings and the development of a courtyard c. 600 BC shift the means of access away from the road and toward a courtyard that opens toward the west. This shift indicates a greater interest in creating visual access to the complex for the visitor approaching from the west. Approach is still dependent on the road and the orientation of the earlier structures (D and J) is not changed to coordinate with the new structures organized around the entrance courtyard. However, the western approach now receives privileged access to the entrance courtyard, while the southern approach requires greater movement around buildings D and J to enter the courtyard space. This process continues in the later complex where the southern approach is completely changed. The addition of the southern room of Building C and the wall between C and D prevents all visual and physical access for the visitor on the southern road. The southern flank of the complex is completed closed to the exterior. The only means of access to the later complex is via the western-facing entrance to the courtyard. Thus the early importance of the road as a route to and from the south has been

inverted and the importance now rests on its role as a route to and from the west, i.e. from the area outside of the town of Acquarossa. Thus during the life-span of the monumental complex at Acquarossa access for residents becomes more and more limited and the architecture of approach shifts to concentrate upon a message of accessibility directed toward the non-resident visitor.

Secondly, as the monumental complex at Acqurossa takes shape, a greater role is given to the courtyard as a centralized space for gathering and entry. The early complex does not utilize a courtyard for this purpose, but relies on the road as the primary means of facilitating access into the individual structures. With the development of the courtyard in the beginning of the sixth century BC and its elaboration around 550 BC, the monumental complex moves away from being a loose conglomeration of easily accessible structures to more exclusive complex of related buildings. Whereas the early structures were accessible individually, by the final phase of the monumental complex at Acquarossa a visitor had to enter the courtyard prior to entering any other structure. We witnessed the same process at Poggio Civitate with even more restricted results. While the courtyard at Acquarossa becomes an architectural unit unto itself, by maintaining an open side to the approach route it allows for direct visual and physical access in a way that the fully enclosed space at Poggio Civitate does not. An emphasis on the different level of the courtyard, the boundaries of the colonnade between the courtyard and Buildings A and C and the placement of architectural decoration are three features that serve to demarcate the courtyard space as separate and a distinct area to be approached and entered.

Finally, the individual structures of the monumental complex at Acquarossa possess a variety of configurations of movement within their interiors suitable to a multifunctional complex. A processional movement is seen in Building C and occurs side-by-side with the more formalized static arrangement of the rooms of Building A. This diversity indicates that more than one type of activity could have occurred within the monumental complex. The central rooms of Building C are suited to activities that adhere to social convention and allow for a revelatory process of admittance and participation. The adjoining rooms and those of Building A, which, when closed, are completely isolated from the rest of the complex, are separate and allow a higher degree of privacy, perhaps indicating a formalized and ceremonial function. It is this diversity of patterns of interior movement that distinguish the monumental complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa from other Etrucso-Italic buildings at this time. They simultaneously demonstrate a public and private nature, promoting gathering of large numbers, while also using architectural patterns to restrict some spaces to a few. In this way, they are a unique blend of all the Etrusco-Italic access patterns that we have seen thus far. With their disappearance and destruction at the end of the sixth century BC, it is possible to witness the breaking apart of these patterns and the distribution of the Etrusco-Italic approach and access traditions into different types of architectural structures.

Chapter V

Approach and Access in Early Rome: The Roman Sense of Space

Corpus intellegi sine loco non potest.
Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.358

The final site for consideration is Rome, located in ancient Latium on the Tiber River. Topographically, Rome has much in common with the other Etrusco-Italic sites looked at so far: a landscape composed of waterways and hills. During its early history from the Iron Age to the Archaic period Rome was a small settlement. But it is its later history and consequent urban development that separates Rome from other Etrusco-Italic sites. Eventually, as political and economic influence spread, the city of Rome became the primary source for the diffusion of architectural ideas throughout Italy. If, as was proposed by Frank Brown, any "Roman town" was a mini version of Rome, then the origin and application of the architectural principles that aided Rome's development can be interpreted as influential to Roman architecture in general.[283] Recently the notion of Rome as the physical model for other Roman cities and colonies has been challenged. [284]

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[283] F. E. Brown (1980), *Cosa, the Making of a Roman Town*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 12-13.

[284] For a critique and reassessment of Brown's view that a Roman colonial town (Cosa in particular) was a miniature replica of Rome, see E. Fentress (2000), "Frank Brown, Cosa, and the idea of a Roman city," in *Romanization and the City*, E. Fentress, ed. (*JRA* supplement 38), Portsmouth,11-24. Fentress' argument is specific to Cosa. She argues that Brown's proposition of Cosa as an ideal Roman town had ramifications on larger conceptions of Romanization in general as well as definitions of architecture in Rome itself. Consequently, her criticisms of Brown's specific theories for Cosa are applied generally to Roman architecture. In the same volume P. Zanker (2000), "The city as symbol: Rome and the creation of an urban image," in *Romanization and the City*, E. Fentress, ed., (*JRA* supplement 38), Portsmouth 25-40 also challenges the conception of colonies and cities as miniaturized versions of the capital. His argument focuses on the symbolic relationship between structures in colonies and those in Rome. He proposes that "romanization [is] an assimilation to the city's outward appearance (26)," which can be accomplished either by the borrowing of specific structures or settings or by the architectural realization of the Roman's image of the ideal city. Neither of these arguments dismiss the importance of the transmission of conceptual architectural traditions throughout the Roman world.

However, there is no dispute that the ideological principles that guided the urban conception of Rome played a large role in the architectural development and refinement of other Roman cities. As the capital city and the architectural embodiment of *Romanitas*, the importance of the building practices and architectural traditions, which originated at Rome's foundation, cannot be underestimated. The transmission of these traditions continued throughout the life of the city.

Given the imperial grandeur that Rome ultimately achieves, it is often difficult to conceive of the city as a small settlement comparable to those discussed in the previous chapters. However, from the time of its origins until the end of the Archaic period Rome was concentrated on only two hills and a marshy area on the banks of the Tiber River. We have already seen the importance of the river and the hills in the processes of approach and access for the Iron Age hut villages on the Palatine hill (Chapter II). The first half of this chapter will consider how the early settlement structures in Rome expanded into larger urban complexes and how approach and access were incorporated and utilized within this development.

V.1 Natural landscapes for visibility and approach: the Tiber River

All of the Etrusco-Italic sites considered above are associated with at least one nearby waterway. The importance of river or sea traffic in the orientation of early settlements and monumental architectural structures has been seen to be an important factor in location and visibility for approach. In considering the development of early Rome, one must therefore look first at the Tiber as a communication route and a means of both visual and physical access to the early structures on the hills and in the area

between. The Romans themselves recognized the crucial role that the river played in the creation of their city. Both traditions of Rome's foundation, the indigenous Romulan legend and the story of Aeneas imported later and popularized in Augustan Rome, feature the Tiber River as the means of bringing the founding figure to the city. In Roman myth and legend the Tiber is personified as a fatherly figure and is portrayed by Vergil in a parental role dispensing advice and providing travel directions to Aeneas.[285] In addition, when each of the founders arrives in Rome he enters the city at the location of Rome's first port, the Forum Boarium, a low area on the Tiber bank at the foot of the Palatine hill directly opposite the small land mass in the center of the Tiber River, the Tiber Island.[286] Roman legend also maintained that the mythological traveler, Hercules, had passed through Rome on his return from capturing the cattle of Geryon, and had entered and left the city by way of the Forum Boarium, a tradition symbolically inscribed on the later city by the concentration of cult centers to Hercules in this area.[287] Within these stories of mythological travelers, the Tiber features prominently as the means of access to the city. The legends also feature the port of Rome at the Forum Boarium as the original portal to the city. Thus, in the Romans' later conception of early arrivals to their city, the Tiber and the port area was seen as the primary access route for the city, a tradition that continued into the historical period of the city.

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[285] Vergil, *Aeneid*, Book VIII.31-67/

[286] F. Coarelli (1988), *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* Rome: Quasar.

[287] L. Richardson Jr. (1992), *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 162-164 (s.v. *Forum Boarium*), 186-187 (s.v. *Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima*), 188-189 (s.v. *Hercules Victor, Aedes*).

The logical question that arises is when did the Tiber and the Forum Boarium take on this role. Are the foundation legends reflections of later usage of the Tiber and the port, or are they indicative of an early tradition of the river as a means of access? The navigability of the Tiber has already been discussed with some detail in Chapter II, particularly with regard to the hut settlements on the Palatine and the Iron Age structures at Ficana. Settlement patterns along the Tiber between Ostia and Rome support the possibility that at least beginning in the Iron Age, settlements were located to facilitate access to the Tiber. A difference in distribution between the north and south banks indicates that these patterns were the result of political or economic exchange between settlements rather than a simple need for proximity to a water source.[288] This implies that boats were traveling along the river between the various settlements. In the absence of literary testimony scholars are unable to make certain statements about the presence of traffic on the Tiber, but there is some consensus that by the Archaic period there was certainly a port and emporium located in the area of the Forum Boarium.[289] The construction of these structures at this time period would indicate that the river had been used previously and that a need for permanent structures on its banks had been recognized.[290] Recent archaeological evidence from new excavations on the Capitoline hill and the presence of Apennine and Greek pottery at the Sant'Omobono sanctuary at

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[288] C. Belardelli, et. al. (1986), "Preistoria e protostoria nel territorio di Roma: modelli di insediamento e vie di comunicazione," *Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico*, (*Archeologia Laziale* 7), 63-69. A similar summary of Archaic material along the course of the Tiber can be found in M. Cristofani, ed. (1990), *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 147-206.

[289] See Coarelli (1988), 113-127 and A. Giovanini (1985), "Le sel et la fortune de Rome," *Athenaeum* 63, 373-386.

[290] See Quilici Gigli (1986) for a survey of the evidence from various sites along the Tiber route for travel on the river in the Archaic period.

the foot of the Capitoline support the possibility that the Tiber was used even in the late Bronze Age.[291] Finally the orientation of the structures of early Rome illustrates an awareness of and dependence on the river as a means of approach. As a boat approached the city from the west, any view would be blocked by the Aventine hill, but as the visitor followed the bend in the Tiber river and rounded the corner of Aventine, three areas would become visible—the Palatine hill, the Forum Boarium and the Capitoline hill. It is in these spaces where the largest concentration of buildings and monumental structures were situated between the Iron Age and the Archaic period. Huts on the Palatine hill, followed by the emporium and the Archaic temple of the Sant'Omobono sanctuary of the Forum Boarium and ultimately, the massive temple on the Capitoline hill, would have all created a visual surprise for the visitor approaching the ancient Roman city.

In order to appreciate the landscape of early Rome from the Iron Age to the Archaic period one must consider water. Not only the Tiber river, but a number of streams and brooks surrounded the city of seven hills (Figure 5.1). The Palatine hill was almost completely surrounded by water, as were the Capitoline and Aventine hills. One tributary of the Tiber that ran down from the Quirinal hill, through the Forum valley and the Velabrum, would ultimately become the most useful drain in the city, the Cloaca Maxima. One must consider how these waterways would have impacted the visual landscape of the city.[292] The natural channeling of the water would have created deep

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[291] For recent excavations on the Capitoline hill see, A. Mura Somella, (2003), "Notizie preliminarie sulle scoperte e sulle indagini archeologiche nel versante orientale del Capitolium," *BullComm*, 102 (2001), 263-264. For the ceraminc and votive material found in the sanctuary, see F. Coarelli (1988) and G. Pisani Sartorio and P. Virgili (1979), "Area sacra di S. Omobono," *Archeologia Laziale* 2, 41-45.

[292] Holland (1961) emphasizes the role of water in the early history of the city in terms of its topographical and religious significance.

valleys and steep hillsides that are today no longer visible due to centuries of erosion and continuous building. However, the visual impact of Early Rome was surely very similar to the landscapes of the Etrusco-Italic settlements examined in the previous chapters. It is difficult to reconstruct exactly what parts of the early city would have been visible from the river.[293] In Chapter II, I considered the relationship between the river and the location of the Iron Age Palatine huts. Certainly the Capitoline hill was also visible on approach, in particular the southwestern portion that eventually became the Capitolium and the site of the Capitoline Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[294] Thus as the Tiber curved and joined the various streams and tributaries that made up the landscape of early Rome, the visual triad of the Capitoline hill, the Palatine hill and the Forum Boarium came into view (Figure 5.2). However, only two of these areas—the Palatine and the Forum Boarium—were immediately physically accessible to the visitor by way of paths or roads.

For a visitor entering the port of the Forum Boarium and wishing further access to the city of Archaic Rome, two options of approach were possible—the Scalae Caci leading up the Palatine hill and the Velabrum following the route of the various other waterways inland. The Scalae Caci is an ancient stairway in the side of the Palatine hill that emerged at the site of the Iron Age Palatine huts. It is attested in later literary sources, although its exact starting point on the banks of the Tiber is unknown.

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[293] J. Le Gall (1953), *Le Tibre, fleuve de Rome dans l'antiquite*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France presents an overview of the Tiber River throughout the history of the city, A study of the role of the Tiber River in the development of the urban structure of Rome is long overdue. It has long been considered a fundamental component of the city's location and thus must be a primary consideration in the orientation of early architectural structures. Here I present merely a preliminary summary. It is a topic worthy of further research.

[294] See A. Danti (2003), " L'indagine archeologica nell'area del tempio di Giove Capitolino," *BullComm* 102 (2001), 323-346 for discussion of recent excavations in the region of the Capitoline Temple.

Richardson interprets it as a donkey or mule path that began in the Forum Boarium.[295] As a means of accessing the structures on the Palatine hill the Scalae Caci was an important feature of the early Roman landscape. The same situation does not seem to have existed for the Capitoline hill. Although the recent excavations in the region of the Capitolium suggest that attention to the appearance of the southern Capitoline toward the Tiber was of concern as far back as the late Bronze Age,[296] there does not seem to have been any physical route accessing this area from the Tiber banks. Even when the massive Capitoline Temple was constructed near the end of the sixth century BC, the only route of access to it seems to have been the ancient Clivus Capitolinus, which departs from the Archaic Forum, despite the fact that the temple façade was partially oriented toward the Tiber (Figure 5.3). It thus seems that visual accessibility was the primary focus from the Capitoline hill, while physical accessibility by way of the path of the Scalae Caci was the emphasis of the Palatine hill.

If a visitor did not ascend the Scalae Caci, the other potential route for entering Rome from the Tiber was to travel directly though the Forum Boarium and Velabrum to the area located between the Palatine and Capitoline hills (Figure 5.3). This area was destined to become the Roman Forum, but in the early years of Rome it was a marshy area with a number of streams and canals passing through it from springs and water sources further inland. The watery character of the area probably prevented its usage as a major thoroughfare in the earliest days of Rome, except by small boats. There is evidence

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[295] Richardson (1992), 344 (s.v. *Scalae Caci*).
[296] A. Cazzella (2003), "Sviluppi verso l'urbanizzazione a Roma alla luce dei recenti scavi nei Giardino Romano," *BullComm* 102, 265-268.

of a ferry that conducted passengers through the Velabrum to the banks of the Tiber and vice versa, although its exact origins are unknown.[297] Ultimately the Velabrum would become important as a transition space between the Tiber and the Forum. Albert Ammerman has proposed that the Velabrum and its routes to the Forum were part of a massive project of intentional elevation during the Archaic period. He makes a connection between the project in the Velabrum and collection of clay deposits on the banks of the Tiber for the production of roof-tiles and decorative terracottas.[298] If, as Ammerman suggests, these projects coincided this would indicate project planning to emphasize the visual and physical access to the city from the Tiber River. From the river, visitors to Rome would be confronted by the appearance of the Capitoline temple, visually enhanced by the use of decorative terracottas, and then would follow the newly elevated path from the Forum Boarium to the center of the city. Along the way other visual landmarks would meet them including the Archaic sanctuary today located at the site of the church of Sant'Omobono (Figure 5.3). Although the foundations for an early monumental structure are difficult to reconstruct due to their partial existence beneath the church, an akroterial sculpture group of Minerva and Hercules dated to the sixth century BC links this area to other Etrusco-Italic decorative traditions, as well as making a direct visual connection with the terracotta akroteria of the Capitoline temple on the hill directly above.[299] For later Romans this site remained an associative link to early Etrusco-Italic

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[297] Holland (1961), 162-167.

[298] A. J. Ammerman (1998), "Environmental archaeology in the Velabrum, Rome: interim report," *JRA* 11, 213-223, especially 221-222.

[299] Lulof (2000) argues that the iconography of the acroteria of Athena and Hercules is not intended as propaganda of a specific Roman tyrant, but rather is meant to speak to a wider audience of central Italic elite society members. While Lulof is correct to emphasize the importance of viewing these images as

inhabitants of the city, indicated by the altars in peperino tufa with Etruscan round mouldings that were constructed on the site with later third century temples commemorating M. Fulvius Flaccus' successful campaign against the Etruscan town of Volsinii in 264 BC.[300]

It is clear that visibility and attention to the approach and access routes available to visitors arriving on the Tiber were considerations in the siting and orientation of the early buildings in ancient Rome. From the Iron Age huts on the Palatine to the terracotta decoration of the Archaic temples from Sant'Omobono or the Capitoline hill, the architects of the ancient city made attempts to use monuments as visual markers of the principal entry area of the city. This tradition continued as the city developed. For example, the major Republican temples of Victoria and Magna Mater were added on the southwest corner of Palatine hill, and later Augustus built his own house and adjoining temple of Apollo in this same region. Temples, public porticos and ultimately the Theater of Marcellus were constructed in the region of the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorum on the banks of the Tiber. By the end of the Republic the expanse of the city would reach beyond this region into the northern Campus Martius, as well as the Quirinal and Esquiline hills, but Rome's earliest architecture owes its placement to the importance of the Tiber River as an approach route into the city and its center.

V.2 Centralized space as a point of access: the Roman Forum

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intended for viewers beyond the city of Rome, the visibility and accessibility of the images near the Tiber port indicates that the intended audience was not limited to the elite.

[300] R. Ross Holloway (1994), *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium*, London: Routledge, 80 and 185 (n. 20) notes that the third century altars and temples are oriented toward the east indicating continuity with the orientation of the earlier cult buildings on the site. He then proposes that the Etruscan associations of the site were suppressed after the expulsion of the Tarquin dynasty, a position that seems to be in contradiction with his earlier observation.

The Forum Romanum is the quintessential centralized meeting space in the Roman world. It is simultaneously the standard by which all other fora were developed as well as a highly individualized space that is the product of its unique environment and topography. A detailed analysis of its origin and development is well beyond the scope of this study,[301] but a brief survey is vital to our consideration of centralized spaces as points of access in the Etrusco-Italic world. For this reason my attention will be focused upon the earliest structures in the forum and their arrangement with regard to each other as well as their placement along the various routes and waterwarys discussed above.

The characterization of the early Forum is usually as a swamp or marsh. The preceding discussion illustrated its location among a series of canals and small streams that eventually met tributaries of the Tiber River. It is not included in the legends or myths of the foundation of Rome with the frequency of the Capitoline and Palatine hills or the Forum Boarium along the Tiber indicating that the Forum space was probably not utilized or inhabited on a large scale during the end of the Bronze Age or early Iron Age. Archaeological evidence has indicated the presence of some late Bronze Age huts in the central space of the Forum. Recent environmental archaeological work by Albert Ammerman has called these findings into question.[302] Ammerman has conducted research into the quality and stability of the ground in the central Forum area, the Comitium area and the Velabrum. He has concluded that the centralized area of the

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[301] G. Tagliamonte (1995), "Forum Romanum (Fino alla prima età repubblicana)," *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II (D-G)*, E. M. Steinby, ed., Rome: Quasar, 313-325, F. Coarelli (1992), *Foro Romano Periodo Arcaico* Rome: Quasar, Richardson (1992), 170-174 (s.v. *Forum Romanum*).
[302] Ammerman (1998), A. J. Ammerman (1996), "The Comitium in Rome from the Beginning," *AJA* 100, 121-136, A. J. Ammerman (1990), "On the Origins of the Forum Romanum," *AJA* 94, 627-645.

Forum was not usable until a variety of large-scale recovery projects were enacted by the Romans to alter its elevation and landscape in the seventh century BC.[303] His work in the Velabrum indicates that the Velabrum and the Forum formed a continuous basin that was flooded seasonally, although it was not entirely unusable during dryer parts of the years.[304] Thus areas of the Forum basin with higher natural elevations, such as the visible northeast corner that would eventually hold the Comitium and the rise of ground in the region of the Regia would have been more appropriate to early structures (Figure 5.4). Information gleaned from the early excavations in the Forum basin by Giacomo Boni and reinterpreted by Einer Gjerstad and Frank Brown identified huts and tombs on the southern edge of the Forum basin near the Regia and temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina during the Iron Age.[305] In addition, Paolo Carafa has recently argued that the Comitium area in the northeast corner of the Forum may have been used prior to its traditional date at the end of the seventh century BC.[306] While there is great difference of opinion among scholars regarding the origins and flourishing of the Roman Forum, it seems, based on the most current archaeological research, that the earliest structures in the area were located on the northern and southern boundaries of the basin on the slopes of the Capitoline and Palatine hills. Without a year-long functioning space between them, it is likely that the settlements were relatively isolated from one another and that their

303 Ammerman (1990), 643.
304 Ammerman (1998) 220-221.
305 Gjerstad's publication of his excavations and chronology of the Forum contains six volumes, E. Gjerstad (1953-63), *Early Rome Volumes I-VI*, Lund: Gleerup. See also F. Brown (1967), "New Soundings in the Regia," in *Les origines de la république romaine.* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*) Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 45-60. For a summary of Giacomo Boni's work and its relation to later research see Holloway (1994), passim.
306 P. Carafa (1998), *Il Comizio di Roma dalle origini all'età di Augusto* (*BullComm* Monograph 5) Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

accessibility was governed by the hills above them rather than the marsh and watery basin between them. This division would have been particularly emphasized by the Cloaca Maxima stream dividing the Forum basin.

A change of approach in the Archaic period redefined the usage of this area and created a centralized point of access between the Capitoline and Palatine hills. Richardson has noted that the roads leading into the Forum, with the exception of the Vicus Iugarius and the Clivus Capitolinus follow the course of ancient streams.[307] It is logical given the concentration of waterways in the area and the attention that we have seen among Etrusco-Italic people to water as a means of accessibility that the origins of the Forum as a meeting place would derive from these routes. The first paving of the central area of the Forum Romanum coincides with literary testimony for the creation of the drain of the Cloaca Maxima.[308] Based on literary testimony and the stratigraphy of the Forum, this has been dated to the so-called, "Rome of the Tarquins," during the Archaic period, although this view has been questioned by some.[309] For my study the chronological specifics of the change are not as important as the connection between the acts of paving and draining. It does not seem to be in dispute that these two processes

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[307] Richardson (1992), 171.

[308] The stratigraphy of the forum pavement as preserved beneath the base of the Equus Domitiani has been the subject of much scholarship and discussion. The traditional date for the first pavement falls c. 650 BC. For alternative chronology see J. C. Meyer (1983), *Pre-Republican Rome: An Analysis of the Cultural and Chronological Relations 1000-500 BC*, Odense: Odense University Press. For a recent summary see Tagliamonte (1995) and Carafa (1996) "La grande Rome dei Tarquini e la citta romuleo-numana," *BullComm* 97, 7-34. Livy, 1.38.6 and 56.2 on the creation of the Cloaca Maxima.

[309] The "Rome of the Tarquins," has become a synonym for the theory of an Etruscan-ruled Rome under the kingship of the Tarquin dynasty who migrated to Rome from the Etruscan coastal town of Tarquinia. See Cristofani (1990). The concept of an Etruscan-dominated Rome has been challenged by the historian T. J. Cornell (1995), *The Beginnings of Rome* London: Routledge, 151-172. From an archaeological perspective, Carafa (1996) has argued that the "Rome of the Tarquins" was actually the product of architectural beginnings before the Tarquin monarchical reign.

occurred at nearly the same time. This indicates a conversion of the Forum area from a watery space of transition that one passed through on the way to somewhere else, to a space that was intended as an accessible goal for visitors or inhabitants of the city.

Some scholars view the Via Sacra as the original access route into the Roman Forum.[310] In part this is based upon its importance as the symbolic link between the political and religious centers that eventually develop along its route, including the Regia, the Comitium and the early shrines of Venus Cloacina, the Volcanal and others (Figure 5.4). It was also a means of visually and physically connecting the Palatine with the Capitoline hill. However, its importance as a route to and through the Forum may change when the emphasis of access and approach shifts away from the two hills to incorporate the Velabrum and the area at the banks of the Tiber. At this point the alternative routes of the Vicus Tuscus and the Vicus Iugarius may have been born.[311] Unfortunately, we cannot date the appearance of these roads, but it is likely that it is extremely early. The Vicus Tuscus has been traditionally associated with prostitution and other mercantile efforts and thus its appearance would logically coincide with that of the flourishing of the port and emporium of the Forum Boarium.[312] Thus, by the Archaic period, the visitor to Rome could progress into the center of the Forum from the Forum Boarium. Entry on either of these roads would have emphasized the centrality of the Forum space. Each road

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[310] Coarelli (1992), 11-108.

[311] Both roads are associated with access to the ferry at the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima and thus must have been quite early in origin, Holland (1961), 37-39. Ammerman (1998), 221 questions the usage of this ferry year-round and suggests that the Vicus Tuscus and Vicus Iugarius were created on the natural shoulders that rose c. m. above the gravel beds that composed the Velabrum before the area was raised.

[312] E. Papi (2001), "La turba inpia: artigiani e commercianti del Foro Romano e dintorni (I sec a.C.- d.C.," *JRA* 15, 48-50 and E. Papi (1999), "Vicus Tuscus," in *Lexicon Topigraphicum Urbis Romae V (T-Z)*, E. M. Steinby, ed., Rome: Quasar, 195-197.

deposited the visitor in the area between the Capitoline and the Palatine hills, a dramatic difference from earlier routes that would have originated on one of the two.

By the time that the Forum basin was drained and paved, attention to approach had created a centralized space from which to gain access to the structures that already surrounded the Forum basin. Now upon entry a visitor was able to stand between the Regia and the Comitium and choose in which direction to proceed. Certainly this had an effect on the visual decoration of these earlier structures, as the presence of terracotta plaques from the Regia attests.[313] The later development of the Forum Romanum continued to adapt to this pattern. The integrity of the centralized space of the Forum was maintained throughout the Republic as basilicas, porticoes and tabernae were added to its eastern and western perimeters. Roads, such as the Argiletum, deposited visitors into the Forum center from the Quirinal hill on its eastern edge. The center of the Forum had become a locus from which all aspects of public and sacred life were visually and physically accessible.[314] A similar pattern can also be observed in the development of other Republican fora in Italy, as well as the later Imperial fora in Rome.

During the Republican period the forum is developed as an architectural space in various cities outside of Rome on the Italic peninsula. The best known examples are those at Pompeii, Paestum, Cosa and Alba Fucens, but, there are a number of other

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[313] S. B. Downey (1995), *Architectural Terracottas from the Regia* (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome* 30) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[314] The connection between public and sacred here is distinguished from that of private and sacred. I am referring to the public and official cults of the Roman state as embodied in the Forum temples, such as the Temple of Castor, Temple of Saturn and the Temple of Vesta. Domestic shrines and the sacred objects of mystery religions were more properly located in the Roman house.

examples as well (Figure 5.5).[315] These fora have a more regularized plan than that at Rome, often with colonnades lining the central space and an important visual axis for a central structure on one end of the space. It has been argued that the Italic fora inherited a tradition of axiality and colonnaded enclosures from Hellenistic religious precincts and then adapted them to specific Etrusco-Italic architectural practices.[316] James Russell, in his study of Republican fora, emphasizes that Italic forum builders were weaving together a combination of traditions with the basic Italic principles of axiality, symmetry and frontality in order to create a physical environment for gathering and meeting in city centers.[317] I would add that all of these components that characterize the early Republican fora are found in earlier Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture, including the important issue of approach and access, which has been overlooked in these previous studies. All of the fora mentioned above possess a centralized plan with a number of points of access on each side of the central space. In fact, this is defining characteristic that allows them to be classified as a forum. The greater axiality and frontality of these later examples allows for clear routes of visual access to the various structure surrounding the central space and thus facilitates a visitor's approach to whichever structure he chooses to enter. In addition, as we have seen already with Etrusco-Italic monumental complexes, these Italic

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[315] For recent work on the forum at Pompeii, see J. J. Dobbins (1994), "Problems of chronology, decoration, and urban design in the forum at Pompeii," *AJA* 98, 629-694. See also P. Zanker (1998, *Pompeii Public and Private Life*, D. L. Schneider, trans. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. For Cosa: Brown (1980). For Paestum: E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, eds. (1980), *Poseidonia: Paestum*, Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome. For Alba Fucens: J. Mertens (1969), *Alba Fucens, Rapports et Ètudes*, Brussells: Belgian Institute in Rome.

[316] Böethius (1978), 146.

[317] J. Russell (1968), "The Origin and Development of Republican Forums," *Phoenix* 22, 304-336.

fora are composed of wings with public, private and sacred structures.[318] An Italic tradition of including private houses around the forum space, as now appears to be the case based on evidence from Cosa (Figure 5.6),[319] evokes the multifunctional nature of centralized space that we are familiar with from the Etrusco-Italic tradition. While the location of these fora within the towns themselves is most certainly related to a Hellenistic tradition of orthogonal town planning, the centralized forum space with access to the surrounding structures is a result of the same Etrusco-Italic tradition that produced the central court of the Archaic building at Poggio Civitate[320] or the centralized courtyard at the Monumental Area of Acquarossa.

V.3 The mechanics of interior movement: the Roman atrium house

Once a visitor reached the central space of the Roman Forum there were several options for further movement. In the earliest stage of the paved forum the visitor probably had a choice of moving into the Regia, the Comitium or a series of *tabernae* on either the north or south sides. None of these structures, with the possible exception of

[318] See Russell (1968) and Böethius (1978) for discussions of the building types found in early Italic fora, including basilicas, temples, and *tabernae*. The presence of a Comitium has been documented at Paestum, Cosa, and Alba Fucens although the identification of the Cosa structure has been questioned by Fentress (2000), 22-23. The relationship of *macella* and *tabernae* to the formation and conception of the Italic forum is discussed in J. M. Frayn (1993), *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-11.

[319] The presence of private houses was suggested by Russell (1968), 306 and today has been confirmed by findings at Cosa where an atrium house has been excavated on the south side of the Cosan forum. Fentress (2000), 14-15.

[320] I am not arguing that the multifunctional complex at Poggio Civitate was used exclusively as a forum. The suggestion of usage as forum was originally made by K. Phillips Jr (1972), " Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany, 1971," *AJA* 76, 249-255. However, in later publications he considered other usage, including a political sanctuary and meeting hall, Phillips (1993). The location of the monumental complex on a hilltop does not support forum usage. For a recent discussion of the complex at Poggio Civitate as an early civic center see DeGrummond (1997), 35-38.

the Regia,[321] would have allowed for any sophisticated or complicated pattern of interior movement. Later in the second century BC with the addition of basilicas to the Forum landscape, the intricacies of interior movement did not change, but remained simple and closed. Once a visitor left the centralized space of the forum itself, other than entry into a single-room structure, there was no further option for movement. This directed movement into single spaces with no potential for deeper interior penetration is similar to the pattern seen on the southern flank of the Poggio Civitate monumental complex or Building A at Acquarossa. As we have seen in the above examples, such simple movement allows the visitor visual access to the structures or rooms before entry and has a lesser degree of privacy than spaces where a more intricate pattern of movement was utilized, such as the north wing of the Poggio Civitate complex. I have noted that the monumental complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa possessed a blend of these two interior movement patterns inherited from earlier Etrusco-Italic architectural traditions: wings with simple, non-interconnected spaces, and wings where more complex patterns of movement allowed deeper penetration into monumental spaces and a greater degree of privacy by removal from highly-frequented areas. The Roman Forum, on the other hand, only possesses one of these patterns. As such it is a descendent of Etrusco-Italic tradition, but more as an heir of the simple, direct movement with less privacy and more accessibility characteristic of centralized spaces. As we have seen above, as an

[321] Throughout its early history the Regia possessed more than one interior space, as well as a courtyard that provided access to further spaces beyond. However, uncertainty regarding the changing appearance of the Regia throughout its early architectural phases prevent its inclusion my discussion of patterns of interior movement in Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture. The Regia is certainly relevant to the larger discussion of the function and significance of such monumental architecture, but this is beyond the scope of my study. For the political and social implications of the Regia in light of other Etrusco-Italic monumental buildings see Scheffer (1990).

architectural form, the forum continues to develop throughout Italy, with a centralized space and easy accessibility to adjoining structures becoming its most recognizable characteristic.

The other, more intricate, pattern of interior movement in Etrusco-Italic architecture does not disappear at the end of Archaic period. Rather it is developed and expanded upon within another type of architecture—domestic structures. Evidence for early domestic structures from the mid-sixth century BC have been found on the north slope of the Palatine hill along the via Sacra (Figure 5.7) and outside of Rome along the via Flaminia at the construction site of Rome's modern-day Auditorium (Figure 5.8). These structures, along with a third contemporary early atrium house found at the Etrusco-Italic site of Roselle (Figure 5.9), illustrate the more complex patterns of interior movement and accessibility seen in parts of the monumental complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa. I propose that at the end of the Archaic period we are witnessing a split between Etrusco-Italic patterns of approach and access, where the more intricate patterns of interior access are shifted into the domestic realm, while the public realm, such as the forum, markets and *tabernae*, maintains the simpler access plans. A close examination of two examples of domestic spaces found in and around Rome and a third from Etruria demonstrates continuity with and development of the patterns of interior accessibility already seen in Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture.[322]

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[322] Such patterns of interior movement are not limited to structures in Rome. As the example from Roselle as well as other houses at Marzabotto and Regisvilla in Etruria illustrate a number of late Archaic domestic structures possess patterns of interior movement similar to those found in Rome. See Colonna (1986). I have chosen examples that are frequently-cited, as well as particularly well-documented archaeologically. In addition, the influential position of Rome as a capital city makes it an important source for the diffusion of architectural ideas. I do not include examples of houses from southern Italy in this discussion. There is

The Archaic period houses excavated along the via Sacra on the north slope of the Palatine hill by Andrea Carandini have been interpreted as important predecessors to the development of the Roman atrium house.[323] The same has been argued for the Casa dell'Impluvium at Roselle.[324] A comparison of the Roselle and Rome houses with the plan of an early fifth-century house at the town of Marzabotto, an example of Etruscan urban planning into residential blocks that has been compared to Pompeii and other Roman towns, illustrates a relationship in terms of interior arrangement and form. Like the fifth-century house at Marzobotto, the Archaic structures are entered via a narrow passageway that allows access to a central space that is roughly cross-shaped. The via Sacra houses and the Casa dell'Impluvium at Roselle provide evidence for drainage in the floor of this space, which is indicative of the impluvium found in later Roman atrium houses. Luigi Donati has interpreted this use of space as the *atrium tuscanicum* described by Vitruvius at 6.3 thus arguing for a direct progression from Etruscan to Roman house.[325] While there are certainly a number of factors that contribute to the development of the Roman atrium house, including Hellenistic influence, I would argue that, in addition to the specific features such as the atrium or impluvium noted by Donati, the mechanics of interior movement seen in these early Archaic houses are part of an Etrusco-Italic architectural tradition.

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ample evidence for the spatial development of domestic structures in Magna Graecia, where Greek architectural traditions exert a strong influence. For an example of a study of Greek influence on south Italian houses see M. George (1998), "Elements of the Peristyle in Campanian Atria," *JRA* 11, 82-100.

[323] A. Carandini (1990), "Domus aristocratiche sopra la mura e il pomerio del Palatino," in *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini*, M. Cristofani, ed. (Catalog of the exhibition), Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 97-99.

[324] L. Donati (1994), *La casa dell'impluvium: architettura etrusca a Roselle*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

[325] Donati (2000), 324-325 includes the central courtyard of the Archaic structure at Poggio Civitate among his Etruscan predecessors to the Roman house.

A visitor to the Archaic houses on the via Sacra could have approached from either the Palatine hill or from the direction of the Forum. The first phase of the houses dates to c. 530 BC, by which time the Forum basin would have been drained and utilized as a centralized space. The houses are oriented between two streets, the via Sacra to the north and a second Archaic street to the south (Figure 5.10). The Archaic road to the south, in the direction of the upper reaches of the Palatine hill perhaps preserves the patterns of access that had remained in place from the origins of settlement in the area. The centralized Forum space was a new development and as we have seen above, the Palatine hillside had been used before the Forum was drained. However, by the end of the Archaic period, the options of access to the Palatine slope were greater and the Archaic residences there took advantage of the increased visibility.

The plan of the Archaic houses on the via Sacra is difficult to reconstruct as their foundations were undoubtedly used in the construction of later phases of houses on the same site. [326] However, certain elements of access and approach can be inferred from the excavated remains. Whether a visitor entered one of the via Sacra houses from the north or south, a narrow entry way led directly into a larger central space (Figures 5.7, 5.10). From here the options of movement continued into various alcoves, all of which provided further access to rooms beyond. Some of the rooms had yet additional accessible spaces beyond, while others were closed, forcing the visitor to retrace fewer steps upon departure. The deeper a visitor entered into the structure, the less importance the

[326] Carandini (1990), 97 suggests that the houses' later phases continue until c. 210 BC, when a fire occasions their rebuilding. He maintains that even in these new structures a few Archaic foundations are retained. He also suggests that eventually the houses become the property of Roman aristocrats including L. Licinius Crassus and Clodius.

centralized space had. As with the Etrusco-Italic examples looked at in the previous chapters a centralized space controls the initial mechanics of further movement, but in these structures the centralized space loses some control as further penetration takes place. The visitor's options for accessibility have been increased and movement into further spaces has become more specialized and intricate.

Similar patterns of movement are suggested by the excavated remains of the Casa dell'Impluvium at Roselle. While this structure is not located within Rome, its contemporary construction makes it particularly relevant to this study. The Casa dell'Impluvium differs from the houses on the Sacra via in that it incorporates an earlier structure built on the same site. Luigi Donati, the site's excavator, recognizes occupation phases beginning in the late Iron Age and continuing through to the beginning of the fifth century BC.[327] This clearly places the Archaic Casa dell'Impluvium within the Etruso-Italic architectural tradition. The original structure on the site was composed of two adjacent rooms that were directly accessible from an open space to the north (rooms VII and VIII—Figure 5.9). During the sixth century BC the exterior open space was enclosed within the walls of the Casa dell'Impluvium and transformed into a large room with an impluvium at its western end.[328] The act of enclosing the space that preceded the two rooms of the original structure and fashioning it as the primary access to the remaining quarters of the complex indicates that it had previously functioned as a type of centralized entryway in a similar manner as other Etrusco-Italic spaces, in particular the Monumental area at Acquarossa. Once enclosed it becomes a less accessible space. In addition it is no

[327] E. Nielsen (1997), "An atrium house of the 6th century BC at Rosselle," *JRA* 10, 323.
[328] Donati (2000), 325-327.

longer central to the settlement, but part of a single structure. In terms of interior movement, the large entry room and the atrium (rooms II and IX—Figure 5.9) control access to the all the rooms in the southern portion of the house by way of a stone ramp and a threshold between the atrium and room VII. With only one exception, access is not immediate and as with the houses on the Sacra via in Rome the importance of the entry space is lessened as the visitor moves through the structure.

The most illustrative example of the shift in emphasis in interior movement away from the control of centralized space is the remains of a monumental complex recently uncovered on the via Flaminia at the site of Rome's new concert Auditorium.[329] The area is north of the city in the Tiber flood plain at the foot of the Parioli hills and provides evidence of at least 4 building phases beginning in the mid-sixth century BC and continuing until the imperial age (Figure 5.8). From the inception of the excavations, undertaken as a rescue operation during the construction of the Auditorium, the site has been considered residential, beginning as a farm and transforming into a typical Roman villa. Nicola Terranato has argued that the earliest phase of the structure is unique in the Etrusco-Italic world and that it is an elite farmhouse, which serves as the direct ancestor to the aristocratic Roman villa.[330] Terranato's classification of the structure is based on a parallel to a badly-published complex from Grottarossa, as well as comparison to Etrusco-Italic "palazzi,"[331] a definition that we have already seen is not necessarily indicated by close analysis of the Etrusco-Italic archaeological remains. Terranato's

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[329] A. Carandini, et.al. (1997), "La villa dell'Auditorium dall età arcaica all'età imperiale," *RömMitt* 104, 117-148.
[330] N. Terranato (2001), "The Auditorium site in Rome and the origins of the villa," *JRA* 14, 5-32.
[331] Terranato (2001), 11-17.

proposed link between the Auditorium site and formation of the Roman villa is based more on social and economic assumptions than on the archaeological and architectural evidence.[332] A close look at the early building phase of the structures beneath the Auditorium reveals that it is not unique at all, but closely aligned with approach and access patterns from the Etrusco-Italic world. While indeed the early phase seems to transform into a typical Roman villa by the late Republican period, I propose that this is an example of the Archaic period split of access patterns between public and private structures.

The four phases of the complex are illustrated in Figure 5.8 The first phase dates to the mid-sixth century BC, phase two to the beginning of the fifth century BC, phase three to the end of the fourth century BC and the final phase to the third century BC. Artifactual evidence indicates that the site continued to be used with few structural alterations until the end of the second century AD. In all phases the main entry point was on the west side, perhaps coinciding with the structure's accessibility to the Tiber River to the northwest. In phase one a visitor entered the complex by way of a centralized courtyard enclosed by rooms on three sides. While no thresholds are recorded by the excavators the arrangement of the rooms around the courtyard would indicate that many of them were accessible only from the centralized space, with the exception of the small room in the southeast corner. The western entrance and the centralized courtyard combine to focus visual attention on the largest rectangular room of the complex, which

[332] For a similar discussion of the economic and social background of this area based on a larger survey project see, G. Cifani (2002), "The rural landscape of central Tyrrhenian Italy in the 6th and 5th centuries BC and its social significance," *JRA* 15, 247-260.

also preserves evidence of a kiln or oven. The arrangement here in terms of visibility focused on the eastern flank, accompanied by a regularly-shaped northern flank and irregular southern flank is nearly identical to the contemporary plan of the Monumental complex at Acquarossa. In later phases of the building the western entrance is maintained but the importance and centrality of the courtyard is lessened. As at Roselle the entry court has been enclosed and in its place a central atrium has been substituted as a point of access. In phase two, seven of thirteen rooms are potentially accessible from this centralized space. In phase three the renovations allow eight of fourteen rooms to be accessible and in phase four eight of nineteen rooms are accessible. Over time the accessibility of centralized space was reduced and a more complex pattern of interior movement was put in place.

In all of these cases, the debt to Etrusco-Italic patterns of approach and access is obvious. Visitors must enter the structure in such a way as to be met with a centralized access space that controls entry to all other spaces. However, it appears that in the Archaic period a change occurs in the mechanics of interior movement from the previous patterns. In these Archaic dwellings there are more rooms that provide access to spaces beyond than there are rooms with thresholds from the initial centralized space. Each newly encountered controlling space lessens the impact and control of the initial space, while at the same time creating a new center from which access to more spaces is granted. The evolution of this process ultimately results in interior spaces not at all connected to the centralized entry space. This pattern of interior movement in Roman houses has led scholars to suggest a perceived hierarchy between public and private

spaces within a single domestic structure. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill discusses the difficulty in distinguishing between solely public rooms and solely private rooms in a Roman house. He maintains that for an ancient Roman viewer the distinction between public and private was not precise and that various elements of a house's decorative program and architectural articulation combined to create a "language of public and private" by which the viewer might interpret the level of privacy for a given space.[333] I would add to Wallace-Hadrill's observation that the blending of public and private in a single domestic structure is related to early Etrusco-Italic conceptions of monumental architecture, where more than one pattern of interior movement was utilized to facilitate multifunctionality. While the Roman atrium house is not derived from this conception alone, but is the product of a number of Mediterranean influences, one can certainly witness the early stages of its spatial articulation in Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture.

Clearly Etrusco-Italic patterns of approach, access and movement are relevant to Roman architectural forms such as the forum and the atrium house, as well as the architectural development of Rome itself. The topographical situation of ancient Rome combining hills and waterways, architectural visibility from land and water routes has parallels with early Iron Age settlements and the Archaic monumental building complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa. In addition to these urban developments, other forms of architecture benefited from and modified Etrusco-Italic traditions as well. While public areas such as the forum adapted patterns of approach and centralized access,

[333] Wallace-Hadrill (1994), 17-61.

domestic spaces also utilized and modified early Etrusco-Italic patterns of movement, particularly those of interior access and control. Such a connection between Etrusco-Italic architecture and Roman domestic spaces has resulted in the scholarly notion that Etrusco-Italic monumental architecture, particularly the Archaic "palazzi," is domestic or palatial in function. However, as I have shown, the Etrusco-Italic architectural tradition is as much the ancestor of Roman public spaces as it is the ancestor of private spaces. As the Archaic period in Italy came to a close, the multifunctionality of Etrusco-Italic complexes diverged, with the patterns of interior movement merging into the Roman domestic realm and the more simplistic patterns of access and approach remaining in the public realm. Thus, the legacy of Etrusco-Italic architecture does not lie in one particular type of Roman building, but encompasses the awareness of the physicality and location of all architectural space evidenced by a continuous tradition of patterns of approach and access.

V.4 Further avenues of research: the Roman sense of space

This study has demonstrated the importance of access and approach in the construction and conception of Etrusco-Italic architectural spaces. I have concluded with a summary of how these patterns were adapted and incorporated into the development of Early Rome and Roman architecture. An obvious next step to this research would be a survey of the various patterns of approach and access in the corpus of Roman architecture. As I have shown, approach and access are integral manifestations of one's conception of a building's place in its overall environment, as well as the means by which the ancient visitor discovered the layout and usage of a structure. Within Etrusco-Italic

architecture there was an acute awareness of the boundaries and sequential experience of built spaces. The importance of this architectural tradition to later Roman conceptions of space should be considered. Certainly, a Roman's view of space originated from many sources, both native and external. It would be incorrect to judge any society as a slavish imitator of another. However, it is likely that in shaping a Roman sense of space, the architectural traditions of Italic people played a large part.

For the ancient Romans space and consequently the built versions of space were physical realities, a concept clearly demonstrated by textual and artistic evidence.[334] An examination of the Roman technique for memory presents one particularly vivid example where the Etrusco-Italic tradition of architectural boundaries and sequential experience of approach and access has relevance. Two rhetorical texts separated by a century explain the Roman method of memorization with regard to speech-making and organization—a work written c. 88-85 BC attributed to the unknown 'Auctor ad Herennium' and Quintilian's famous first century AD treatise on rhetoric. Both texts indicate that memorization must occur by visualizing a series of mental constructs (*imagines*). The process of memorization by the creation of a series of abstract mental constructs had previously been discussed by Aristotle and attributed to Simonides and was certainly an aspect of Greek intellectual thought. However, the refinement of these constructs into physical places (*loci*), such as buildings, where individual ideas are arranged and stored

[334] There is a great deal of work relating to the Roman conception of space. A. Vasaly (1993) *Representations. Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* Berkeley: University of California Press, M. Jaeger (1997) *Livy's Written Rome*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, and Edwards (1996) explore the relationship between physical monuments in the urban landscape and conceptions of space in the texts of ancient authors including Cicero and Livy. In art the physicality of an ancient Roman's conception of space is particularly evident in the architectural framework seen in wall painting. See also E. W. Leach (1988), *The Rhetoric of Space*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

belongs to the Romans.[335] Roman rhetorical treatises indicate that physical places, specifically architectural ones, provide the ideal form of *locus* to house ideas for memorization or arrangement in a speech. The Auctor Ad Herennium defines *loci* in purely architectural terms:

> *Locos appellamus eos, qui breviter, perfecte, insignite aut natura aut manu sunt absoluti, ut eos facile naturali memoria conprehendere et amplecti queamus: <ut> aedes, intercolumnium, angulum, fornicem et alia, quae his similia sunt* (3.29).
>
> We call places those things which by nature or by artifice are for a short distance, totally, and strikingly complete so that we can comprehend and embrace them easily with natural memory—like a house, an intercolumniation, a corner, an arch, and other things which are similar to these.[336]

Later Quintilian elaborates on this description and describes the process of utilizing this architectural construct as a mnemonic device:

> *Loca discunt quam maxime spatiosa, multa varietate signata, domum forte magnam et in multos diductam recessus. In ea quidquid notabile est animo diligenter adfigunt, ut sine cunctatione ac mora partis eius omnis cogitatio possit percurrere…Sit autem signum navigationis ut ancora, militiae ut aliquid ex armis. Haec ita digerunt: primum sensum [bello cum] vestibulo quasi adsignant, secundum (puta) atrio, tum inpluvia circumeunt, nec cubiculis modo aut exhedris, sed statuis etiam similibusque per ordinem committunt. Hoc facto, cum est repetenda memoria, incipiunt ab initio loca haec recensere, et quod cuique crediderunt reposcunt, ut eorum imagine admonentur…Quod de domo dixi, et in operibus publicis et*

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335 J. P. Small (1997), *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity*, London: Routledge, 95-116.

336 H. Caplan, trans. (1981), *Cicero. Volume I. Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

in itinere longo et urbium ambitu et picturis fieri [spieri] potest. Etiam fingere sibi has imagines licet
(*Inst.Or.* 11.2.18-21)

> Some place is chosen of the largest possible extent and characterized by the utmost possible variety, such as a spacious house divided into a number of rooms. Everything of note therein is carefully committed to the memory, in order that the thought may be enabled to run through all the details without let or hindrance…let us suppose that the symbol is drawn from navigation, as, for example, an anchor, or from warfare, as for example, some weapon. These symbols are then arranged as follows. The first image is place, as it were, in the entrance; the second, let us say, in the atrium; the remainder are placed in due order all round the impluvium and entrusted not merely to bedrooms and bays, but even to the care of statues and the like. This done, as soon as the memory of the facts requires to be revived, all these places are visited in turn and the various deposits demanded for their custodians, as the sign of each recalls the respective details…What I have spoken of as being done in a house, can equally well be done in connection with public buildings, a long journey, the ramparts of a city, or even pictures. Or we may even image such places to ourselves.[337]

Both of these passages illustrate that for a Roman orator there is an associative connection between ideas and physical, architectural space. The physicality of place is denoted by the word *locus*, which in conception or in reality is a finite space with enclosed boundaries. The retrieval of memorized items occurs by crossing each of these boundaries within the architectural construct in the orator's mind. In this way, each item become accessible to the orator. Jocelyn Penny Small has emphasized that this system, as

[337] H. E. Butler, trans. (1923), *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian (Loeb Classical Library)* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. See also Bergmann (1994).

well as modern mnemonic technique, depends upon its sequence.[338] Just as ancient Etrusco-Italic, and eventually Roman, patterns of access and approach functioned by slowly revealing the plan and purpose of a building to an ancient viewer, so the Roman technique of memorization functioned by allowing the orator to slowly collect concepts, room by room, to reveal a larger picture.

The importance of memory occurring in an architecturally-defined space is not present in Greek memory techniques.[339] While mnemonics is said to have been invented by Simonides in the early fifth century BC and elaborated upon by Plato and Aristotle, Greek thinkers and rhetoricians did not conceive of storing items for recall within an architectural framework. Aristotle used the word *topos* to denote the space in which memorized items are to be placed and later recollected.[340] This term, and the conception of memory that accompanies it, is based upon abstract containers rather than physical boundaries. Small defines Aristotle's *topoi* as mental "bins" with no physicality whatsoever.[341] This differs from the Roman *locus* where ideas are literally housed for later retrieval. Unlike the Greek process, which involves selecting concepts or images from a mental store of sequentially-arranged items, the Roman concept of memory invites the user to enter a physical space (*locus*) within the mind and recall the idea or image associated with that space.

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[338] Small (1997), xvii. In her introduction, Small criticizes the approach in Bergmann (1994). Bergmann utilizes the Roman memory technique described above to "read" the paintings in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii. Small's criticism is that Bergmann does not "read" the paintings in sequential order from exterior to interior, but rather interprets in a random order. Small's assertion that the Roman memory system depends upon sequence is based on both Greek descriptions of memory techniques, a close reading of the Roman sources and modern cognitive studies of memory.

[339] Small (1997), 81-94.

[340] Aristotle, *On Memory*, 452a12-452a25.

[341] Small (1997), 88.

Such communicative power of a *locus* is noted in Cicero's *de Finibus*. The interlocutor Marcus Piso comments:

> *Naturane nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam an errore quodam, ut, cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multam esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus aut scriptum aliquod legamus?…tanta vis admonitionis inest in locus; ut non sine cause ex iis memoriae ducta sit disciplina.* (5.2)
>
> Is it inborn in us or produced by some trick that when we see the places in which we have heard that famous men performed great deeds, we are more moved than by hearing or reading of their exploits?…So great a power of suggestion resides in places that it is no wonder that the art of memory is based on it.[342]

These words provide an important piece of evidence regarding how the ancient Romans conceived of and experienced space.[343] Notice that Piso compares the visual sensation of looking at a physical place with that of listening to or reading words. According to Piso, the physical characteristics of a space are actually perceived as a more evocative means of communication than the expressiveness of the written or spoken word.[344]

Piso's words are occasioned by his approach to the walls of Plato's Academy in Athens and he concludes his remarks with a reference to one of the most visually accessible buildings in the Roman Forum, the Senatorial Curia. Thus, a second important aspect of this passage is its association not only with space in general, but architectural

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[342] Translation, Vasaly (1993), 29.

[343] For a discussion of how this passage represents a Roman's sensitivity to the "spirit of place," see Vasaly (1993), 28-30.

[344] "There exists a continuous dialogue between art, literature and the viewer (who is ideally a viewer of both media) whereby the experience of art shapes one's ability to visually create images from words of a text and the experience of words of a text shapes one's ability to "see" and create artistic images of space, particularly landscape," Leach (1988), 17.

space in particular. Piso is moved by the physical structure of the Academy itself—and its ability in its permanence to recall the actions of men within its confines. However, Piso doesn't refer to the building by the more specifically architectural terms *aedificium* or *opus*. Rather his use of the term *locus* includes both the architectural structure and the space bounded within its walls. The Academy and the Curia and their associations are not simply defined by the building and its parts, but rather the entire space enclosed within its boundaries. Thus both exterior and interior elements are included in one comprehensive notion of a space, allowing the space to incorporate both its physical characteristics as well as the actions that occur within it.

For the ancient Romans every space was a *locus* and every *locus* had the ability to communicate. Roman architecture is the physical manifestation of this understanding of space. Vitruvius says that the act of construction (*aedificatio*) is composed of the processes of *conlocatio* and *explicatio*: *Aedificatio autem divisa est bipertito, e quibus una est moenium et communium operum in publicis locis conlocatio, altera est privatorum aedificiorum explicatio* (1.3.1). These two terms are more commonly used in Roman rhetorical writing and are frequently associated with words and the act of speaking.[345] *Conlocatio* refers to the act of arranging or placing words within a text, while *explicatio* denotes a description or a verbal unraveling of a problem, solution or situation. When applied to architecture these terms create a vivid image of the physical process of first placing an architectural entity within a larger space and then articulating

[345] C. T. Lewis and C. Short (1963), *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, s.v. *collocatio, explicatio*. Vitruvius' choice of this terminology and the rhetorical implications for his understanding of space was the subject of a paper presented at the AIA Annual Meeting, 2000, G. E. Meyers, "*Conlocatio communium operum*: Vitruvius and the Origins of Roman Spatial Consciousness." A published version of this paper is forthcoming in the *JRA* Supplement series.

the relevatory process of how that space is understood through the movement of the visitor. The same processes inform the patterns of approach, access and movement inherited from the Etrusco-Italic world. A complete history of the architecture of ancient Rome must include a full examination of how approach, visibility, centralization of space, differentiation of interior and exterior space, and organization of interior spaces derive from the collective Italic memory of spatial practice.

Conclusions

Beyond six rivers and three mountain ranges rises Zora, a city that no one, having seen it, can forget. But not because, like other memorable cities, it leaves an unusual image in your recollections. Zora has the quality of remaining in your memory point by point, in its succession of streets, of houses along the streets, and of doors and windows in the houses, though nothing in them possesses a special beauty or rarity…This city which cannot be expunged from the mind is like an armature, a honeycomb in whose cells each of us can place the things he wants to remember: names of famous men, virtues, numbers, vegetable and mineral classifications, dates of battles, constellations, parts of speech. Between each idea and each point of the itinerary an affinity or contrast can be established, serving as an immediate aid to memory. So the world's most learned men are those who have memorized Zora.
Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

The preceding discussion has looked at approach, access and space in the architectural practices of early Italy. A particular culture's understanding of space is a difficult artifact to retrieve from the archaeological record. In the case of the Romans, the archaeologist is aided by literary sources and the fortunate survival of the architectural treatise written by Vitruvius. This is not so with the Etrusco-Italic people inhabiting Italy in the years before the ascendance of Rome. The architectural remains of these sites must be read carefully. Archaeological remains must be considered in terms of their form, stratigraphic relation to one another and, most importantly, the context of their surroundings and topographical location. Architecture is not created in a void and then superimposed onto an environment. It is by necessity the product of its local surroundings. Thus, Etrusco-Italic architecture was suited to an environment composed of waterways and high tufa plateaus. The development of inland settlements, away from the coast, necessitated accessibility and visibility from great distances, and the placement of settlements on high, difficult to reach plateaus prompted the creation of sequential access routes and articulated boundaries that invited movement from one space to the next. Often features in the natural landscape would have obscured views at various points as a

visitor drew near a structure, creating a sense of anticipation on approach and a dramatic visual impression at the first moment of accessibility. Construction practices were adapted to this landscape and over time they became part of the Italic architectural memory.

Because approach, entrance and access provided the ancient viewer with an initial impression of a constructed space, potential doorways, thresholds and other means of visual and physical access serve as an important means of gauging the spatial significance of a structure within its culture. By using a methodology that evaluates monumental structures in terms of their potential approach routes and access patterns, I have attempted to create a better understanding of the usage and spatial conception of Etrusco-Italic architecture. I have focused on the Archaic period because it is a critical juncture in the history of architecture in Italy. It marked the first time that architect-planners were faced with the task of creating a built space that was capable of hosting multiple functions at one time. While the exact function of the monumental complexes at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa may never be known, my assessment of approach and access patterns indicates that the two complexes owe much of their orientation and accessibility to an earlier tradition of architectural practices and conceptions of space. In some ways they are highly distinct from one another and must have met different communal needs. However, the architectural concerns that occupied their creators—accessibility, visibility, centralized space and sequential interior movement—were the same.

By applying this same methodology to the site of early Rome, parallel patterns emerge indicating continuity and tradition. As settlements developed in early Rome, a similar landscape of waterways and hills created a need for attention to approach and access , as at other Etrusco-Italic sites. As the city grew, these patterns, which had previously suited multifunctional monumental complexes, became more distinct. While positioning on hills and waterways continued to influence building placement in Rome, attention to centralized space became a feature of public gathering spaces, such as fora, and the sequential process of interior movement merged with developing patterns of Roman domestic organization. Over time, access, approach, visibility and ease of movement became cornerstones of Roman architectural planning, allowing the public buildings of the Republic and later the Empire to create strong rhetorical effects on the viewer. I would argue that this is an inheritance of Etrusco-Italic architecture where space in relation to its environment took precedence over all things.

Attention to approach and access is not unique to Etrusco-Italic people, the Romans, or any other ancient Mediterranean culture. All architects must build structures that are approachable if they want them to be used and viewed. However, because architecture is the product of its environment, processes related to structural arrangement and planning will differ in varied locations. Some patterns will, by nature, be similar. An ancient Greek approaching the Acropolis in Athens followed a specific approach route and certainly encountered a series of particular views at different levels of access arranged for dramatic effect. Once on the Acropolis the visitor processed around the Parthenon for a delayed view of its eastern façade. But the overall environment of

ancient Athens, with the raised acropolis amongst the urban center, differed from the arrangement of ancient Rome, or the cities of Egypt or the ancient Near East. Based on my study, I suggest that patterns of approach and access in the Etrusco-Italic world were formative for the development of architecture in Rome. Due to the continuity of architectural tradition and natural environment, it is likely that Roman architects incorporated elements of foreign influence into an already established native structural and spatial tradition.

One area where this effect is strong felt is in the physicality of the Roman sense of space.[346] The Italian architect Aldo Rossi comments in reference to Athens that Athenians conceived of the *polis* as a political and administrative entity, not a residential space: "in this ancient organization it seems that the physical aspect of the city was secondary, almost as if the city was a purely mental place."[347] Rossi argues that the collective architectural memory of all cities returns to Greece as its source and that all urban conceptions begin there. But he notes that the Athenian *polis* is a city in the ideal sense, a myth of the perfect city not bound by the practicalities of environment and the physical realities of form. When the Romans encountered Greek cities, both in Greece and in the colonies of Magna Graecia, they incorporated these ideals into their notions of urban space. But when it came time for architects to plan a structure, to locate it in its environment and unravel its potential for usage and access, they returned to the concrete reality of space inherited from the architectural practices of the Etrusco-Italic world. To

[346] A. Vasaly (1993), 15-39.
[347] A. Rossi (1982), *The Architecture of the City*, D. Ghirardo, and J. Ockman, Trans., Cambridge: MIT Press, 131.

some minds the legacy of Roman architecture is the architecture of western civilization. Whether an ancient Roman approaches the Pantheon through the colonnaded precinct that preceded it, or a Florentine merchant enters the Piazza della Signoria having approached the city from the Arno, or a Renaissance courtier moves through the rooms surrounding the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese in Rome, all follow in the footsteps of the early Etrusco-Italic architectural patrons of Italy.

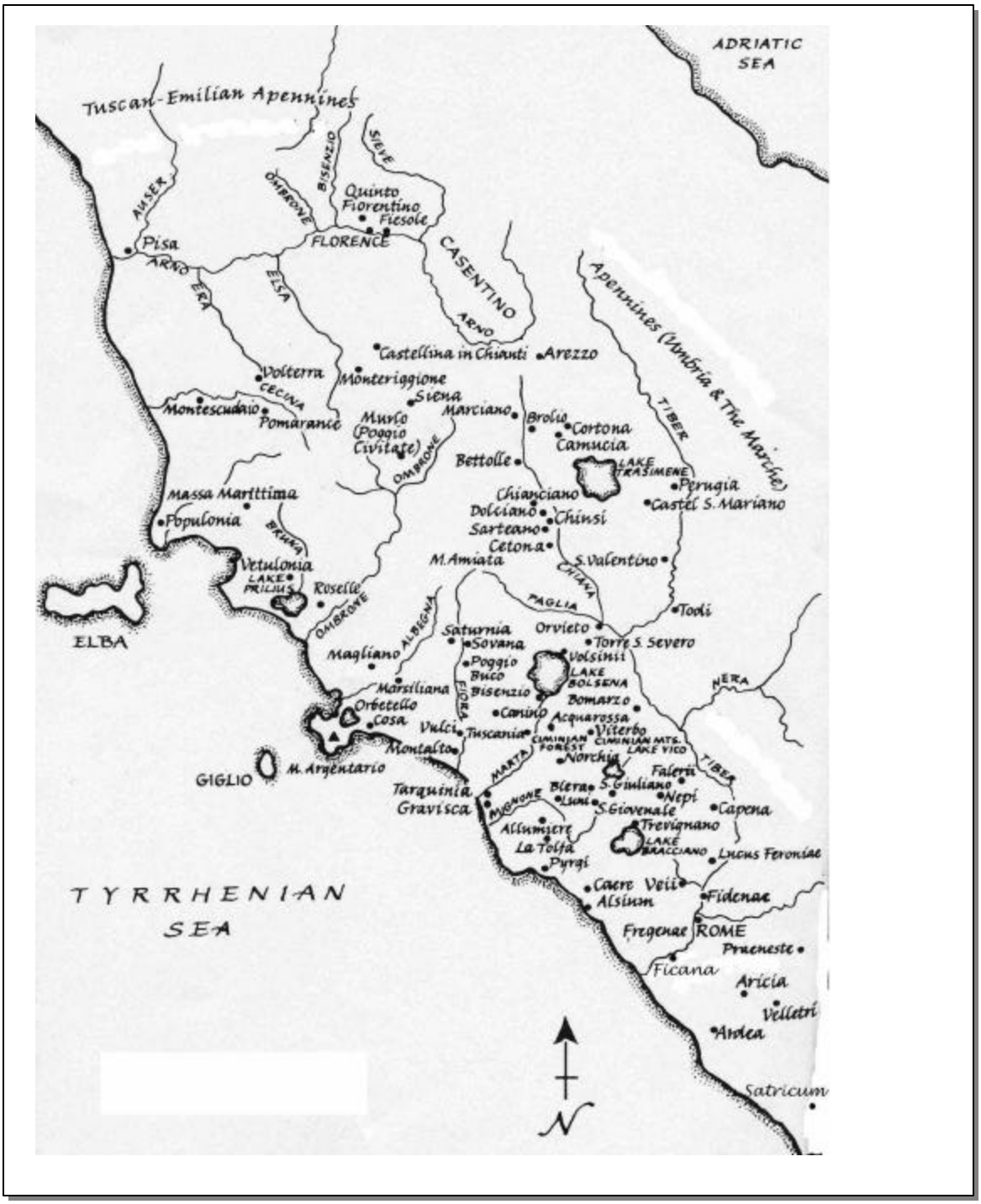


Figure 2.1. Map of Etrusco-Italic Sites
after Bonfante (1986), map 1

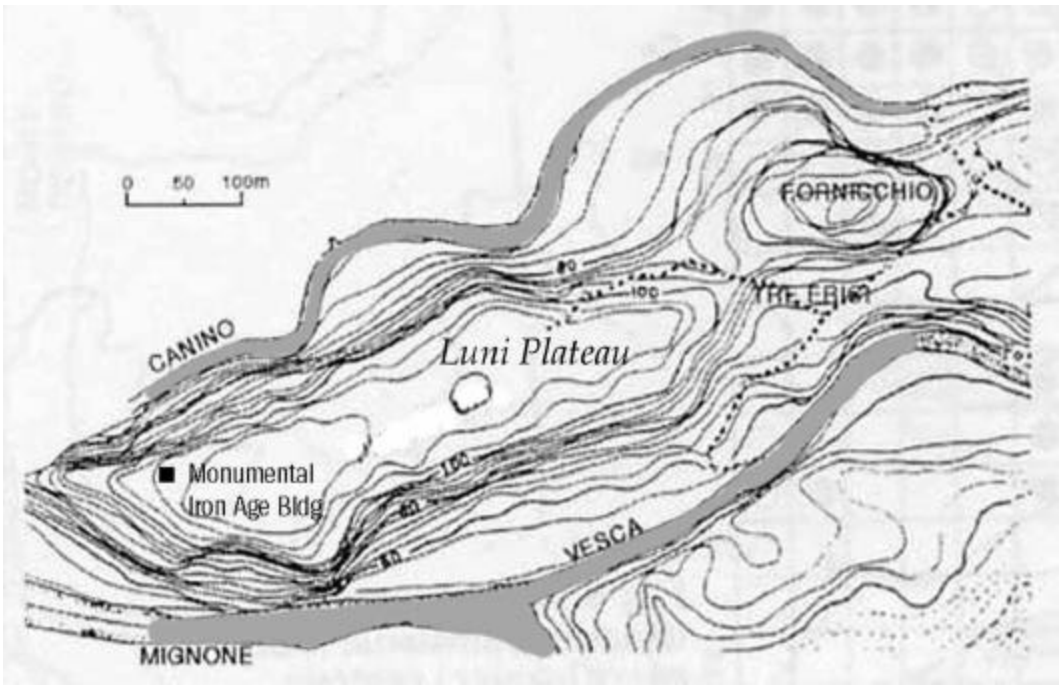


Figure 2.2 Plateau of Luni sul Mignone
after Pacciarelli (2000) and Östenberg (1976)

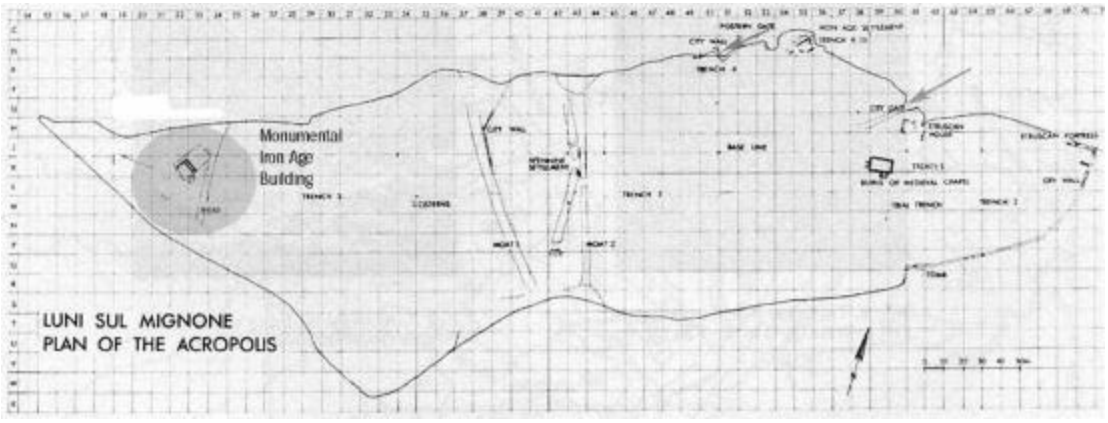


Figure 2.3 Detail of Plateau of Luni sul Mignone with Relevant Settlement Areas Shaded after Östenberg (1967) and Hellström (1975)

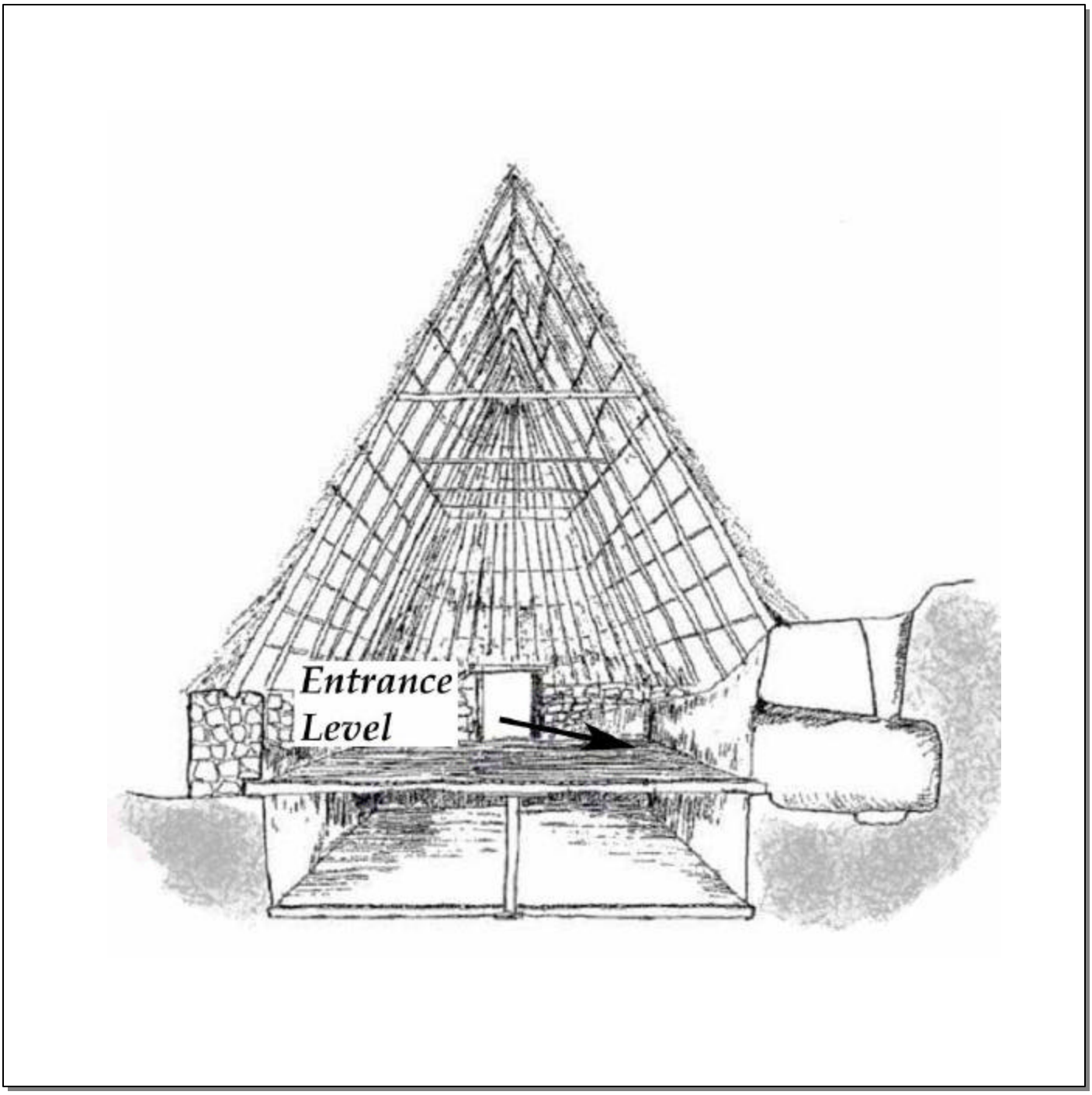


Figure 2.4 Reconstruction of Monumental Iron Age Building at Luni sul Mignone with Entry Level after Hellström (2001), fig.4

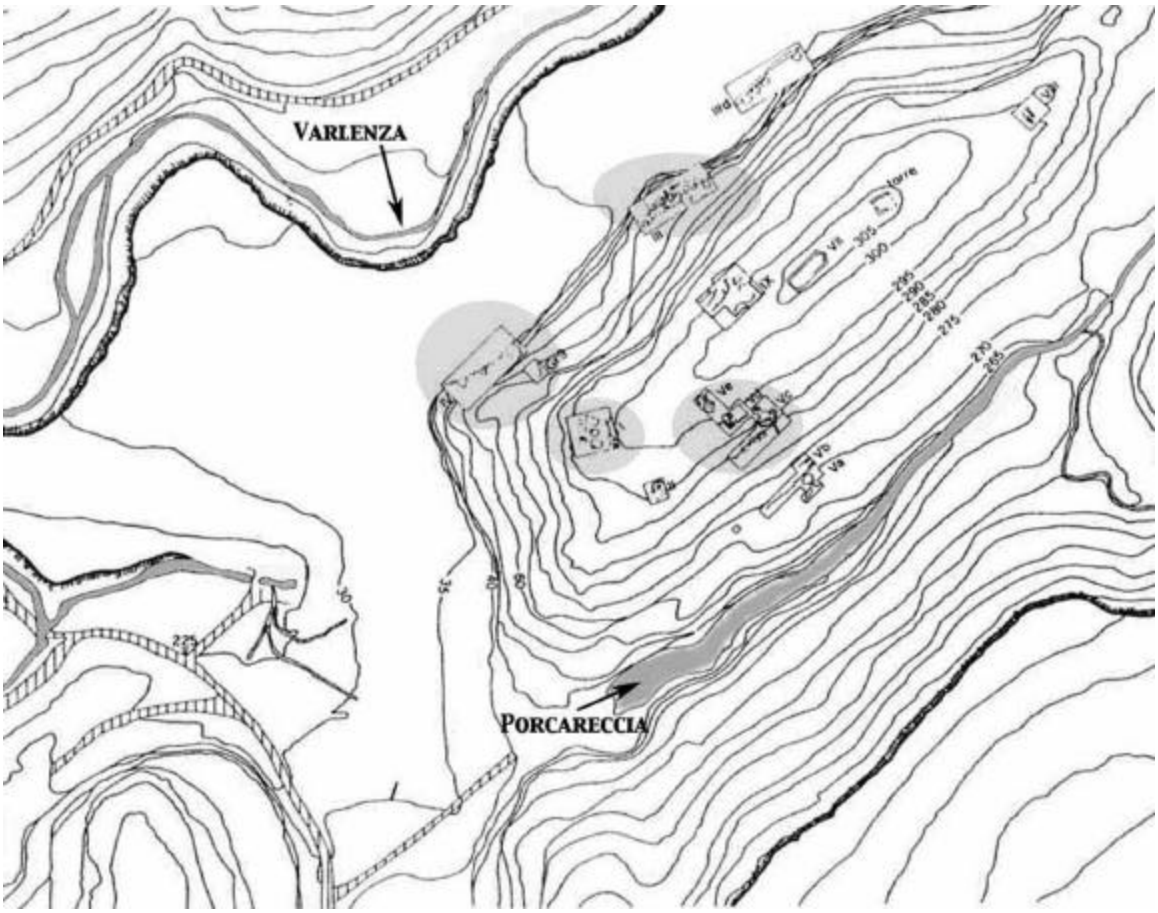


Figure 2.5 Plateau of Sorgenti della Nova with Relevant Settlement Areas Shaded after Negroni Catacchio and Domanico (2001)

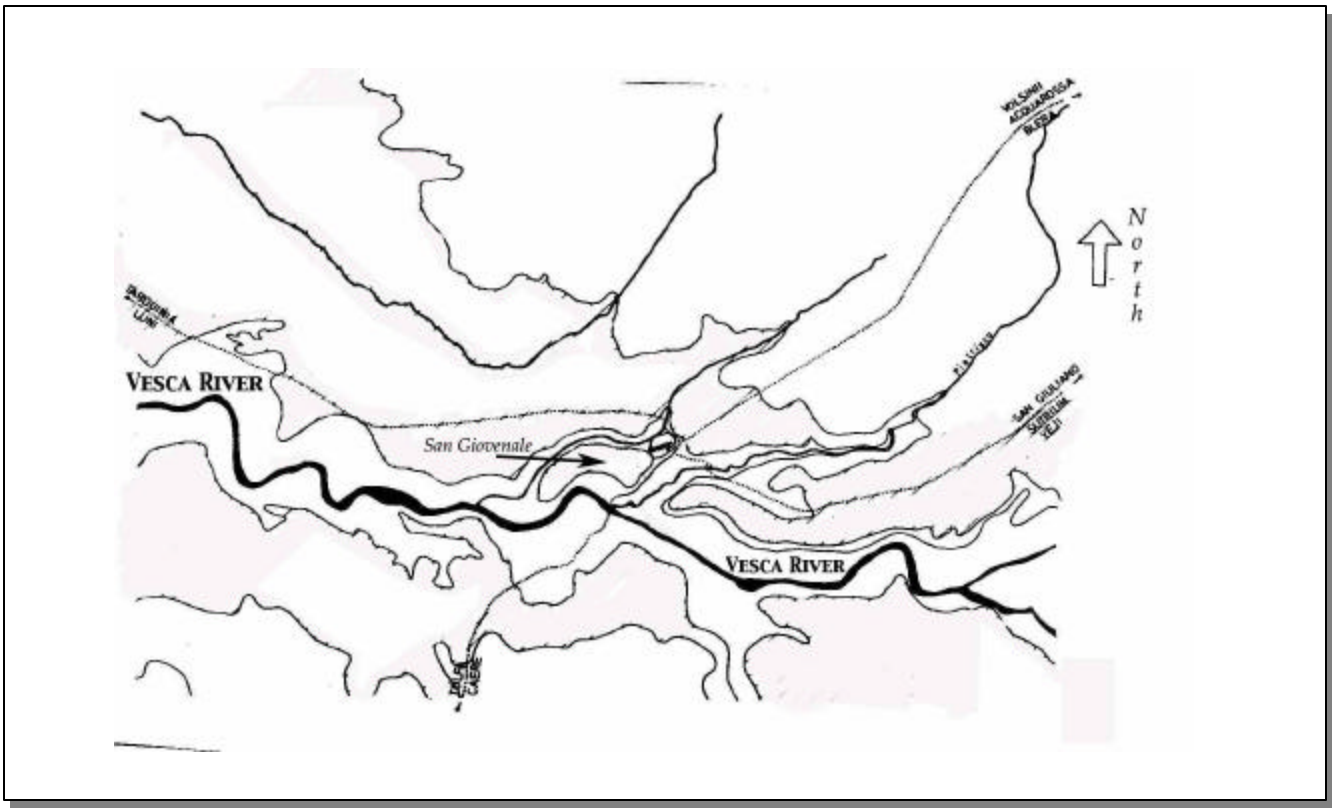


Figure 2.6 Plateau of San Giovenale
after *Architettura etrusca nel viterbese* (1986)

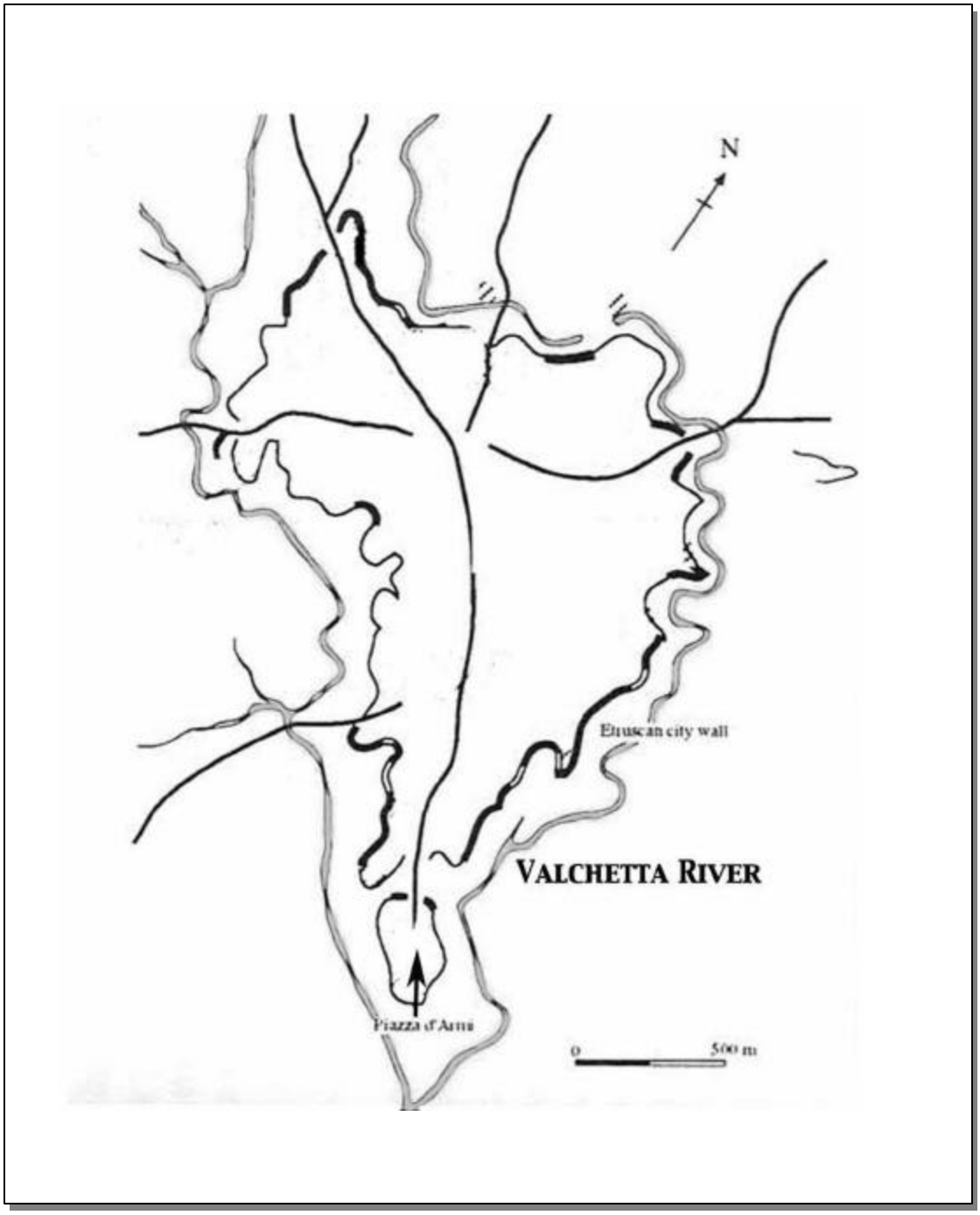


Figure 2.7 Plateau of Veii
after Barker and Rasmussen (1998)

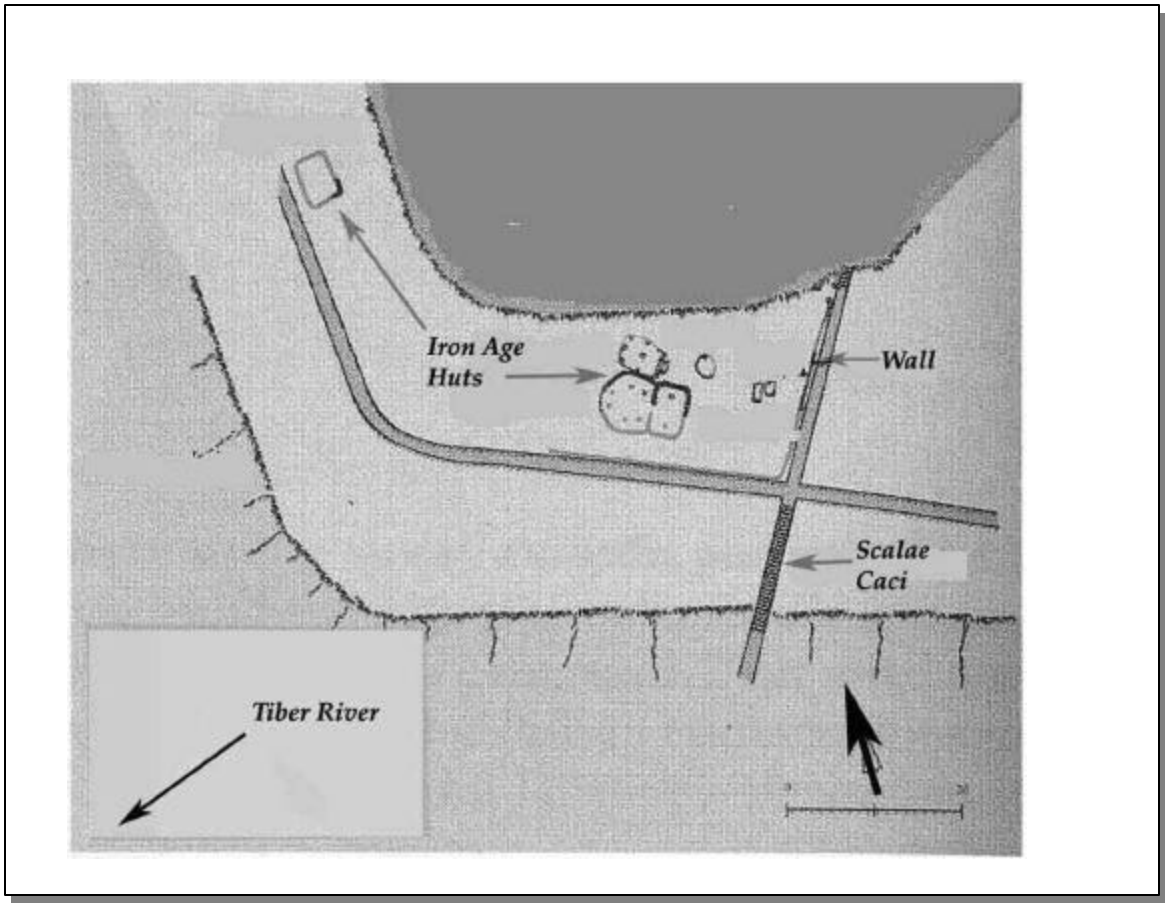


Figure 2.8 Iron age Huts on the Southwestern Corner of the Palatine Hill after Brocato (2000)

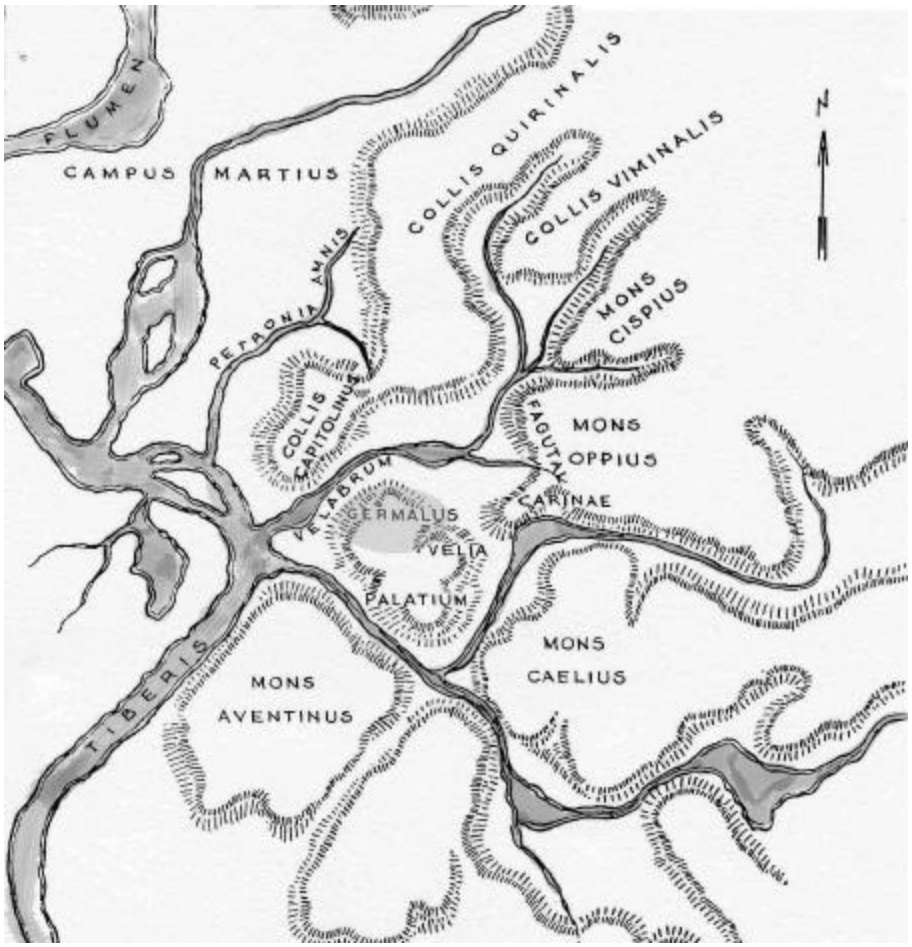


Figure 2.9 Waterways in Archaic Rome: The Tiber River and Tributaries
after Holland (1961), map 1

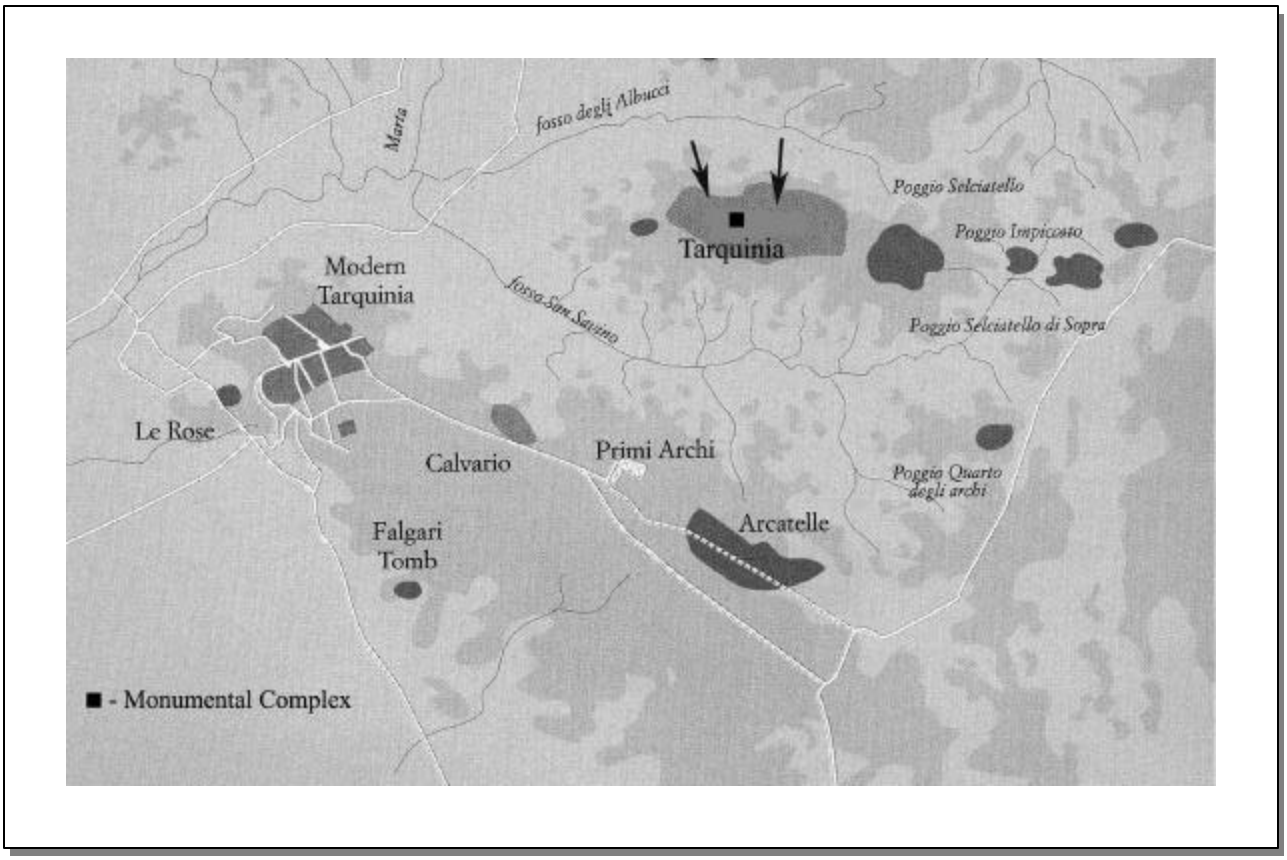


Figure 2.10 Plateau of Tarquinia and Surroundings with Hypothetical Entry Points
after Bonghi Jovino (2000) and Donati (2000)

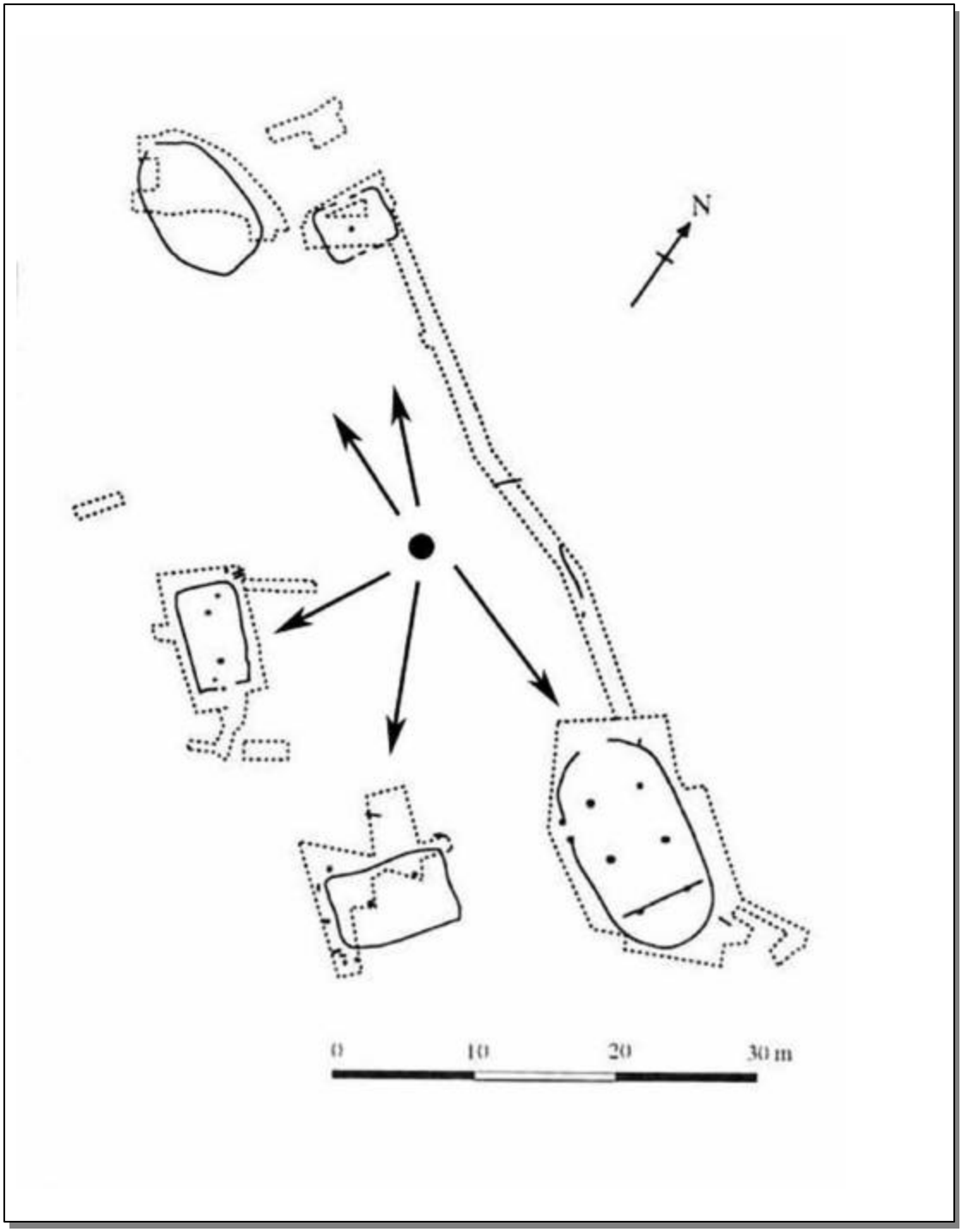


Figure 2.11 Iron age huts from Tarqunia (Calvario) around Centralized Space after Linington (1982)

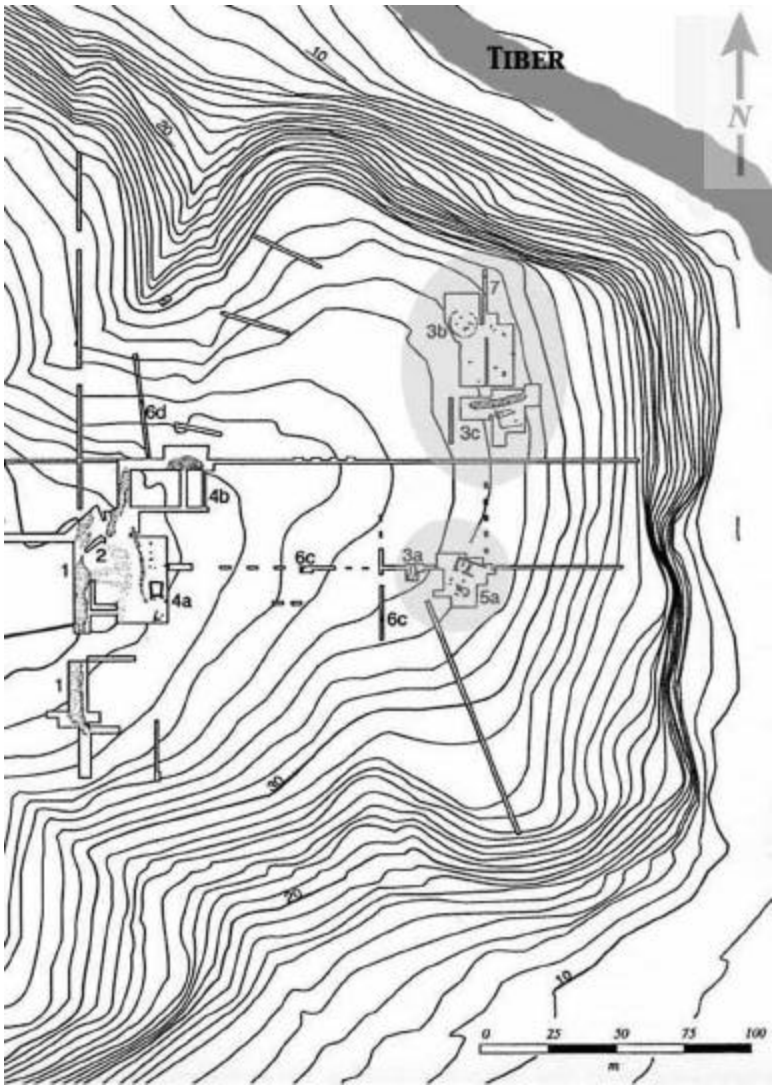


Figure 2.12 Plateau of Ficana with Relevant Settlement Areas Shaded after Jarva (2001)

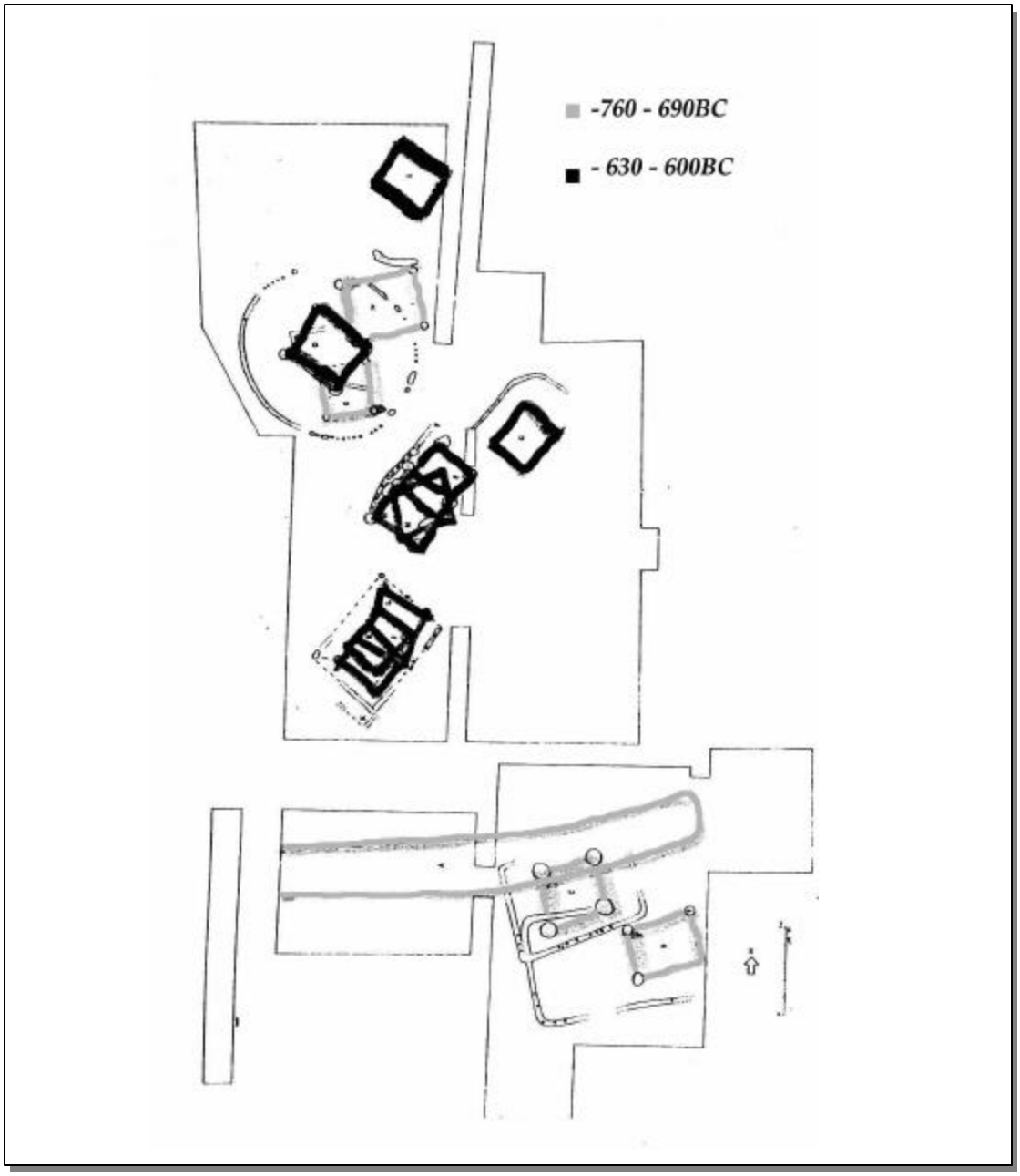


Figure 2.13 Ficana Huts (2 Phases)
after Brandt (1997)

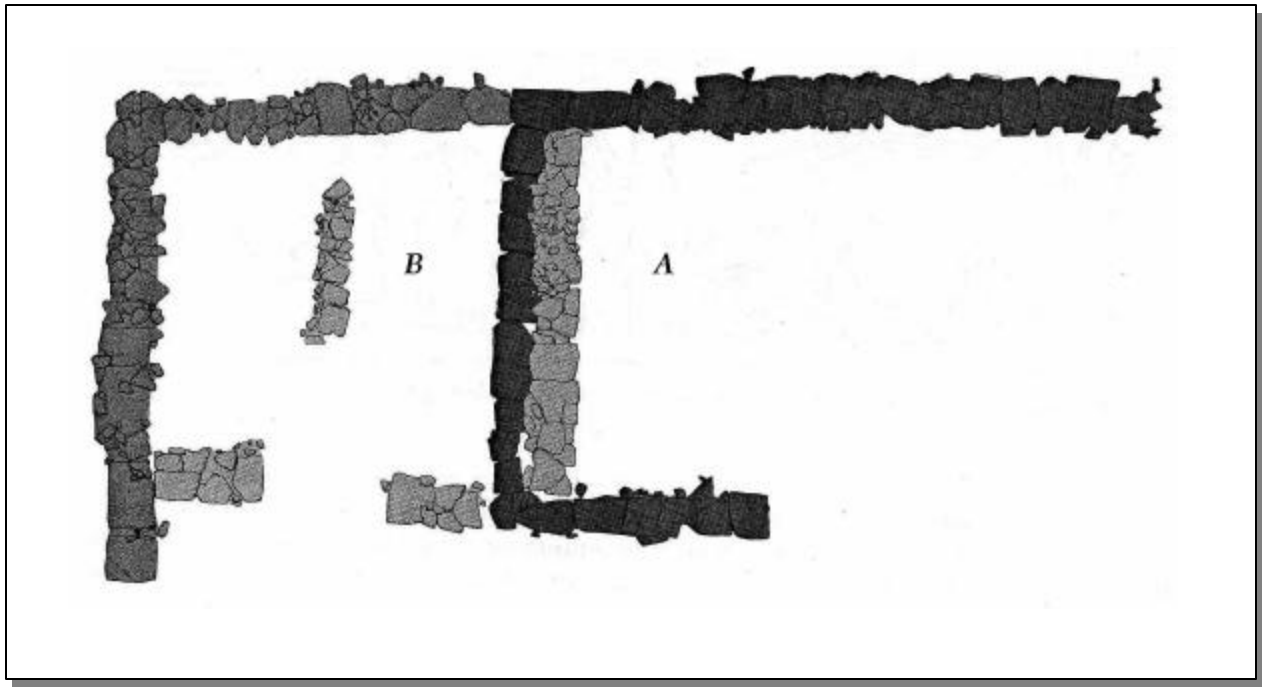


Figure 2.14 Archaic Monumental Building at Ficana
after Rathje (1983)

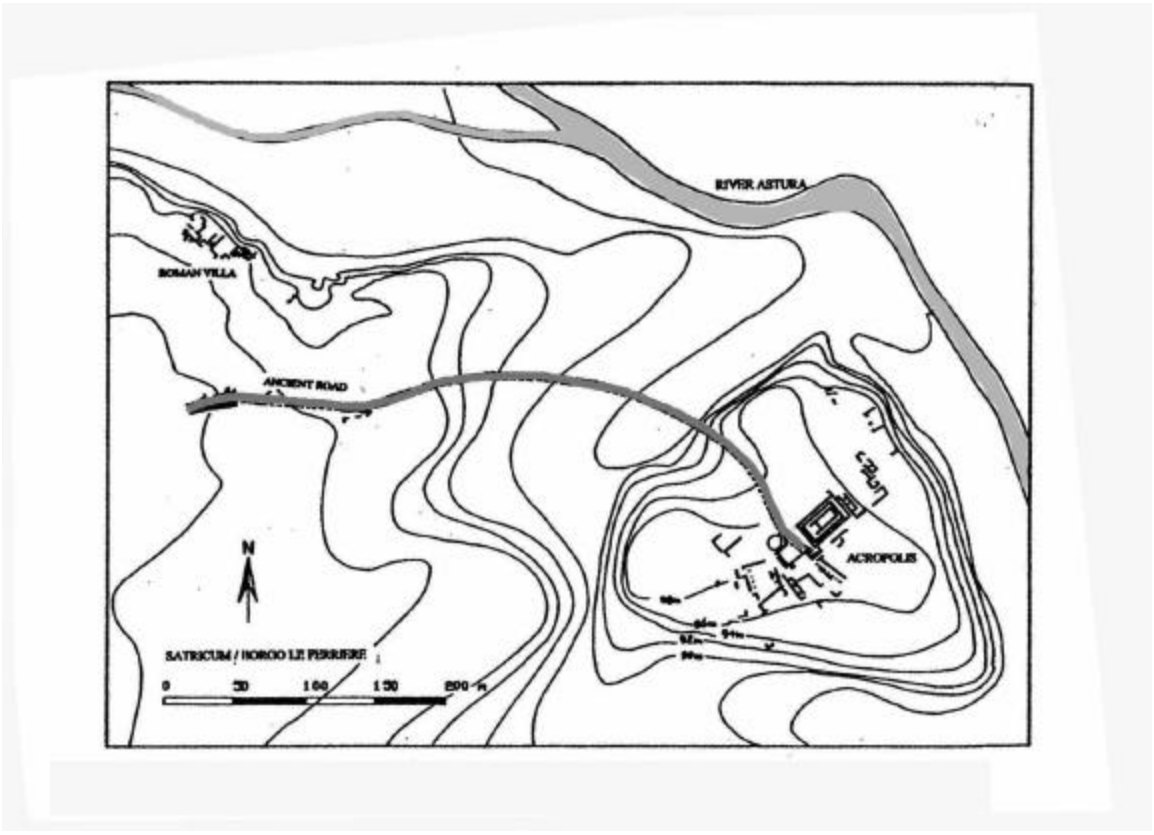


Figure 2.15 Plateau of Satricum
after Heldring (1992)

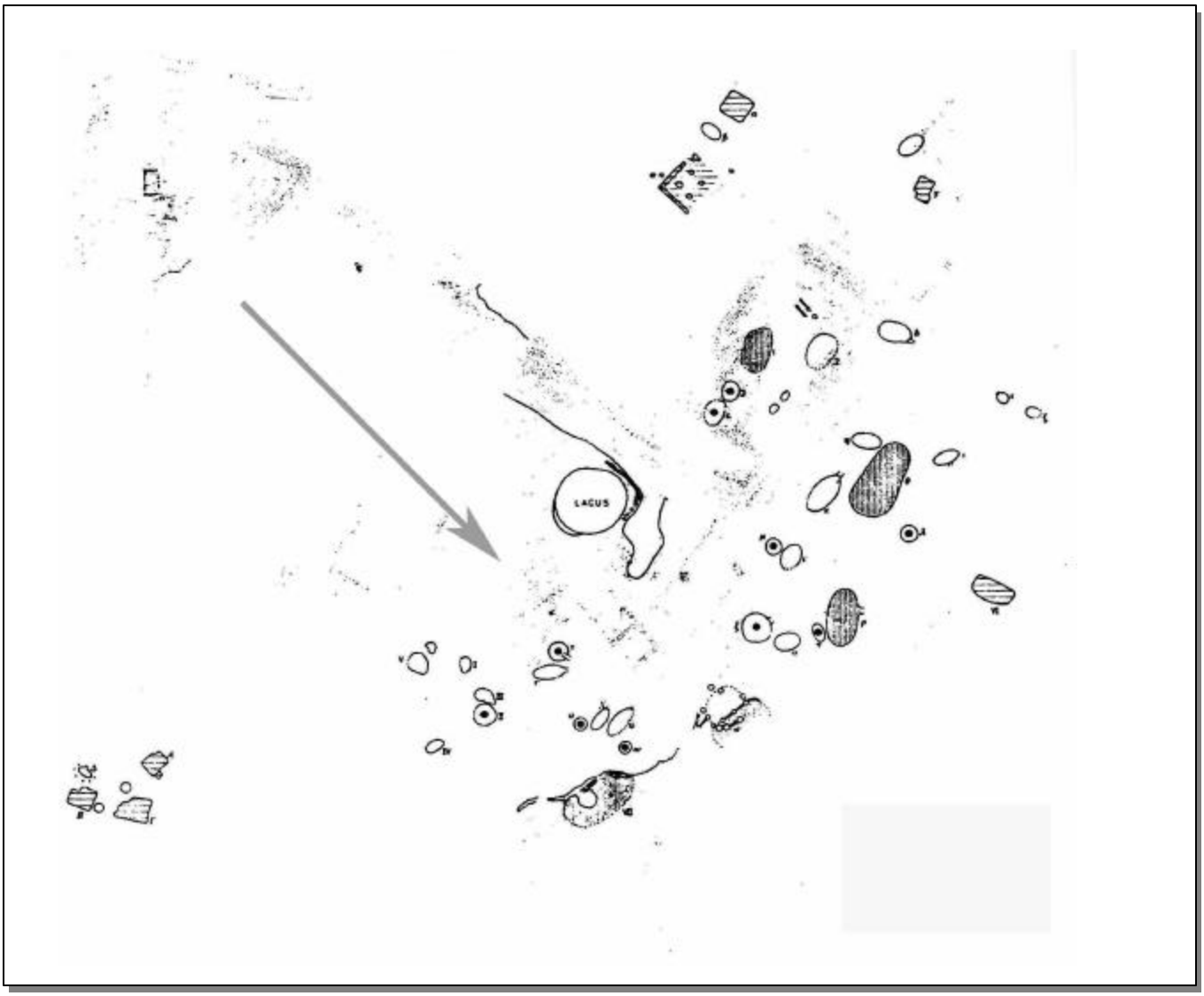


Figure 2.16 Iron Age Huts from Satricum around Centralized Space and *Lacus* after Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992)

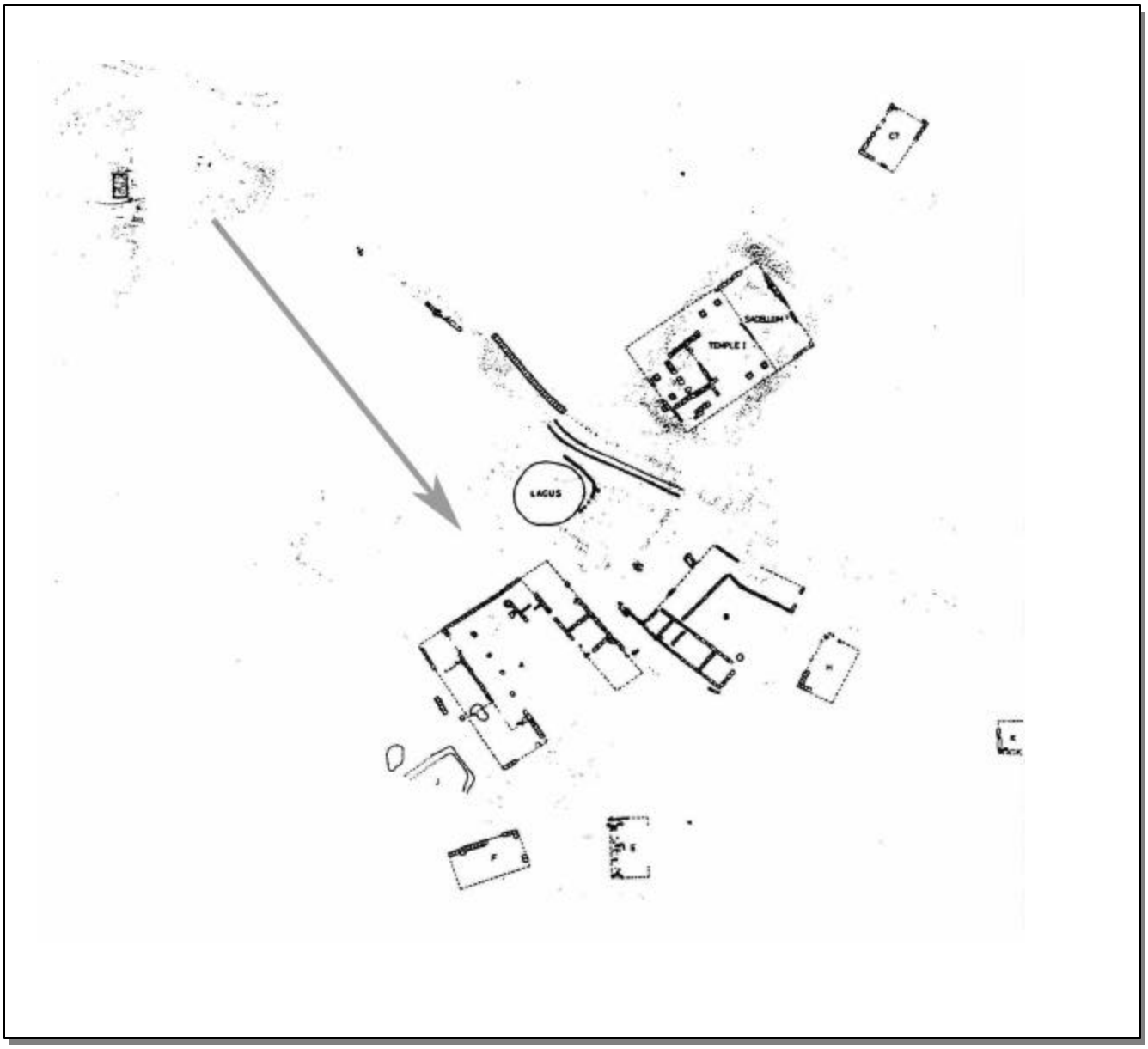


Figure 2.17 Archaic Monumental Buildings at Satricum
after Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992)

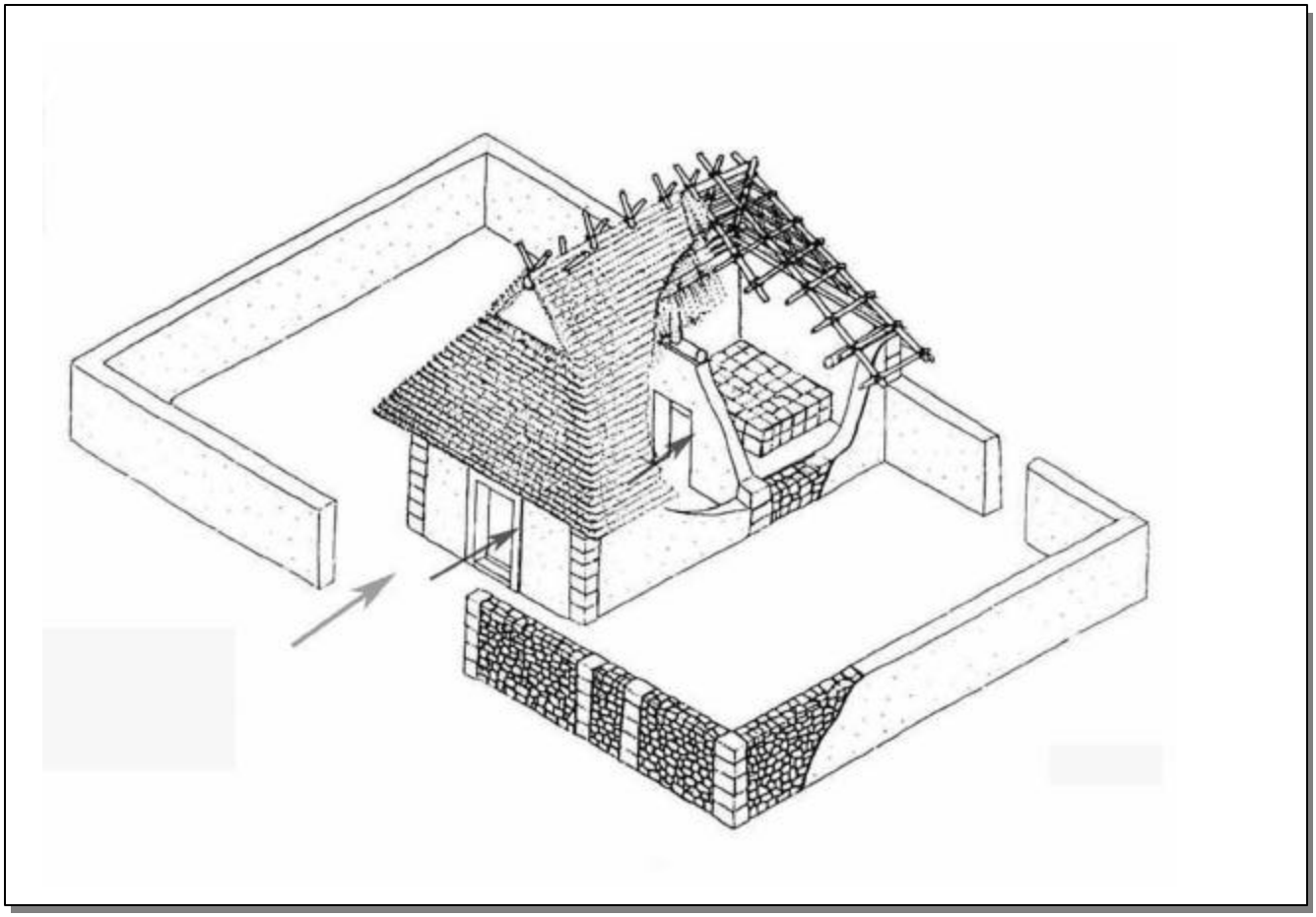
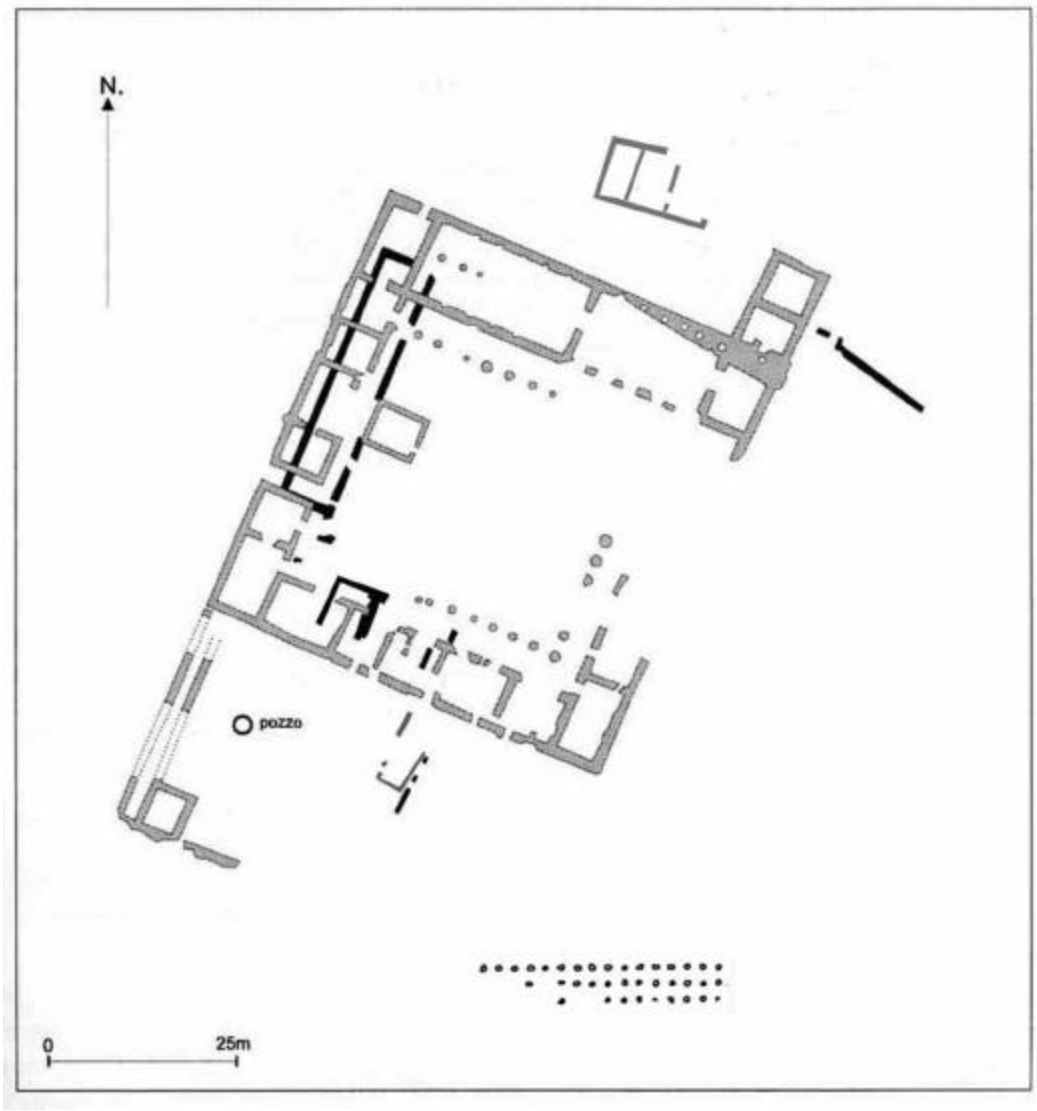


Figure 2.18 Reconstruction of Monumental Complex from Tarquinia (Cività) with Access Points after Bonghi Jovino (2000)



Etrusco-Italic “palazzo” from Poggio Civitate (Murlo) [Orientalizing complex indicated in black]
after Phillips (1993) and Nijboer (1998)

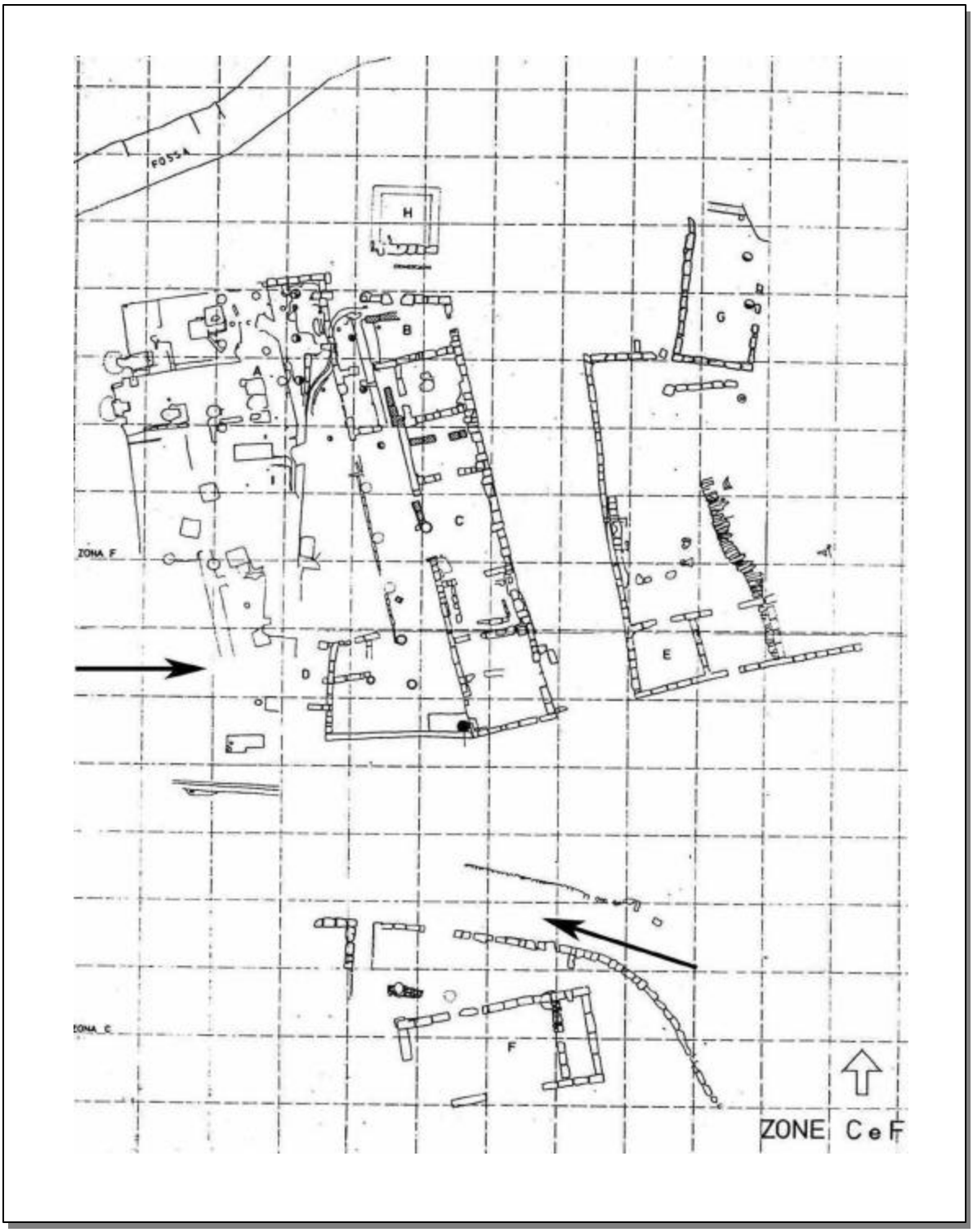


Figure 2.20 Etrusco-Italic ‘palazzo” from Acquarossa with Approach Routes
after *Architettura Etrusca nel viterbese* (1986)

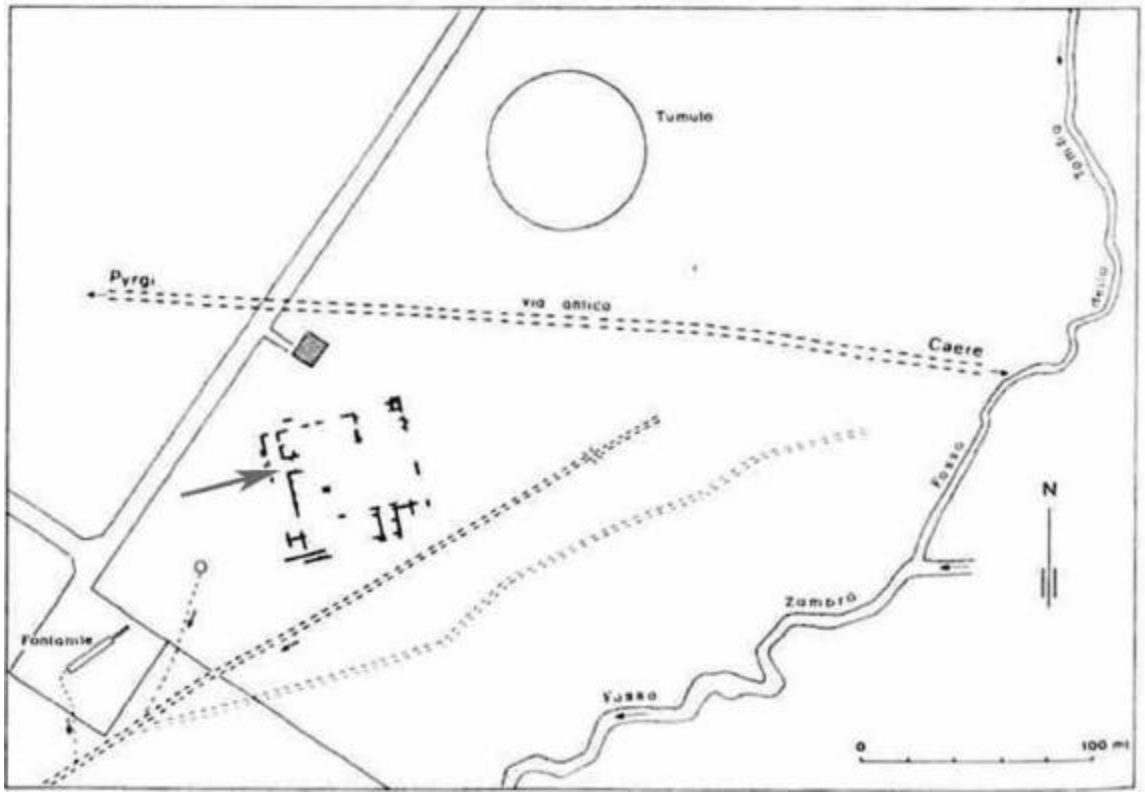


Figure 2.21 Location of Etrusco-Italic “palazzo at Montetosto (Caere) in Relation to Tumulus after Colonna (1985a)

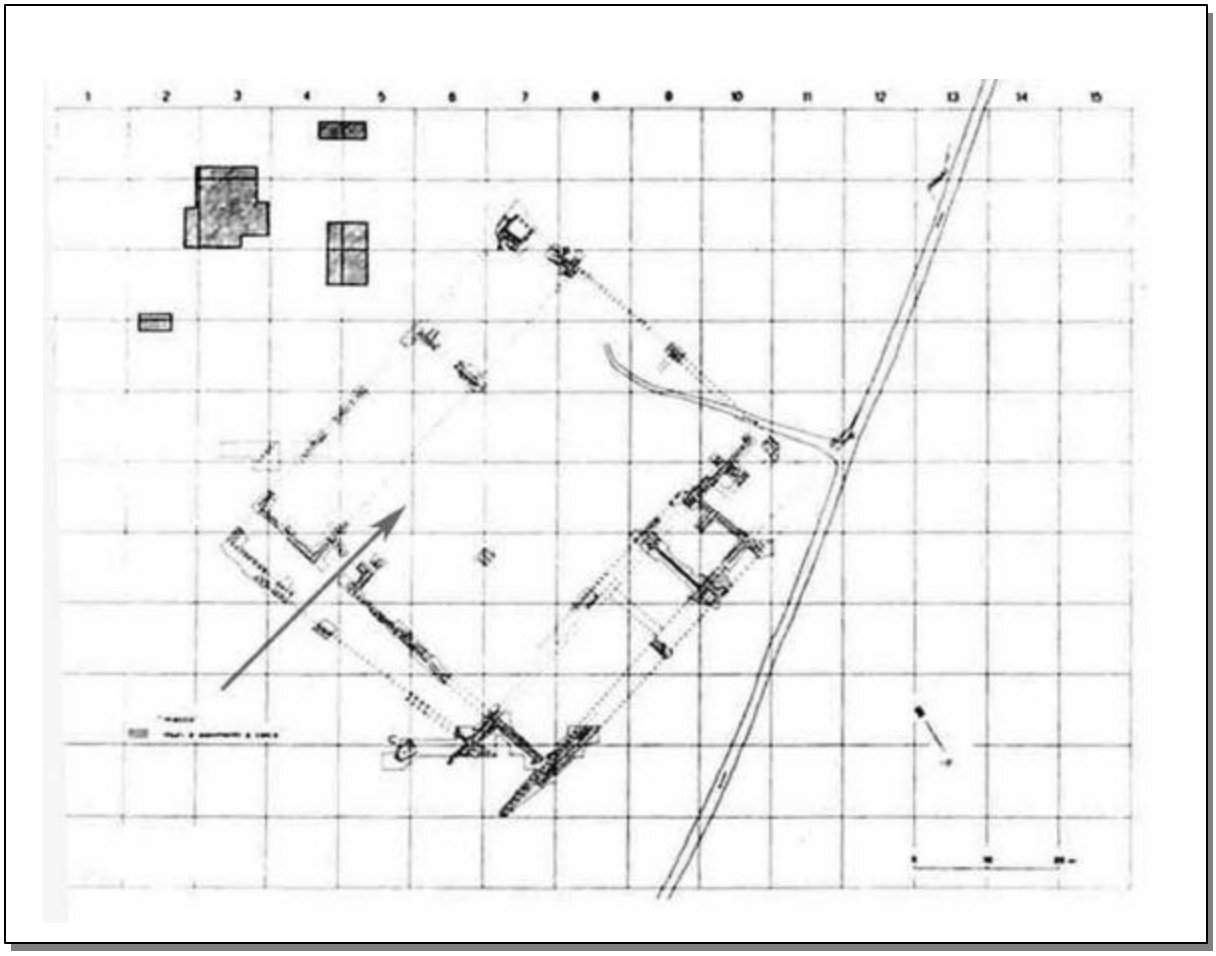


Figure 2.22 Etrusco-Italic “palazzo” at Montetosto with Access Point
after Colonna (1985a)

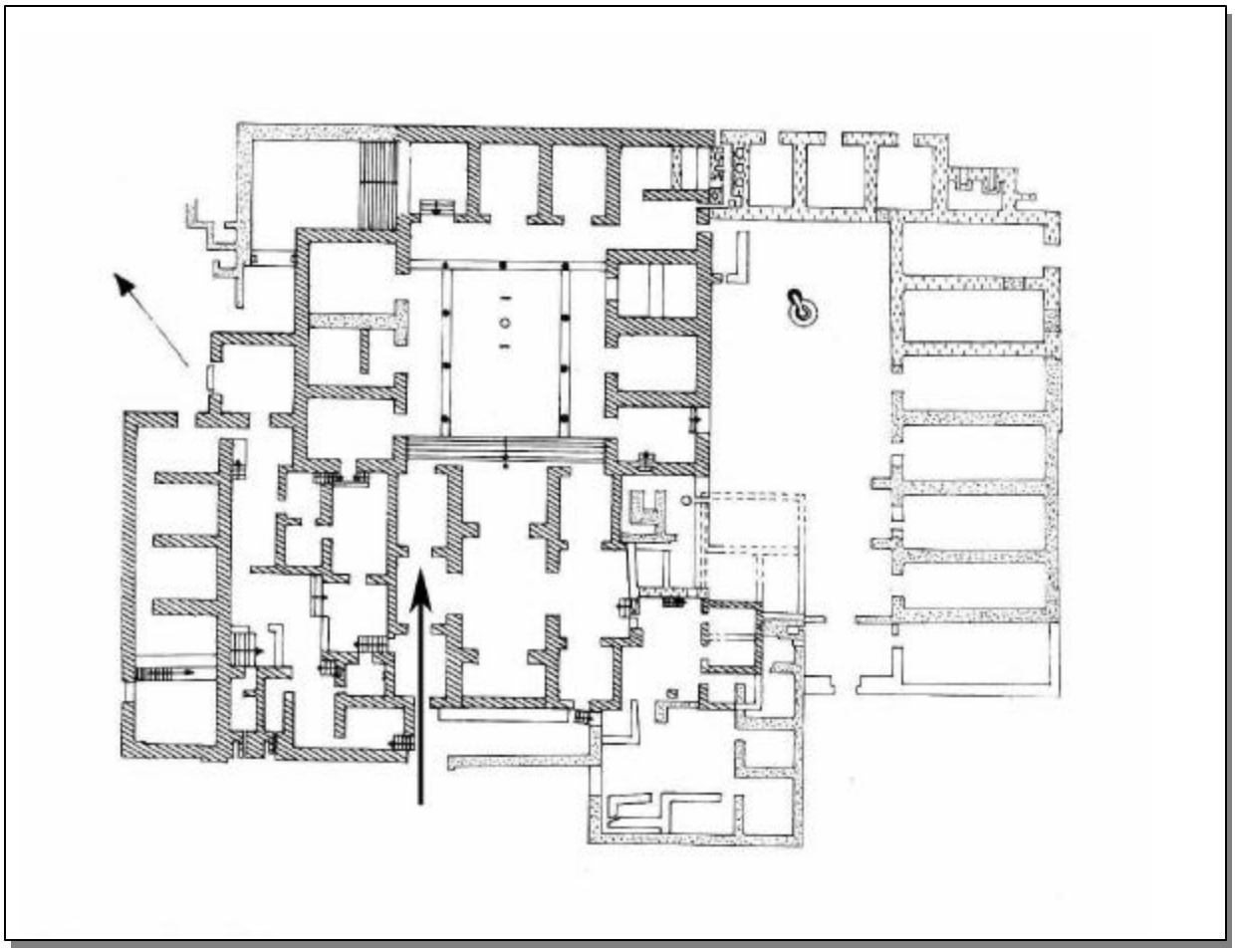


Figure 2.23 Palace at Vouni with Access Point
after Torelli (1985)

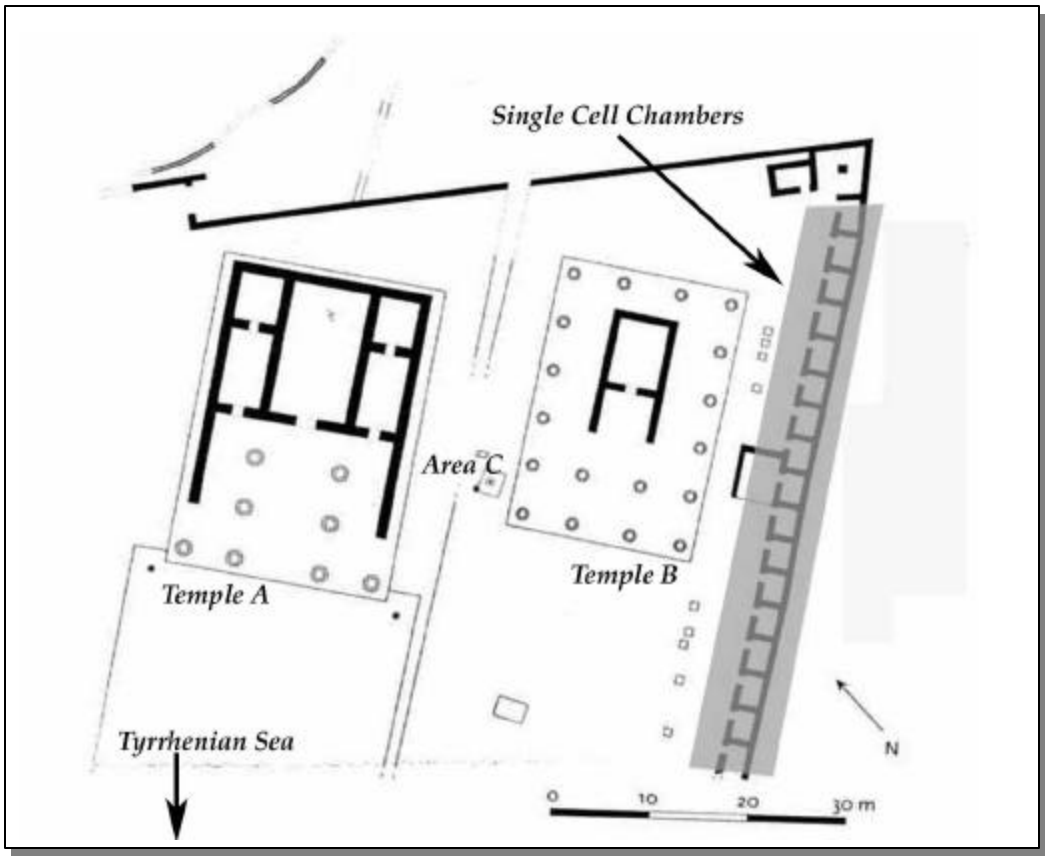


Figure 2.24 Sanctuary at Pyrgi
after Haynes (2000), fig. 152

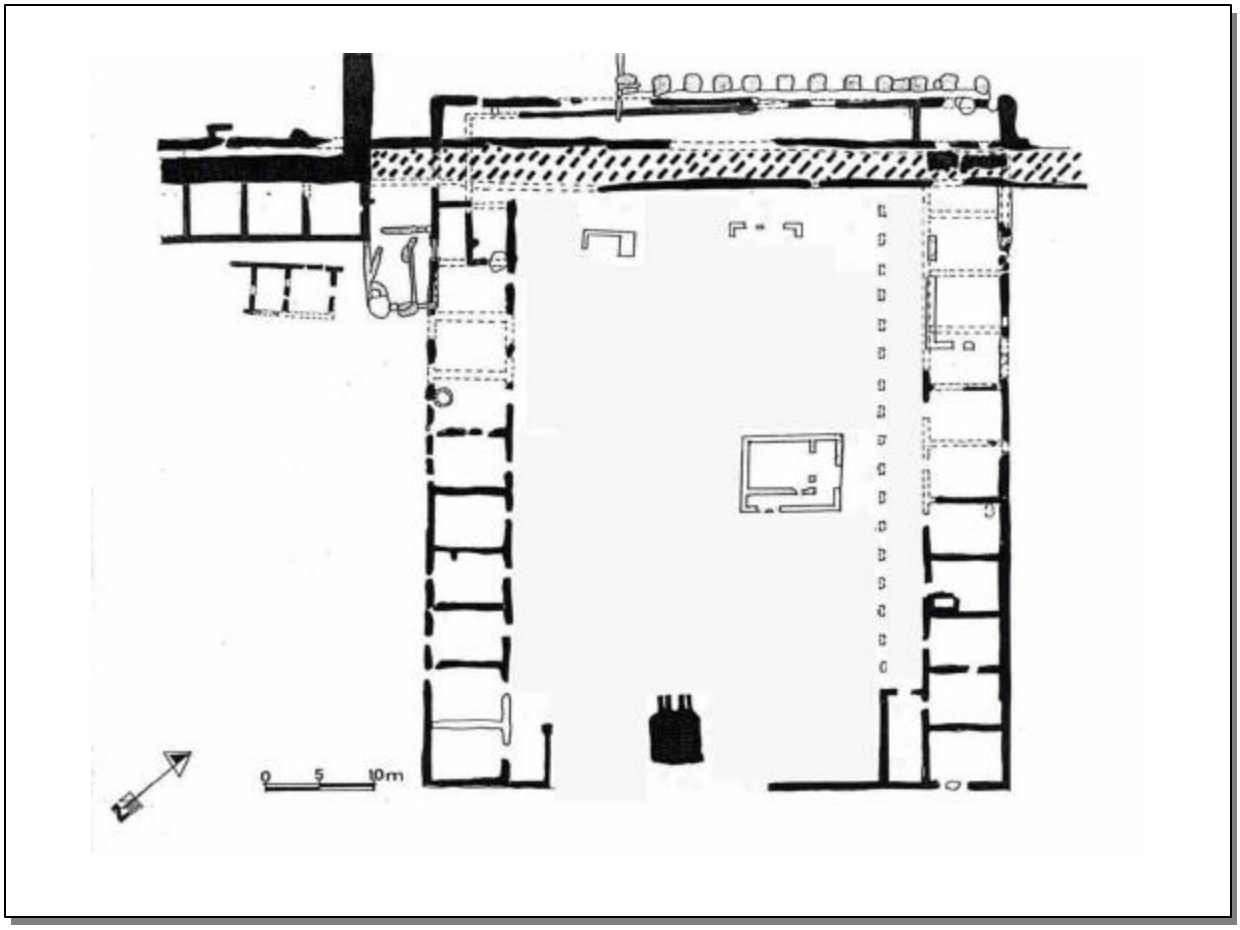


Figure 2.25 Centocamere at Locri
after Costamagna and Sabbione (1990)

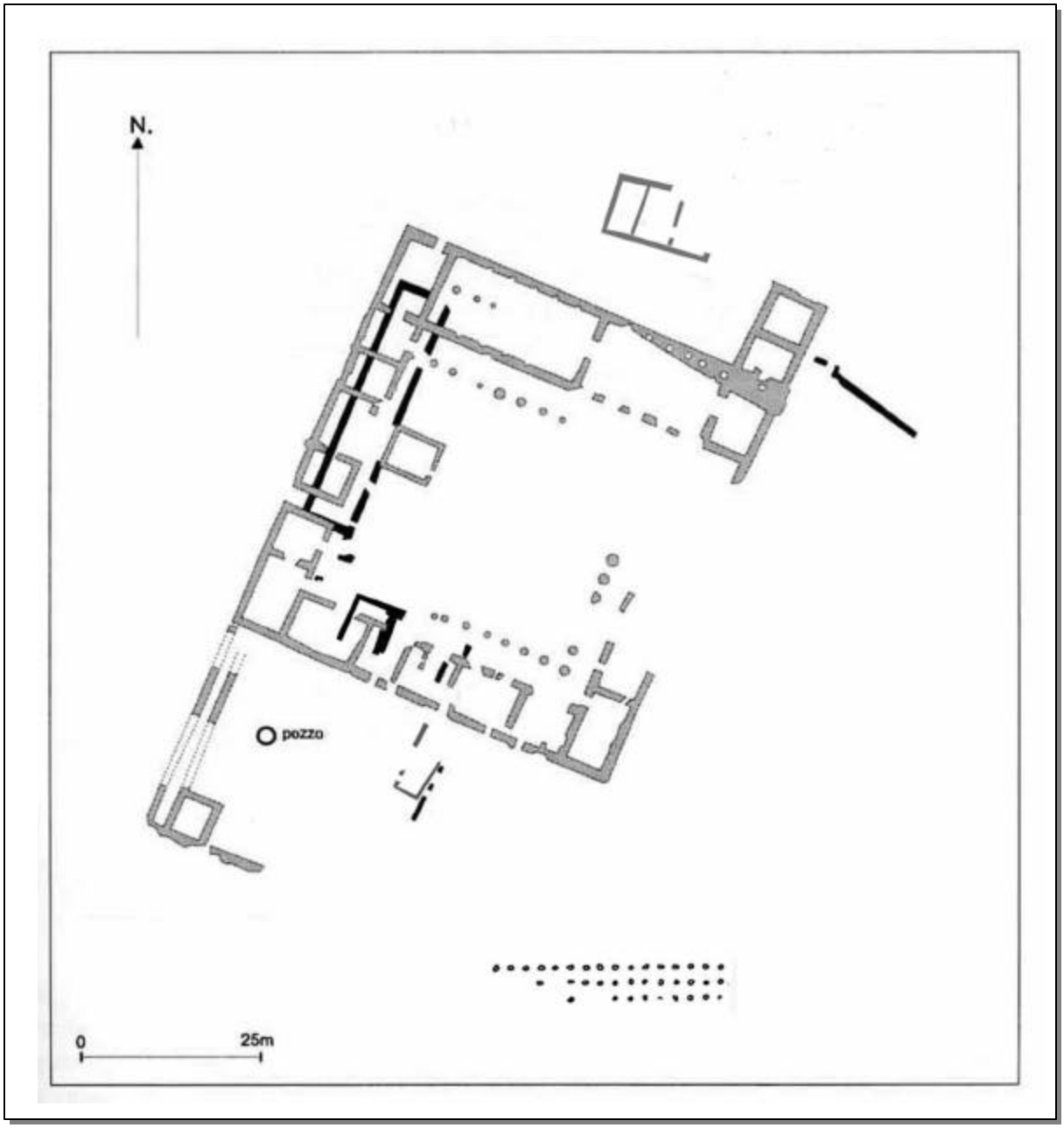


Figure 3.1 Orientalizing and Archaic Monumental Complexes at Poggio Civitate
[Orientalizing complex indicated in black]
after Phillips (1993) and Nijboer (1998), fig. 36

Figure 3.2 Poggio Civitate
photo by author

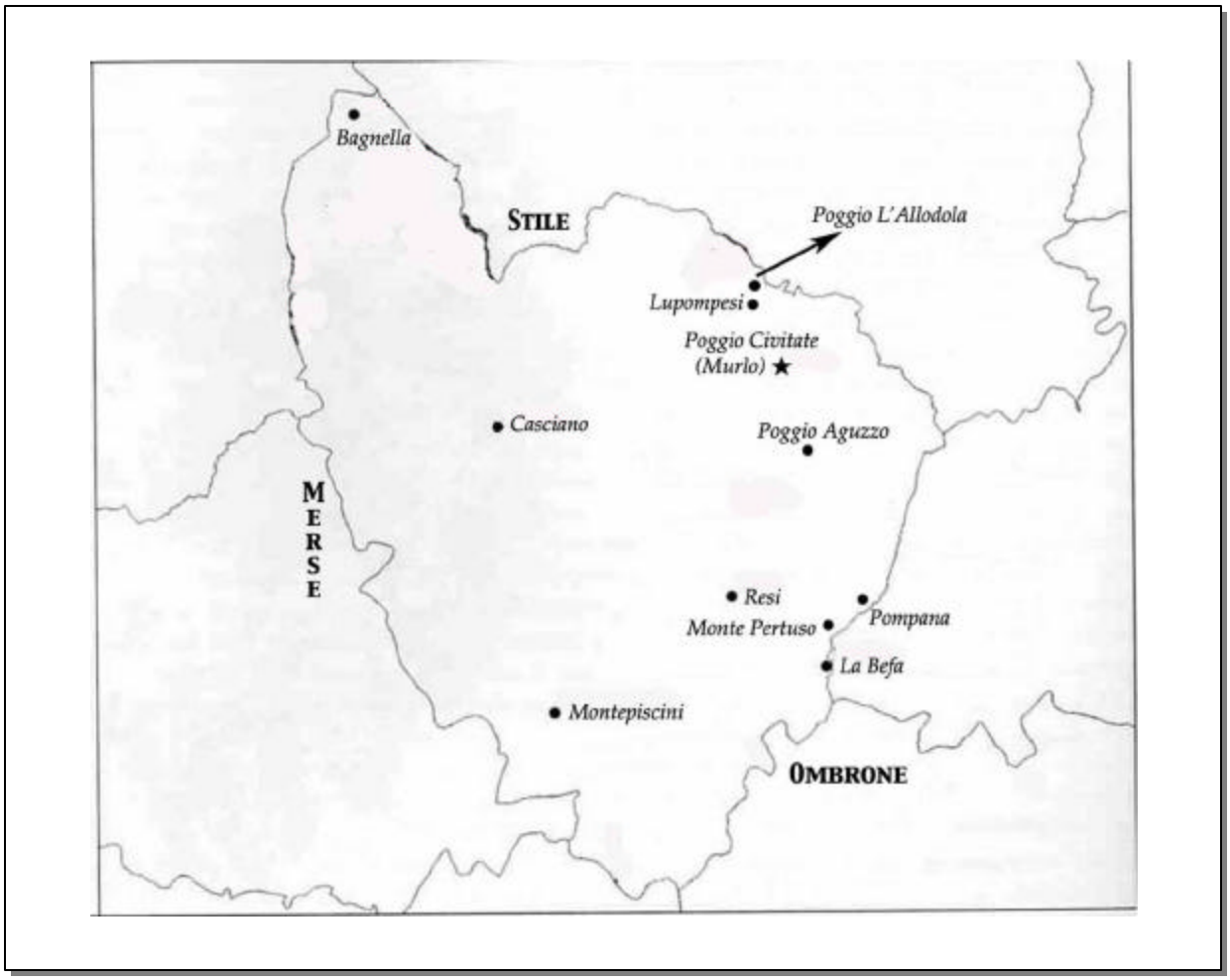


Figure 3.3 Poggio Civitate and Surrounding Local Region
after Campana (2001)

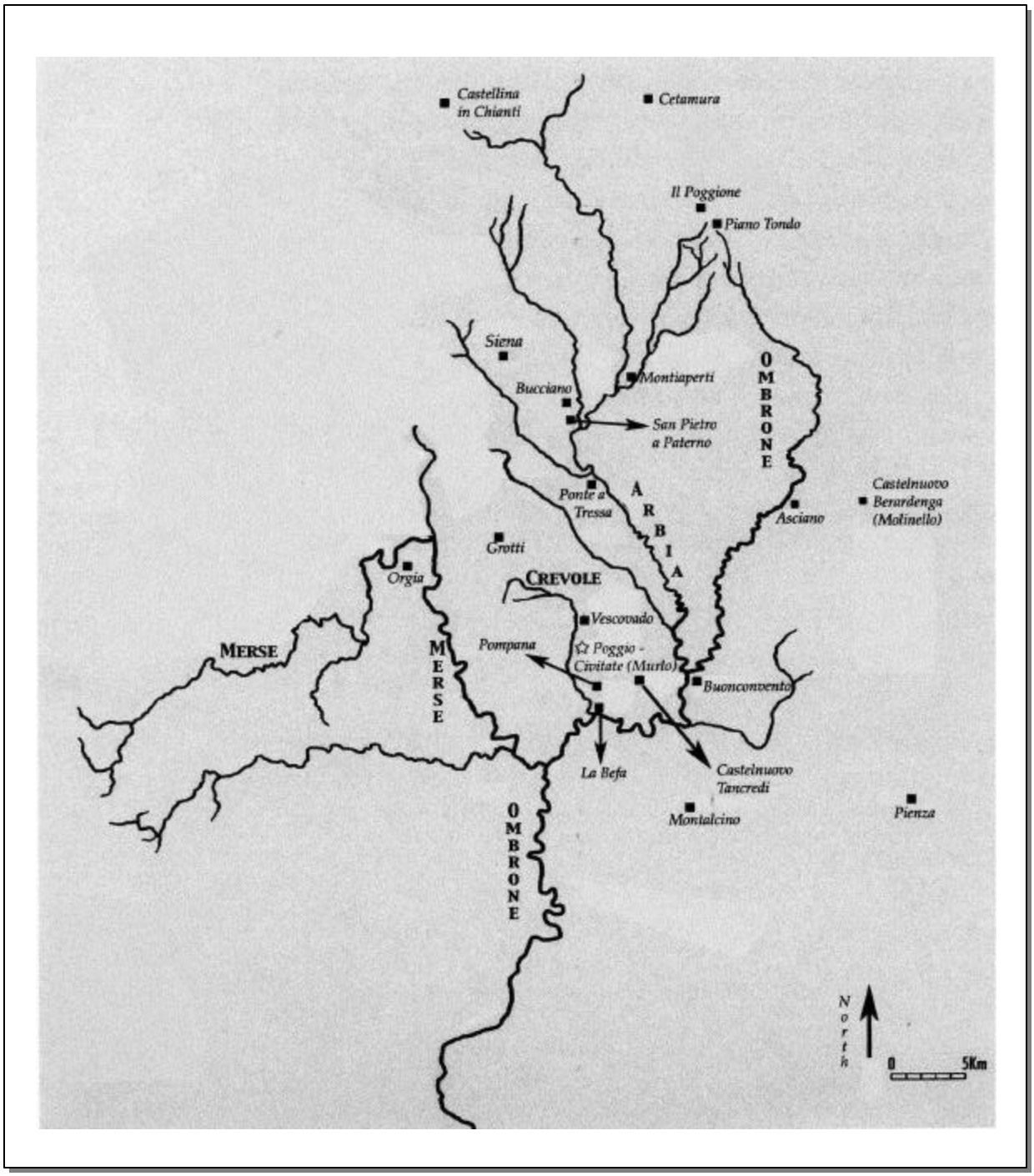


Figure 3.4 Poggio Civitate and the Ombrone Valley
after Campana (2001) and Goggioli (2001)

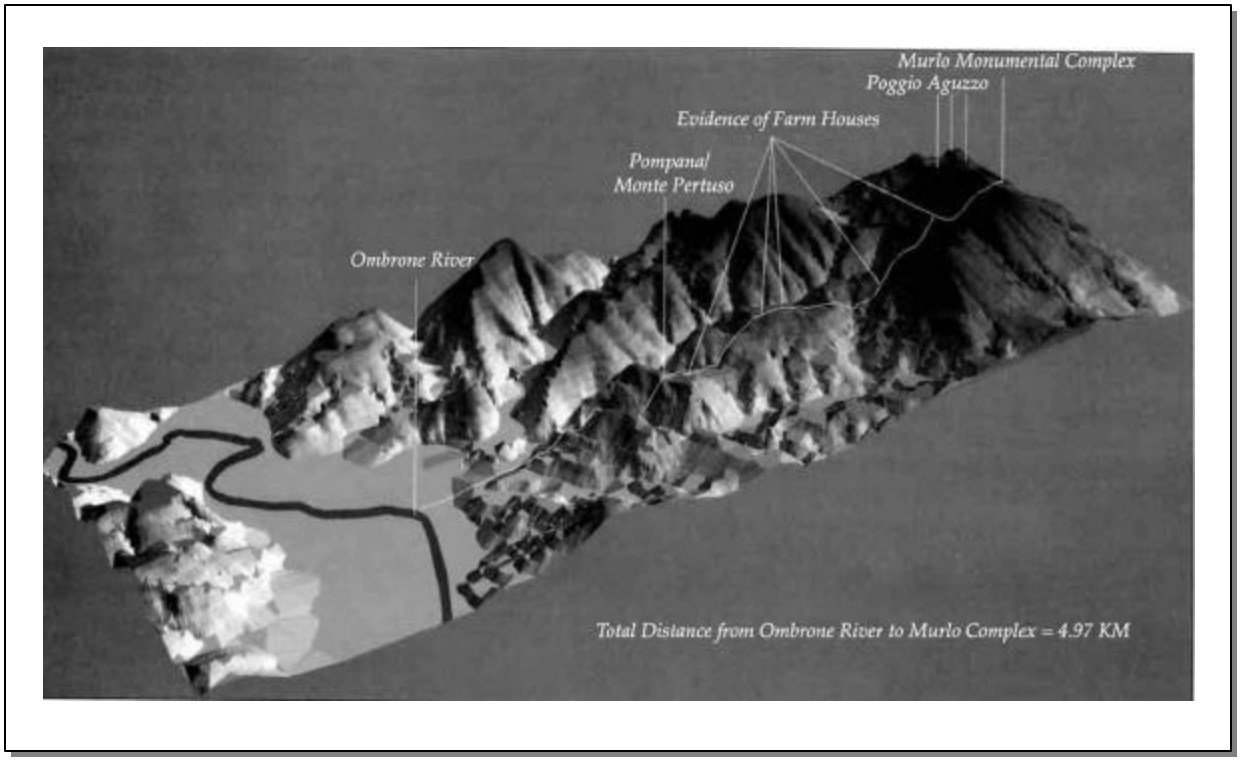


Figure 3.5 Hypothetical Approach Route from Ombrone River to Poggio Civitate after Campana (2001)

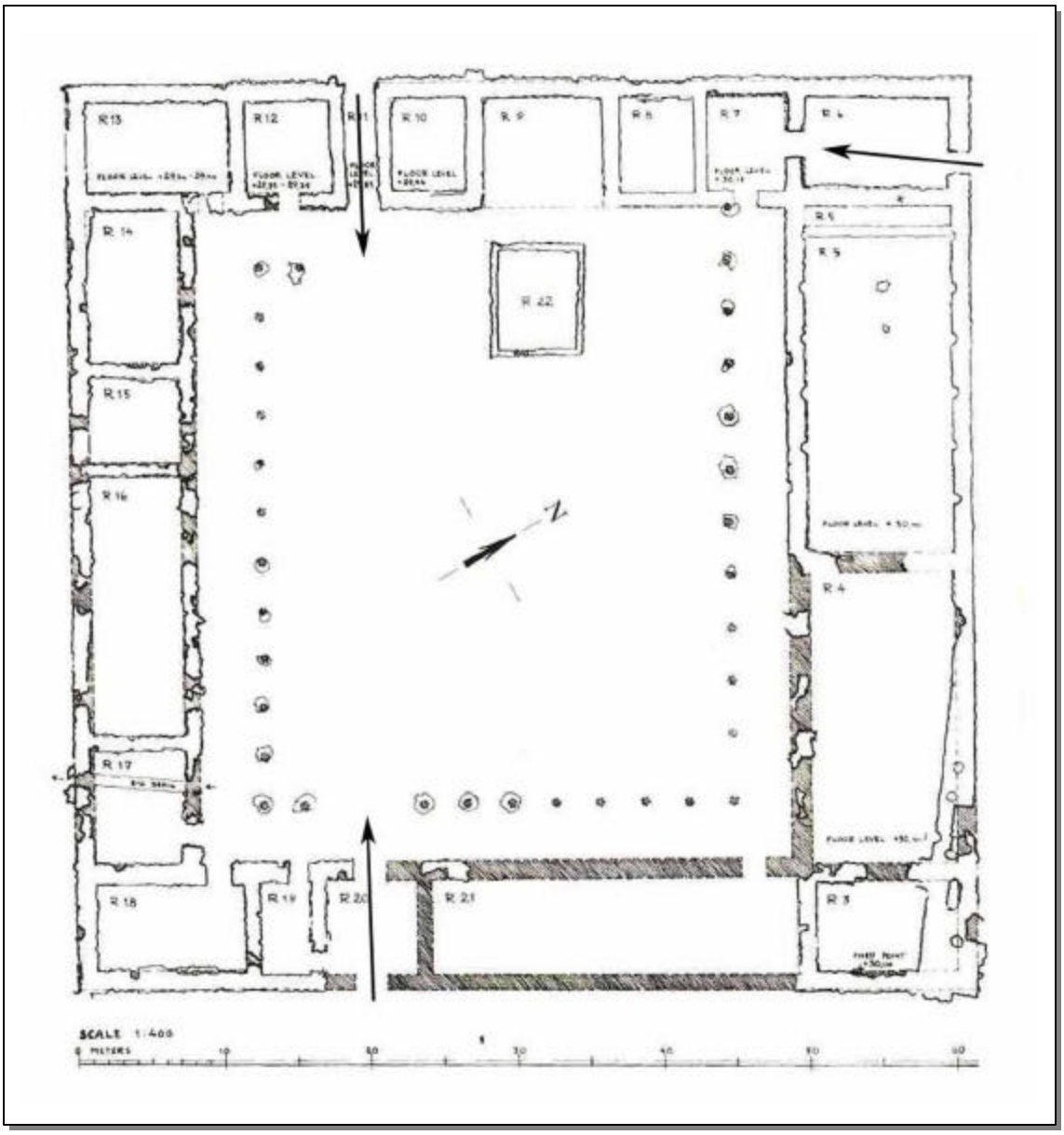


Figure 3.6 Proposed Entrances to Archaic Complex at Poggio Civitate
after Phillips (1993), fig. 7

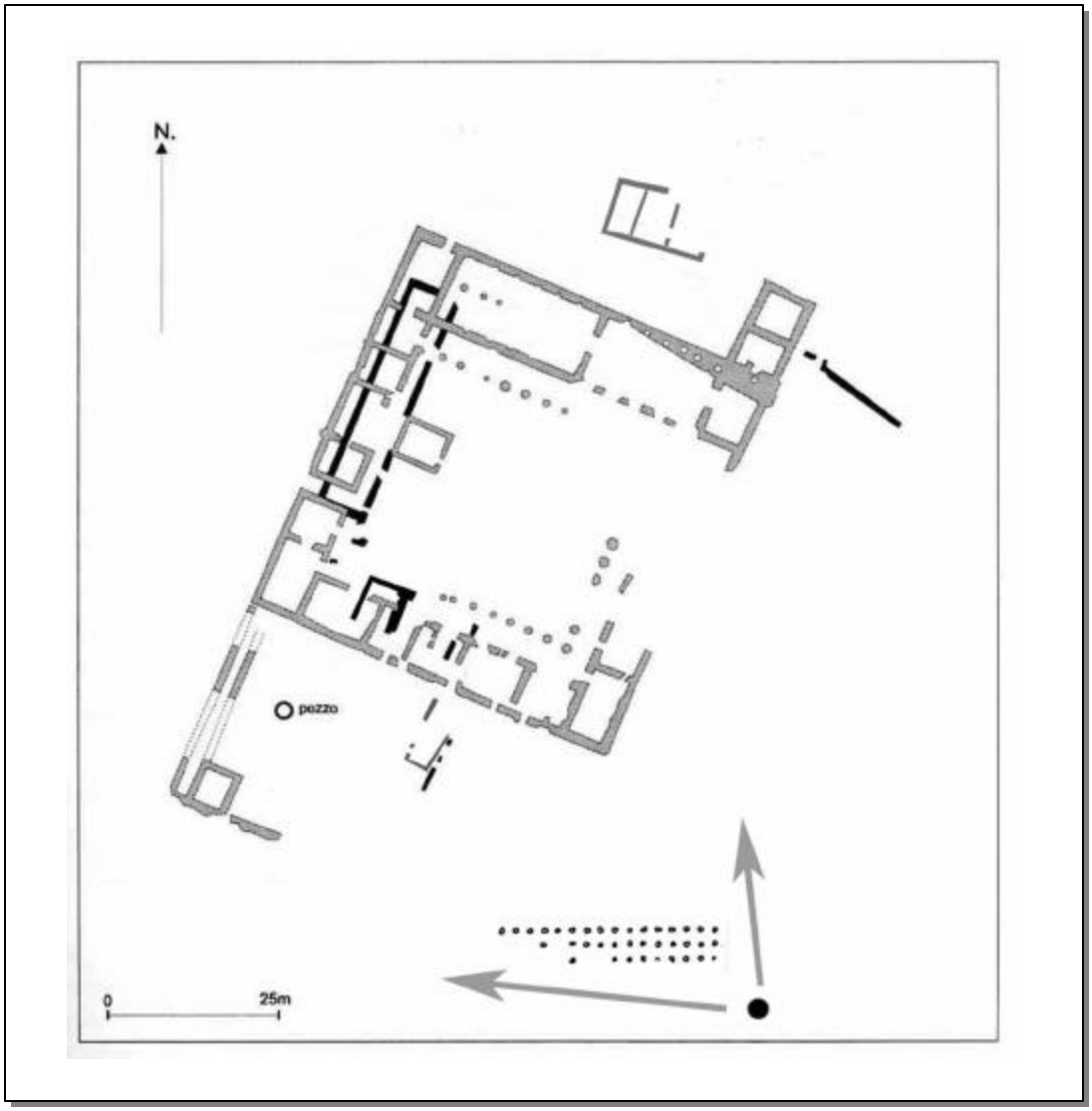


Figure 3.7 Hypothetical Approach to Orientalizing and Archaic Complex at Poggio Civitate after Phillips (1993) and Nijboer (1998), fig. 36

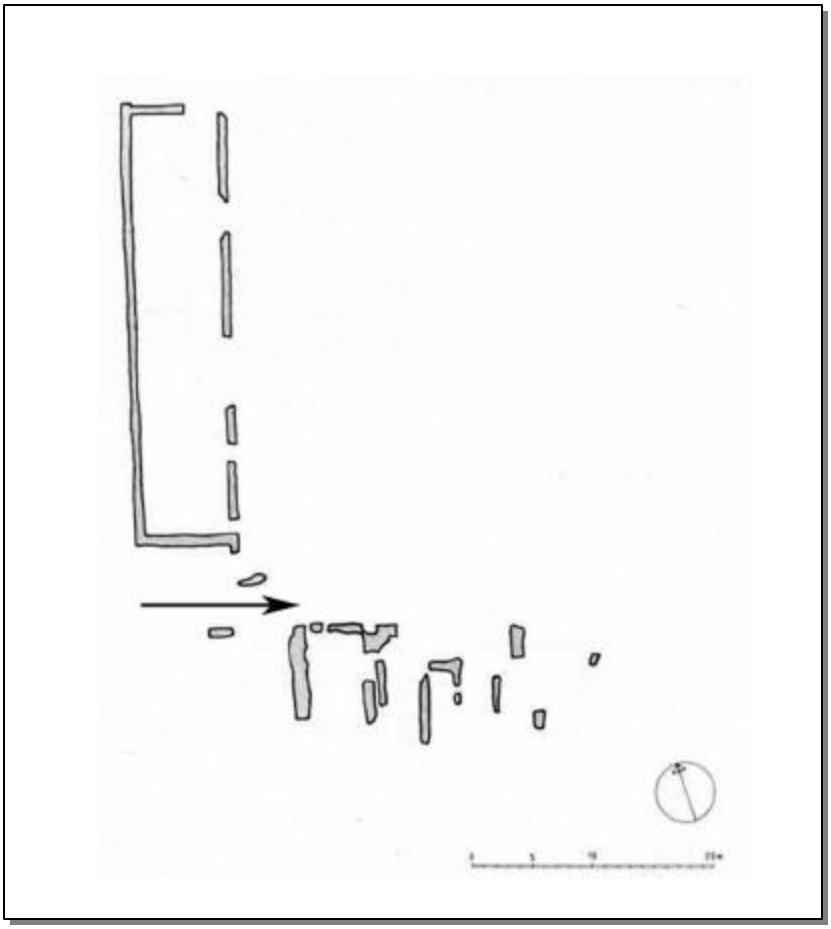


Figure 3.8 Plan of Orientalizing Complex at Poggio Civitate
after *Antiquarium di Poggio Civitate* (1988)…

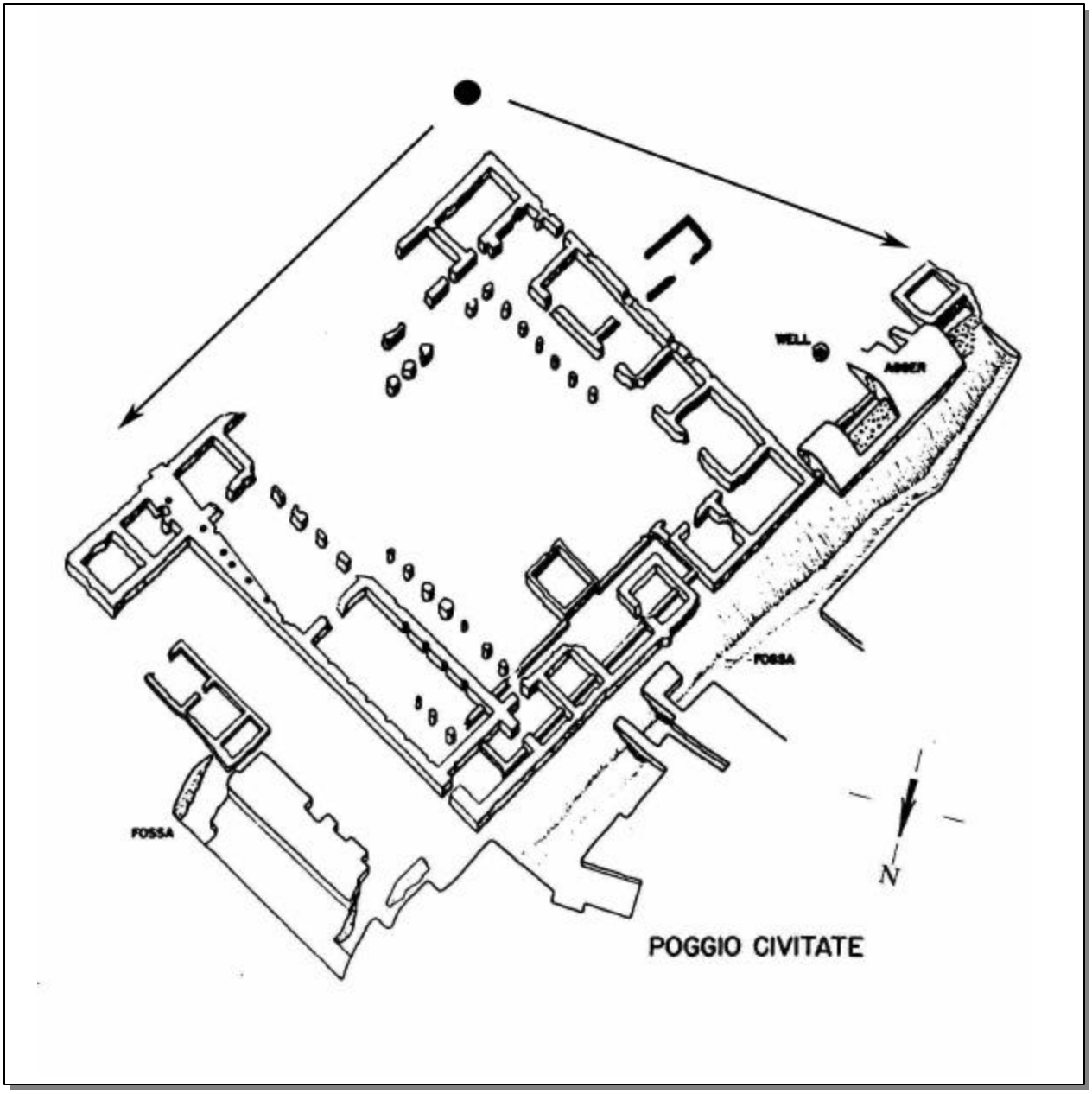


Figure 3.9 View from Southeast Approach to Archaic Complex at Poggio Civitate after Phillips (1993), fig. 8

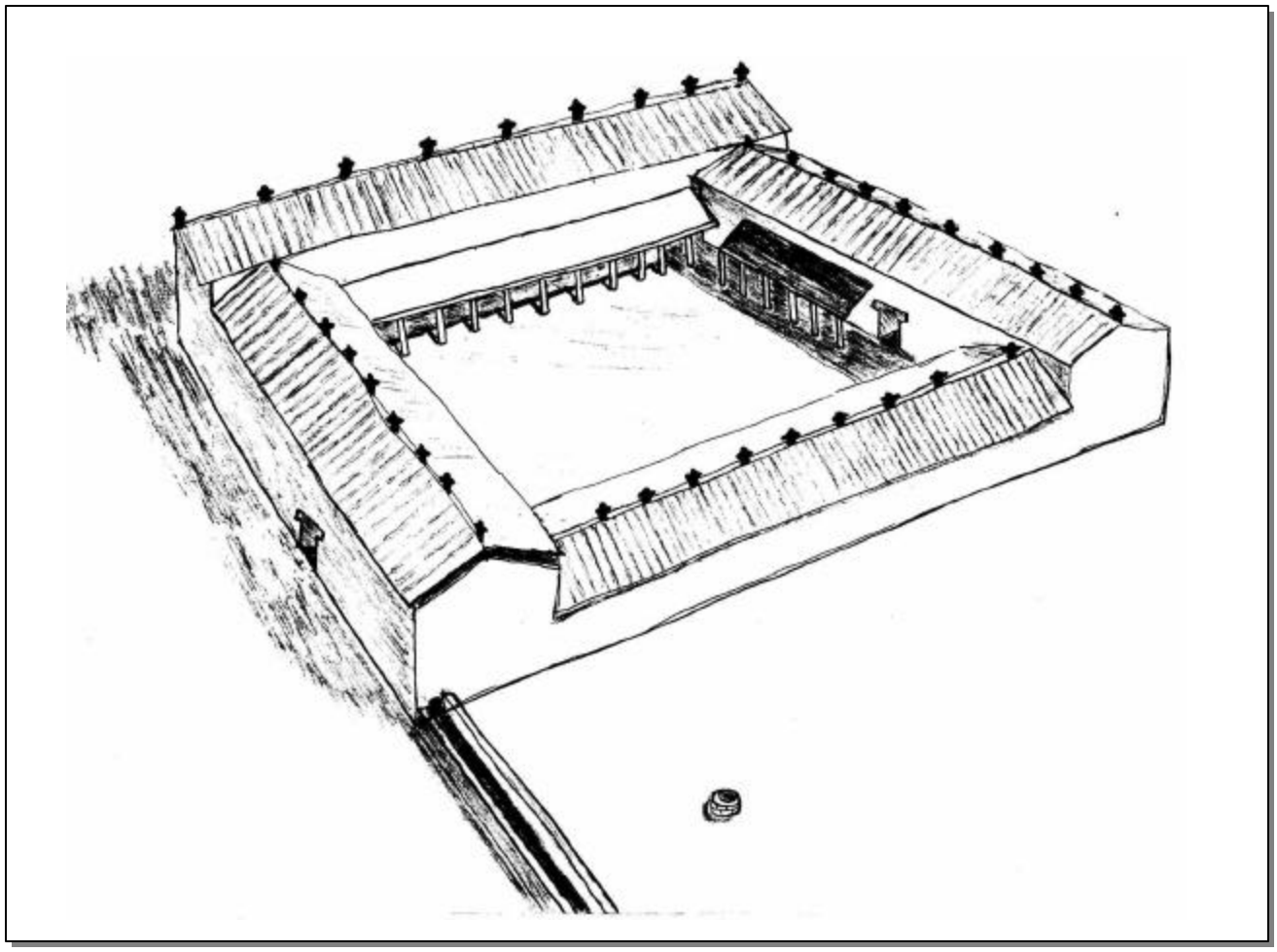


Figure 3.10 Reconstruction of Archaic Monumental Complex and Courtyard
drawing by M. Coonan after Goggioli (2001)

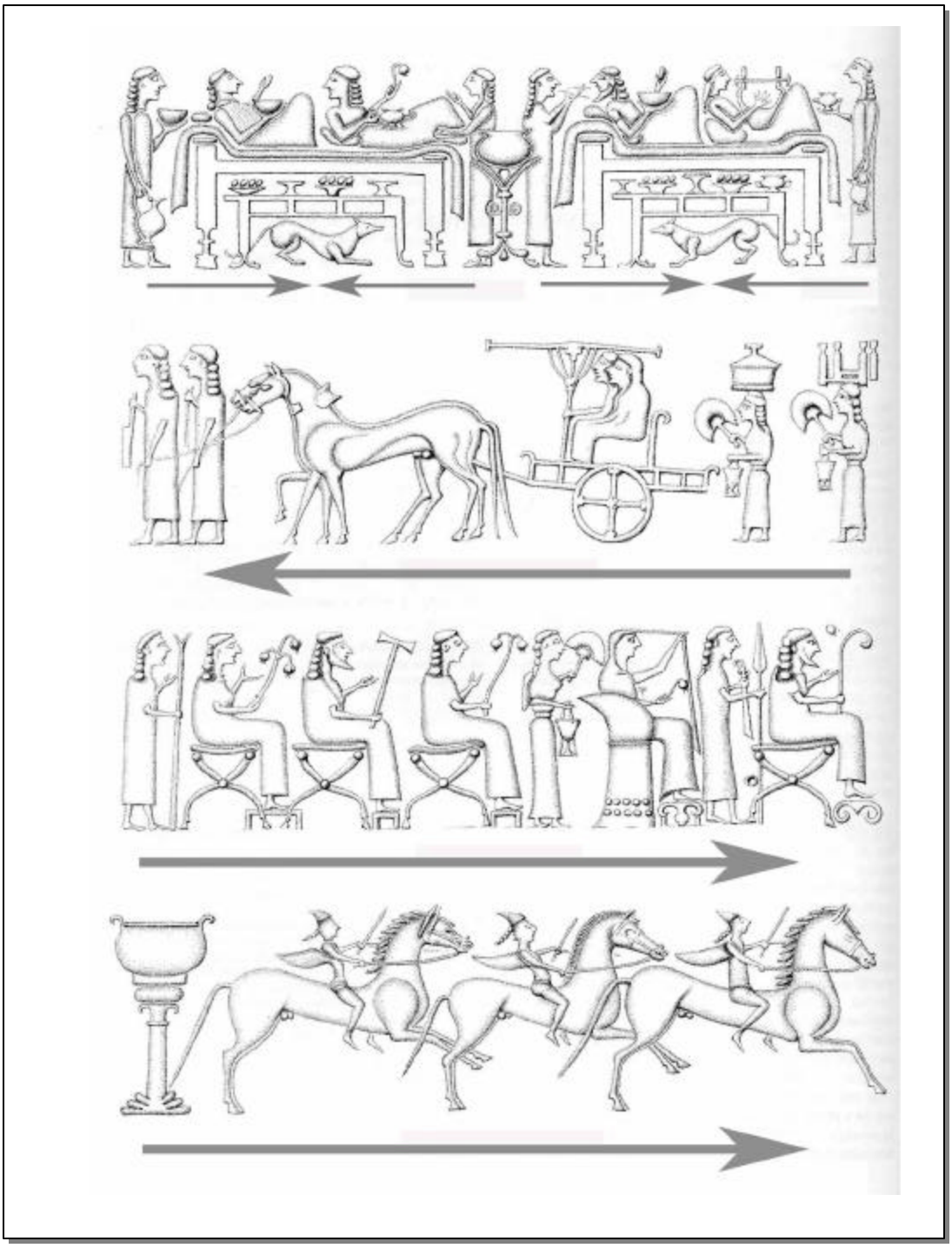


Figure 3.11 Frieze Plaques from Poggio Civitate with Directional Views after Rathje (1993)

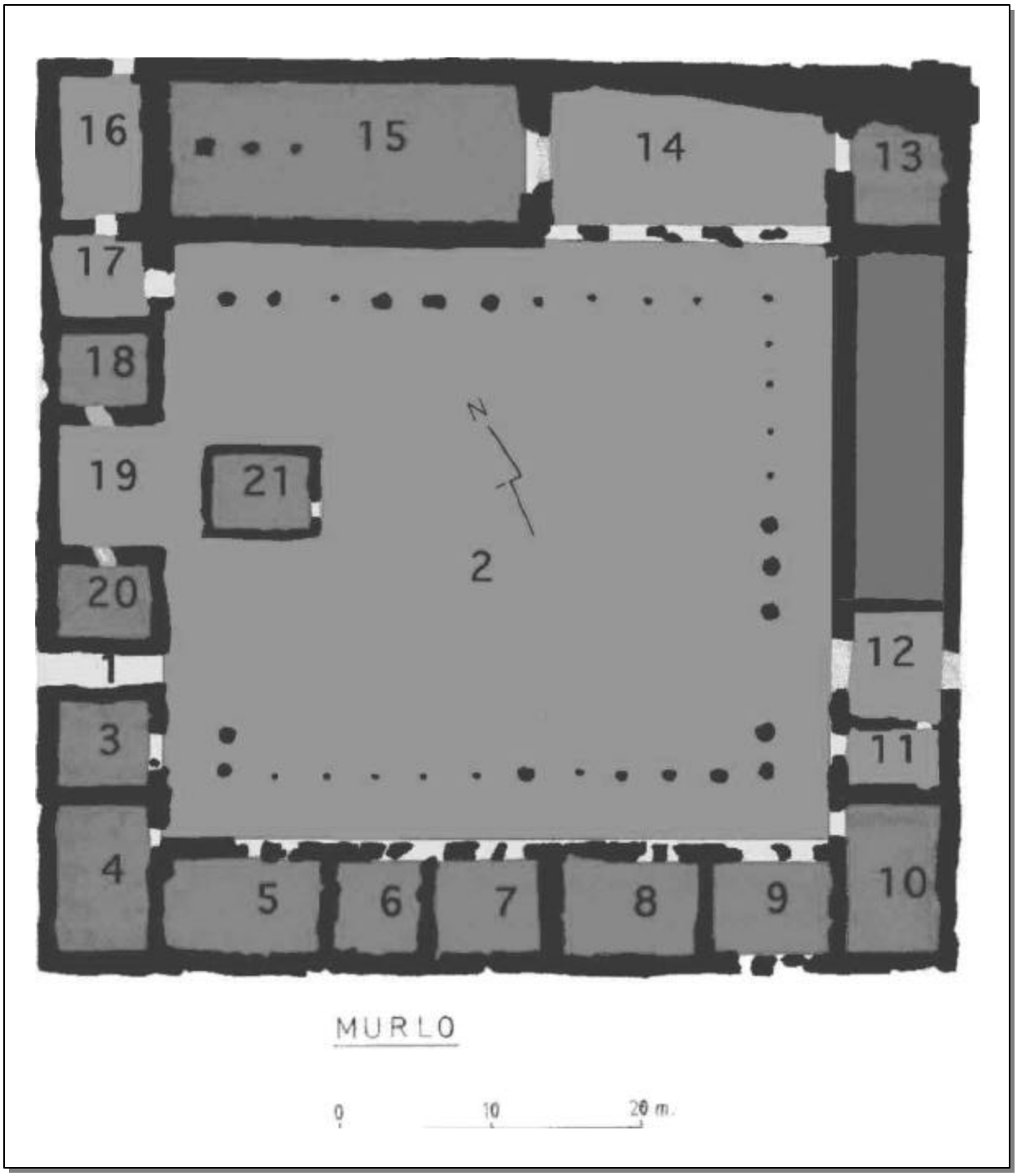


Figure 3.12 Archaic Monumental Complex at Poggio Civitate with Accessible Spaces after Maaskant-Kleibrink (1987)

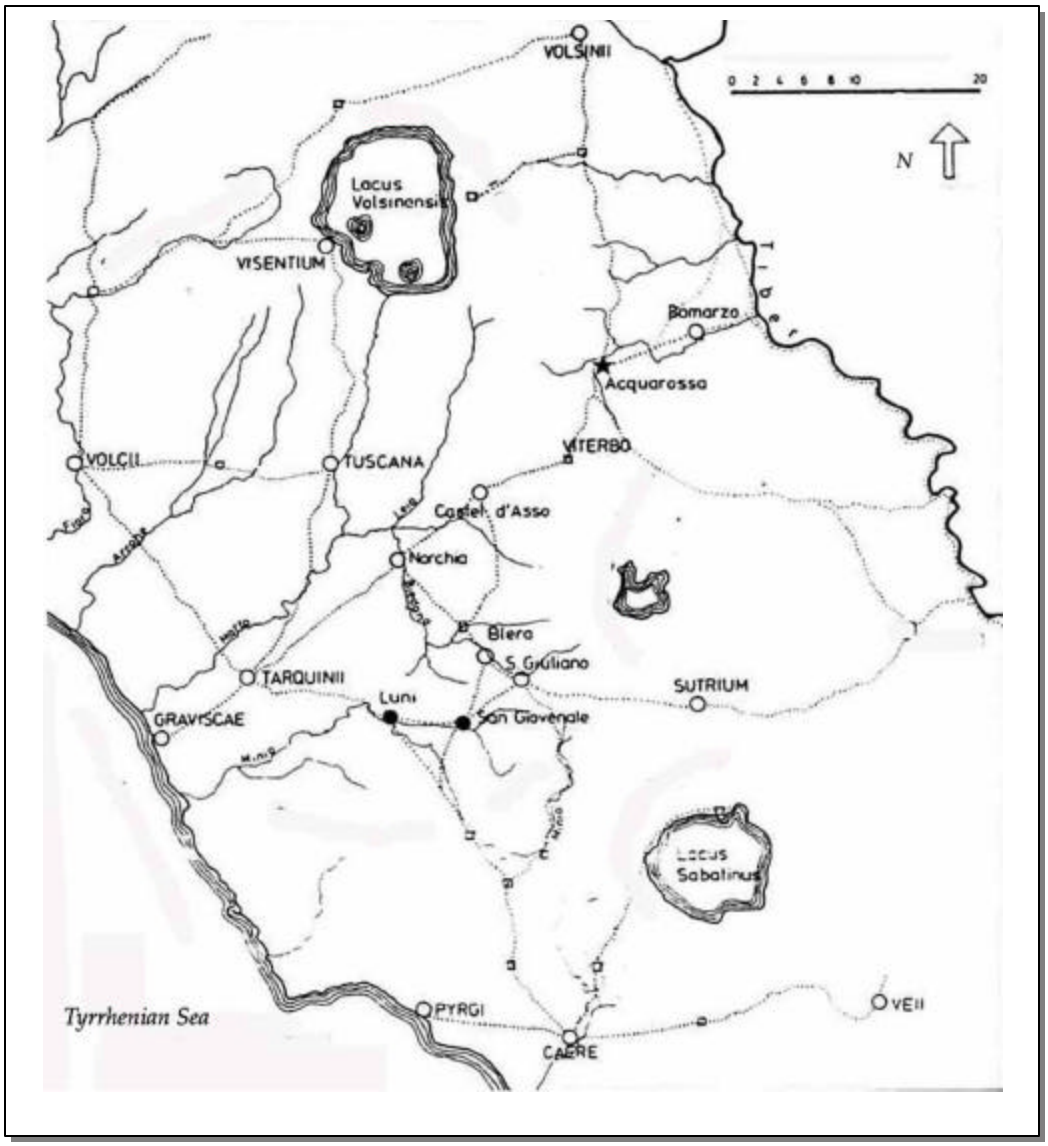


Figure 4.1 Acquarossa and Surrounding Region
after *Architettura etrusca nel viterbese* (1986)

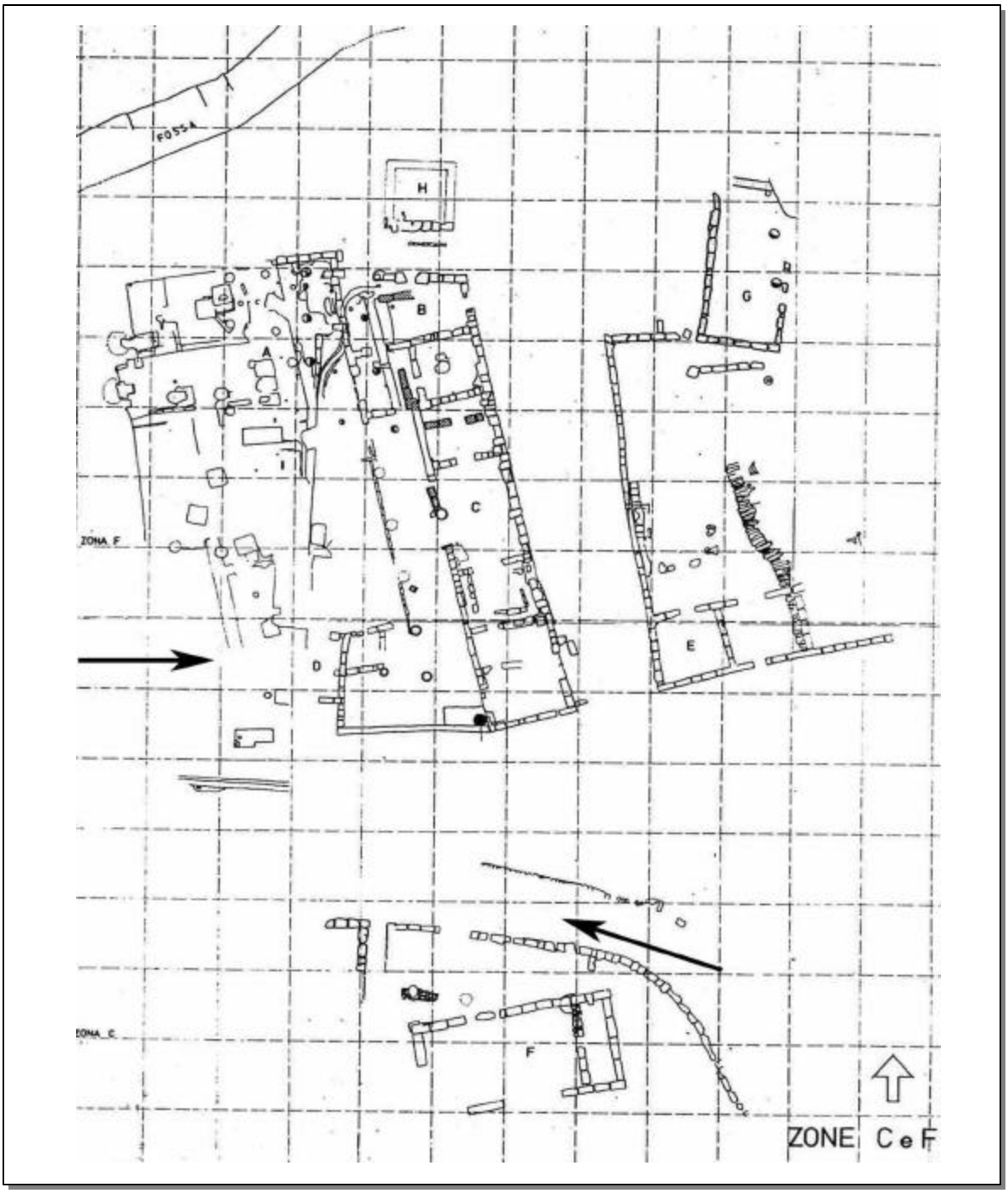


Figure 4.2 Plan of Acquarossa Monumental Area with West and South Approaches after *Architettura etrusca nel viterbese* (1986)

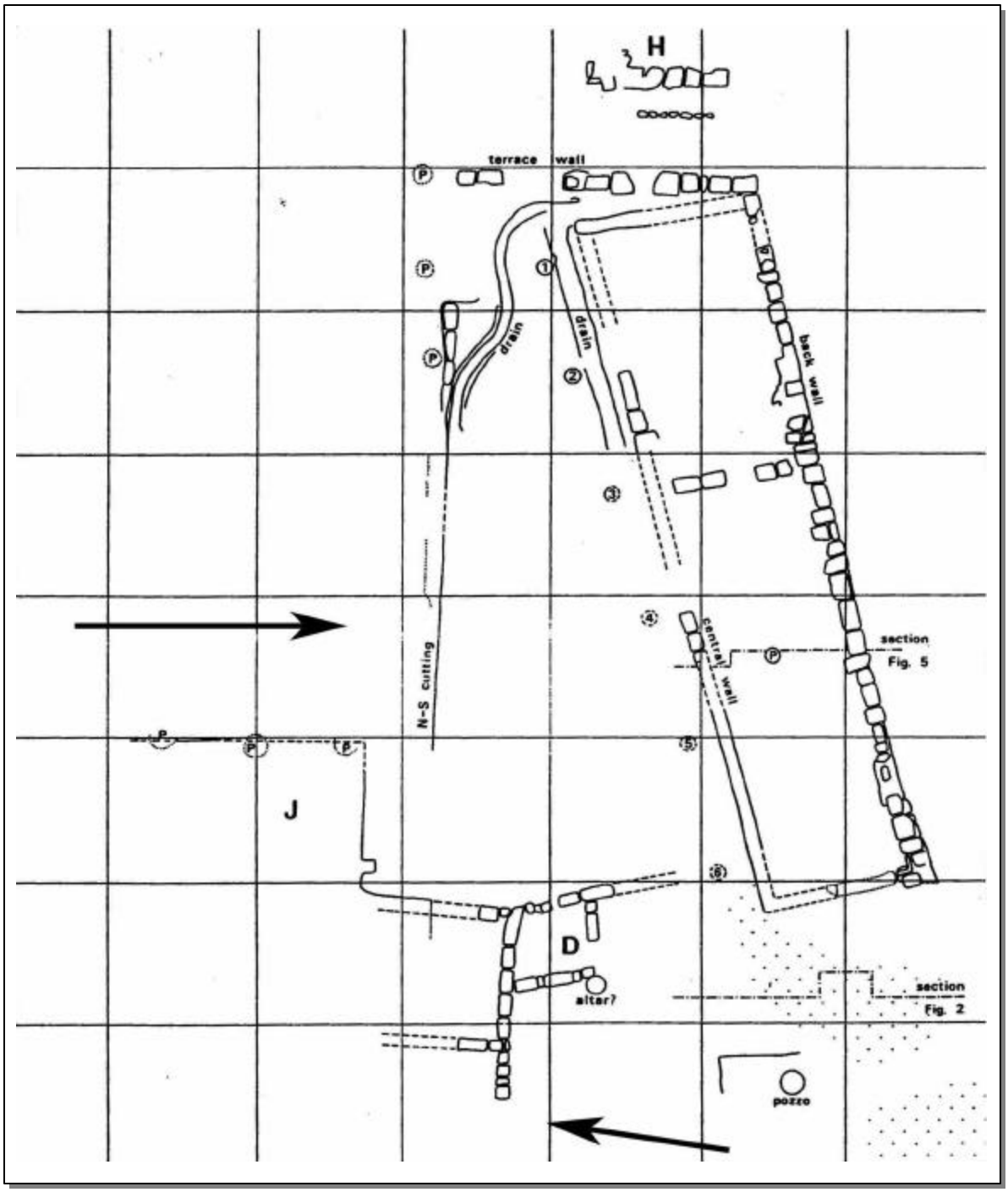


Figure 4.3 Early Monumental Complex at Acquarossa with West and South Approaches after C and Ö Wikander (1990)

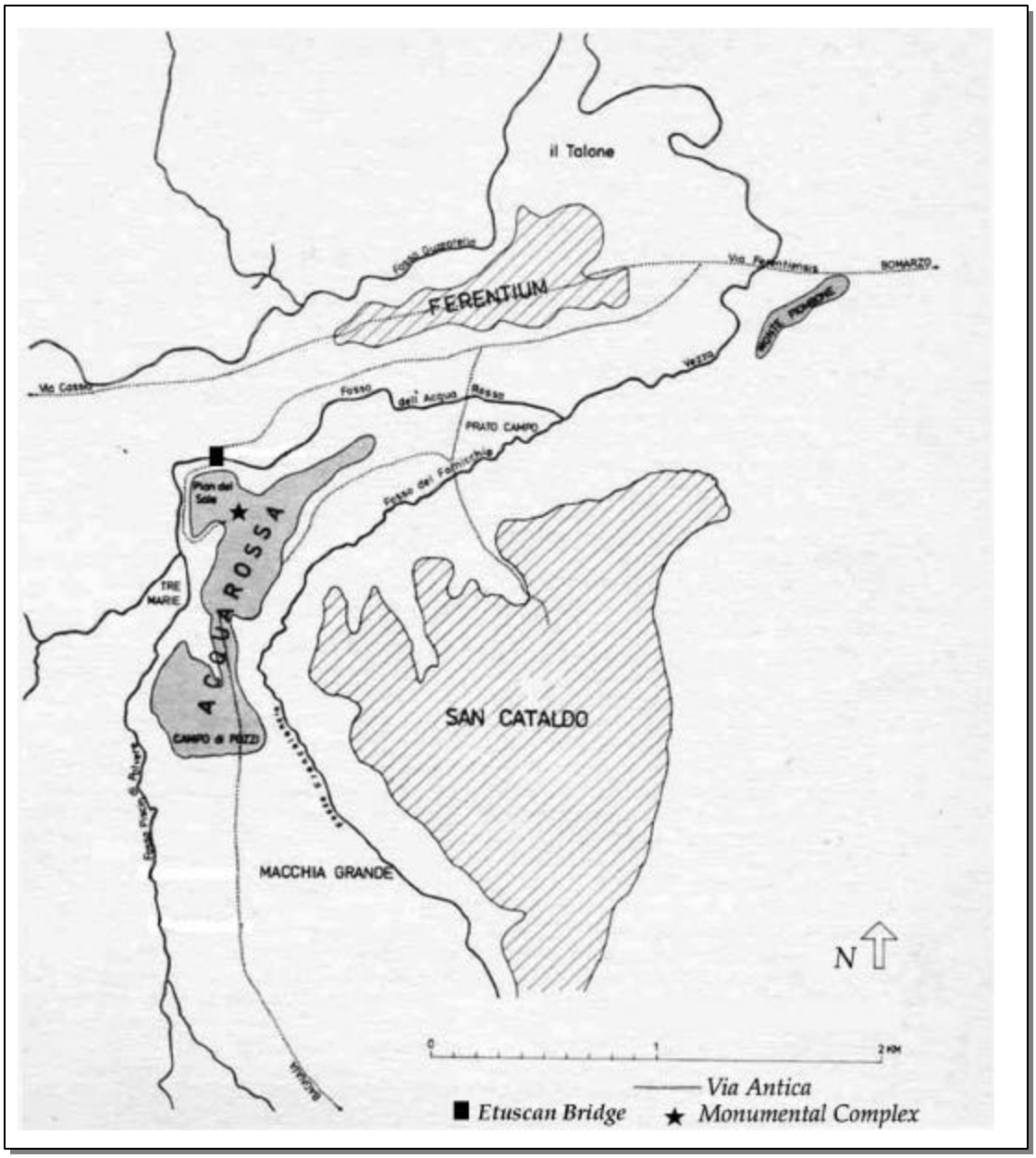


Figure 4.4 Plateau of Acquarossa
after *Architettura etrusca nel viterbese* (1986)

Figure 4.5 Acquarossa: Plan of Excavation Zones
after *Architettura etrusca nel viterbese* (1986) and Östenberg (1975).

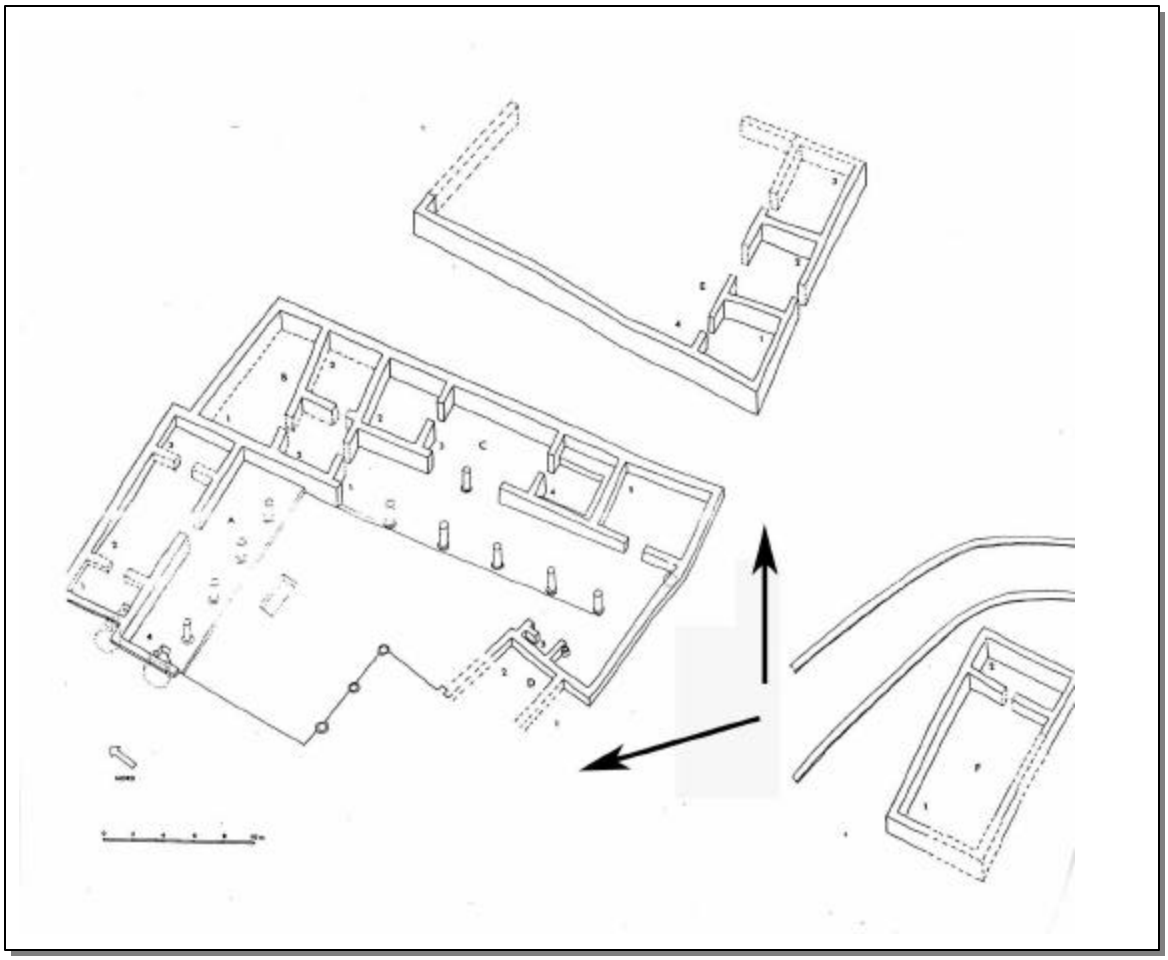


Figure 4.6 Hypothetical Southern Approach to Acquarossa Monumental Area
after Östenberg (1975)

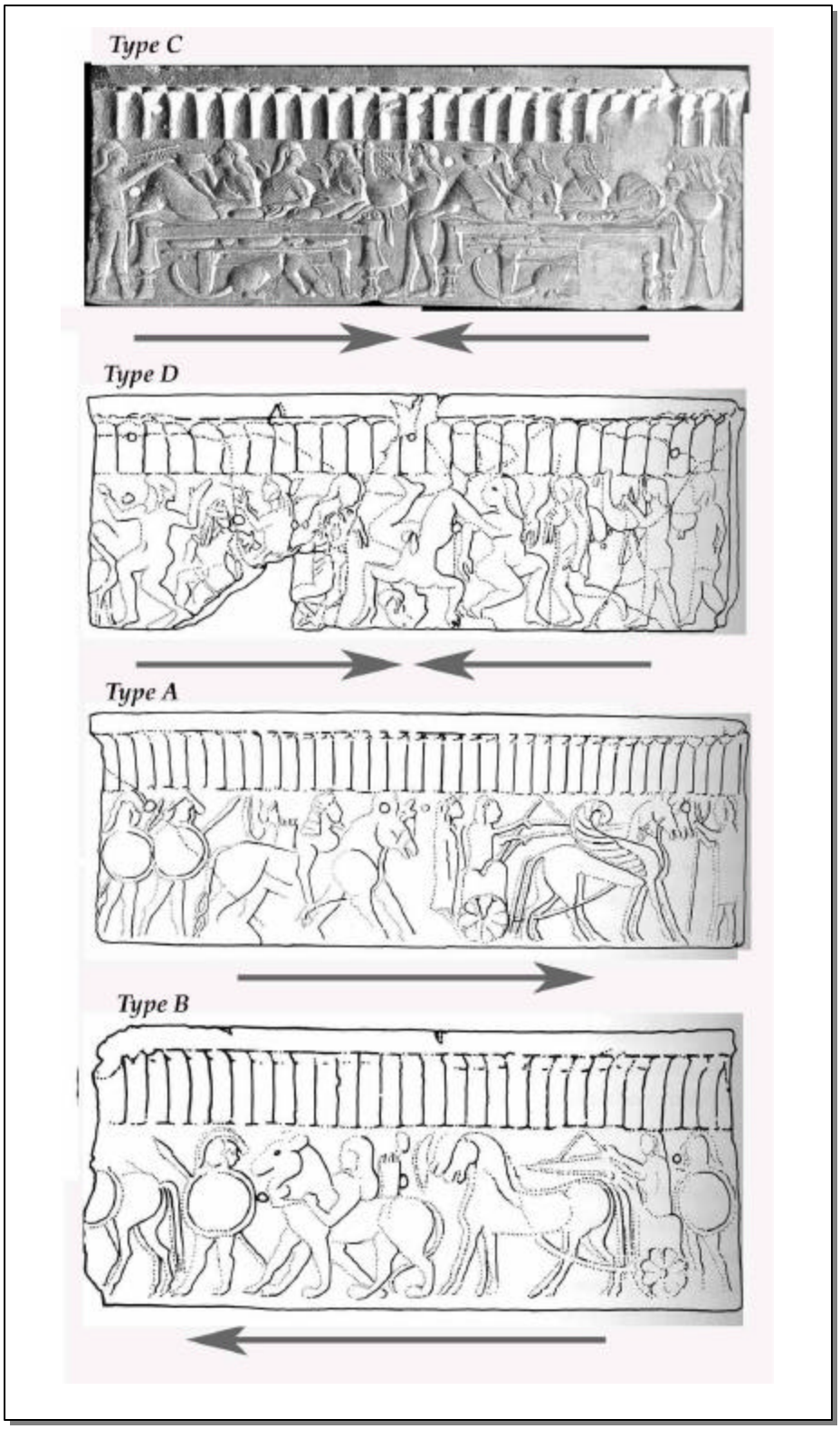


Figure 4.7 Frieze Plaques from Acquarossa with Directional Views
after Haynes (2000), figs. 120-123

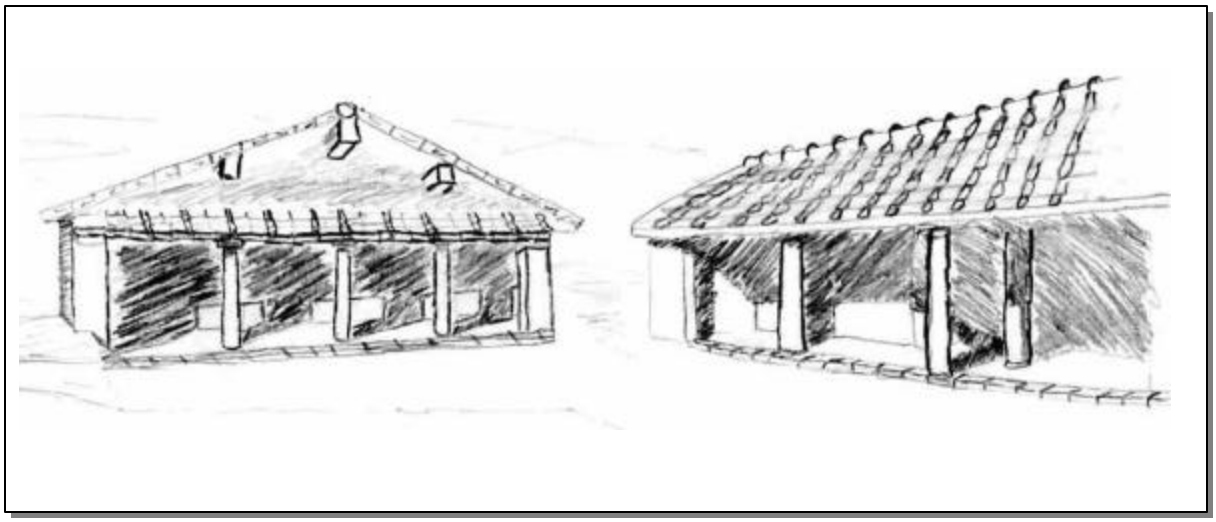


Figure 4.8 Reconstruction of Facades of Buildings A and C
drawing by M. Coonan after Strandberg Olofsson (1989), fig.26

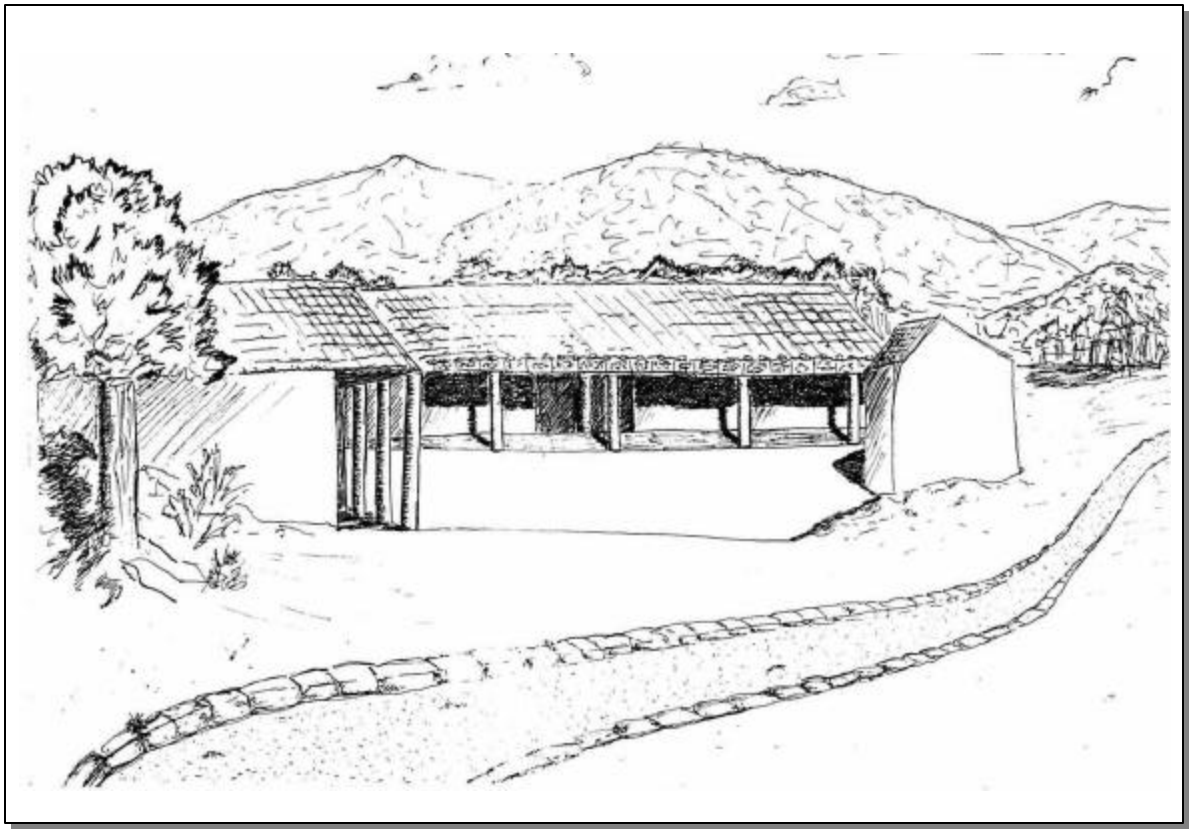


Figure 4.9 Hypothetical View of Monumental Complex from West Approach
drawing by Z. Foreman

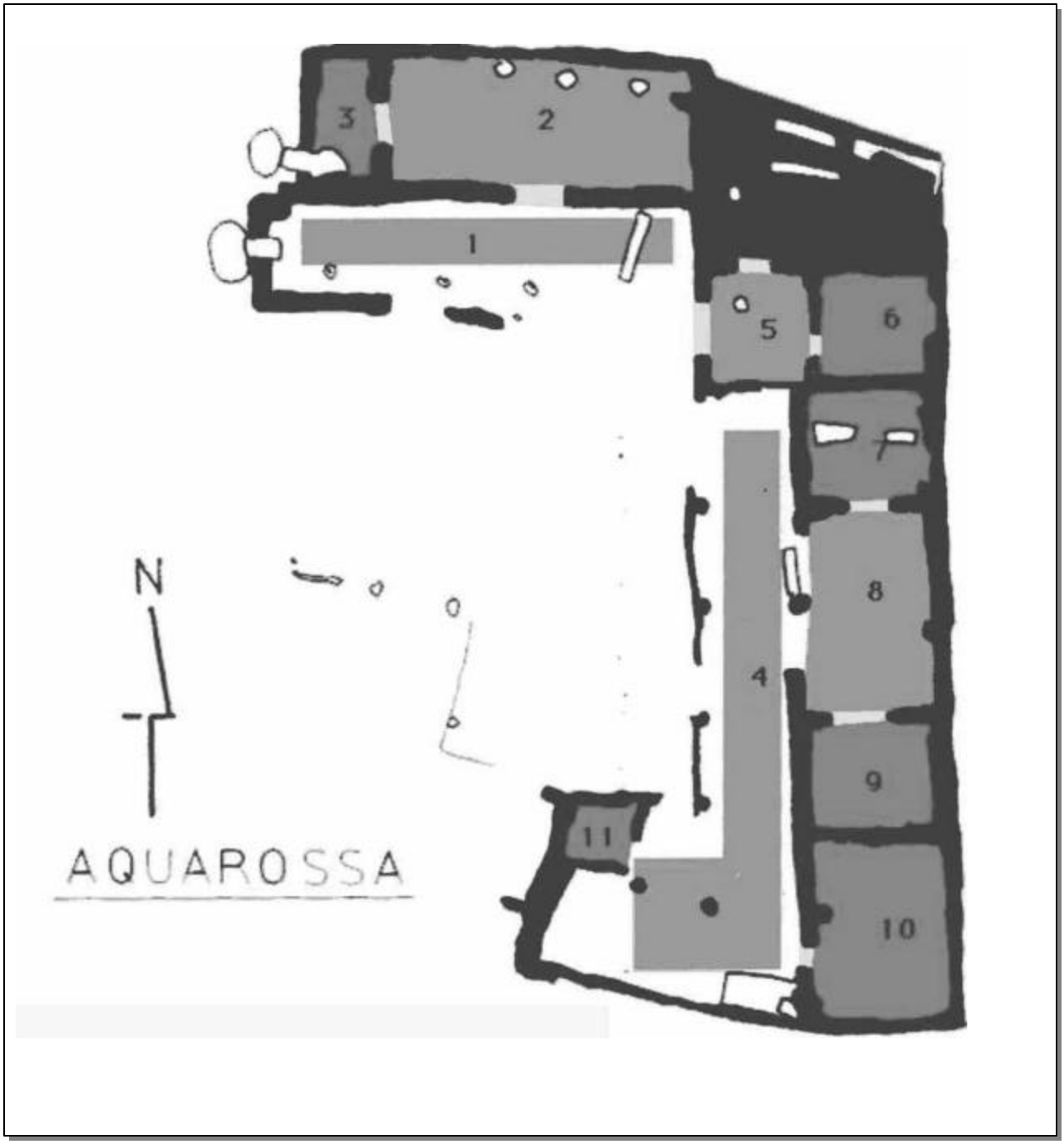


Figure 4.10 Archaic Monumental Complex at Acquarossa with Accessible Spaces after Maaskant-Kleibrink (1987)

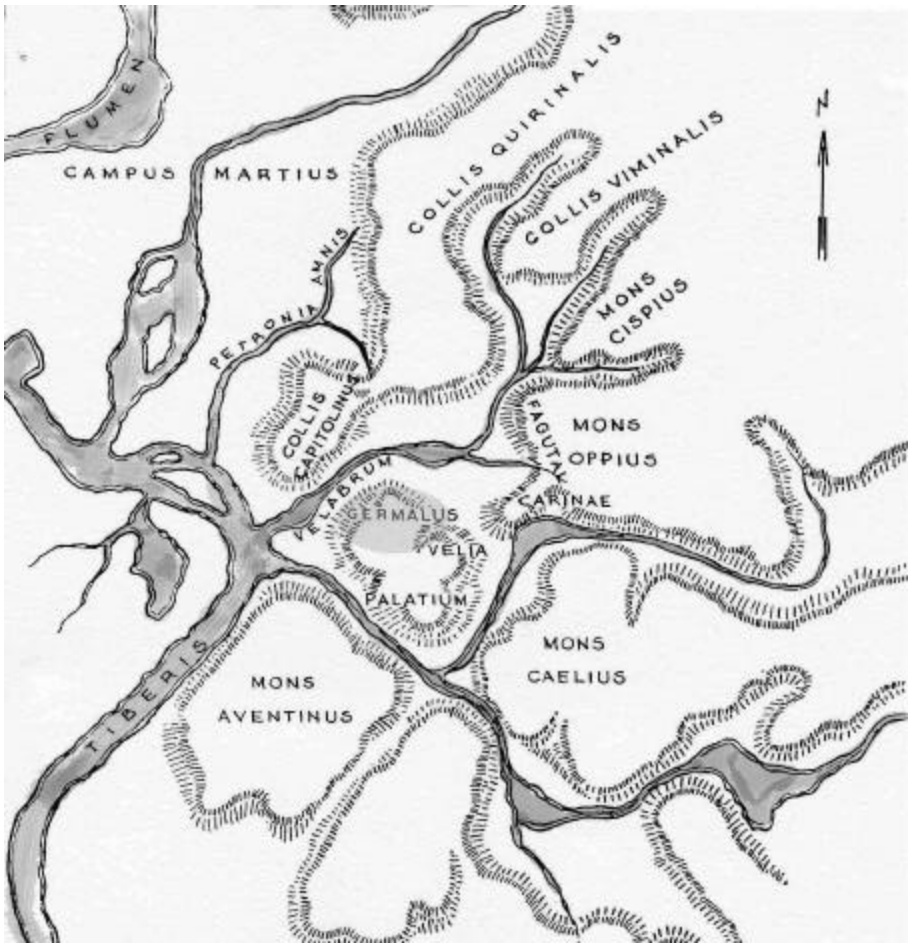


Figure 5.1 Waterways in Archaic Rome: The Tiber River and Tributaries after Holland (1961), map 1

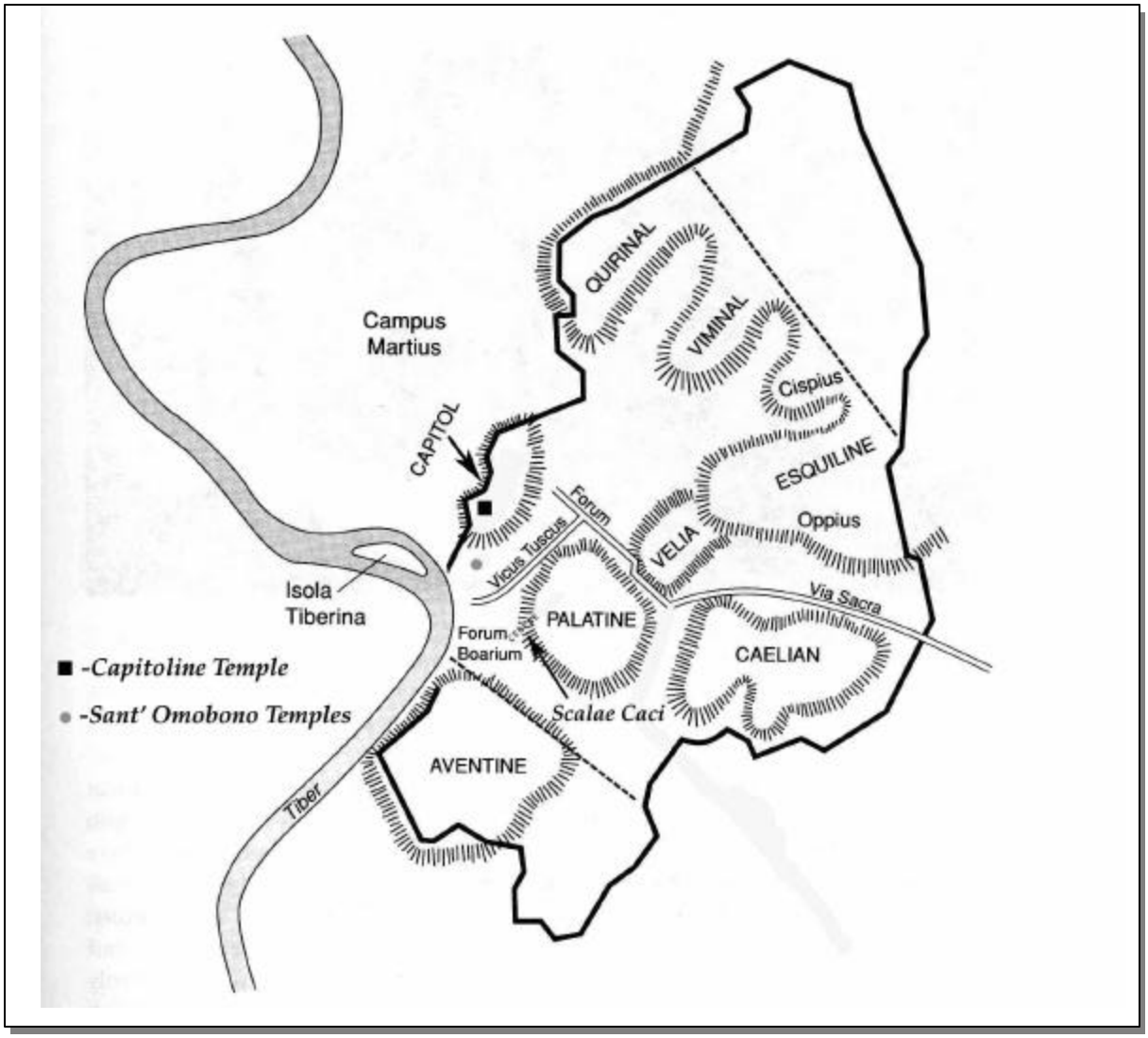


Figure 5.2 The Topography of Archaic Rome
after Le Glay, et.al. (1996), fig. 2.1

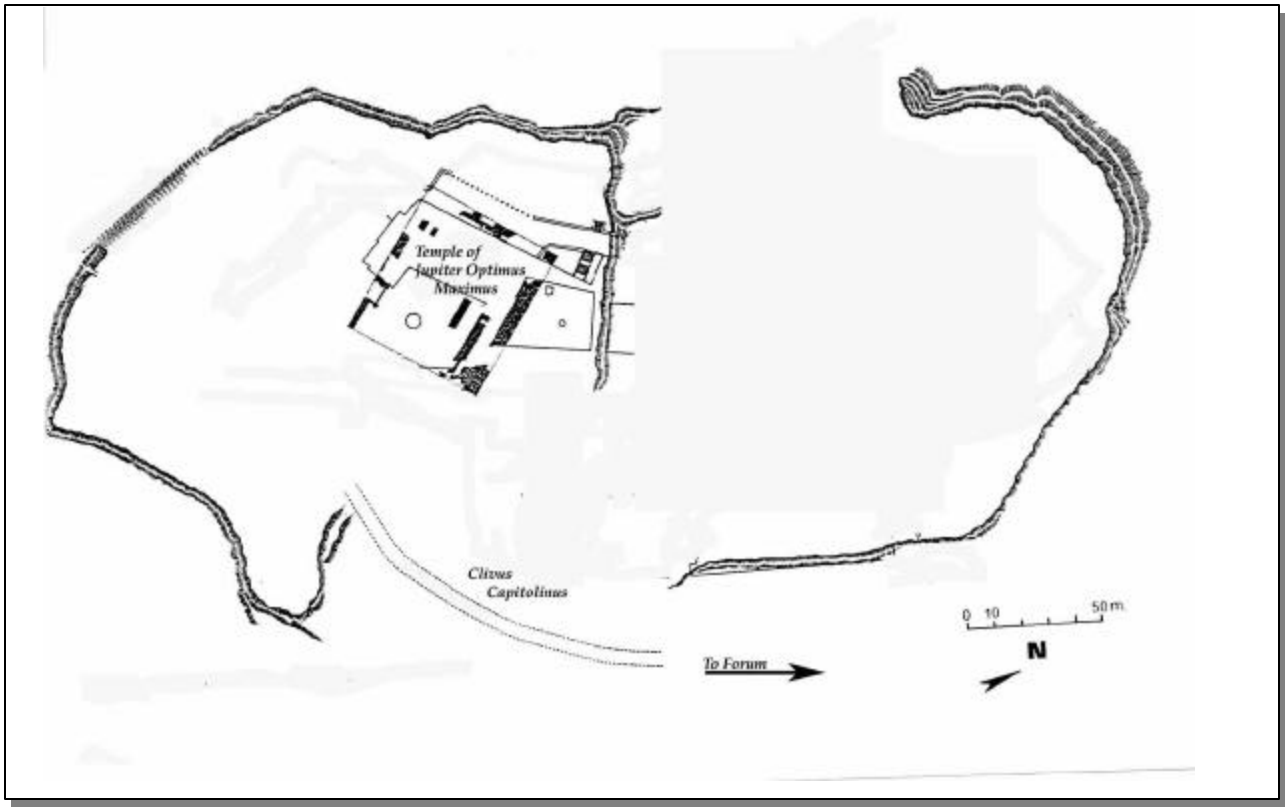


Figure 5.3 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill
after Cristofani (1990)

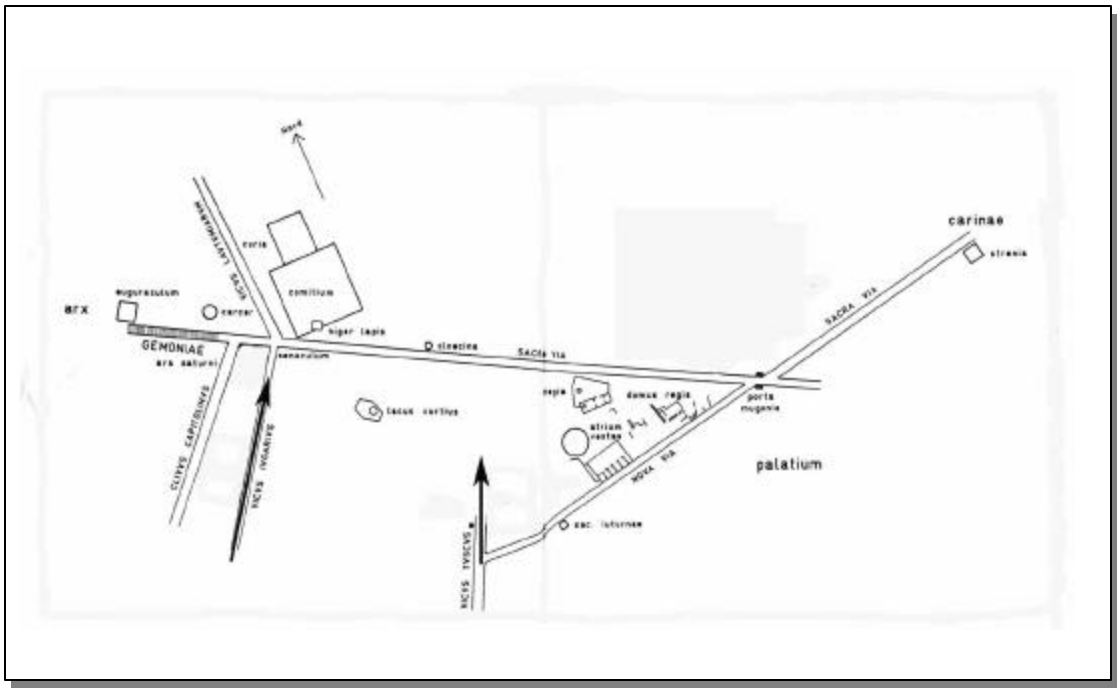


Figure 5.4 The Early Roman Forum
after Coarelli (1992))

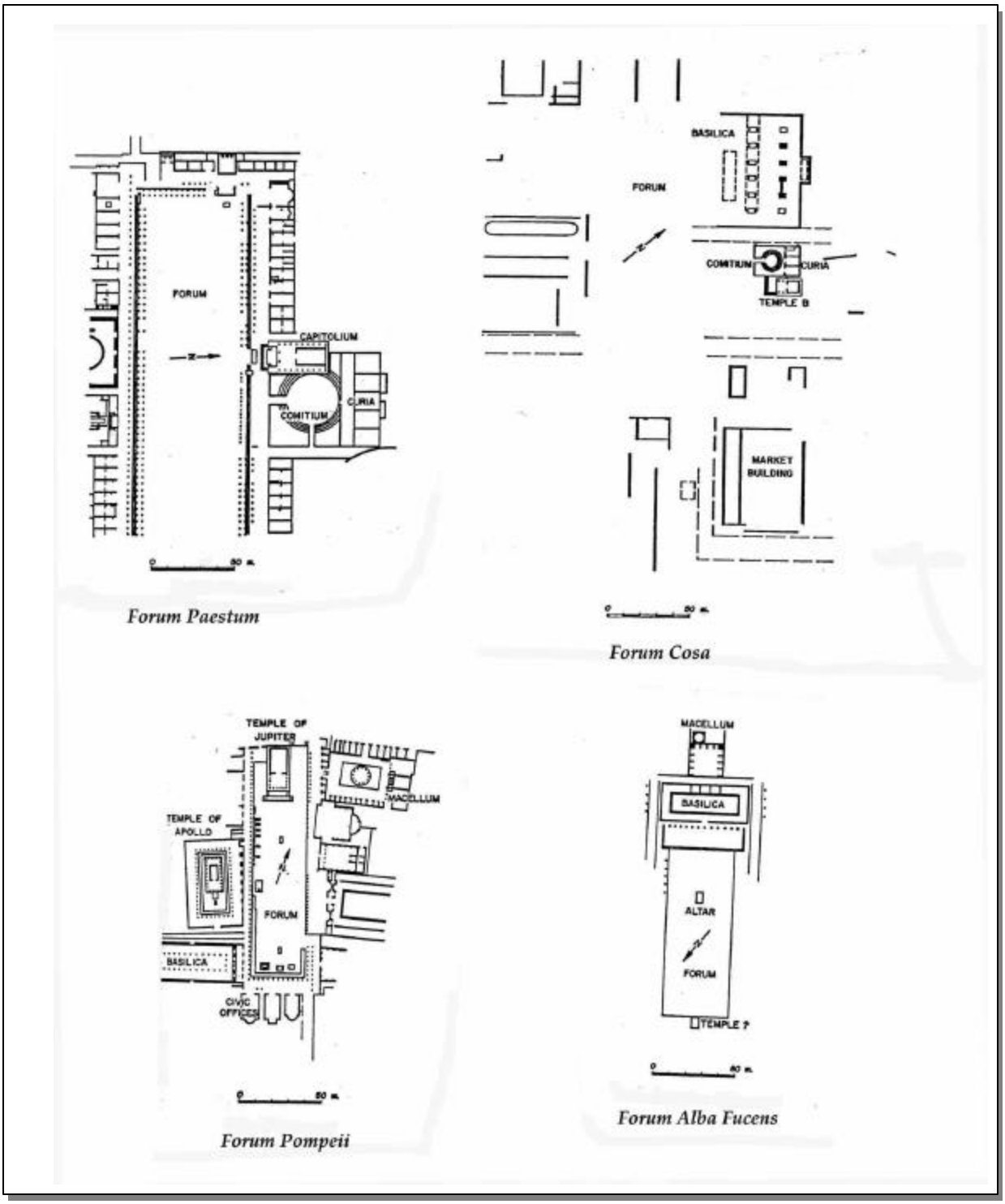


Figure 5.5 Comparative Plans of Republican Fora
after Russel (1968)

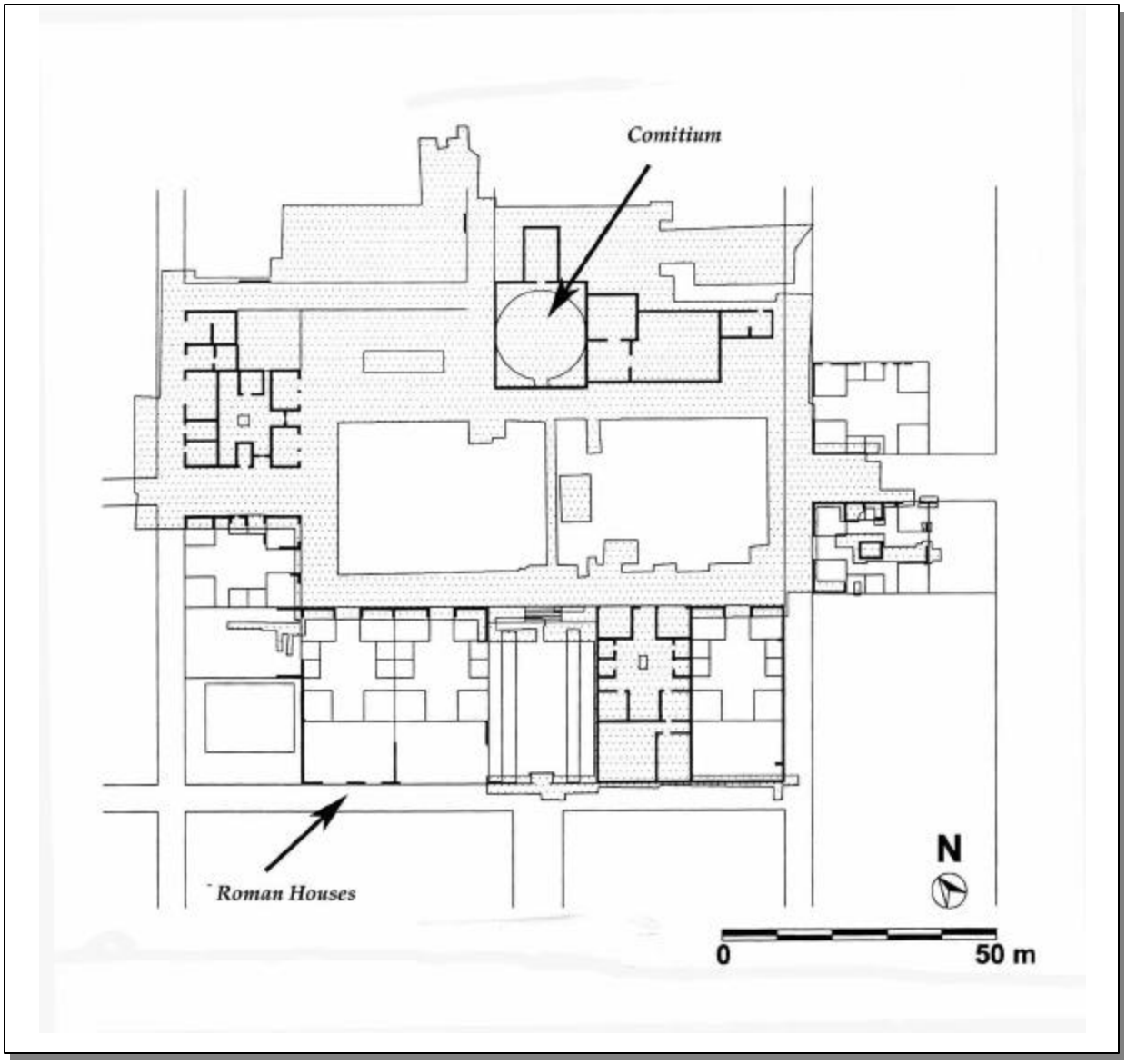


Figure 5.6 Forum at Cosa
after Fentress (2000)

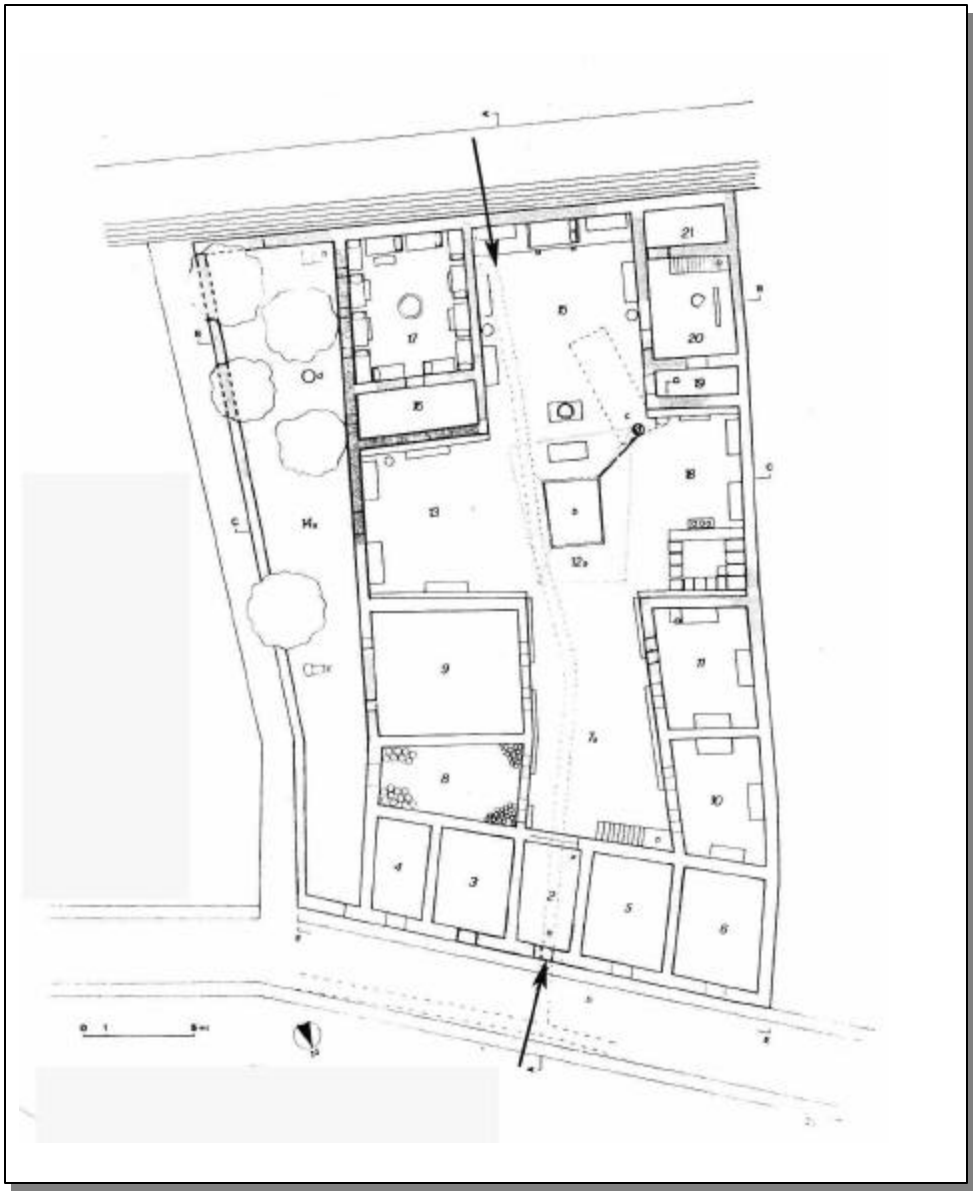


Figure 5.7 Plan of Roman House along the via Sacra with Access Points after Carandini (1990)

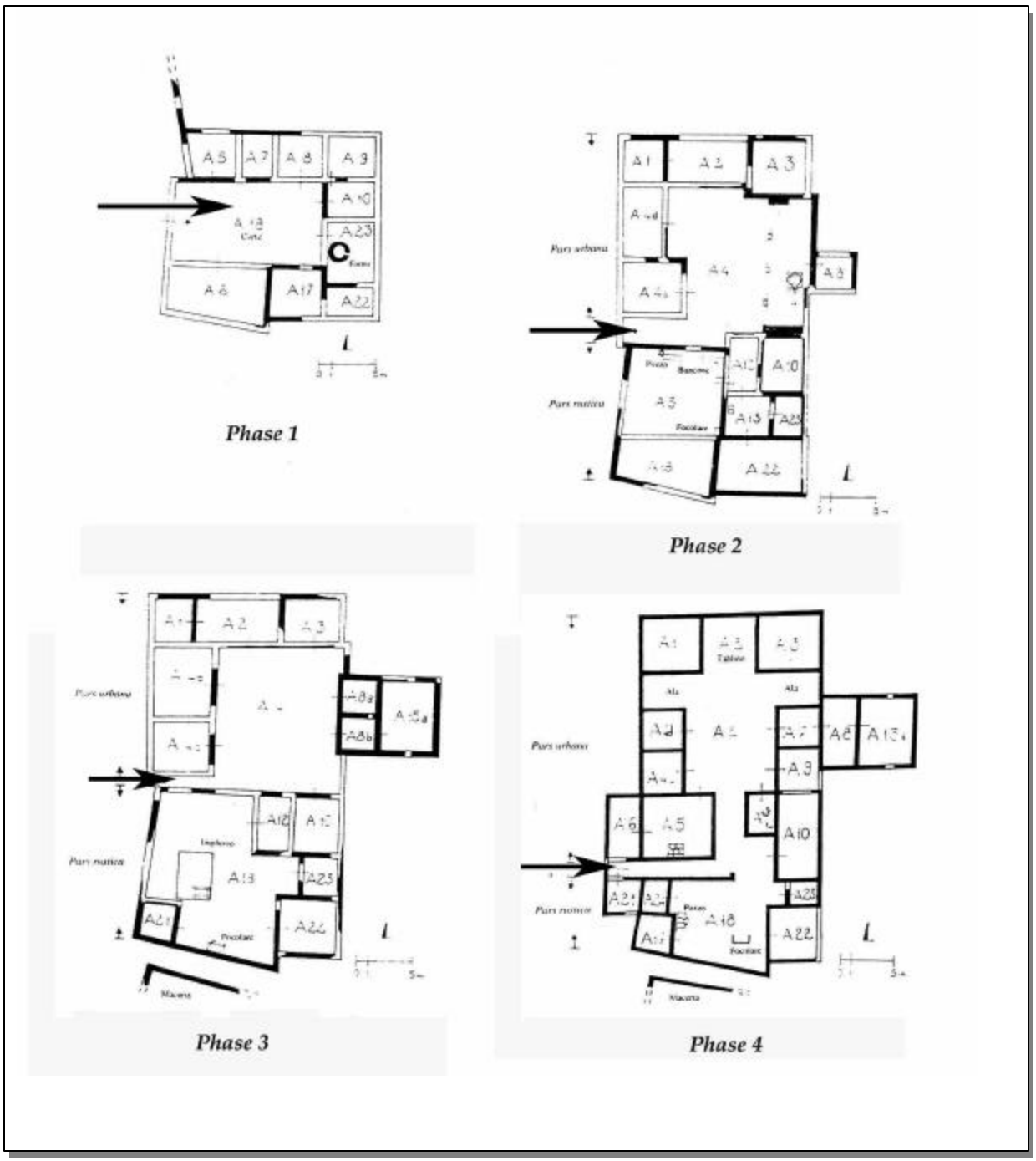


Figure 5.8 Four Phases of the Domestic Structure Beneath Rome's Auditorium with Access Points after Carandini (1997)

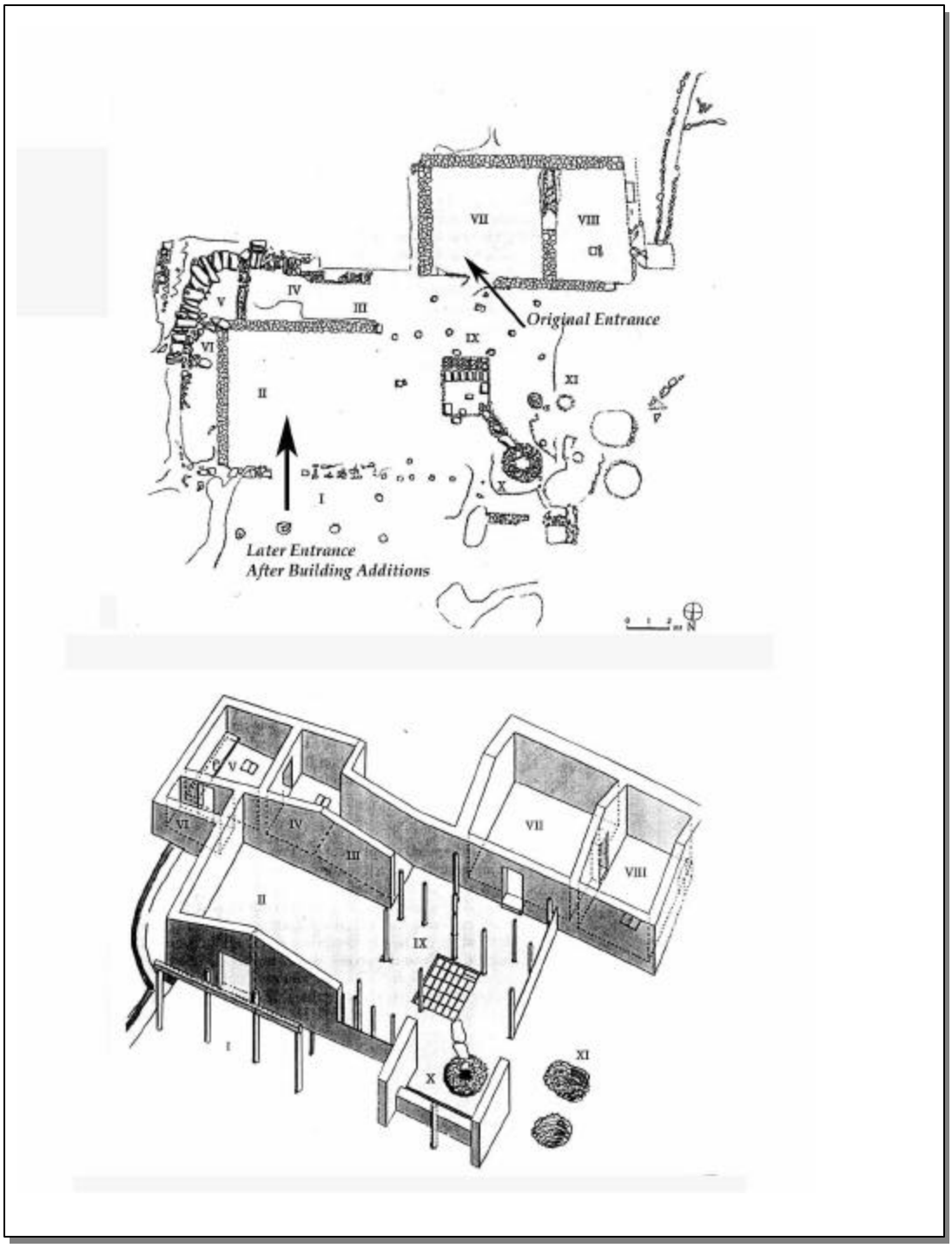


Figure 5.9 Plan of the Atrium House at Roselle with Access Points after Donati (2000)

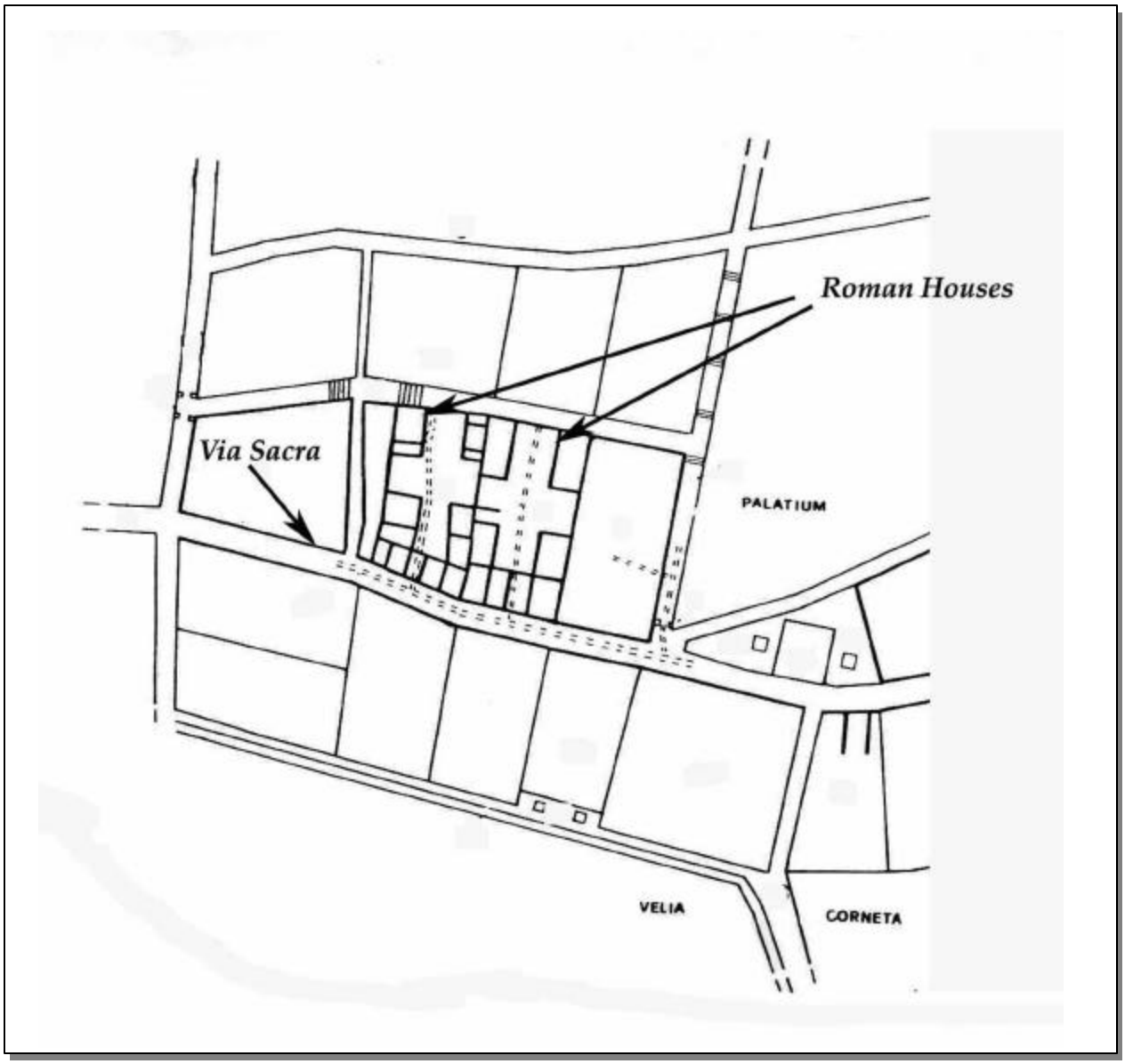


Figure 5.10 Archaic Houses along the via Sacra
after Carandini (1990)

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