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Citizenship and Urban States in the First-Millennium-BCE Mediterranean

Comparative Understanding between Etruscan Central Italy and South-Eastern Iberia

Abstract

The paper aims to contribute to questions of citizenship and the relation between citizenship, community and urbanism. By comparing and contrasting two first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean regions, southern Tyrrhenian Etruria and south-eastern Iberia, where urban societies grew into distinctly different socio-political communities, we see comparable developments towards cohesion and participation. One specific development concerns religion as a privileged locus for the latter, thus demonstrating the heuristic potential of comparativism across the Greco-Roman and non-Greco-Roman world of the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean. This potential can only be realised, however, by developing a theoretical and interpretive framework that enables us to exploit different strands of evidence in regions where the documentary base is almost exclusively archaeological, and that can then be applied elsewhere.

Keywords: Archaeology, Caere, Heterarchies, Sacrifice, Common, La Serreta

1 Introduction

Over the last few decades, research on pre-Roman Mediterranean cities has been particularly preoccupied with the origins of urbanism, a reaction to decades of ethnocentric Greco-Roman exceptionalism in the understanding of this phenomenon; this is exemplified in efforts to demonstrate autonomous and original experiences in the earliest phases of cities.[1] Addressing urbanism in all of its facets beyond what we know of the Greco-Roman world, which we often draw on for the surprisingly still poorly understood non-Greco-Roman world, is therefore a priority in our research agenda.

1 Riva 2020a.

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Calls for pursuing the question of what a pre-Roman Mediterranean city does rather than what such a city is, with the problem of definitions and implausible check lists, have been made more than twenty years ago.[2] Only recently, however, has this question been fully addressed, specifically in the realm of economic production.[3] Answering what a city does also entails addressing questions on the functioning of urbanism as expression of lived communities, and aspects related to these communities, specifically their social cohesion, political participation and agency. These questions merit attention now that there is renewed interest in comparative archaeological approaches to ancient urbanism on a global scale.[4] This has been partly spear-headed by the findings of the so-called mega-cities of Ukraine, the Trypillia of the fourth millennium BCE, which its excavators identify as the earliest known cities in Europe.[5] Importantly, this interest has led to the further debunking of ethnocentric views of urbanism, lively debates on interpretive models, and a recognition of the variety of the urban category.[6] In fact, it may be argued that with debates on what the urban form entails and no consensus reached precisely because of the global scale considered, attention has shifted towards urban dwellers, their collective decision-making in the functioning of cities and hence civic identities and membership to the urban community.

These aspects raise, in turn, the question of the socio-political and cultural mechanisms by which membership to this community was articulated, if at all. The Greco-Roman mechanism for this is citizenship, for which the Greek, and especially Athenian, world, has received the lion's share of attention thanks to the remarkably rich documentary base, from epigraphy to texts to material culture. This may explain why recent global approaches to citizenship have employed Atheno-centric and more precisely Aristotelian concepts as a shorthand reference to Mediterranean antiquity.[7] However, this shorthand usage severely reduces the potential for comparative analysis of the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean where other kinds of mechanisms may have been at play. Indeed, what the Mediterranean of this period has to offer is a remarkable laboratory for comparative analysis where solutions to urban living were as variegated and highly regionalised as the societies that developed them. The first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean, in

2 Horden and Purcell 2000, 89–112.
3 Gleba, Dimova and Marín-Aguilera 2021.
4 Graeber and Wengrow 2021; Rüpke 2020; Rüpke 2021; Woolf 2020.
5 Gaydarska 2020.
6 Gaydarska 2016.
7 Stuurman 2019; Wengrow 2018, 34.

other words, gives us the opportunity to behold the variability of urbanism which global approaches highlight, but through a much finer-grained lens. It furthermore forces us to question scholarly uses of citizenship for antiquity in and beyond the Mediterranean: these uses have rarely problematised what is a highly multifarious concept, which carries vast conceptual baggage since Aristotle and the origins of political theory. This makes ancient and modern usage of citizenship hardly comparable. What follows is an attempt, among other, to unpack and untangle ancient and modern theories on this concept in order to understand pre-Roman urban communities comparatively across this region.

Recent studies on the Archaic – roughly late seventh to fifth century BCE – Greco-Roman Mediterranean have themselves radically revised the Aristotelian model of citizenship, forcing us to reflect on the relationship between citizenship, community and urbanism. On the Greek side, this revision has mostly led to a wider socio-political understanding of citizenship where religious participation was key, and to an emphasis on the varied and changing conceptions of the status of citizen and, more broadly, community membership, even in Aristotle's Athens. On Rome's side, the revision has been less dramatic – though no less vital – due to the paucity of textual sources useful enough to understand the city's early Republican period. With this radical deconstruction under way, examining these questions comparatively in the coeval non-Greco-Roman Mediterranean, thus exploiting the variability alluded to above to its maximum potential, is timely for understanding diverse modes of sociopolitical participation in this wider region.

To this end, this paper aims to contribute to these questions by comparing and contrasting two first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean regions, southern Tyrrhenian Etruria and south-eastern Iberia, where urban societies grew into distinctly different socio-political communities, characterised respectively by hierarchical and heterarchical relations, yet saw comparable developments towards cohesion and participation. One specific development concerns religion as a privileged locus for the latter, a phenomenon noted by recent studies on the Greek world, thus demonstrating the heuristic potential of comparativism across the Greco-Roman and non-Greco-Roman world of the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean. This potential can only be realised, however, by developing a theoretical and interpretive framework that enables us to exploit different strands of evidence in regions where the documentary base is almost exclusively archaeological, and that can then be applied elsewhere.

In what follows, I firstly review some key aspects and themes raised by recent scholarship on Archaic Greek and early Republican Roman citizen-

ship. Secondly, building on these and particularly the relationship, instituted by ancient Greco-Roman sources, between codification, property and the agricultural economy in the delineation of citizenship, I address the concept of citizenship itself, drawing on political theory, and introducing what I call 'an ancient social theory of citizenship' in order to develop this theoretical framework for exploring modes of socio-political participation and membership in the urban community in religion. In particular, I expand upon affordances of material culture, including those related to agricultural production, drawing on recent approaches to ancient religion and employing two specific concepts developed by ontological perspectives in political philosophy, namely indebtedness and the proper in the exclusionary dimension of community. Thirdly and finally, through the analysis of the archaeological evidence of two case studies from the two regions studied here, I will attempt to answer the question whether parallel forms of participation and membership existed across urban communities of the Mediterranean basin. Did religious worship, in whichever form it took and was expressed, provide a space for the articulation of membership in the urban community in ways that are similar or perhaps distinct from what historians have recently argued for the Greek world? If so, how and to what extent?

Before proceeding, a disclaimer: I use citizenship to indicate, as above, participation and membership in the urban community, hence, as a shorthand for the latter. As stated, I develop a definition later. With 'urban community' I refer to the merging of urbanism and statehood, which characterised several cities across the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean, regardless of size of both the urban settlement and its hinterland, which varied across regions; hence, membership in such a community pertained to the inhabitants of both settlement and hinterland, and therefore the urban state. Uses of 'city' and 'state' henceforth will thus refer to the latter.

2 Reviewing Greco-Roman citizenship: Why citizenship does not have to be Aristotelian

By 'Aristotelian model', Greek historians refer to book 3 of Aristotle's *Politics* devoted to criteria for citizenship where the citizen's ability to participate in decision making processes and in the city's activities such as offices and liturgies is key.[8] As intimated earlier, recent research has unequivocally jettisoned this model and the evolutionary thinking associated with it as a

8 Blok 2017, 2–4. 13–21.

construct, according to which primitive forms of Archaic citizenship only evolved into a complete form in Classical Athenian democracy.[9] Greek historians now acknowledge citizenship as a fluid, dynamic and open process, in the development of ties and bonds to the urban community, with no predictable outcome or single solution,[10] and the emphasis, seen in Archaic and Classical texts, upon participation in religion rather than political participation. The 'covenant' between the members of the *polis* and its gods, its rules and regulations in religious matters such as sacrifice, delineated both community and participation, in one word, citizenship, along with descent, real or metaphorical, and law: citizenship was thus constituted by shared cult, descent and law.[11] Even Classical Athens is no longer viewed as a completed political project.[12] Indeed, as was made clear during a recent conference,[13] citizenship was always a multifarious phenomenon, constantly shifting through changing socio-political circumstances. For example, a specialised *techne* or craft could provide specialised craftsmen with the right to participate in civic performances, including offering religious votives in Archaic and Classical Athens.[14]

This socio-political – rather than strictly political – understanding of citizenship highlights social relations and civic behaviour or performance and the key role of religion as the basis of citizenship.[15] This perspective has not come out of nowhere: it developed alongside a re-thinking of the Greek state and social status therein.[16] The latter is seen as fluid, contested and shaped by strategies of social distinction (*sensu* Bourdieu) underlying civic behaviour, which are detected in the archaeological record.[17] This rethinking in turn sits upon a distinctly Francophone perspective, developed in the 1980s, that saw collective participation and commensality in religion as key to citizen status – hence the expression *polis* religion[18] – which moved away from a juridical and political conceptualisation of this status.[19]

Recent alternative views have, on the other hand, put the focus back on

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9 Blok 2018, 80–83; Duplouy and Brock 2018; Duplouy 2019, 37–38. 49–50; Stuurman 2019, 291.
10 Cecchet 2017; Giangiulio 2017.
11 Blok 2013a; Blok 2013b; Blok 2017; Blok 2018.
12 Schirripa 2013.
13 Blok 2017, 147–182; Cecchet and Lasagni (forthcoming).
14 Marchiandi (forthcoming); Marchiandi 2018.
15 Duplouy 2019, 61–68.
16 Duplouy 2019.
17 Duplouy 2006.
18 Kindt 2009.
19 Loraux 1981; Polignac 1984; Zurbach 2013/14 for the discussion.

the juridical aspects of citizenship. Zurbach's Marxist analysis closely links the evolution of Archaic and then Classical citizenship to changes in the agricultural economy and land ownership, where emerging legal obligations and rights reflect the attribution of value to agricultural land and its production.[20] Archaic Greek cities for the first time legislated extensively on rights and obligations towards private property, from inheritance to the use of agricultural installations. This has led Mackil to focus upon jurisdiction in relation to land and territoriality in the formation of the Greek urban state. Her argument is that territorial centralisation originated in the creation of rights that would, collectively, protect individual claims to property, especially in relation to land.[21] While not explicitly stated, both views underscore an evolutionary trajectory marked by the key step of formal legislation.

Not limited to Greece, law-making on the agricultural economy was part and parcel of much wider changes. In Archaic Rome, the Twelve Tables, the mid-fifth-century law code, set down – among other themes, e. g., debt-bondage, credit, usury – complex rights and obligations towards individual property, especially related to land, its agricultural management and its transaction whether by inheritance or other means.[22] Property provided one of the criteria for the census, first introduced by Roman king Servius Tullius, which in turn defined citizenship, according to the literary tradition.[23] The sophistication of this code suggests the existence of earlier quasi-legal norms, necessary for what became a large sixth-century city,[24] which Smith relates to regal political authority and its power to arbitrate in the context of increasingly complex and regulated markets.[25] Some of our sources on these earlier norms, attributed to the Roman king Numa, pose a series of structural oppositions dictated by morality on the cultivation of a highly symbolically charged crop, the vine, used to produce wine for the gods.[26] Here is, in other words, a close correlation, in quasi-legal terms, between religion and agricultural production in a phase of expansion of the agrarian economy, which is also detected, albeit under critically different circumstances,[27] in the neighbouring southern Etruscan cities.[28]

20 Zurbach 2013/14.
21 Mackil 2017.
22 Cifani 2021, 129. 206–207; Humbert 2018.
23 Bradley 2015, 105–108; Cifani 2021, 208–209.
24 Cifani 2021, 202.
25 Smith 2020a; Smith 2020b; Smith 2020c.
26 Smith 2020c, 99–100.
27 Critically, the evidence of agrarian exploitation in Etruria points to export, none of which applies to Rome where production was aimed at the largest city in Italy (Cifani 2021, 203).
28 Riva 2017.

Notwithstanding all the above, current scholarship on Rome has hardly problematised the concept of Archaic or early Republican citizenship: this is because of a widely accepted clear-cut watershed attributed to Servius Tullius' census,[29] and because of the acknowledgment of Rome's porosity as an urban state that offered citizenship to outsiders, from captives and slaves to highly mobile elites across Central Italy, a phenomenon recognised for most cities in and beyond the region since the turn of the first millennium BCE.[30] Focused attention on citizenship has instead largely concerned the mid- to late Republican and imperial periods,[31] when Rome's political culture was much more dynamic than previously thought[32] and citizenship itself, as is now recognised, went through some key transformations.[33] In fact, the real barrier to understanding citizenship in early Rome comes from the fragmentation of the available textual sources and the challenge of peeling back from later sources, including the literary tradition on Servius' reforms, what can be assessed as reliable evidence.[34] Christopher Smith has confronted this challenge successfully with the help of political theory on the one hand, and archaeology on the other. In his view, hereditary aristocracy, the existence of several assemblies and the sequence of magistracies characterise the increasingly complex early Roman Republic. An open and flexible concept of citizenship went hand in hand with the duties and privileges of citizens outlined in Rome's developing constitutional and legal framework.[35] In these attempts, particular emphasis has been placed upon human agency, and hence the state's citizens, to shape, and indeed be, the state in consort with one another.[36] This aspect cannot be adequately addressed without archaeological evidence. Nor can it be neglected that much of this archaeological evidence is of religious nature, pertaining to communal spaces.

These perspectives on early Rome have been fundamental for southern Etruria: scholars have often applied Roman sources to Etruscan cities in order to understand the Etruscan epigraphic record, which places emphasis

29 Clemente 2017; Raggi 2017.

30 Ampolo 2017. Indeed, scholars who take the mythologising power of the figure of Servius Tullius seriously highlight him as exemplifying the tension between this porosity towards outsiders of non-free status and, at once, their social marginalisation within the community once the status of freedmen was achieved (Wells 2020).

31 E. g., Dench 2005.

32 Flower 2010.

33 Raggi 2017.

34 Flower 2010, 35–44.

35 Smith 2011; Smith 2020c.

36 Smith 2011, 228.

on wider family groupings or *gentes* in the socio-political reality of Etruscan cities.[37] This has led Etruscologists to apply what we hypothesise for Rome's early Republic to Etruria, namely, the emergence of an oligarchic political system following the demise of a monarchical period. The epigraphic record does bear out the existence of a sophisticated political system founded on magistracies or political offices that managed the city-state.[38] Thus far, in other words, the etruscologists' focus has been upon the political power of oligarchic elites and their clans at the centre of urbanism and all its related aspects, including citizenship.

On the other hand, the radical re-framing of citizenship by Greek historians calls for the wider questions I have posed earlier, and not just for Etruria. To this end, a theoretical framework is needed that contains a working definition of citizenship, sensitive enough to the archaeological evidence of different Mediterranean regions, and able to encompass the key features of Greco-Roman citizenship reviewed above in order to achieve a successful comparison.

3 Building a theoretical framework: Towards a working definition of citizenship

Given the widely shared acknowledgement that citizenship is a multifarious, if not problematic, concept,[39] I begin by defining citizenship, in emic terms, as a form of membership in the community of an urban state. While perhaps too broad, this definition is applicable to the city-states of the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean. It also stays clear of primitivist and evolutionary perspectives, which, as noted earlier, Greek historians have rejected, and which are predicated on the erroneous notion that community is the precursor of citizenship, and that the practice of citizenship in religion is a lesser form of integration vis-à-vis other forms of socio-political integration (e.g., political decision-making, assembly participation).

Drawing from sociology and political theory, I further suggest the integration of three constituents for my proposed theoretical framework in support of this definition: a) an ideal-type definition borrowed from Tilly's historical sociology; b) recent ontological perspectives that have re-configured the concept of community by stressing the political incompatibility of common

37 Smith 2019.
38 Maggiani 1996; Maggiani 2001.
39 Tilly 1995.

and proper; c) Rancière's partition of the sensible which places emphasis upon sensory capacities in political action, which I regard as key to our understanding of religion as a system of communication.[40] What follows is an attempt at integrating these three constituents into the overall framework.

Firstly, we can think of citizenship as a tie – however weak or strong – to the state, which pivots around transactions, enforceable rights and obligations between members of a political community and 'agents of the state'.[41] Secondly, we can think of citizenship as membership in a community according to ontological perspectives that have radically revised the concept of community against the concept of the proper. I turn to these perspectives in order to elucidate their role in my framework that does not lose sight of the centrality of property in the ancient Greco-Roman constructions of citizenship.

Recent debates on the proper in opposition to community in political theory have rejected a hegemonic concept of community according to the proprietary logic or political economy of the proper. This latter originates in Locke's liberal doctrine of property and the role of the state in protecting the private rights of ownership,[42] whereby community is understood in terms of concrete substance and subjectivity. Community, according to this hegemonic model, is reified as something which brings subjects together in sharing a common identity and a sense of belonging.[43] In particular, the qualification of community membership is predicated on a double act of appropriation, first towards property itself and secondly towards reciprocal relationships within the community, effectively reifying these relationships and therefore community itself.[44] Among the first to radically revise this model, Nancy argued that 'common' and 'proper' were contraries to one another and therefore incommensurable;[45] in fact, he argued, community does not refer to property or belonging, but rather to the relationship itself.[46] Community, in other words, is conceived not as something that is common and that is owned, but as being 'in common'. Hence, the emphasis is on the relational and ontological dimension of common, which by necessity exposes its own finitude and its own limits.[47] Importantly, in this ontological deconstruction of proprietary logic, com-

40 Rüpke 2015.
41 Blok 2017, 42–43; Tilly 1995, 8.
42 Bird 2013, 33; Bird 2016, ch. 1.
43 Bird 2016, 22; Esposito 2006.
44 Bird 2015.
45 Nancy 1990.
46 Esposito 2012.
47 Balibar 2004, 69–71.

munity requires a process of expropriation, that is to say, a process of renouncing one's own individual identity in order to open up to others. This ontological deconstruction addresses the exclusionary feature of the concept of proper, namely community as something that is only proper to those who belong to it. Building on Nancy's work, Esposito has replaced the social contract that conflates proper and community, the political and the economical, with a 'deontological contract'.[48] He has moreover focused on the semantic genealogy of the concept of community, tracing it back to the Latin *munus*, from which *communitas* derives, and its dual semantics containing law and gift, which, in its original meaning and etymon of *communitas*, refers to the legal and therefore ethical obligation or duty to give.[49] The three senses of *munus – onus, officium, donum*, all conceptualised as a duty – highlight a contract of community founded on indebtedness.[50] Hence, to Esposito, being-in-common is not bound by property, but by indebtedness that brings a community together through a 'transitive act of giving'.[51] Building on Esposito's rejection of proprietary logic, Rancière's contribution goes further:[52] it reframes the incompatibility of common and proper by de-ontologising and historicising it, through the use of the 'improper community'. By this Rancière means '… the community that the egalitarian logic sets up as the part of those who have no part.'[53] Deriving this use from his definition of political life as the partition of the sensible that involves both sharing and dividing, Rancière puts the exclusionary dimension of community back into the debate. This dimension emerges from the political praxis of those excluded from the common, who play a part in the common through their improper community, and who 'partition the sensible' in highlighting that community exists where non-community does, providing, in other words, a disruption which tests the vitality of community. Crucially, Rancière's proper and improper is not only about property, but also propriety: '… a mode of decorum or a normative system for the assignment of persons in places and times.'[54]

48 Bird 2013, 36–40.
49 Esposito 2006.
50 Esposito 2006, 4.
51 Esposito 2006, 5.
52 Inston 2020; Rancière 1998.
53 Inston 2020, 632.
54 Inston 2020, 630.

3.1 Citizenship can be archaic and can be visible archaeologically

Integrating Esposito's definition of community based on active indebtedness with Rancière's focus on praxis that disrupts a community's boundaries is helpful for two reasons. Firstly, it provides a theoretical cornerstone for interpreting citizenship in the pre-Roman Mediterranean along with Tilly's working definition given above. Secondly, by shifting our focus from the public/private dichotomy, widely held in the political theory from which ancient Mediterranean studies often draws,[55] toward the ontological and dialectical opposition of common and proper, we begin to see that some of the scholarly attention towards property for defining Greco-Roman citizenship, outlined in the previous section, is another prey of the proprietary logic. Put another way, the ancient texts which established a juridical framework for linking citizenship with property in relation to land represent what might be called an ancient social theory of citizenship (akin to an ancient social theory of urbanism)[56] that co-existed, if not wrestled with, ancient realities, which scholars of Greek history have recently highlighted, as mentioned earlier, by debunking overly narrow definitions of citizenship, including those that are founded on land ownership.[57]

It is precisely this co-existence between ancient theory and reality that is of interest, and that can be analysed in religion, as scholars of Greek history have done, vis-à-vis what we can extrapolate from juridical ancient texts. As outlined above, much of what is deduced from these texts has been framed in terms of public/private (property), a dichotomy that requires re-thinking. What helps us explore this struggle is precisely Rancière's definition of political praxis as the partition of the sensible, the third constituent in my theoretical framework. Rancière defines *le partage du sensible* as follows:

> the clusters of perceptions and practices that shape this common world. Politics is first of all a way of framing, among sensory data, a specific sphere of experience. It is a partition of the sensible, the visible and the sayable, which allows (or does not allow) some specific data to appear; which allows or does not allow some specific subjects to designate them and speak about them. It is a specific intertwining of ways of being, ways of doing and ways of speaking.[58]

In highlighting the senses as the mechanism by which we not only categorise reality, but act upon it as subjects, in an act of subjectivisation, *le partage du sensible* is a form of theatricality involving performance and participation.[59]

55 E. g., Mackil 2017.
56 Purcell 2005.
57 Duplouy and Brock 2018, 18–24.
58 Rancière 2004, 10.
59 Rockhill and Watts 2009, 141–157.

Theatricality, performance and participation not only correspond to the expression of ancient Greek citizenship in religion outlined earlier; they also dovetail with recent characterisations of ancient religion as a system of communication and subjectivisation in which material culture, in its sensory affordances across space, played a fundamental role.[60] The archaeological evidence from sanctuaries in southern Etruscan and south-eastern Iberian cities corroborate this characterisation, as I hope to demonstrate, potentially revealing an expressive form of citizenship in religion. Employing *le partage du sensible* as a theoretical tool for understanding religion at these sites invites us to consider the affordances of material culture as enabling a spatial re-configuration of the proper, both as property and propriety, by the ritual actors involved. In this re-configuration, heterarchical relationships and citizenship can be seen as part and parcel of one another as they were built through those affordances across (sometimes) overlapping fields of action between religious and funerary ritual. By affordances, I firstly refer to a post-Gibsonian relational approach to materials and objects. According to this approach, evaluation and execution vis-à-vis objects are integral cognitive-social processes for acting upon these objects in space, and perception of one's environment is part of the action itself.[61] I secondly consider material culture in its broadest terms possible, without distinguishing between making and growing, artefacts and agricultural produce.[62] Hence, all of this comprises the social and material production for religion, conceived in its spatial totality, namely the architectural and/or structured environment as the action space of sacrifice, offerings, conviviality and any other religious activities.

3.2 Religious practice shifts from the offerer's individual action to the offerer's relationship of debt to the deity

My working definition of citizenship thus includes sociopolitical agency, but structured by ties and obligations, or, in one word, indebtedness, and realised in theatricality through performance and participation in religion. I have come to that definition via a theoretical framework that is suited to material culture, the main documentary base available for the non-Greco-Roman Mediterranean. Rather than being an analytical constraint, however, this evidence prompts us to consider material affordances both in sensory terms, encompassing both material and spatial relationships vis-

60 Rüpke 2015.
61 Coupaye 2018, 8; Knappett 2004; Tim 2018.
62 Coupaye 2009; Coupaye 2018; Ingold and Hallam 2014.

à-vis the senses, and in terms of their production vis-à-vis indebtedness. The two terms, affordances and production, are, in fact, part and parcel of one another in my wider working definition of citizenship, namely one that encompassed a wider citizen body as it was practised through heterarchical relationships in religion. Put another way, religion provided the theatre for performance by a diverse section of the community. The latter included producers of symbolically charged crops for the manufacturing of products for the gods, from wine to textiles, and craft specialists who facilitated gods' epiphanies through the architectural or spatial elaboration of sanctuaries, where the ornaments of these spaces underlay the moral and social order, or, in one word, the proper.[63]

In order to clarify the above, I return to the norms attributed to Roman king Numa, mentioned previously, that closely correlate religion and agricultural production in a phase of expansion of the city and its agrarian economy. This correlation is comparable to what we see in southern Etruria where the production of agricultural surplus went hand in hand with the codification of ritualised drinking both at tombs and sanctuaries, and a specialised understanding of the divine, itself causally linked to urban growth[64] and exemplified by the Etruscan cult of *fufluns*.[65] This highlights that legislation was about production and produce as property, much of which concerned the divinity. That this focus on production and produce for the divinity is not solely characteristic of earlier, quasi-legal norms, but a feature of the juridical and religious framework of the first-millennium-BCE Mediterranean city, is demonstrated by bringing together two sets of evidence: firstly, the evidence of Greek and Roman legislation on land and property mentioned above; secondly, the evidence of specialised craft production at the service of the divinity in Archaic and Classical Athens.[66]

In relation to the former, the Greco-Roman social theory of citizenship placed a nuanced emphasis on property in relation to agricultural production, rather than solely land ownership. Thus, the Twelve Tables legislated on land ownership in relation to its uses, various possible scenarios in land management and practical solutions to problems, highlighting agrarian cooperation and the maximisation of resources for agriculture as a key objective of this legislation.[67] This is particularly notable in the rules over rural servi-

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63 Riva 2021b.
64 Smith 2021.
65 Riva 2017; Riva 2021a.
66 Marchiandi 2018.
67 Capogrossi Colognesi 2012, 85–92; Capogrossi Colognesi 2016, 525–526; Kehoe 2016, 647–649.

tudes, a specific type of ownership, concerning exclusively land devoted to production that provided legal arrangements for rural neighbours to share access to resources, from the right of way and the right to drive animals to the right to water.[68] That these resources were *res mancipi*, that is, objects that could only be transferred by title conveyance, as was the case with real estate or other physical objects used in agriculture such as slaves and cattle, explains their prominent place in early law. Hence, early law conceptualised ownership in terms of *usus* rather than an abstract right.[69] Put another way, '… servitudes institutionalised the social patterns that promoted agricultural productivity as they formalized relations among people in rural communities.'[70] Lastly, penalties on the purchase of sacrificial animals not paid in full and the prohibition of consecrating offerings not fully paid for (respectively Tab. XII.1, XII.4)[71] highlight the entanglement of propriety in religion and property of offerings, enabling indebtedness to the divinity.

Dealing with as wide a range of issues as the Twelve Tables, Archaic Greek law varied from city to city.[72] On the matter of landed property, its objective was largely to ensure its preservation through inheritance,[73] as in early Roman law, and its inalienability, a specific concern of colonial land allotments.[74] The inscribed laws, of which a sizeable record exists for Crete,[75] lack the systematisation and large-scale codification which we begin to see in the Great Code from Gortyn.[76] Yet, these laws also dealt with concrete problems and practical solutions over land management, related resources such as animals and slaves, the right to harvest, and the private use of a *polis*' resources such as river water and public land.[77] Gortynian legal provisions for using trees and their produce to obtain a loan and threshing floors for securing a debt[78] notably underline the value of agricultural production, enabling the ability by the citizen community to enjoy its produce.[79] This evidence fits well with a reappraisal of Greek citizenship vis-à-vis the landless, which highlights 'economic capacity' driving Archaic citizenship.[80]

68 Bannon 2001; Bannon 2009.
69 Bannon 2009, 12–25; Capogrossi Colognesi 2012, 92; Capogrossi Colognesi 2016, 525.
70 Bannon 2009, 24.
71 Humbert 2018, 798–803. 27–29.
72 Gagarin 2008, 39–92; Harris and Lewis 2022.
73 Davies 2005; Hölkeskamp 1992; Mackil 2017, 74.
74 Asheri 1966.
75 Gagarin and Perlman 2016.
76 Hölkeskamp 1992. Contra Gagarin 2008, 44. 74. 144.
77 Gagarin 2008, 128–138; Harris and Lewis 2022, 251; Hölkeskamp 1992.
78 Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 100.
79 Ismard 2018, 149–150; Ruzé 2003, 170.
80 Duplouy and Brock 2018, 32.

Athens provides the second set of evidence: among the several Archaic inscriptions of potters on bases of votive monuments from the acropolis, a particular one stands out. This is the well-known dedication by the potter Nearchos of a *kore* which juxtaposes the *aparché* – first-fruit or tithe, the Greek standard terminology for an *ex-voto* – of the potter with the *agalma* (ornament or delight) of Antenor, the sculptor of the *kore*. The same object, in other words, is spoken about, at the same time, as the agricultural produce of Nearchos who thus performs his citizen duty, offering the first fruit to the deity at the religious core of the city,[81] and the product of specialised craftsmanship. In the very different historical context of the end of the fifth century stand the inscribed building accounts of the Erechtheion, a sacred building on the Athenian acropolis. These accounts list with great detail – and for the first time in an instance of such an account[82] – the names of the artisans involved in the completion of the building works and their remuneration, in a choral form of collective religious dedication, which put side by side citizens, resident aliens and slaves, all remunerated at the same level for the same craft,[83] thus enabling the practise of citizenship regardless of status. Marchiandi notably develops the concept of temporary citizenship, that is to say, citizenship that could be bestowed temporarily while completing a work of specialised craftsmanship.[84]

Taken together, all of this evidence exemplifies the role of material culture, in its sensory and productive affordances, as the mechanism through which one actively performed indebtedness (*sensu* Esposito) in religion. In this performance, the participatory act of offering partitioned the sensible in socio-spatial terms, namely across architectural structures, their decoration, or the sanctuary's space more broadly, transforming it into a heterarchical social space. Material culture's sensory and productive affordances spatially re-configured the proper: as property, namely the produce whose ownership could be legally bounded outside the sanctuary but indebted to the divinity within it;[85] and as propriety, whereby expressing indebtedness could take multiple forms either as a result of different religious norms or as a result of materialising propriety itself.

81 Marchiandi (forthcoming).
82 Marchiandi 2018, 118–120.
83 Marchiandi 2018, 119.
84 Marchiandi (forthcoming).
85 Archaic Greek legal inscriptions frequently referred to assets and wealth, either confiscated land or other wealth or extracted fines from humans, as belonging to gods (Harris and Lewis 2022).

4 Southern Etruria and south-eastern Iberia

Southern Etruria and south-eastern Iberia, two regions where urban states were characterised by hierarchical and heterarchical relations, provide an insightful contrast for the questions I wish to address. Home to large city-states that were Rome's closest neighbours, southern Etruria was composed of highly centralised, long-lasting urban states with both key resemblances and differences to Rome (Fig. 1).[86]

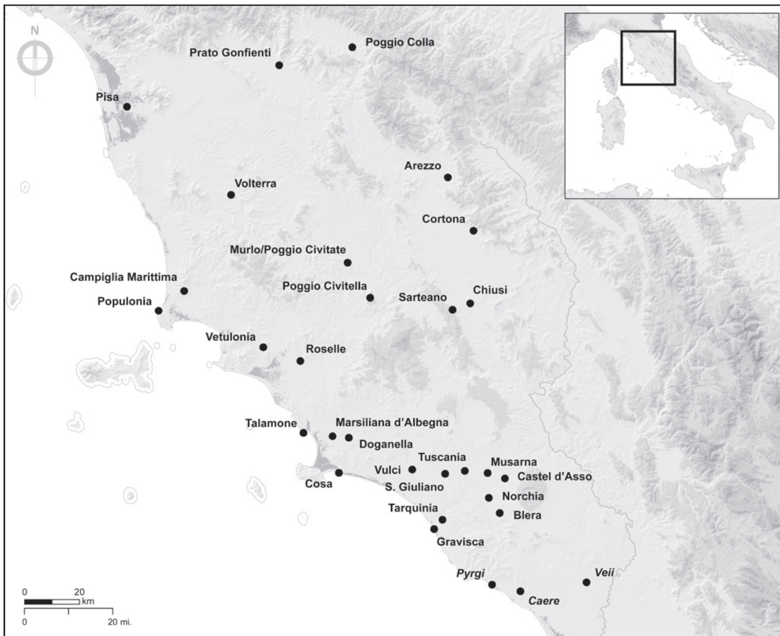

Fig. 1: Southern Etruria with the main cities.

Hierarchical relationships are as enduring as the life of the city-states themselves, as demonstrated by studies on the early Iron Age *necropoleis* developing around the vast plateaux of what will become large urban agglomerations.[87] Along with the archaeological evidence, the rich epigraphic record of personal and family names and affiliations, including the so-called *gentilizio*, the hereditary family name, gives us some key insight into a kinship system which provided structure to social relations. Indeed, it is widely contended

86 Terrenato 2019.
87 Iaia 1999; Riva 2010, 11–38.

that such a system also enabled membership to the citizen body through the inherited *gentilizio* reflecting other forms of inheritance.[88]

The study of this record has established a few key features of this system:[89] firstly, this system was already well-established by the early seventh century. This is known from the earliest inscriptions, which were used to express personal relations in elite gift exchange, an institution primarily known from funerary contexts.[90] Secondly, extant Etruscanised foreign names indicate that membership to the urban community was open. Thirdly, the use of inscriptions broadened as non-elite individuals participated in this use in the course of the sixth century; and then from the fourth century newly adopted membership to these affiliations by Etruscan individuals increased.[91] All of this gives us a picture of a very dynamic society. This is not unlike what we see in contemporary Rome where historians have shifted from a perspective of stable social structures based upon kinship relations and group affiliations such as the *gens*, to one that sees an extremely competitive social environment where factions within such groups rendered their power fragile and, in some instances, highly volatile.[92] Combined with the epigraphic record, the archaeology, from houses to cemeteries to sanctuaries, also hints at a similarly competitive and hierarchical society north of the Tiber.[93] What remains a constant feature is the use of inscriptions almost exclusively restricted to ritual contexts, *necropoleis* and sanctuaries, which must have been deemed appropriate spaces for expressing affiliations and kinship ties. Even as we bear in mind that our evidence is sadly too often dominated by these contexts, this feature is observable through fluctuating trends in the use of these spaces across time. The most significant of these trends is that the broadening in the use of inscriptions is coeval with the monumentalisation and spatial elaboration of sanctuaries.

The trajectory of south-eastern Iberian urbanism is radically different both in scale and socio-political development (Fig. 2). What follows is a synthetic reconstruction of this development. The much smaller cities in the region, fortified *oppida* on high grounds, were equally characterised by social competition, which was also mostly visible in *necropoleis*; however, there occurred, over the long term, profound disruptions from which a society structured around heterarchical relations emerged.

88 E. g., Colonna 2014.
89 Benelli 2017.
90 Riva 2017, 239.
91 Benelli 2011.
92 Smith 2022.
93 For an overview, Riva 2020b.

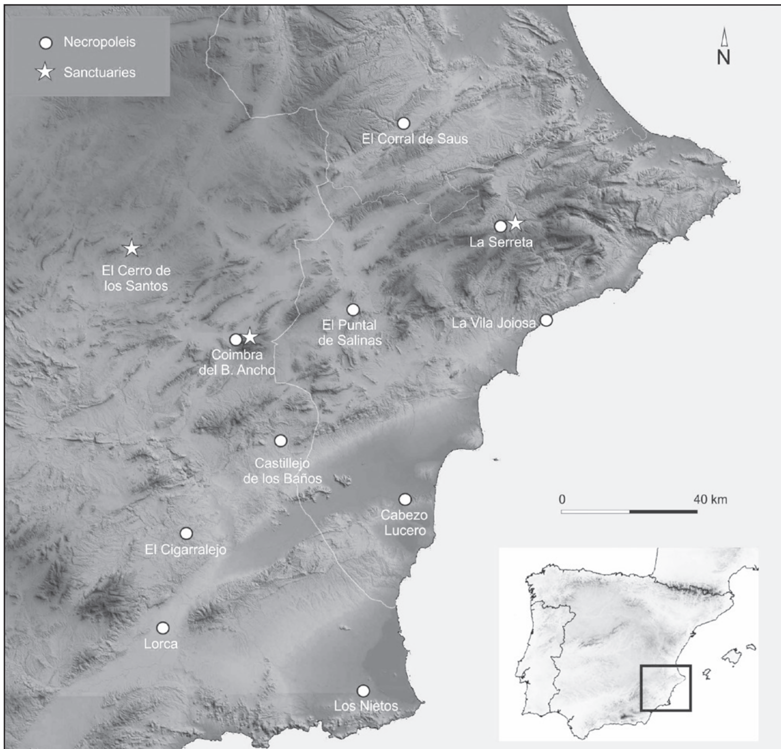

Fig. 2: South-eastern Iberia with the main cities and *necropoleis* (courtesy I. Grau Mira).

From the seventh century, the earliest *oppida* were small (2–5 ha) centres acting as nodes around communication corridors and controlling surplus production, part of which was channelled into them as prestige goods.[94] This is primarily but not solely[95] visible in the small *necropoleis* associated with these *oppida*, where the burying record, not representative of the towns' populations,[96] highlights exclusionary strategies managed by a warrior elite in the ritual-symbolic realm.[97] That these early *oppida* were towns rather than centres of large urban states is likely. As central places, they may have had the control of rural sites across territories that were sacralised by net-

94 Bonet, Grau Mira and Vives- Ferrándiz 2015.
95 The evidence from the best excavated *oppidum*, La Bastida de les Alcusses, shows complex ritualised spaces in houses (Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2021).
96 La Serreta comprises a total of eighty graves (Grau Mira 2007).
97 Grau Mira and Rueda Galán 2018, 59–60.

works of so-called *cuevas-santuario* (cave-sanctuaries). These caves hosted what archaeologists have interpreted as elite-driven rites of initiation at liminal locations.[98] We can instead speak of an urban state after a radical phase of change. Towards the end of the fourth century, several of these *oppida* were abandoned, frequentation declined and/or ceased in both the *necropoleis* and *cuevas-santuario*. At the same time, some of the larger *oppida* survived and grew into main towns and 'religious centres'.[99] This latter phrase is used to indicate the establishment of sanctuaries, closely linked to the cities, sometime architecturally elaborated, and functioning as poles of social aggregation for vast territories.[100]

The divergence between the earlier *oppida* as communities characterised by high socio-political competition and the later religious centres as spaces of cooperation, it is argued, was driven by the decentralised and heterarchical nature of political power in these urban states. This political power, in turn, was expressed in corporate strategies towards the sharing of power. Evidence of this is identified in the dispersed use of writing on lead sheets for trade administration; of banqueting vessels with complex iconographies underlying rituals of conviviality across different settlements and domestic settings, including farm houses; the existence of cult spaces within the settlements, together with the disappearance of funerary space. All of this evidence has been brought to bear at La Serreta, one of these religious centres to which I will return.

In different ways, the ritual landscape of southern Etruria and south-eastern Iberia reconfigured collective participation. Two specific features of this reconfiguration are common to both regions. Firstly, religious worship established new relations of exchange in the ritual-symbolic sphere: unlike gifts circulating across elite networks of reciprocity, the votive offering at the sanctuary established a debt relation between worshipper and deity. That this was a new, distinct sphere of exchange is notable in different ways for each region. Iberian funerary offerings declined and, in some cases ceased, to establish the sanctuary as the exclusive space for exchange in this sphere. In Etruria, inscriptions on religious offerings no longer recorded the gift giver, but rather put the emphasis upon the divinity as gift recipient, thus closing the circle of exchange.[101] The usage of a new, distinct gift-giving verb, *turuce*, for the deity served to indicate this new sphere of exchange, which thus enabled the act of indebtedness (*sensu* Esposito) by the worshipper.

98 Amorós López 2019.
99 Grau Mira 2019a, 344.
100 Grau Mira and Rueda Galán 2018, 61.
101 Riva 2017, 239. 48.

The second common feature of Etruscan and Iberian sanctuaries is their spatial and material elaboration and, in the case of southern Etruria, monumentalisation.[102] While it is reasonable to detect, in this change, an investment by the urban state into the transcendent and symbolic capital (*sensu* Bourdieu)[103] and thus its control, this investment also saw the delimitation of sacred space, owned by the deities, but of common usage. Such a spatial delimitation cannot have existed without a framework that, in guaranteeing protection of it and its usage, reconfigured the proper spatially. Yet, this reconfiguration was not a static phenomenon, but a continuous transformative process, marked by rituals of indebtedness that partitioned the sensible through time.

In Etruria, where fields of ritual action overlapped between sanctuary and cemetery, inscriptions, once again, enrich the context. Studies on specific lexical terms referring to ritual space highlight an acute awareness of spatiality especially for inviolable places such as tombs or specific spaces inside them, both in relation to immovable objects (the tomb itself, a niche) and moveable objects (e.g., funerary *cippi*). On the latter, the inscribed phrase *hupnina* ('funerary') refers to their purpose and use (or even re-use) rather than strictly their nature,[104] highlighting the changing nature of ritual space. That this is documented from the Archaic period when we see the boom in sanctuary buildings suggests a correlation of this emerging awareness with the definition of a 'new' type of inviolable space, that of the sanctuary. Of particular interest is an attestation of a term, */tus/*, usually referring to the action/state of something in tomb spaces of later dates, on a lead balance weight from the Sant'Antonio sanctuary inside the city of *Caere*, devoted to *Hercle* (the Etruscan counterpart of Greek *Herakles*). Here, the term is related to Etruscan *meθlum*, which refers to the space of the city, the *urbs*. In other words, in pointing to the city as a larger 'container' than the space of the sanctuary,[105] the inscription alludes to a close spatial relationship between ritual and urban of a very specific container kind. Bringing together all the space-defining terms, Belfiore has convincingly drawn a lexical hierarchy according to the spatial scale of 'containment' of each term, from a smaller place inside a structure (a niche in a tomb or a *cella* of a sanctuary) to the entire urban space.[106] That two of these terms, *muni* and *tamera*, occur, in their earliest attestations, at another sanctuary also at *Caere*, at its coastal

102 Potts 2018.
103 Cf. Smith 2021.
104 Belfiore 2015, 18; Tassi Scandone and Belfiore 2019.
105 Belfiore 2015, 15–16.
106 Belfiore 2015, 38–41.

port, *Pyrgi*, further suggests that the monumentalisation and elaboration of sanctuaries went hand in hand with this growing awareness of spatiality.[107]

In south-eastern Iberia, a region lacking a rich epigraphic record, we can still detect a comparable, yet distinct sense of spatiality in the reconfiguration of this latter. This is indicated by the decline of the socially exclusive rituals at the *cuevas-santuario* that is coeval with the establishment of sanctuaries. Here, the reconfiguration of the proper was effected by movement, centripetal in the case of the *cuevas-santuario*, themselves placed at liminal locations across the landscape,[108] to centrifugal in the case of the sanctuaries. As mentioned earlier, these sanctuaries were built adjacent to the city, and overlooked a vast territory of smaller sites.

However, it was religious worship ultimately and the indebtedness (*sensu* Esposito) induced which partitioned the sensible in a continuously transformative process: this is reflected in the offerings themselves and, more specifically, in the ways in which the affordances of material culture broadly conceived enabled indebtedness, from agricultural produce turned into votive libations to specific sets of artefacts, objects of the exchange, or, indeed, the representations of such an exchange, together with the actual ornamentation of cult buildings in the case of Etruria, which involved another kind of representation, the representation of the divine.[109]

The sanctuary at *Pyrgi* provides exemplary evidence to all the above thanks to the quality of some of its primary depositions, unique for an Italic sanctuary, and its envelopment in *Caere*'s urban fabric. Its monumentalisation, preceded by the monumentalisation[110] of the road, which, from the end of the seventh century, linked it to the city,[111] has drawn parallels with Athens and its classical harbour at Piraeus.[112] A more fitting parallel are the

107 That *muni*, furthermore, in an articulated lexical form, came to refer to a type of magistracy (Belfiore 2015, 32) indicates the process by which spatiality itself was institutionalised. Finally, through time, *muni* took on the semantic nuance of 'common' (Tassi Scandone and Belfiore 2019, 330). 'Common' is again in reference to the usage of space – not to its nature or as an opposite of private in relation to public.

108 Amorós López 2019, 39; Grau Mira 2010; López-Bertran 2011.

109 Riva 2021b.

110 By this I mean the planning and layout of the road, its width of ca. ten metres and a full infrastructure to go with it from curbing to a rainwater drainage system (cf. Michetti 2016, 74).

111 With small *dado* tombs, dated to the second quarter of the sixth century, at Quarto di Monte Bischero, perfectly aligned to the road, and of imminent publication (Petacco 2014); nearby was probably a workshop related to the manufacturing of terracottas for the sanctuary, as indicated by antefixes' matrices and tuyeres (Baglione and Belelli Marchesini 2015, 133 n. 10).

112 Michetti 2016, 75; cf. Baglione 2013b, 142.

monumental temples of *Selinous* which provided the maritime façade of this south-western Sicilian *polis*.[113] Characterising *Pyrgi* exclusively as an Archaic *emporion* sanctuary is, in other words, misleading. The complex comprised: 1) a central monumental area, enclosing two monumental temples, Temple B and A, built in quick succession to one another (fifty or so years)[114] with ancillary buildings, various structures, and a monumental entrance with precinct to the earlier temple B; 2) a southern non-monumental area, composed of altars around it and in which offerings to chthonian deities, which arguably derived from Greek mystery cults, followed an extremely strict ceremonial order, providing micro-scale insights, so far unique in Etruria, of the offerer's intentions;[115] 3) a northern area, densely built, and hosting a group of 'public-ceremonial' buildings that have been related to the administration of the harbour's economy.[116] Along the *Caere-Pyrgi* road was another sanctuary, near-contemporary to Temple B, not far from one of the largest isolated seventh-century *tumuli* outside the city, the Montetosto *Tumulus*,[117] now understood to be more complex thanks to ongoing field research.[118] This impressive building programme belongs to *Caere*'s boom in cult buildings, which has been quantified: in the space of thirty years, ca. 540–510 BCE, some twenty-six roofs of such buildings were erected across the city and its hinterland.[119]

Associated to Temple B and nearby area C is the inscription containing *muni* and *tamera* mentioned earlier. This is an Etruscan/Phoenician bilingual dedication inscribed on golden plaques by a certain *Thefarie Velianas*, who – the dedication claims – built a house to the goddess *Uni-Astarte* as *Caere*'s ruler.[120] While the ritual deposits of this monumental sanctuary are largely related to the dismantling of buildings (e. g., the well of Area C) rather than primary sacrificial deposits, the architectural elaboration and decoration of both temples provides an entry into our comprehension of spatial reconfiguration of the proper through ornament and the role of specialised craftsmanship in it.[121] The two other areas, by contrast,

113 De Angelis 2018, 266.
114 Temple B: 510 BCE. Temple A: 460/450 BCE.
115 Baglione and Gentili 2013.
116 Baglione et al. 2017.
117 Belelli Marchesini, Biella and Michetti 2015.
118 Belelli Marchesini et al. 2019.
119 Winter and Lulof 2016, 129; Winter 2017, 148.
120 Bellelli and Xella 2016.
121 I have set out the wider context and basis for analysing the role of specialised craftsmanship in temple decoration, stressing the moral and social order underlying the decoration of cult buildings (Riva 2021b). In a few cases, we have evidence of personal dedications as

provide ample evidence of a wide range of ritual acts, and thus an equally wide range of ritual actors and areas of sacralisation. There, the votive material, beyond the specific deities to which it was offered, highlights not simply heterarchical participation through indebtedness, but also the role that such a participation played in contributing to the reconfiguration of the proper across the sacred space beyond the literal inscription of the latter.[122]

To illustrate this specific point, I discuss two primary deposits, located in and adjacent to the so-called Porticoed Building of the northern ceremonial complex,[123] in relation to other deposits in the Southern Area. Dated to ca. 530–520 BCE, i.e., a couple of decades earlier than Temple B, the Porticoed Building has been interpreted as a building for storing agricultural produce.[124] The first deposit, the Trench of Loom Weights, outside and against the building's northern perimeter wall, contained a repeated (i.e., multi-levelled) deposition of twenty-nine loom weights, several defunctionalised, and most of them inscribed with *sigla*.[125] The weights were associated with a service of *ollae*[126] of various sizes and a decorated oversize terracotta brazier;[127] the deposit was closed by bovine and caprine bones and lumps of *aes rude*,[128] and has been connected to the restoration or change of use of either the entire building or one of its rooms, contemporaneous to the building of Temple B. The domestic character of this deposit may hint at a specific type of cult. Yet, textiles and their production,[129] highlighted through several depositions in what appears to be an individual sacrificial act, notably reconfigured the space,[130] and can be compared and contrasted with the loom weights and other textile equipment deposited at both temples of the monumental area, but only as single votives.[131]

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the mid-fifth-century-BCE bronze laminated plaque of a woman who is 'in the sanctuary of Uni' (Baglione 2013a, 133).

122 In this respect, the much higher and later number of space-containment terms from funerary contexts suggests Archaic sanctuaries as much more active, fluid religious spaces for such a re-configuration. Note, however, that Belfiore and Tassi Scandone (Tassi Scandone and Belfiore 2019) hint that later overcrowding at *necropoleis* may explain the need to mark out space outside tombs.

123 Baglione et al. 2017, 179–180.

124 Baglione and Michetti 2017, 107–108.

125 Michetti, Abbondanzieri and Bartolomei 2020, 298–299.

126 Italic containers for food or liquid, used in banqueting services since the Iron Age.

127 Baglione and Michetti 2017, 108–109.

128 Michetti 2019, 538.

129 Michetti 2019, 549.

130 At the bottom of the trench, one loom weight was intentionally placed vertically on a tile (Michetti 2019, 539).

131 Gleba 2009, 71. Gleba sees large accumulations of loom-weights as evidence of pro-

The second deposit, a small conical pit in grey *tufa*, from room A of a building east of the so-called *Edificio in opera quadrata*, contained a heavily burnt layer, which held small iron nails with bronze heads and a small lead ingot, with bronze-laminated arrow heads on the room's floor.[132] The lead ingot points to similar offerings in the Southern Area that comprised various metal – lead, bronze, copper – and ingot-like objects, in what was a complex set of rites which merged these objects' power to sacralise space and their productive affordances. These affordances were highlighted by the specific weight system, according to which the metal offerings of different weights were cut or forged before deposition.[133] Notable among these rites, aimed at defining the entire sacred space, was the pouring of molten lead onto the ground at significant locations: through this action, the poured metal was of specific quantities that closely matched, at once, specific weights within that system, and the temporal lapses necessary for each action.[134] While the extent to which the ingot of the deposit in the Northern Area alluded to the casting of molten lead from the Southern Area remains unclear, we here have exemplified the sensory and productive affordances of an offering, which, in materialising strict religious norms, reconfigured the proper in a sacred area lacking architectural elaboration. This may have been a collective dedication involving both religious officials and metalworkers.

Other sacrificial deposits, some of which contained inscribed dedications to Etruscan chthonic deities *Suri* and *Cavatha*, a female local deity corresponding to Greek *Kore*, Demeter's daughter, characterise this Southern Area as one of the earliest Etruscan sanctuaries devoted to a Demeter-type cult and related chthonic cults under the influence of worshippers from Magna Graecia.[135] The scholarly emphasis upon Greek worshippers who frequented the area for mercantile purposes, bringing in their own cults, however, underplays the remarkably swift integration of local and non-local expressions of religious worship, seen, above all, in the epigraphic evidence.[136] This integration suggests that multiple forms of indebtedness were prompted by new religious norms that coexisted with other votive

duction rather than votive dedications (78). I find this distinction artificial: reference to production is precisely what empowers the offerer to act on the religious space through the deposit.

132 Michetti 2019, 544–545.

133 Drago Troccoli 2013, esp. 194; Drago Trocolli 2015.

134 Drago Troccoli 2013, 191, fig. 1; Drago Trocolli 2015, 95.

135 The insistence to connect the lead offerings to these chthonic cults (Drago Troccoli 2013, 170–171) must be reconsidered in light of current interpretations in the use of lead in Greek religious and non-religious contexts.

136 Maras 2013.

activities occurring across the entire complex. In other words, despite the often-stressed separation between different areas,[137] ritual acts framed these areas but also disrupted the boundaries separating them. Hence, these acts allowed, partly through this integration of worship at the Southern sanctuary, new partitions of the sensible and growing heterarchical relationships that chthonic and Demeter-type cults enabled.

If Pyrgi offers such a rich picture of indebtedness and dynamic configuration of the proper in religion, the sanctuary of the south-eastern Iberian city of La Serreta, an open-air sanctuary located next to the settlement at the end of a high promontory overlooking a wide valley, illustrates this in a different, albeit limited, way. The sanctuary holds the largest corpus of terracotta figurines ever found anywhere in pre-Roman Iberia – over 400 according to the latest typology[138] –, and the only votive material known from this site. The figurines, deposited in the space of ca. 250 years (ca. third to first century BCE), represent a range of human figures, from schematic ones to male and female full figures, heads and faces, and include a series of incense burners. Latest research has interpreted these figures as representations of offerers of different social status, from roughly made schematic figures to carefully made heads with highly elaborated hair-styles and jewellery. The latter have been identified as high-status offerings, which are also found in other sanctuaries in the region and in ritualised domestic contexts, leading scholars to interpret some of them as representing family ancestors.[139] Archaeometric analysis has furthermore ascertained the provenance of the clay and, most probably, of the figurines themselves: this partly matches the archaeological analysis for types that are locally distributed, and, in other cases, points to their distant origins, hinting at a much wider sphere of religious interaction beyond the territory under La Serreta's control.[140]

The lack of primary deposits provides no detail on the rites that led to the deposition of this material, nor on any other activities that may have taken place there. Yet, the material can be read against the wider context of other ritual material and the region. Firstly, the anthropomorphisation of the human figure is a key change in religious worship and a caesura in respect to the objects – mostly related to drinking and banqueting – employed in

137 The separation between the monumental and southern sanctuary is marked by the presence of an ancient water source that was canalised and may have been instrumental to the establishment of the earliest cult structure in the latter, the so-called *sacello beta* (Colonna 2000, 260–272).

138 Grau Mira, Amorós López and López-Bertràn 2017, 61.

139 Grau Mira, Amorós López and López-Bertràn 2017, 76.

140 Grau Mira and Gallello 2017.

the ritual activities of the *cuevas-santuario*.[141] This must be understood in conjunction with a radical spatial reconfiguration of the proper,[142] that condensed the space for religious worship at a central location,[143] and where the act of indebtedness to the divine was, in some cases literally, represented in the figurines. The hand-craft of the figurines in various styles, furthermore, merits attention: far from indicating hasty production or a lack of specialised craftsmanship (which was available as seen in the thirty-eight cm high limestone sculpture *Gran Dama Oferente* from the sanctuary at Cerro de los Santos)[144] a specific stylistic register of representation underlines their design. This register conceptualised the body in a modular way,[145] which was itself afforded by the malleability of clay, and may have something to do with the specific cult taking place at La Serreta.

In the wider regional context, it is notable that urban growth coinciding with these religious centres also saw the emergence of specialised understandings of the divine, not unlike what we see in Etruria. This is suggested by the fact that each sanctuary had a distinct body of material that was very much unlike another.[146] In the case of La Serreta, scholars have interpreted the urban cult as referring to female fertility divinities, found elsewhere, too, but with different attributes.[147] What is, by contrast, distinctly different from Etruria is the fact that city sanctuaries rarely acted as the ritual field for surplus accumulation.[148] Our knowledge on rural settlements points to corporate strategies by those family units that, in these villages, retained access to land and the infrastructure for this production.[149] Evidence of surplus accumulation is seen in storage buildings,[150] some of which were communal, thus indicating collectively mobilised labour,[151] and in sacred

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141 This caesura must be understood against the general ‘explosion’ of complex iconographic schemata on various material supports, from pottery to sculpture (Basso Rial 2022).

142 900 km² is the basin-territory estimated to have been controlled by the 6 ha town at La Serreta (Grau Mira 2019b, 11).

143 Note, however, that in other urban states frequentation in the *cuevas-santuario* did not cease, as is the case with such cult places near the sanctuary of La Luz of the *sureste* (Tortosa Rocamora and Comino Comino 2013, 140) and, in other regional contexts, e.g., in the Alto Guadalquivir (Rueda Galán and Bellón Ruiz 2016).

144 Chapa and Gonzáles 2013, 118–124.

145 Grau Mira, Amorós López and López-Bertràn 2017, 107–111.

146 Grau Mira and Rueda Galán 2018.

147 Grau Mira 2019a, 351.

148 Those that do, as Cerro de Los Santos, are not urban ‘religious centres’ as defined above (Grau Mira and Rueda Galán 2018, 63).

149 Grau Mira 2019c.

150 Olcina Doménech, Grau Mira and Moltó Gisbert 2000.

151 Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2021, 417–418.

settings across domestic units.[152] Ultimately, decentralised forms of political authority and the heterarchical organisation of these urban states may explain the lack of visibility of surplus production at central sanctuaries. In fact, evidence of ritualised commensality within houses of both town and villages further confirms the role of this socio-political decentralisation and the existence of corporate groups in the social negotiation of surplus.[153] Hence, the characterisation of Iberian societies as 'house societies'.[154] At La Serreta, offerings such as ornaments and textiles, which must have circulated within kinship groups,[155] were not directly indebted to the divinity. They were instead represented in the figurines, which were, in turn, representations of the exchange itself and therefore of propriety in the performative and transitive act of giving.

5 Conclusion

Understood in the theoretical and methodological framework I have proposed, the evidence discussed from southern Etruria and south-eastern Iberia highlights the nexus between urbanism and religion. In this nexus and according to the proposed framework, I have considered the proper and indebtedness as an alternative angle from which to examine religious worship and its material and spatial manifestations in urban settings, which cannot be reduced to a private-public dichotomy in the making of urban communities. We may conclude that, understood in this way, these communities were built and expressed through religion and its spaces. Was this expressive of citizenship? If we understand citizenship as a set of rights, responsibilities, as well as ties and obligations, changing and multifarious, even open, in a dynamic socio-political environment as were both Etruscan and Iberian states, then we can say that the building of community through indebtedness to the divine and the establishment of the proper through the divine must have been at least one aspect of what created membership to the urban community, together with other aspects, perhaps descent, well expressed in Etruria through the epigraphic record. This may have been so even in religious spaces, such as Pyrgi, that were particularly open to outside worshippers, yet were also the locus for expressions of local kinship affili-

152 Grau Mira, Olmos and Perea 2008.
153 Grau Mira 2019c, 72.
154 Grau Mira and Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2018.
155 Grau Mira 1996; Grau Mira and Segura i Martí 2013, 169–194.

ations.[156] Continuity, however, in the expression of these affiliations in the ritual sphere must be, above all, understood as a form of competition and contestation of performative status among elites. These elites had to adapt to growing urban communities[157] and hence to what it meant to belong to the latter, acquiescing to their rules and regulations, not dissimilarly to what one sees in the Greek world[158] or indeed in Rome. In south-eastern Iberia, the decline in the use of cemeteries suggests a much more radical re-configuration of the proper for a community that spanned a vast territory, but that coalesced in religion where local elite groups, too, had to adapt to new modes of participation expressed in indebtedness.

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