an international conference at Trinity College Dublin

From Invisible to Visible
New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy

Participants:
Nicola Bruni
Sarah-Anne Buckley
Carla Caldarini
Maureen Carroll
Lara Cassidy
Paola Catalano
Cristina Cattaneo
Alessandra Celant
Deneb Cesana
Anna Chahoud
Elena Ciccarelli
Sheira Cohen
Massimo Cultraro
Vincenzo d’Ercole
Chiara Delpino
Anna De Santis
Eoin O’Donoghue
M. Antonietta Fugazzola Delpino
Francesca Fulminante
Suellen Gauld
Marijke Gnade
Michele Guirguis
Sian Halcrow
Sarah Whitcher Kansa
Claudia Lambrugo
Romina Laurito
Simona Marchesini
Claudia Minniti
Marcello Mogetta
Eleanor Molloy
Eileen Murphy
Valentino Nizzo
Adriano Orsigher
Elisa Perego
Alessandra Piergrossi
Rosana Pla Orquin
Assunta Perilli
Elisa Pompianu
Rafael Scopacasa
Trevor Spratt
David Stifter
Angela Trentacoste
Anthony Tuck
Ileke van Kampen
Joachim Weidig

Keynote speaker
Jean MacIntosh Turfa

Convenors
Jacopo Tabolli
Hazel Dodge

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24 April 2017 - Arts Building, SL JM Synge Theatre, Room 2039

17.15-17.30 Welcome Addresses
17.30-17.45 Introduction, J.Tabolli-H.Dodge
17.45-18.30 KEYNOTE LECTURE, Jean MacIntosh Turfa
18.30-19.30 Reception, Department of Classics, Room 6002

25 April 2017 - Trinity Long Room Hub, Neill Lecture Theatre

9.00-10.30 ADDRESSING METHODS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE, Chair: A. Chahoud
Hide-and-seek. Searching for a “history of the research” of the archaeology of infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy, A. Piergrossi-J. Tabolli
Looking backwards, looking ahead: Infant burials in context in Roman Italy, M. Carroll
“Rites of passage beyond death”. Liminal strategies and premature death in protohistoric communities, V. Nizzo
Little Spinners? Rediscovering the links between spinning and infant burials in central Italy during the 1st millennium BC, through ethnographical and anthropological approaches, R. Laurito et alii
The archaeological applications of ancient DNA analysis, L. Cassidy
New directions in child bioarchaeology: the matenal-infant nexus, S. E. Halcrow

10.30-11.30 IDEAS SPACE, Discussants: E. Molloy, T. Spratt

11.30-13.15 INCLUDING OR SEcluding INFANTS BETWEEN ROME AND LATIUM, Chair: H. Dodge
Intersecting Age and Social Boundaries in Sub-Adult Burials of Central Italy during the 1st Millennium BC, F. Fulminante
Infant burials in the inhabited areas: new results for the understanding of the socio-cultural structure of the ancient community of Rome, A. De Santis et alii
Rich infant burials from an elite domestic compound at Early Iron Age and Orientalising Gabii, M. Moggetta-S. Cohen
A new Iron Age child burial from Satricum, M. Gnade
Infant burials in the area of the Rocca Pia at Tivoli, M. A. Fugazzola Delpino

11.15-13.15 LUNCH

13.15-14.15 IDEAS SPACE, Discussants: Sarah-Anne Buckley - Eileen Murphy

14.15-15.30 LITTLE HEIRS OF ETRURIA AND THE NORTH, Chair: E. O’ Donoghue
What to expect when you are not expecting. Unusual strategies of space and time for infant and child burials at Veii in the necropolis of Grotta Grammicia, J. Tabolli
Little heirs of a 7th century BC Umbrian royal family, J. Weidig-N. Bruni
Infant and child burials in the Picene necropolis of Novilara (Pesaro): 2012-2013 excavations, C. Delpino
Out with the bath water? Infant remains in pre-Roman zooarchaeological assemblages, A. Trentacoste et alii
Italo-Celtic child burials in the Seminario Maggiore di Verona, S. Marchesini-D. Stifter

15.30-16.30 IDEAS SPACE, Discussants: S. E. Halcrow

16.30-18.00 CHILDHOOD (IN)VISIBILITY IN SOUTH ITALY, Chair: J. MacIntosh Turfa
Children in Early Republican Italy: a personhood-focused approach, R. Scopacasa-E. Perego
Infant burials in the middle-Adriatic area (Abruzzo, Central Italy) from final Bronze Age to the Archaic period: new data through a new bio-archaeological approach, D. Cesana-V. d’Ercole
Alive or dead at birth. New data from the enchytrismoi at Jazzo Fornasiello (Gravina in Puglia –Bari), C. Lambrugo-C. Cattaneo
Perception of childhood in funerary contexts from Monte Sirai and Villamar, M. Guirguis et alii
Searching for the missing corpses: infant and child burials in south-eastern Sicily from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, M. Cultaro
Forever young: rethinking infancy and childhood at Motya, A. Orsingher

18.00-18.45 FINAL DISCUSSION, Discussant: S. E. Halcrow
18.45-19.30 Reception, Trinity Long Room Hum, Hoey Ideas Space
Archaeology’s Tir Na N-og (“The Land of the Young”): Understanding Burials of Children in Ancient Italy

Small in size, yet great in social impact: the funerals and tombs of children, from newborns to teenagers, expressed a family’s hopes and fears, but also portrayed its place in community, society and cosmos. Once thought to have been lost to posterity, children’s burials are now being discovered at archaeological sites throughout Italy – or re-discovered – from material stored in museums. Laboratory projects, too, are exposing rare details of the lives and death of children in the cultures of first-millennium BC Italy. So much fresh material enables us to create a rich picture of the heart of the cultures of early Italy, namely the family and its children. A survey of discoveries from burials of the Etruscan, Faliscan and other Italic cultures will serve as a sampling of both the alien and the familiar aspects of these societies.
Hide-and-seek. Searching for a “history of the research” of the archaeology of infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy

The archaeological record of infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy appears elusive not only for the peculiarity of these burials, but also for the lack of a comprehensive and comparative study, which often stems from the absence of well excavated and securely identified anthropological remains. Despite the seeming absence within Italian archaeology of a well-defined tradition of studies and of an autonomous methodology for the study of infant and child burials, the numerous discoveries, which began already after the unification of Italy, and current research make pre-Roman Italy one of the richest areas with these elusive burials in the ancient Mediterranean. This paper presents an unprecedented overview of the most significant discoveries of infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy during the past century, in order to trace a history of the research and excavations, and focuses on the most relevant case studies discovered in the peninsula and in the islands.

Looking backwards, looking ahead: Infant burials in context in Roman Italy

This paper integrates burial evidence, material culture, and iconography with social and cultural history, an approach for which the subject of infancy and infant death and burial is especially well suited. It also sets the scene for the Roman evidence by briefly discussing burial data and a range of material culture evidence for the youngest children in the pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman period in Italy.
"Rites of passage beyond death". Liminal strategies and premature death in protohistoric communities

The selective process affecting the ancient funerary record is especially evident among those members of past communities who died before puberty, and particularly among children younger than 3-4 years, who are less “represented” than others. This paper looks at the evidence of pre-Roman Italy following both an archaeological and an anthropological perspective, and focuses on the analysis of the funerary treatment of this large part of society (up to 50% of the population), which contributes to the reconstruction of the evolution of the ancient social body. At the same time, this paper discusses the interpretation of the ritual beliefs connected with these delicate phases of life, which preceded for each person the introduction in the society of the adults. Towards the end of the Early Iron Age, infants within the necropoleis began to be better “represented”. Some of these burials contain goods, which both in terms of type and function identify the young dead as an adult. These burials and their entire funerary ceremony seem to follow a ritual intended to grant to the deceased the “signs” of a social condition that death has prevented them to reach. This new trend belongs to a broader framework of cultural and economic changes, which characterised the indigenous communities from the mid-8th century BC onwards, as it is evident especially in the funerary record of Italian Iron Age necropoleis.

Little Spinners? Rediscovering the links between spinning and infant burials in central Italy during the 1st millennium BC, through ethnographical and anthropological approaches

Textiles and their making were important parts of all aspects of life in ancient Italy, since textile production was a time consuming activity. Evidence for textiles in central Italy is scarce and the numerous presence of textile tools remains the main evidence for spinning and weaving activities. These tools permit us to gain valuable information about many and varied aspects of textile production in the pre-Roman Italy. Furthermore, traditionally in the Mediterranean area, the spinning and weaving activities are connected to the female world, but an elusive and little investigated aspect is the involvement of children in the textile production.

9.30-9.45
Valentino Nizzo
Director of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia

9.45-10.00
Romina Laurito
Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la Città metropolitana di Roma, l’Etruria meridionale e la provincia di Viterbo
Elena Ciccarelli
Independent researcher
Assunta Perilli
Independent researcher

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This paper moves on from this assumption and investigates the world of spinning and weaving, and the relevant tools, based on ethnographic and anthropological observations in order to examine the possible occurrence of textile tools in children burials in central Italy in the first half of the 1st millennium BC.

The archaeological applications of ancient DNA analysis

Recent advances in sequencing technology have made accessible whole genomes from millennia-old archaeological bone, giving unprecedented insight into the ancestry of ancient individuals. Published genomes from ancient humans now number in the hundreds, and have been used to address a myriad of questions relating to the demographic and evolutionary processes that have shaped modern populations. Importantly, these data can also be used to address site-specific issues. Molecular sex determination for ancient individuals is straightforward and achievable even for samples with little surviving endogenous human DNA. This application is of particular significance in the study of child burials. Kinship analysis between individuals from the same site is also possible. Indeed, relatedness to at least the third degree can be inferred from relatively low amounts of sequencing data. Finally, medical and phenotypic profiles for ancient individuals can be constructed, giving insight into traits associated with disease susceptibility, diet and pigmentation.

New directions in child bioarchaeology: the maternal-infant nexus

The identification and analyses of foetuses from archaeological contexts provides an avenue to assess social aspects of personhood and motherhood, and the intricate relationship between maternal and infant health experience in the past. Over the past 20 years there has been an increasing recognition of the importance of children in bioarchaeological research. However, although foetuses are starting to be included in the analyses of population health and isotopic studies of infant weaning and diet in the past, most bioarchaeological research focuses on individuals post-infancy. This paper starts to build a theoretical framework to conceptualise foetuses from the archaeological context and to identify areas for future research.
This paper will explore how the foetus is defined in the field, including discerning whether a baby is in-utero or not, and terminological issues. It then reviews the contribution that the bioarchaeology of foetuses can make to understand fertility and other demographic information of a population, disease epidemiology, maternal and infant stress and the consequences of early life disease on later life experience, and cultural or social aspects of personhood.

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**Hoey Ideas Space – Coffee Break**
Discussants: Eleanor Molloy, TCD - Trevor Spratt, TCD

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**INCLUDING OR SECLUSION INFANTS BETWEEN ROME AND LATIUM**
Chair: Hazel Dodge, TCD

Intersecting Age and Social Boundaries in Sub-Adult Burials of Central Italy during the 1st Millennium BC

A contextual analysis of Latin burials between the end of the Final Bronze Age and the end of the Orientalizing Age, with a comparative perspective to Etruscan and other central Italian populations, seems to suggest that there was an important age threshold between infants below 3-5 years of age and children older than this age. Children below this age generally lack gender and status role indicators while children above this age might have these types of indicators. According to some scholars and literary accounts this might be linked to the important stage of development of speech but also to the cessation of breastfeeding and the completion of weaning and the emancipation of the child from exclusive maternal care. At the same time with the advent of urban societies more infants of exceptional wealth tend to receive gender as well as status indicators. This seems to suggest that by this time belonging to the aristocratic group intersects and overrules age and developmental boundaries.
Infant burials in the inhabited areas: new results for the understanding of the socio-cultural structure of the ancient community of Rome

In antiquity, children who died during the prenatal period or within the first years of life represent a very high percentage of the deceased population. Nevertheless, according to the archaeological evidence, the record of infant burials found in the necropoleis is very low and cannot be considered completely representative of the neo-natal and infant mortality rates. The underrepresentation of children from the necropoleis may indicate that a particular funeral treatment was probably devoted to infants. This is particularly evident in Latium, where the custom of burying infants and children inside the inhabited areas, near or below the huts, consistently occurred from the 9th to the 6th-5th centuries BC. Significant evidence of this custom comes from the northern part of ancient Latium, and particularly from Rome, Ficana, Pratica di Mare and Ardea. This paper discusses the evidence from Rome where a number of infant burials have been found in past excavations, but also in most recent years. The infant burials discovered by Giacomo Boni at the beginning of the 19th century in the Roman Forum, near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, together with the burials recently found in the Caesar Forum and on the Capitolium hill (area of the Giardino Romano) are analysed in this paper with a new approach. The results are also compared with those from the past excavations. Anthropological data, relating to sex and age at death, together with zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical data, allows us for better understanding the structure of the ancient community of Rome, especially regarding health, nutrition and diet.

Rich infant burials from an élite domestic compound at Early Iron Age and Orientalising Gabii

Recent excavations of one of the foci of early occupation at the urban site of Gabii have brought to light a group of eight infant inhumation graves dating to the Early Iron Age and Orientalising period. Four of these tombs are located within the boundaries of an élite domestic compound, and are positioned so as to respect the orientation and alignment of the main structural features. The practice of burying infants at or near habitation contexts is widespread at contemporary Latin settlements, and the Gabii...
Looking backwards, looking ahead: Infant burials in context in Roman Italy

This paper integrates burial evidence, material culture, and iconography with social and cultural history, an approach for which the subject of infancy and infant death and burial is especially well suited. It also sets the scene for the Roman evidence by briefly discussing burial data and a range of material culture evidence for the youngest children in the pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman period in Italy.

Marcello Mogetta
University of Missouri
Sheira Cohen
University of Michigan

Tomb tombs clearly represent another example of the well-known *suggrundarium* type. However, the lavish funerary treatment reserved to these individuals is unparalleled. The grave-good assemblages recovered from the Gabii tombs are the richest found to date in central Italy for this class of burials. They comprise ceramic drinking sets, bronze implements, and elements of personal ornament that only find comparanda in other high-status adult or sub-adult graves documented in the region. The evidence suggests that, at interment, infants born into aristocratic family groups were treated - and recognised - as the full members of the community that they would have eventually become. Their funerals, happening in plain view within the settlement, provided an opportunity for the expression of inherited rank and status, which likely played a crucial role in the negotiation of power relations among the local groups involved in the process of city formation at the site.

A new Iron Age child burial from Satricum

This paper discusses a recently discovered child burial from the lower city area of ancient Satricum. The burial dates to the late 8th or early 7th centuries BC. The excavation revealed an exceptional rich assemblage consisting of 6 vases of small size, four of which related to wine consumption, one normal sized plate containing animal bones and an elaborate set of 22 personal bronze objects. On the basis of the analysis of a few preserved teeth, the age of the deceased could be established at 9 months. So far, the child burial is the fifth case known from Iron Age Satricum. However, contrary to the other four burials which were all found inside the hut settlement on the acropolis, the new burial is located at a great distance from the acropolis, in the area of the later Archaic town. The question arises whether the Iron Age child burials are to be understood as suggrundaria associated with hut features. If indeed so, this has great implications for our ideas of the extension of the early hut settlement of Satricum. On the other hand the rich burial assemblage of the newly discovered burial sets it apart from the other burials on the acropolis and may offer another explanation for the interpretation of the burials.
Infant burials in the area of the Rocca Pia at Tivoli

The necropolis of Rocca Pia in Tivoli (province of Rome) has been continuously used from the beginning to the third quarter of the 8th century BC. After almost fifty years of interruption, during the so-called Middle and Late-Orientalising periods (670-580 BC) the necropolis has been again in use. Of the 77 burials discovered in this cemetery, fifteen are related to infants and children. Most of these burials belonged to newborns, infants, children and adolescents and revealed the presence of funerary goods. The earliest child burial dates back to the end of the local ‘first period’ (Tivoli I B) – corresponding to the first decade of the 8th century BC – while the latest one dates back to the end of the ‘third period’ (Tivoli III B), corresponding to the third quarter of the 8th century BC. Some of these infant and child burials can be attributed to the younger members of high-rank families. Five of them were intentionally placed inside a circle of stones (with the purpose of highlighting or secluding them?). This paper also presents a possible interpretation of some other evidence of unusual burial rituals as a form of defensive "magic".

Discussion

Hoey Ideas Space – Lunch

Little Heirs of Etruria and the North
Chair: Eoin O’Donoghue, NUI Galway

What to expect when you are not expecting. Unusual strategies of space and time for infant and child burials at Veii in the necropolis of Grotta Gramiccia

This paper presents a new approach for the study of the infant and child burials discovered between 1913 and 1915 in the necropolis of Grotta Gramiccia, which is one of the Early Iron Age cemeteries of the Etruscan town of Veii (north of Rome). Among the 800 tombs discovered by Natale Malavolta, despite the fact that many of them have been found already looted or destroyed by agricultural activities, a large number of tombs can be identified as infant and child burials. Considering the large
number of burials and the relatively short life of the cemetery (mid 9th to late 8th century BC) the necropolis of Grotta Gramiccia thereby becomes a particular “window” on the world of children in the Iron Age Veii, presenting part of the social body of the ancient community “capsuled in time” through the filter of funerary ideology. This paper addresses all the potentials and together the limits within the attempt of working on infant and child burials whose excavation dates back almost a hundred years. Furthermore, when it comes to describing the inter-site spatial analysis between tombs and groups and combining the spatial patterns with the chronological sequence of the cemetery, we can observe a multitude of ritual ‘strategies’ of burial which demonstrate the complexity of the society of Veii and the different identities in transformation of infants and children within it. From invisible to visible, infants and children seem to have played different roles both at the centre and at the margins of the society.

Little heirs of a 7th century BC Umbrian royal family

This paper presents new data on the necropolis of Piazza d’Armi at Spoleto, where more than 50 tombs have been recently discovered, dating from the late 8th to early 6th century BC. Among them a small group belongs to an aristocratic family who ruled the local community, holding symbols of social, religious and political power. Within this family, the social position of children is extremely interesting and seems to have been higher than in the contemporary Etruscan world. At Spoleto, male child burials contain peculiar finds, which usually belong to adult princes, such as weapons, banquet and symposium vases, and ritual ‘shoe-shaped’ askoi. It is possible to interpret these finds as symbols of heritage, which is stressed despite the premature death. On the other hand, female child burials present tools, which recall the adult life, and especially the “baby priestess tomb”. In this burial the young dead wore a ceremonial dress adorned with winged-lion silver fibulae and bronze wire pendants with glass, amber or bone inserts. She also wore a stole with iron discs and held a bronze rattle, identical to another rattle found in an adult female tomb, belonging to the same family group. These children were probably the little heirs of the royal family of Spoleto.
Infant and child burials in the Picene necropolis of Novilara (Pesaro): 2012-2013 excavations

This paper focuses on the necropolis of Novilara and presents especially for the first time the results of new research, which brought to light a considerable number of infant and child burials. The necropolis of Novilara is situated in the northern Region of Marche, at just 4 km from the Adriatic seacoast, on the northern slope of a small hill. Novilara has been known in literature since the late 19th century. Between 1892 and 1893, Edoardo Brizio excavated in two different localities: the “Molaroni area” and the “Servici area”. He discovered 362 burials dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BC. In 2012 new research began, because of some major constructions related to the enlargement of the Adriatic Motorway. The area under investigation (10,000 sq. metres) corresponds to the “Molaroni area” of the previous excavations by Brizio. During the 2012-13 excavations, 157 new burials have been brought to light, dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BC. All of them, except one, consist of inhumations in simple trenches with the body laying on the right side in a fetal position, probably wrapped inside a shroud, and with the personal belongings all around. The first bio-archaeological analysis has been conducted during the excavation (further studies, including DNA analysis, are in due course). Among all the skeletal remains where age has been identified, 125 burials - 80% - belonged to adults, while 32 burials - 20% - belonged to infants, children and adolescences. This paper focuses on the preliminary analysis of the infant and child burials: three of them corresponded to infants who died at the time of birth, twelve before year 3, fourteen between year 3 and 13, and twelve before year 20. The identification of gender based on skeletal remains has been possible in very few cases, while the presence of funerary sets permitted to identify some burials as male or female. This paper addresses also the role of grave goods in most of the burials especially dating to the 7th century BC, which in most of the cases appear to have been in close correlation to adult burials. The presence of infant and child burials together with grave goods may illuminate the existence of expressions of social status linked to families or clans leading the ancient community during the so-called Orientalising period.
Out with the bath water? Infant remains in pre-Roman zooarchaeological assemblages

Recovery and analysis of animal remains from proto-historic sites is now a routine part of Italian excavations. During the study of a faunal assemblage, it is not unusual to encounter a few human bones, typically loose small elements from adult individuals. However, recent analyses of zooarchaeological assemblages from Forcello (Bagnolo San Vito) and Poggio Civitate (Murlo) have brought to light a significant number of infant human remains. These peri-natal bones were typically individual finds, although some articulating elements were also recovered. Infant remains appear in middens, as well as a variety of structural deposits (post-holes, fills, etc.) and in both domestic and industrial contexts. The quantity and ubiquity of these infant bones suggests that their interment was not a rare event, but a regular part of mortuary practice within these settlements. However, the manner in which these young bodies were disposed of is less clear. Where they treated like the other debris in which they are frequently found? Or are we looking at disturbed domestic burials? This paper will present new data on infant remains found in zooarchaeological assemblages, discuss the significance of these finds in relation to other disarticulated human remains found on proto-historic Italian sites, and reflect on the role of zooarchaeology in better understanding infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy.

Italo-Celtic child burials in the Seminario Maggiore di Verona

Celtic inscriptions from Northern Italy are only extant in a small corpus of fragmentary texts, mostly in the vernacular Lepontic script (derived from Northern Etruscan), and reflecting two different, but closely-related languages, Lepontic and Gaulish. Recent finds from the necropolis in the episcopal seminar in Verona have enlarged this corpus. These inscriptions are of interest for several reasons: first of all, they come from an area very far to the East of the central region of Italo-Celtic literacy, secondly they belong to the late phase of Italo-Celtic when the population was already under strong Roman influence, and finally, a large proportion of the inscriptions belong to child burials. This paper will discuss the cultural, sociolinguistic and comparative-linguistic aspects of these grave inscriptions.

15.00-15.15
Angela Trentacoste
University of Oxford
Sarah Whitcher Kansa
Open Context
Anthony Tuck
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Suellen Gauld
Santa Monica Community College

15.15-15.30
Simona Marchesini
Alteritas - Verona
David Stifter
Maynooth University

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This paper discusses the social standing of children in republican/early Roman Italy through the lens of personhood theory. It also proposes some theoretical and methodological reflections on the study of childhood in ancient societies. The concept of “personhood” allows for greater flexibility in exploring dynamics of social inclusion and marginalisation, which help go beyond standard discussions of rank and status. While defining personhood is a controversial topic in archaeology, anthropology, philosophy, medicine and law, a crucial aspect of this debate focuses on what “being human” means and on the culturally-variable factors that may regulate the acquisition of full social integration in any society. By focusing on early Roman central-southern Italy as a case-study, we examine historical and archaeological evidence that suggests shifting attitudes toward children and childhood (such as the disappearance of child burials containing weapons/armour, and fewer references in the historical record to children engaging in combat/ being massacred), and explore the possible connection between these developments and broader historical processes such as the formation of Roman imperialism and related changes in warfare and community membership. Ultimately, this discussion will contribute to the ongoing personhood debate in the humanities and social sciences by providing further evidence that notions of personhood (including child personhood) are socially constructed, culturally variable and in flux.
customs of the Italic populations during the pre-Roman period. This paper focuses on new data from a large osteological sample including nearly 600 subadults dating to a wide time span, which are extremely useful for detecting synchronic and diachronic changes in the living conditions of the populations of ancient Abruzzo. Only a limited number of data is available in the earliest period (1100 - 750 BC) in the necropoleis of the Equi and in particular at Celano and Scurcola. More consistent data comes from the large necropoleis dating to 750-450 BC in the territory of the Pretuzi, especially at Campovalano, and of the Vestini, at Bazzano, Fossa, and Navelli. Finally, concerning the funerary ritual for infants during the Archaic period, the typical burial inside roof tiles (coppo) has been observed at Bazzano, Fossa, and Capestrano. The multidisciplinary approach applied to the study contextualisation of the human remains of subadults is based on the analysis of a specific set of anthropological markers that characterises the child burials in every necropolis (paleodemography, mortality, life expectancy, and paleopathology). This approach looks at those markers not only as the trace of cultural practices and the social role of the younger members of the population, but also as the consequence of environmental influence and changes in morbidity of the Italic population in pre-Roman times.

Alive or dead at birth. New data from the enchyrismoi at Jazzo Fornasiello (Gravina in Puglia –Bari).

This paper presents new data from the Peucetian site of Jazzo Fornasiello, a rich, fortified and rural settlement at the border between the territories of Gravina in Puglia and Poggiorianni (in the province of Bari). The site was discovered in 2006 and since then the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia (2006-2008) and the University of Milan (2009 to present) have been conducting extensive research. The excavations allowed us to identify different phases of the site, from the Archaic period (7th-6th centuries BC) to the Hellenistic period (4th century BC). The area seems to have been abandoned in the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century BC. As in other sites of the Peucetian region, Jazzo Fornasiello is characterized by a complex system of settlements. Inside the circuit of fortified walls the ancient area was organised into scattered small groups of houses and nearby spaces intended for burials, cult activities, craft production, and agriculture.
Regarding the burials, the excavations have brought to light thirteen well-preserved *enchytrismòi*, according to a burial custom, which is well attested for infants among the Peucetians. Some of these *enchytrismòi* were placed vertically in the ground, while others horizontally whether in large outdoor spaces close to houses or just along the walls inside the rooms. None of the *enchytrismòi* but one has provided grave goods. Anthropological analysis of the best-preserved vertical *enchytrismòs* (tomb 2) revealed the presence of five perinatal subjects, aged between 36-40 fetal weeks, buried at least in three different moments. This evidence corresponds to a multiple infant burial, which seems to have no comparison in Peucetia. This paper investigates also the reasons behind the difference in ritual (horizontal versus vertical burials), possibly reflecting a different treatment of an infant who died after being born alive versus a stillborn. Through thin section and scanning electron microscopy we set out to verify the presence of a neonatal line on dental crowns from incisors and canines retrieved from within maxillae and mandibles. This microscopic stress line usually represents survival after death whereas lack of it signifies stillbirth or death soon after birth. In this perspective joint research on ritual and human remains may shed light on the perception and consequent treatment of death in stillborn infants and neonates.

Perception of childhood in funerary contexts from Monte Sirai and Villamar

In recent years, several infant burials were brought to light in Phoenician and Punic Sardinia. In particular, the necropolis of Monte Sirai, located in the southwestern part of the island, shows a large number of infant and child burials, dating from the 7th to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, some of which have been excavated applying a specific protocol of intervention and sound bioarchaeological approach, in order to ensure well-preserved case studies for genetics and microbiological analysis. During the recent excavations in Villamar, in a large sector of a Punic cemetery located in the central Sardinia, different chamber tombs with infant remains have been explored. The typology of tombs, the features of grave goods and the ritual activities are discussed in this paper in the framework of the Carthaginian influence over the central Mediterranean.
Searching for the missing corpses: infant and child burials in south-eastern Sicily from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age

In the last two decades a general reassessment of the main cemeteries explored by Paolo Orsi at beginning of the 20th century in South-eastern Sicily has allowed us to focus on a neglected topic in the recent scientific literature: the treatment of infant and child burials in the period between the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (1100–750 ca. BC). An impressive quantity of new data comes from the interdisciplinary approach related to the investigation of the large cemeteries at Cassibile, Monte Finocchito and other sites in the area of the Tellaro River, in the district of Syracuse. The aim of this paper is to investigate specific aspects of the funerary ideology and practices of the indigenous community addressed to the infant and child burials in the period immediately preceding the emergence of the first Greek colonies along the eastern coastline of Sicily. The well-known cemeteries of Monte Finocchito, Cassibile and Noto represent an excellent context in order to reinterpret old excavations in a wider new interdisciplinary approach, focusing on the Orsi’s notebooks and on the unpublished archaeological material, as well as anthropological remains and animal offerings. A particular focus will be paid on isolated tombs containing infant deposition without a specific link to the adults burials. The evidence of Monte Finocchito can be compared to similar isolated collective tombs related to infant and child individuals, which have been recognised in other districts of Sicily during the Early Iron Age. It is also important to note that further differences in ritual related to non-adults can be identified in the same period, since infant and child burials are located within the city walls (Mendolito near Adrano).

Forever young: rethinking infancy and childhood at Motya

Contrary to the elusive record of infant and child burials in pre-Roman Italy, some Phoenician settlements of the central Mediterranean (e.g. Carthage, Sulky, Motya, Tharros, etc.) stand out due to the archaeological visibility of infant and child skeletal remains buried in the so-called Tophet sanctuaries between the 8th and the 2nd centuries BC. In the characteristic ritual of these sacred areas,
cremated human and/or animal (usually sheep and goat) remains were collected in urns, these were then buried in an open space in the sanctuary, which sometimes also includes service areas for additional ritual activities. Although the study of the Tophet has long been polarised on the discussion between affirming and denying the practice of child sacrifice, the variety of rituals performed in these sanctuaries is also relevant to our understanding of the role played by infancy and childhood in certain Phoenician communities. Among these sites, Motya – a small island off the western tip of Sicily – emerges as a case study for the analysis of infancy and childhood based on the mortuary record. Here, in addition to more than 1000 depositions brought to light so far in the Tophet (c. mid-8th-4th centuries BC), a limited number of child burials have been identified together with scattered finds from various areas of the settlement. This paper seeks to offer a diachronic, long-term, and updated overview of the archaeological evidence related to infancy and childhood at Motya. Starting from the depositions of the Tophet sanctuary, which offer statistically significant evidence, this paper will identify markers, patterns, and ritual behaviours recognisable through the entire corpus and how these evolve in time. In addition, this paper will analyse contemporary cases from the cemetery and other areas of the settlement, in order to identify distinctive features in the treatment of infants and children at Motya. Finally, the resulting picture will be compared with those known from some settlements in western Sicily and other Phoenician communities in the Central Mediterranean.

**CONCLUSION AND FINAL DISCUSSION**
Discussant: **Sian E. Halcrow**, University of Otago

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