

LANDSCAPE, ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE ARCHAIC MEDITERRANEAN AREA



The main concern of this volume is the multi-layered concept of ethnicity. Contributors examine and contextualise contrasting definitions of ethnicity and identity as implicit in two perspectives, one from the classical tradition and another from the prehistoric and anthropological tradition. They look at the role of textual sources in reconstructing ethnicity and introduce fresh and innovative archaeological data, either from fieldwork or from new combinations of old data. Finally, in contrast to many traditional approaches to this subject, they examine the relative and interacting role of natural and cultural features in the landscape in the construction of ethnicity.

The volume is headed by the contribution of Andrea Carandini whose work challenges the conceptions of many in the combination of text and archaeology. He begins by examining the mythology surrounding the founding of Rome, taking into consideration the recent archaeological evidence from the Palatine and the Forum. Here primacy is given to construction of place and mythological descent.

Anthony Snodgrass, Robin Osborne, Tim Cornell and Christopher Smith offer replies to his arguments. Overall, the nineteen papers presented here show that a modern interdisciplinary and international archaeology that combines material data and textual evidence – critically – can provide a powerful lesson for the full understanding of the ideologies of ancient and modern societies



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LANDSCAPE, ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE ARCHAIC MEDITERRANEAN AREA G. CIFANI AND S. STODDARTS



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IN THE ARCHAIC MEDITERRANEAN AREA



EDITED BY

GABRIELE CIFANI AND SIMON STODDART

WITH THE SUPPORT OF SKYLAR NEIL

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in the Archaic Mediterranean Area

Edited by

Gabriele Cifani and Simon Stoddart

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Contents

1. Introduction: contextualizing ethnicity <i>Simon Stoddart and Gabriele Cifani</i>	1
2. Urban landscapes and ethnic identity of early Rome <i>Andrea Carandini</i> <i>Comments: A. Snodgrass, R. Osborne, T. Cornell and C. Smith.</i>	5
3. Landscape, ethnicity, and the <i>polis</i> <i>Robin Osborne</i>	24
4. Ionians and Carians in the Mycale: the discovery of Carian Melia and the Archaic Panionion <i>Hans Lohmann</i>	32
5. Are there alternatives to 'Red-Figure Vase People'? Identity, multi-ethnicity and migration in Ancient Greece <i>John Bintliff</i>	51
6. Landscape and identity of Greek colonists and indigenous communities in southeast Italy <i>Gert-Jan Burgers</i>	64
7. Before the Samnites: Molise in the eighth and sixth century BC <i>Alessandro Naso</i>	77
8. Ethnicity, identity and state formation in the Latin landscape. Problems and approaches <i>Francesca Fulminante</i>	89
9. Ethnicity and the identity of the Latins. The evidence from sanctuaries between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC <i>Letizia Ceccarelli</i>	108
10. Political landscapes and local identities in Archaic central Italy – Interpreting the material from Nepi (VT, Lazio) and Cisterna Grande (Crustumerium, RM, Lazio) <i>Ulla Rajala</i>	120
11. Approaching ethnicity and landscapes in pre-Roman Italy: the middle Tiber Valley <i>Gabriele Cifani</i>	144
12. Exploring a frontier area in Etruria: the Civita di Grotte di Castro survey <i>Gabriele Cifani, Letizia Ceccarelli and Simon Stoddart</i>	163

13. Between text, body and context: expressing 'Umbrian' identity in the landscape <i>Simon Stoddart</i>	173
14. Space, boundaries and the representation of identity in the ancient Veneto c. 600–400 BC <i>Kathryn Lomas</i>	187
15. Limits, frontiers and boundaries among the Iberians of the Guadalquivir Valley (Eighth century BC–fourth century BC) <i>Arturo Ruiz and Manuel Molinos</i>	207
16. Landscape and ethnic identities in the early states of eastern Iberia <i>Ignacio Grau Mira</i>	228
17. The politics of identity: ethnicity and the economy of power in Iron Age north-west Iberia <i>Alfredo González-Ruibal</i>	245
18. Changing identities in a changing landscape: social dynamics of a colonial situation in Early Iron Age south-east Iberia <i>Jaime Vives-Ferrándiz</i>	267
19. Endnote: situating ethnicity <i>Simon Stoddart and Skylar Neil</i>	287
Bibliography	294
Index	352

Approaching ethnicity and landscapes in pre-Roman Italy: the middle Tiber Valley

Gabriele Cifani

Keywords: ethnicity; landscape; central Italy; city states; territorial states

Introduction: archaeology and ethnicity

In the last two decades, post-processual approaches to archaeology have emphasized the role played by identities and ideology in the organization of culture. Within this framework, ethnicity represents perhaps the most complex form, since it is based on a collective rather than individual perception of identity (Jones 1996; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005: 6). However, debate on the relationship between ideology and culture is much older than post-processualism. Within the huge literature on how to define ethnicity, we can, in my opinion, trace two main approaches.

The first one is the physical approach, which tends to define communities by means of their physical attributes, geographical distribution and the effects of weather on behaviour and culture. This determinist method started in classical antiquity (e.g. Pliny *Natural History* VII), became very popular in the Enlightenment, thanks in part to the work of Montesquieu *De l'esprit de lois* (1748), continued during the period of Positivism, and was very influential in many studies predating the Second World War. The modern researches on archaeogenetics might be considered, in some respects, the heirs to such an approach (for a synthesis of the debate on the Etruscan area: Perkins 2009).

The second approach is cultural and idealistic which focuses on the customs, language and culture to investigate an ethnic group. We can trace the origin of such approaches in Classical Greece, above all in the work of Herodotos, the first ethnographer, who defined ethnicity as an ideological construct by describing the origins of the Ionian *ethnos* as a pragmatic self creation instead of a primordial group (Herodotos I.143–7; McInerney 2001: 57–9).

In the course of Romanticism, G. F. Hegel stressed the importance of the spiritual values of an ethnic group as integrally linked with its identity, by shaping the concept of *Volksggeist* (Hegel 1955: 59); this theory became very influential during the nineteenth century and was taken up by sociologists and historians.

For example, in 1917, Benedetto Croce defined History as the main characteristic of a Nation (Croce 1989: 378–80) and Max Weber in 1922 described ethnic groups as ‘those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent’ (Weber 1978: 389).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, archaeological studies developed in parallel with these approaches; for example, the best known theory of the German archaeologist Gustav Kossina combined the distribution of material culture with the evidence of ethnicity (Kossina 1902) and he greatly influenced contemporary studies of the prehistory of Europe, among them some of the earliest works of Vere Gordon Childe (Childe 1926; Härke 1991: 188–9; Trigger 2006: 243–8). After the Second World War, the collapse of European empires marked the beginning of postcolonial approaches to ethnicity; in this phase we find, in linguistic terminology, the first distinction between ‘etic’ and ‘emic’, an approach which emphasizes the point of view of the observer (Pike 1967), and the growing importance of the self definition of a community in defining ethnicity (Malkin 2001: 15–19). This was the cultural framework of the ground-breaking work ‘*Ethnic Group and Boundaries*’, published by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, who rejected ethnicity as a static concept and emphasized ethnic boundaries as an effect of social interaction (Barth 1969).

More recently, cultural anthropologists have stressed the role of history and the importance of mentalities as long term phenomena in defining ethnic identities (e.g. Cole and Wolf 1974). Mentalities can start as an effect of history, but afterwards they can also act as causes of change in history (Epstein 1978; Fabietti 1998; Remotti 2001; Smith 1986; Tullio-Altan 1997). From this point of view, the main elements of membership in an ethnic group are:

- the *epos*: the feeling of identity within a community and its cultural memory;
- the *ethos*: the sharing of moral values;
- the *logos*: the common language or languages inside a group;
- the *oikos* or *topos*: the territory where a community is based.

The idealistic approach seems also to have influenced the most recent debate of ethnicity in archaeology. According to the recent synthesis of Jonathan Hall, the term ethnicity denotes not just the self-consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group but also the dynamic process that structures, and is structured by, ethnic groups in social interaction with one another (Hall 1997: 1–33, 2002: 9–19).

From this point of view, the main elements that determine membership in an ethnic group are:

1. a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship;
2. an association with a specific territory;
3. a sense of shared history.

However, as shown by historical examples, the construction of an ethnic identity is based on the malleability of cultural memory and the reinterpretation of the past by rulers and governments, often projected on specific sites or objects (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Nora 1992). Thus, the purely ideological character of ethnicity has discouraged some scholars from using only archaeological evidence in studying ethnic

identities (e.g. Knapp 2001; Mele 2002). Moreover, J. Siapkias has emphasised ethnicity as a dynamic and flexible strategy (Siapkias 2003; Yoffee 2007) and Erich Gruen has drawn our attention to the role played by cultural borrowings in shaping ethnic identities (Gruen 2005). More recently, François de Polignac (2006) pointed out that it may be more appropriate to approach ethnicity as an aspect of collective identification, rather than as a static identity and by trying to compare its developments and transformation.

As matter of fact, material data can rarely reveal a precise ideology by themselves (e.g. Mele 2002) and we must avoid the risk of over-interpreting archaeological evidence. However, studying the way in which ethnicity is represented, or is grounded, can represent a useful tool to investigate ancient society, by employing a multidisciplinary approach which must consider, when available:

1. literary sources;
2. epigraphic evidence;
3. burial customs;
4. material culture;
5. the spatial organization of territories.

Myth, rituals and territory have been also considered the pillars of ethnic identity (e.g. Malkin 1994; Mazza 2006: 3–4). For these reasons, the organization of territories, above all studied by means of a *longue durée* approach, seems one of the more promising insights; the interaction between culture and territory has a potential pointed out by recent approaches of landscape archaeology (e.g. Knapp and Ashmore 1999).

Approaches to ethnicity in the archaeology of 'pre-Roman' Italy

Pre-Roman Italy represents an interesting context for the analysis of the process of ethnic identification because of the presence of many ethnic groups. The tradition of studies starts with the erudite work of the Renaissance and above all from the eighteenth century was based on the dichotomy between Rome and Italic peoples (Firpo 2008); it continued with the ethnocentric approaches of acculturation and history of civilization which prevailed up until the Second World War, and was partly replaced by concepts of cultural interaction during the 1960s. During these later years, the theme of Greek influence in Southern Italy was analyzed for the first time from a post colonial perspective, stressing the active role played by the Italic indigenous community in shaping the culture of *Magna Graecia* and Sicily (Atti Taranto 1962). This was the beginning of a new interest in cultural exchanges, which led to a focus on cultural contacts and processes of transformation in the whole Mediterranean area (e.g. Atti Pisa–Roma 1983).

In the most recent decades, many scholars analyzed the role played by Greek, Italic, Roman and other cultures. This can be seen in the publication of the international congress at Taranto of 1997 dedicated to landscapes and frontiers (Atti Taranto 1997), or, more recently, studies of Achaian identity in the south of Italy (Greco 2002), together with many works supported by the Accordia Research Centre on ethnicity (Cornell and Lomas 1997). More recently, research aimed at the study of the cultural evolution of

Sardinia, by means of material culture, has led to a re-evaluation of Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony in approaches to the changing landscape of the island between indigenous communities, the Punic world and Rome (e.g. van Dommelen 1998, 2006). Cultural interaction and cross-cultural exchanges across the Mediterranean area since the Early Iron Age have also been revealed by the systematic excavation of the necropolis of *Pithecura*, the most ancient Greek colony in Italy (Buchner and Ridgway 1994; Nizzo 2007). Last, but not least, even the identity of Late Republican Roman Italy has been reconsidered as a place of persistence of Italic culture, because of the rapid expansion of the Roman Mediterranean empire between the third and second century BC, which anticipated the full assimilation of Italic people inside the Roman community (Giardina 1997; Harris 2007).

In central Tyrrhenian Italy, the tradition of studies of ethnic identity has for many years been linked to two historical problems: the rise of Rome and the *nomen Latinum*, and the ethnogenesis of the Etruscans. From a theoretical perspective, since the 1940s, one of the main achievements of scholarly debate about pre-Roman Italy has been to abandon migration theories and ethnic origins and to focus on the concept of ethnic formation as the result of gradual long-term processes (Pallottino 1942: 77, 1955, 1961, 1974: 102). Renato Peroni rejected the equation between culture/*facies* and *ethnos*, but he pointed out that differentiation in ethnic identities could be partially traced through the social analysis of funerary contexts and through settlement history (Peroni 1989: 7–24).

In Etruria, since the end of the 1960s, scientific debate has reinterpreted the role played by the city-state system in shaping Etruscan ethnicity (Pallottino 1970), most particularly in terms of interaction with Italic and Greek cultures (e.g. Torelli 1982, 1987; Cristofani 1983). Cultural interaction led to a focus on the mechanism of social mobility which characterized Archaic societies, investigated by means of literary sources and epigraphic documents. The Etruscans, and above all Archaic Rome, were re-interpreted as open societies, with high levels of horizontal social mobility, inter-linked with the aristocratic elites of the Greek world and Italic communities (e.g. Ampolo 1977, 1981; Cristofani 1996; Tagliamonte 1994). Furthermore, spatial analysis of the pre-Roman Italic epigraphic texts identified the gap between ethnicity and language (e.g. Cristofani 2001).

The collective ethnic identity of Rome has been the subject of a huge historical debate, but recent studies have emphasized social and ethnic osmosis as the basis of Roman political and military supremacy since its origins, starting from the assumption that the Roman state was the only one in antiquity to grant citizenship to former enemies and former slaves. Roman identity was based on the ideology of incorporation (Dench 1995, 2005: 151–93) and the ability of the Romans to adopt and to select foreigners' customs was described also by Greek sources (e.g. Polyb. VI.25.11; Dittenberger 1915–1924: 543), but perhaps the most interesting document of Roman self representation is the famous oration of emperor Claudius in 48 AD in support of the enlargement of the Senate to citizens of *Gallia Comata*. This speech can be considered a kind of manifesto of the flexible strategy of the Roman community, based on social osmosis (Tacitus *Annals* XI.23–4; *CIL* XIII, 1668; Dessau 1892: 212; Riccobono *et al.* 1940–43 vol. I: 43). Claudius opened his speech about the mixed ethnic character of Rome dating back

to the early community, when local kings (*reges domestici*) were followed by Sabines and Etruscan monarchs (*reges alieni et quidam externi*), and stressed that the privilege of access to the Roman senate was granted progressively to all people of Italy (*Etruria Lucaniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos*) in parallel with numerous reforms of the Roman institutions through the centuries (*multa in hac civitate novata*; Giardina 1997: 3–77). The reliability of this account shows also the crucial role played in the Roman Republic by ethnic identities in shaping the ideologies of elite families in an arena of political competition (Farney 2007). Recent research on the origins of Rome has also reconsidered the problem of the historical value of the most ancient myths of the Latins, as evidence of self-identity (Roma 1981; Cornell 1995: 70–80; Carandini 1997, 2002, 2006a, 2006b, this volume; Mavrogiannis 2003), or the role played by rituals and laws in shaping identity (Schiavone 2005: 41–73) together with the growing importance given to landscape patterns and burial customs as evidence of ethnicity in protohistoric Latium (Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 1992, 2007). This kind of approach fits well with the British tradition of landscape archaeology, focused on medium and long-term transformations. As a matter of fact, during the last three decades, landscape archaeology data have given one of the finest contributions to the understanding Etruscan and Italic ethnic identity: for instance, the detailed analysis of protohistoric settlements which has enlightened our understanding of the beginning of the urbanization process in central Italy (Peroni 1988; Pacciarelli 2001), together with many other pivotal surveys carried out in Etruria (Rendeli 1993: 40–58; Potter and Stoddart 2001).

Our knowledge of the ethnic groups of pre-Roman Italy starts with the regional division of Italy made by the emperor Augustus, as known mainly from Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* III.46; Fig. 11.1). The boundaries of these regions have been

progressively refined between the beginning of AD seventeenth century (Cluverius 1624) and the end of the nineteenth century (e.g. Nissen 1902). Each region had a sequential number and a name based on the main ethnic group in the area. So we can easily spot the seventh region, *Etruria*; the sixth *Umbria*; the fourth, *Samnium* and the first, *Latium et Campania*. However, even if we can reasonably define the borders of such regions, we must be aware of the deeply different meanings and aims of the ancient frontiers compared with those of the pre-Roman ethnic groups.



Figure 11.1. The regional division of Roman Italy made by the emperor Augustus (Franchi Dell'Orto 2001).

The real nature of such *regiones* is still controversial (Polverini 1998). Some scholars thought that they were only employed for statistical purposes (e.g. Tibiletti 1965). Others (de Martino 1975, Nicolet 1991) believe they were linked to wide administrative aims, such as the payment of tribute. It is clear, however, that they had no political purpose and, above all, they did not aim to describe the complex and multi-stratified ethnic definitions of ancient pre-Roman communities, which were more often based on city-states than on huge ethnic groups. Ethnic identity in pre-Roman Italy was often restricted to single states (especially *Caere*, *Veii*, or in Umbria: *Todi* and *Terni*, or *Cures Sabini*) or, more rarely, it included huge ethnic linguistic groups such as the Etruscans or the Umbrians or small linguistic groups based on city states such as the *Falisci* (the inhabitants of *Falerii*) or the *Capenates* (the inhabitants of *Capena*).

The same concept of the city-state (or in some cases of the territorial state) was often transformed by the Romans into their main political and administrative elements: the *municipium* or the *colonia* (Humbert 1993; Fig. 11.2). We can have, however, ethnic leagues or confederations, such as the Latin, or the Etruscan league, but they must be considered purely political institutions with flexible borders. The league of Etruscan people is known mainly by literary sources as *duodecim populi Etruriae*, but we do not know exactly the origin, aims or the territories involved inside this institution (Briquel 2001); we can only quote the role it played against Roman expansionism between the fifth and third century BC and its main place of meeting: the pan-Etruscan sanctuary of *Fanum Voltumnae*, recently identified near *Volsinii* (Orvieto, Campo della Fiera: Stopponi 2007).

The ethnic identity of such territories varies according to the historical period, but it is altered by the perception of the ancient literary sources. For example, in the Greek world the concept of a shared Greek ethnicity is known only after the Persian wars, but even after this event, the local identities of the city-states were more important than any sense of shared Hellenism (Hall 2002; Osborne this volume).

Thus, we must be aware that historical construction of ethnicity was sometimes a mosaic of communities, sometimes a single unit and sometimes a multi-stratified community with different levels of political, institutional and social identities. For instance, the analysis of institutional terms from the *Iguvinae Tabulae* has been interpreted different levels of political and ethnical identity inside the same community: *nomen*, *poplo*, *touta*, *trifu* (Prosdocimi 1978, 2001), and in the Etruscan language we also find terms with meanings which have been interpreted in a parallel manner: *cilθ*, *spura*, *meθlum*, *tuθina* and *rasna* (Colonna 1988b). These examples reveal the complexity of pre-Roman ethnic identities in Italy, together with the importance of a multidisciplinary approach, which must compare material culture with epigraphic texts and literary sources.

The middle Tiber Valley

To understand the patterns of settlement as evidence of ethnicity in central Italy, we must observe the evolution of city state systems through the centuries at a regional level. As a matter of fact, if the association with a specific territory is one of the bases

of self-identification of an ethnic group, we can consider patterns of settlements as specific markers of ethnic definition. Obviously, this approach can only be fruitful if we compare several patterns of settlements in the same chronological space and possibly with a similar level of documentation.

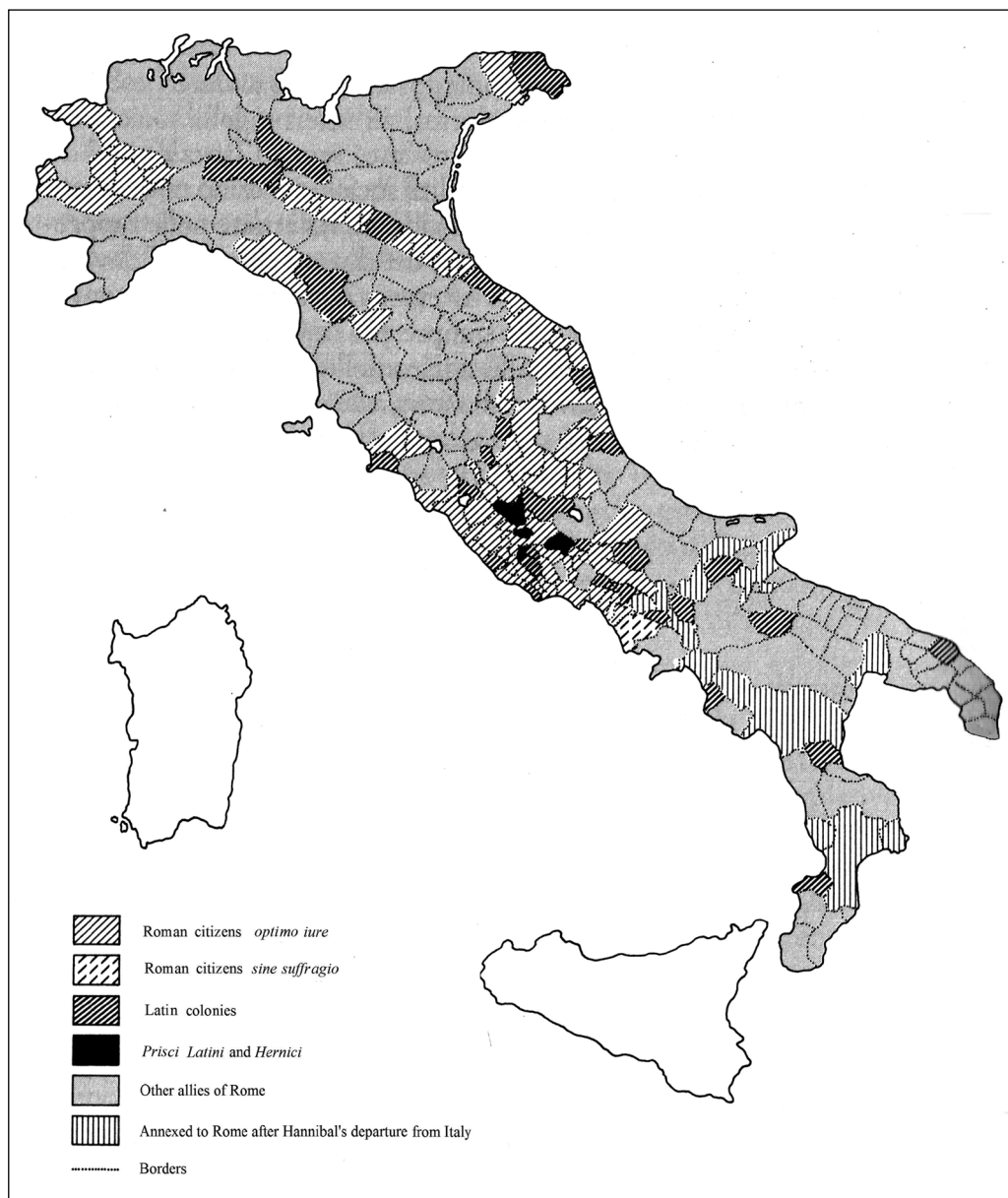


Figure 11.2. The Etruscan and Italic communities and Rome in the Mid-Republic (after Menichetti 1990).

Areas near ethnic frontiers seem particularly appropriate for such analysis and one of the most suitable regions in Italy is the Tiber Valley which is the only natural pass through the Apennines, connecting the central and northern parts of the peninsula. The importance of this region for trade is stressed also by the presence of different ethnic groups (the Umbrians, Etruscans, *Falisci*, Sabines and Latins) who divided the area into territories from the beginning of the Iron Age, probably using the river Tiber as a conventional frontier and thus this corridor provides an opportunity to observe several patterns of settlement (Fig. 11.3).

In central Italy, during the last phases of the Bronze Age (eleventh–tenth century BC), the territory was made up of a number of small fortified villages (hill-forts) between two and five hectares in size, within a distance of four–five kilometres from each other, suggesting (on the basis of Thiessen polygon analysis) a territory of about 20 square kilometres. The perception of the landscape is considerably fragmented into small villages, but the Tiber seemed already to play an important role of demographic attraction (di Gennaro 1986; Alessandri 2007, Schiappelli 2009).

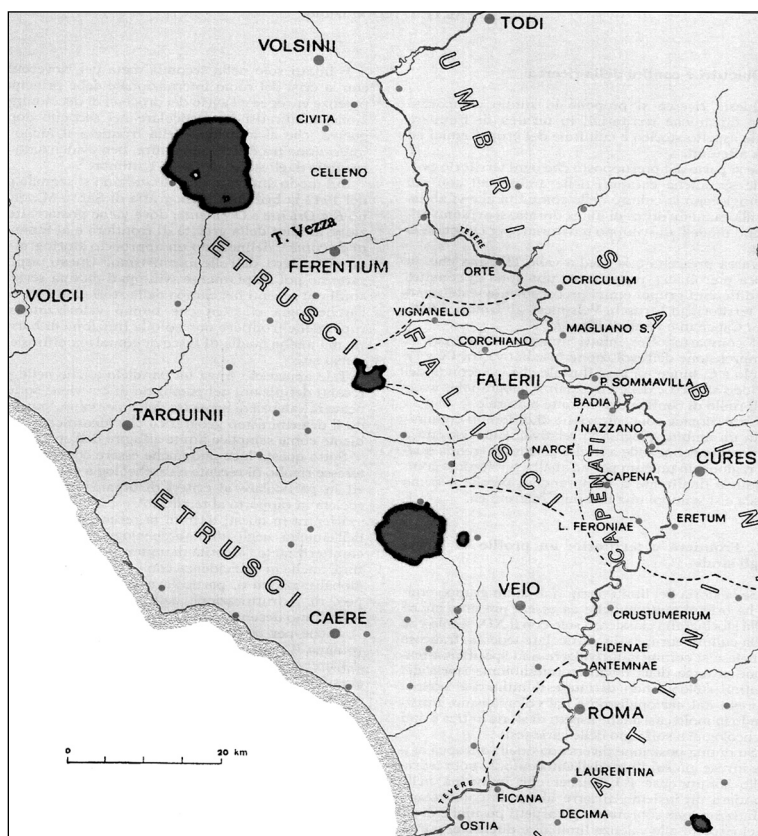


Figure 11.3. The ethnic groups along the middle and lower Tiber Valley (after Colonna 1986).

This situation was drastically modified during the first phase of the Iron Age (end of tenth–beginning of the ninth century BC), when we can observe the earliest demographic differentiation. In the whole of southern Etruria we have the rapid formation of four big settlements (*Vulci*, *Tarquinius*, *Caere*, *Veii*) up to 30 times larger than the previous Final Bronze age hill-forts (Pacciarelli 2001; Vanzetti 2004). This phenomenon is clearly visible, above all, in the lower Tiber Valley, where the formation of the 175-hectare proto-urban centre of *Veii*, caused a general depopulation of the surrounding geographical region of the future Faliscans and Sabines, and where almost all the previous Final Bronze hill-forts were abandoned (di Gennaro 1986). In the Sabine area especially, we have no evidence of settlements for the ninth century BC and, in the future Faliscan area, only a few fortified settlements survive this demographic transition (Cifani 2003) (Fig. 11.4).

The Etruscan Volsinian area shows a less radical transformation: the central place of *Volsinii* (now Orvieto) occupied an 80-hectare fortified area on a rocky plateau and seems to have had a weaker influence on its territory in comparison with the other early Tyrrhenian states such as *Veii*, *Caere*, *Tarquinius* and *Vulci*. In fact, the territory of *Volsinii* was characterised by more villages in the ninth century and the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age is also less clear.

On the left side of the Tiber, the southern Umbrian and Sabine areas seem to adopt the protourban system only at the end of the eighth century BC: Terni, in Umbria, with a size of 50 hectares, and *Cures*, in Sabina, with a size of 30 hectares, were the main settlements, but for both regions the territorial organization suggests more the idea of a medium-sized city-state system than the large state communities of the Etruscan area (Cifani 2003).

Thus, during the beginning of the Iron Age, as a result of deep demographic transformations which included for the lower Tiber Valley also the foundation of Rome, the Tiber became a political and cultural boundary between different communities. The Orientalizing period (710–580 BC) was characterized by the development of secondary centres in the Etruscan area; some of them were relatively far from the main centre and seemed to benefit from their frontier location.

One clear example was Civita di Grotte di Castro, a 20-hectare settlement in the Volsinian area, near the political border with the territories of *Tarquinius* and *Vulci*, marked by the great lake basin of Bolsena. The cemetery of such a remote community, between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BC, was characterized by monumental rock-cut chambers, in some cases decorated with paintings; their tomb groups reveal the substantial presence of imported Greek Attic pottery and banquetting services. This evidence appears to demonstrate the presence of a rich aristocratic class which grew in prominence thanks to frontier trade in the area (Cifani *et al.*, this volume).

Another important secondary city was Acquarossa, a 50-hectare settlement in the southern area of the Volsinian territory. This site was settled at the end of the eighth century BC and the excavations carried out by the Swedish institute also found a huge aristocratic house built in the first half of the sixth century BC in the central area of the settlement (Cifani 2003: 60–5).

By the midpoint of the sixth century BC, the process of state formation in central Italy was mature, and two types of organization can be clearly seen. The first one was the

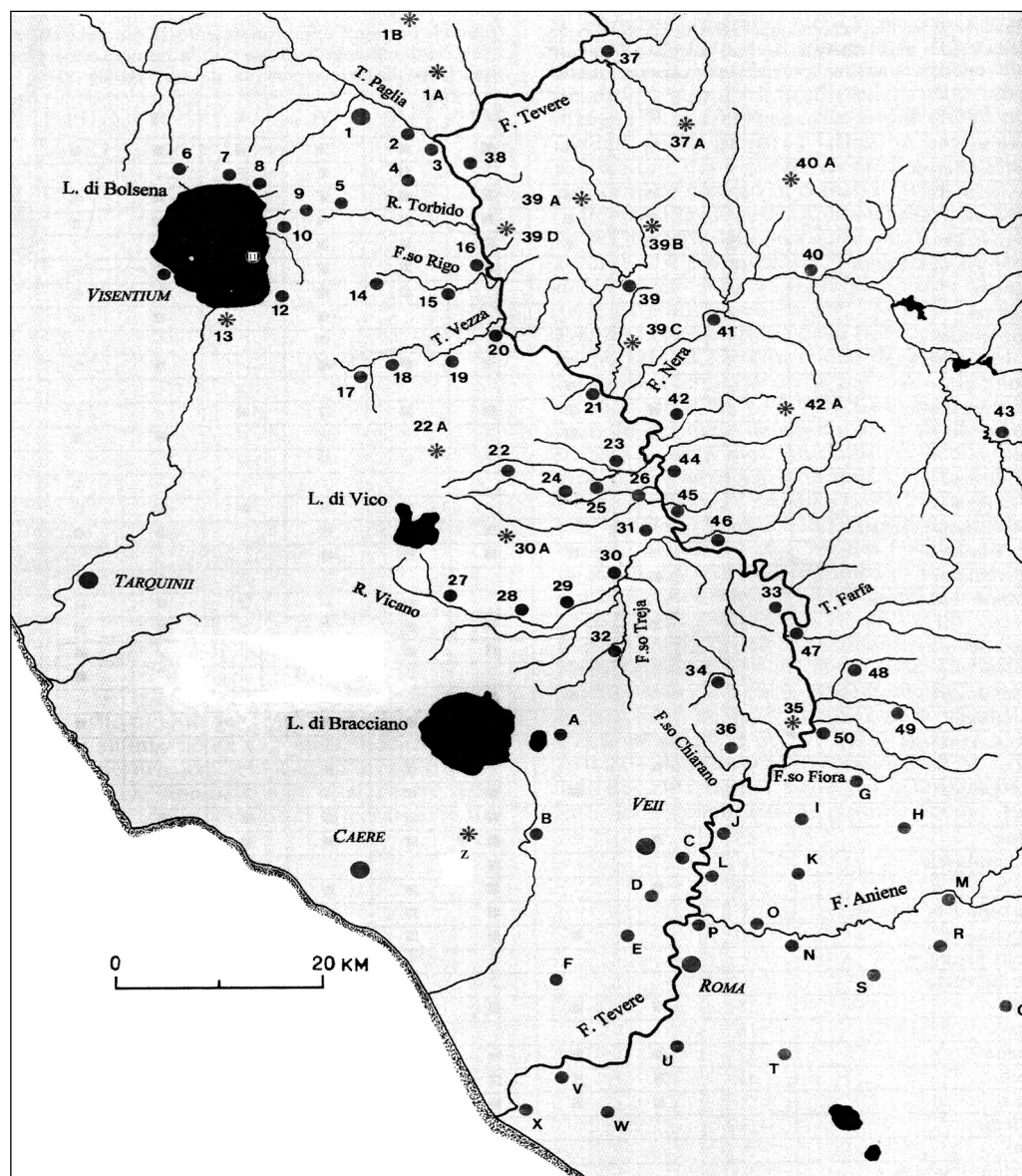


Figure 11.4. The middle Tiber Valley (after Cifani 2003).

large territorial state, with a hierarchical system of settlement and one central place, typical of Rome and the Southern Etruscan peoples, and the second one the city-state, with a small territory. A histogram of site size arranged in rank order of the settlements, divided by the ethnic areas of the middle Tiber Valley in the Archaic period, shows precisely this phenomenon (Fig. 11.5).

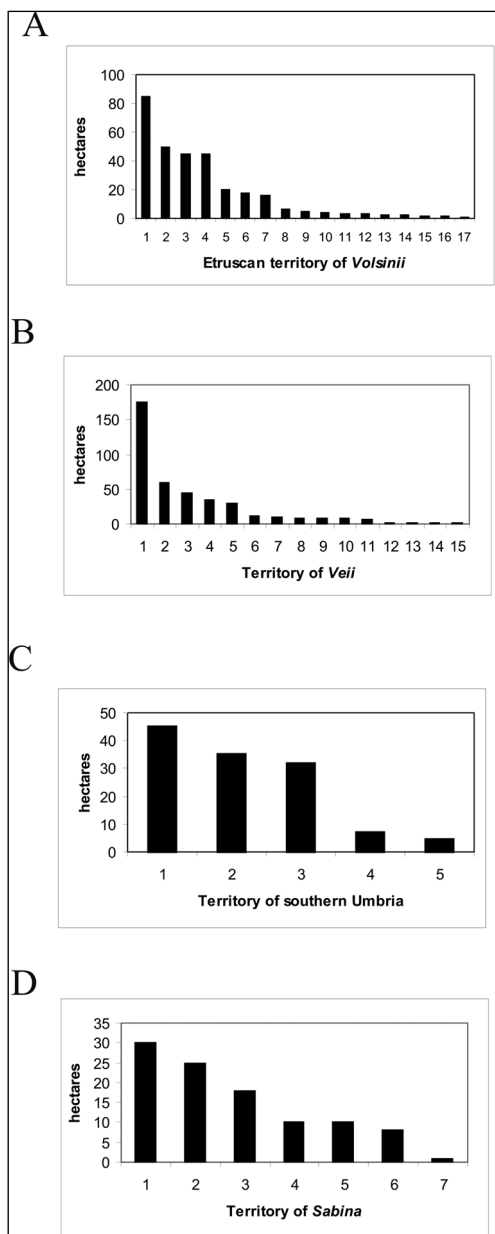


Figure 11.5. Histograms of settlements arranged in order of size in the middle Tiber Valley (after Cifani 2003): (A) the Volsinii territory; (B) the Veii territory; (C) the southern Umbrian territory; (D) the Sabina territory.

The Etruscan Volsinian area (Fig. 11.5A) revealed a three-level structure of the territory, with one central place of 80 hectares, a middle group of settlements whose size ranges from 18 to 35 hectares, and finally a large group of small settlements, one to five hectares in size. The Etruscan Veientan area (including the *ager Faliscus*; Fig. 11.5b) shows a similar organization, but a completely different diagram, however, is seen for the Italic regions of the Umbrians and Sabines (Figs 11.5C–D). In both cases the graph shows few elements of diversity and the trend is quite consistent; this is evidence of medium sized city-states with their small territories. For the Etruscan territories, however, we note a contrast between the urban central places, where egalitarian reforms were progressively increasing, and the peripheries, where the aristocratic groups kept and improved their power based on traditional agriculture, sheep-rearing and taxation.

This economic and social contrast probably became a political engagement within states; an account of such social struggles in the sixth century BC is offered by the literary tradition of Archaic Rome, but, at least as far as the Volsinian area is concerned, landscape archaeology can offer evidence too. From the beginning of the sixth century BC, the whole of southern Etruria revealed deep social transformations: monumental buildings such as temples and walls were erected in many cities; their cemeteries can be interpreted as revealing a new egalitarian re-organization, as shown by the square tombs known at *Caere* and *Volsinii* (Brocato 1995; Colonna 1990).

The necropolis of *Volsinii* itself clearly showed social mobility in the archaic period: a detailed analysis of funerary inscriptions between 550–500 BC revealed

a cosmopolitan *demos*, with a huge presence of Etruscans, together with Italic, Greek and Celtic people (de Simone 1978; Cristofani 1981; Marchesini 2007). In the territory of *Volsinii*, in parallel with the urban reform, we can observe, from the second half of the sixth century BC onwards, the progressive decline of many aristocratic enclaves. The best known example is Acquarossa, where the Swedish excavations revealed the end of the centre because of a fire around the middle of the sixth century BC (Strandberg Olofsson 1996: 158–9), but we could also quote the case of the frontier city of Civita di Grotte di Castro, where the bulk of evidence seems to have been concentrated on seventh and sixth century BC. (Cifani *et al.*, this volume).

There is, however, also a third phenomenon occurring in parallel with the above: the foundation of new small fortified settlements which started during the sixth century BC. An interesting example is represented by the site of Castellaro, a small fortified settlement of two hectares occupied from the sixth to the third century BC, on the top of a small volcanic hill, whose natural topography appears to have been reworked (Cifani 2003: 59–60). A further example in the Volsinian territory was the small fortified site of Monterado which also dated to the sixth century BC (Quilici and Quilici Gigli 2006). Castellaro and Monterado exemplify new colonial foundations supported by *Volsinii* within its territory in order to control strategic key-points and to deprive the old aristocratic centres of authority and economic importance; in addition, these fortified settlements were political landmarks for people living in isolated farmhouses. Similar points have been made on a broader level for Etruria (Redhouse and Stoddart 2011; Stoddart 1990).

Frontiers and ritual landscapes

The foundation of sanctuaries and fortresses near the political borders of different communities seems to have emphasized the new social identity of the Etruscan states, controlled by central authorities instead of the previous aristocratic groups. The new state frontiers were promptly ritualized by means of sanctuaries (cf. Zifferero 1995; Riva and Stoddart 1996), adopting a tradition which has many comparisons at an anthropological level (e.g. Barth 1969; Hodder and Orton 1976: 73; Massenzio 1999: 146–50). The rise of a new ritual landscape was also the evidence for a new cultural memory (*epos*) that is often related to political changes (Assmann 1992).

In southern Etruria, two frontier sanctuaries were good examples of this development: *Lucus Feroniae*, and Fondaccio. *Lucus Feroniae* was a place of trade located on an open limestone and travertine plateau, on the right side of the Tiber, in a frontier area between the Latins, Sabines and Etruscans which gave this place the character of a multi-ethnic *emporion*. Its importance in the Archaic period of central Italy was stressed by literary sources. Cato the Elder, who was the author of a book about the origins of Italic peoples, links the foundation of the local cult of Feronia with the foundation of the city of *Capena* (Cato *Origines* I.26). Livy and Dionysius described the site in terms of its fair between the Latins and Sabines which had started to be held by the period of Tullius Hostilius (Livy I.30.5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* III.32); later, in 211 BC during the Second Punic War, because of its richness, *Lucus Feroniae* was raided by Hannibal (Livy XXXVI.2.8). The sanctuary was discovered in 1952 and excavated

by the Soprintendenza at the beginning of the 1960s and, more recently, between 2002 and 2004. Monumental evidence is mainly of the Mid- and Late Republic, but the new excavations found many votive bronze objects of the Archaic period, which revealed the active role played by this sanctuary already in the sixth century BC (Moretti Sgubini 2006). Fondaccio (or Piana del Lago) is an Etruscan sanctuary recently discovered on the southeastern corner of Lake Bolsena in a place which marks the border between the territories of two Etruscan territorial states: *Volsinii* and *Tarquinii*. It had a monumental Tuscan temple inside a *témenos* and was richly decorated with terracotta friezes dated between the sixth and the fourth century BC (D'Atri 2006).

A line of sanctuaries also marked the internal frontier between the territories of *Caere* and *Veii* and between *Caere* and *Tarquinii* by at least the end of the sixth century BC; the evidence is based on fragments of terracotta temple revetments, and votive inscriptions found along the line of both frontiers (Cifani 2003: 193–4, with bibl.; Colonna 2004; Fig. 11.4; Riva and Stoddart 1996; Zifferero 1995).

A similar ritual landscape, albeit on a smaller scale, also seems visible in Umbria, where the political borders of city-states were marked principally by peak sanctuaries on the top of mountains (Bradley 1997; Malone and Stoddart 1994: 142–52; Sisani 2001: 67–81) and even the borders of the most ancient suburb of Rome were marked by a line of sanctuaries, located along the main routes of communication, between the fourth and sixth mile from the city (Cifani 2005a) (Fig. 11.6).

Etruscan or Italic? The Faliscan and Capena's ethnic identity

The Faliscans have been considered, since the nineteenth century an autonomous ethnic group of Latin origin, inside Etruria (Garrucci 1860; Deecke 1888). Their language was indeed very near to Latin (Giacomelli 1963) and according to the literary tradition, the Faliscans were an independent ethnic group, although theories of their origins were controversial (Camporeale 1991; Fig. 11.3). Some sources have linked their mythical origin to the Etruscan city of *Veii* (Servius *Ad Aeneid* VIII.285). Ancient historians have noted the military alliance of the Faliscans with *Veii* against Rome, during the fifth and fourth century BC (Livy IV.17–8, 21, 23–4; V.8, 17, 26–7; VII.16–22; Pliny *Natural History* III.51) and later their presence as an independent political entity at the pan-Etruscan meeting at *Fanum Voltumnae*, in 397 BC (Livy V.16.6). At that time, they were considered an independent community with a language, different from Etruscan (Strabo V.9). Vergil imagined the Faliscans as ancient allies of the Latins against the Etruscans (Vergil *Aeneid* VII.641ff), but Cato thought they were originated from Greece (Cato, in Pliny *Natural History* III.51; Letta 2008: 183). These data led to more extreme theories, such as an original Faliscan link with the Latin area and their political independence from Etruscans (Holland 1925).

Since the 1950s, the progressive publication of data from *Veii* made clear the strong cultural relationship between this Etruscan city and the nearby communities of the Faliscans (Benedettini 1997), together with the presence of a huge number of Etruscan inscriptions found in the main Faliscan centres (Cristofani 1988; Colonna 1990; *CIE* II.2.5, 8889–925). Furthermore, the settlement analysis of the Early Iron Age in southern

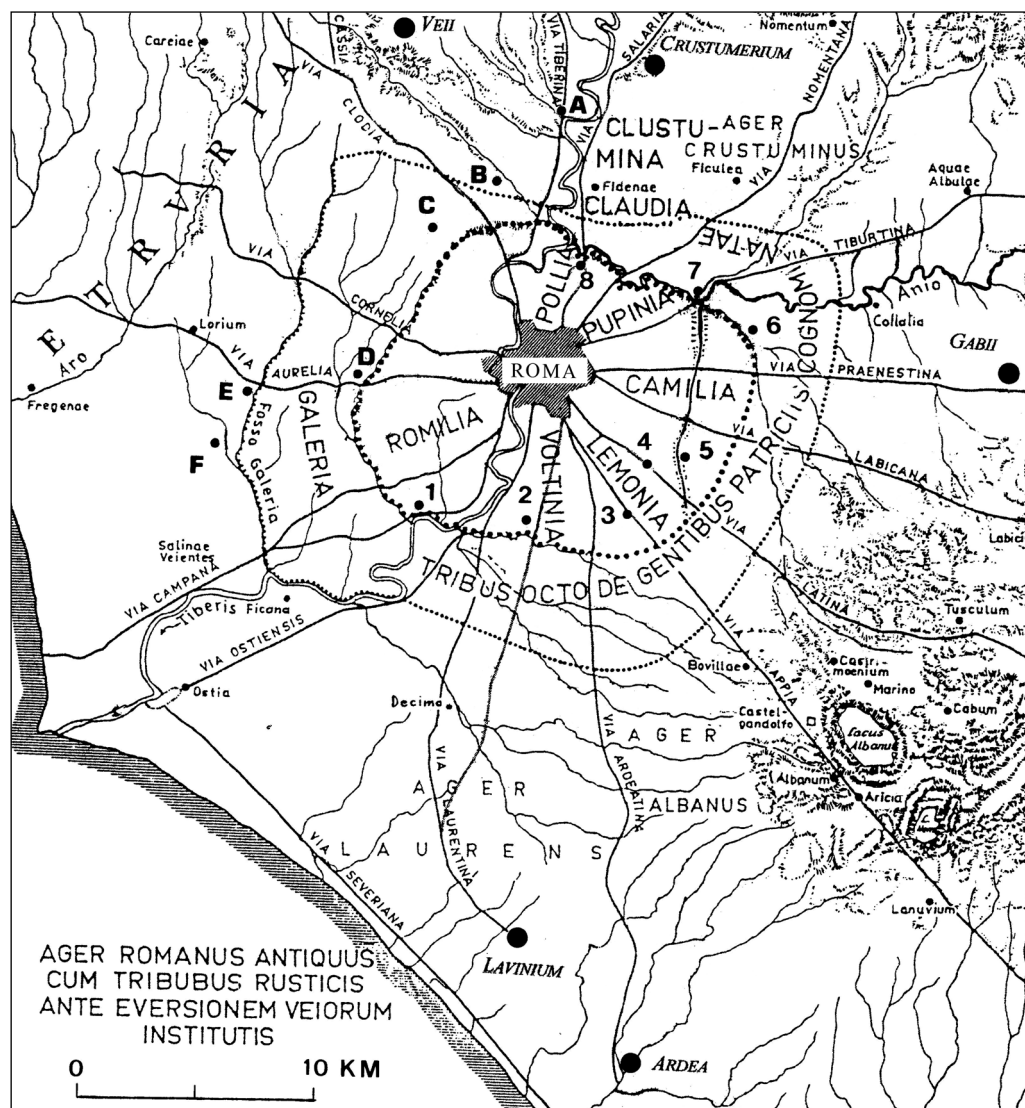


Figure 11.6. The ager Romanus antiquus (after Cifani 2005).

Etruria proved the earlier development of the *Veii* compared with the Faliscan area. As matter of fact *Veii* started as proto-urban centre already at the beginning of the Early Iron Age (ninth century BC), but the Faliscan territory started to be re-organized only at the end of the eighth century BC. In addition, Faliscan towns showed not only the strong cultural influence of *Veii*, but, because of their relative smaller size and location on the road network leading to *Veii*, they were, in my opinion, undoubtedly hierarchically subordinate to this important Etruscan city.

The organization of the territory led to the co-presence of two ethnic groups (*Capenates* and *Falisci*) within the community of *Veii*. In the case of the *Falisci*, by the study the literary sources, despite the difficulties in distinguishing real historical events from historical accounts and mythical fiction, we can easily identify two traditions: the Faliscans allied with the Etruscans and the independent Faliscans linked with Rome (or the Latins; Camporeale 1991). Both literary accounts can be the results of different stage of ethnic identity: a first phase in which the Faliscans were under the political influence of the Etruscan territorial state of *Veii* and a second phase, after the fall of *Veii* in 396 BC, during which they were progressively absorbed by the Roman economic trade system, before being completely conquered by Rome on 241 BC; as matter of fact, after this date, the Faliscan identity seems to survive only as a linguistic and cultural group (di Gennaro 1986; Cifani 2005b; Ceccarelli and Stoddart 2007). A further example of an ethnic group was the *Capenates*. According to legend, the city of *Capena* was founded as a colony of *Veii* by means of an internal migration (Cato *Origines* II.19) and, together with the Faliscans, they were reported as military allies of *Veii* during the wars with Rome in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The analysis of settlement history shows a huge community located on a fortified area of about 60 hectares (Camilli and Vitali Rosati 1995; Cifani 2003: 105–9); their language, the *Capena* dialect, is known only from inscriptions of the Hellenistic period and completely linked with the Italic language rather than the Etruscan (Briquel 1972; Colonna 1983). Their material culture, above all in the Orientalizing phase, showed the influence of *Veii*, but also of the Sabine and Latin cultures (Colonna 1988 a; Biella 2007), and it can be considered a typical product of a frontier context as explained below.

An important distinction is made by two models of territorial organization developed by Herman Hansen (2000: 16ff.): the city state and the territorial state. The ‘city-state’ is an urban settlement within a territory not larger than one day’s walk (i.e. about 15 kilometres of radius). This system has only one urban settlement, but it could have some small secondary settlements such as fortresses or harbours. The ‘territorial-state’ was a more complex system; it had a main urban centre which controlled a territory larger than one day’s walk and for this reason it necessarily has secondary urban settlements. For central Italy there is also a precious passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus who defines the Latin communities as πόλεις (except Rome) and the Etruscan communities as ἡγεμονία (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* VI.75.3).

Turning to the Latin and Etruscan patterns of settlement in the Archaic period we can distinguish a landscape of city states located within a radius of 10–15 kilometres of each other, typical of the Latin area (for example: *Tibur*, *Praeneste*, *Signia*, *Anagnia*, *Cora*, *Satricum*, etc.) and a landscape of territorial states in Etruria, illustrated by large urban centres within a radius of about 25–30 kilometres linked to a network of secondary settlements, for example: *Vulci*, *Tarquinius*, *Volsinii* and *Veii*. This internal organization of Etruscan states seems also to be proved by the career pursued by southern Etruscan magistrates recorded in some funerary inscriptions, in which magistrates started their career in the secondary settlements of their territorial states and then moved to the main city (Colonna 1988b: 24; Maggiani 2001: 45–6).

My thesis is that the Etruscan state of *Veii* was most probably a territorial state, which included as secondary centres also the city states of *Falerii* and *Capena*, but that they

<i>CITY STATES</i>	<i>TERRITORIAL STATES</i>
• Only one urban settlement. • No secondary urban centres, but only fortress and/or harbours. • Territory usually not larger than one day's walk • Greek terminology: πόλις Examples: Greek colonies; Italic communities (southern Umbrians, Sabines, Latins – except Rome)	• One main urban centre. • Secondary urban centres. • Territory larger than one day's walk. • Greek terminology: ἡγεμονία Examples: archaic Rome; southern Etruscan communities (<i>Vulci</i>, <i>Tarquinius</i>, <i>Volsinii</i>, <i>Veii</i>); larger Greek colonies (e.g. Syracuse).

acquired later a kind of political autonomy, which emerged, probably, between the end of the sixth and the fifth centuries BC, when the centre of *Veii* was weakened because of Roman military conquest (for an alternative interpretation: Ceccarelli and Stoddart 2007). For this reason, the invention of new myths about the ethnogenesis of *Falerii* as an independent group could also be dated to the same period (Cifani 2005b).

Landscapes, economies and perception of identities: the case of Sabines

From the point of view of a Greek author of the seventh century BC, the main ethnic groups of central Italy of that period were only the Latins and the Etruscans; by contrast, people of inland areas were considered members of still primitive and wild communities (Dench 1995, 111ff.; Hesiod *Theogony* 1011; Torelli 1988). Such a description of Italian cultural geography from a Greek, probably Euboian, perspective (Debiasi 2008: 40–75) is very interesting because it can locate the geographical areas where the Hellenic culture was more influential (i.e. the coastal Tyrrhenian regions of Latium and Etruria and of course the Greek colonies of southern Italy) in contradistinction to the internal highlands, which were less economically developed and without urban settlements. This situation changed drastically in the course of the sixth century BC when we have the first ethnic definitions of Umbrians and Sabines from epigraphic documents and literary sources (e.g. Sisani 2001: 201–6).

In the Sabine area (Fig. 11.7), different perceptions and different human landscapes can be considered some of the main aspects of the complex identity of the Sabine people, whose ethnic name was known since the beginning of the fifth century BC (Marinetti 1985: TE 5). The classic literary traditions tended to distinguish two groups (Musti 1985: 79–82). The first were the Sabines of the Tiber valley who from the end of the eighth century BC had a settlement organization similar to those of the Etruscan area. This took the form of small city-states on fortified sites (*Cures*, *Eretum*, *Magliano*, etc.), but

controlled by aristocratic groups. Their culture reveals the strong influence of Etruria, as shown, above all, by burial customs (e.g. Benelli and Santoro 2006), and they seem to have used the alphabet from the second half of the seventh century BC (Cristofani 1999; Cifani 2003: 133–48; Santoro 2008). Later historians depicted them as very similar to the Etruscans in their customs and taste for luxuries (especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* II.38.3). The second group were the Sabines of the mountains, based in the internal central area of the Apennines, around the evocative natural landmark of *Mons Fiscellus* (i.e. Gran Sasso d'Italia, 2912 metres), the highest mountain of the Apennine mountain range. They had communities characterized by aristocratic groups, distinguished by funerary customs focused on tumuli until the sixth century BC (Naso 2000: 137–40; d'Ercole and Grassi 2000; Cosentino *et al.* 2003; Alvino 2006); these groups first used of writing in the first half of the sixth century BC (Marinetti 1985: TE 4, AQ

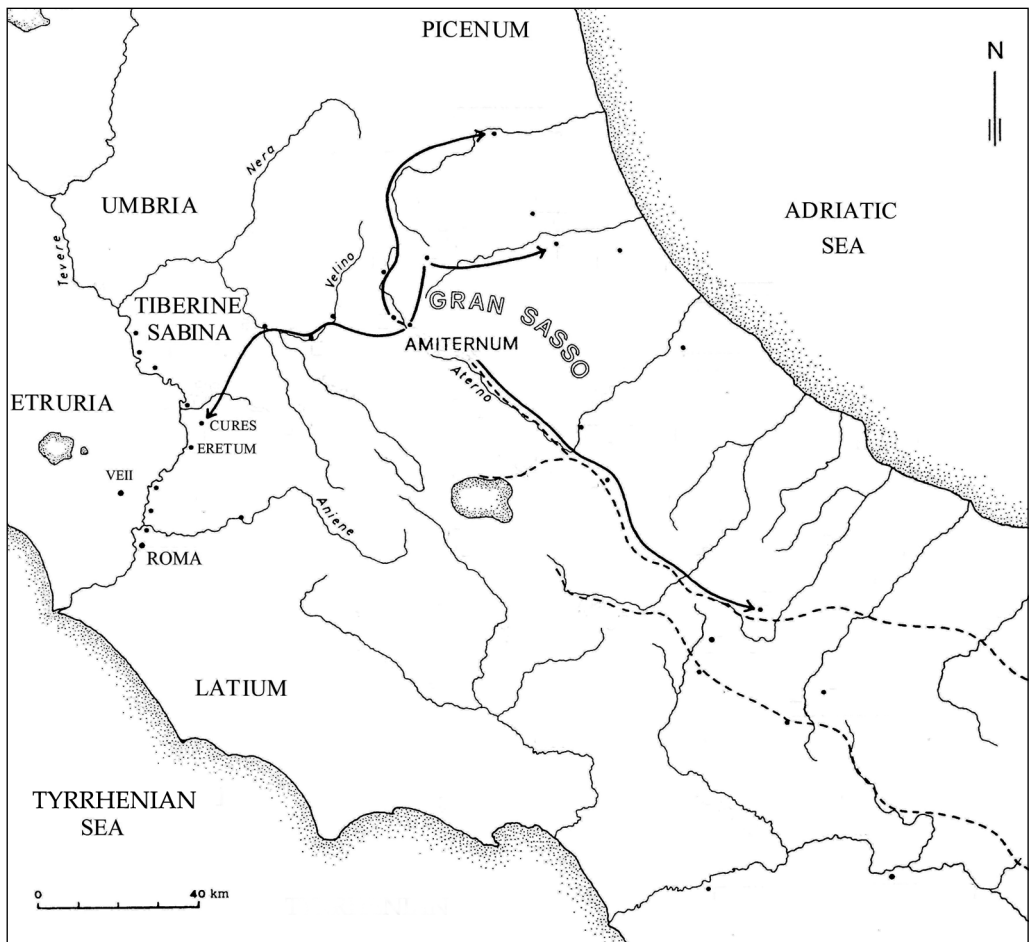


Figure 11.7. The Sabine areas (after Colonna 1996a).

2; Marinelli 1999), but their territory revealed no evidence of huge urban settlements until Romanization, which took place from the third century BC.

Despite the fact that their landscape has not been widely and systematically investigated, we can cite the community of *Reate* which settled in one valley (Cifani 2003: 131–2), and the innermost area showed a vibrant demography based during the Early Iron Age on open sites, small hill-forts and rare central places. The economy was mainly based on sheep rearing, although long-distance trade is documented as well (La Regina 1968; Mattiocco 1986; Oakley 1995; d’Ercole *et al.* 2002a, 2002b: 117–20; Benelli and Naso 2003; d’Ercole and Martellone 2007: 35). This remote and, apparently primitive area, was considered by ancient authors the demographic core of central Italy (Briquel 2000; Colonna 1996), a *longue durée* role for mountain areas in the Italian peninsula and Sicily (Stoddart 2000, 2006).

Two main ethnic groups, the *Piceni* (Strabo V.4.2, Pliny *Natural History* III.18.110) and the *Samnites* (Strabo V.4.12), were considered to have originated from the Sabines, by means of a peculiar way of ritual migration known as the *ver sacrum* (Tagliamonte 1994: 55 ss., 1996: 17–21, 2004; Colonna and Tagliamonte 1999; Naso 2000: 29–38; Antonelli 2003: 13–33; Chirassi Colombo 2008). The ideology behind the ethnogenesis of the Italic people from the Sabine area can be traced back to the years after the Second Punic War and above all in the work of *Origines* by Cato the Elder who stressed the Italic basis of Roman culture and the value of the ideals of austerity of the Sabine people in contraposition to the new direct influence of Greek culture (Letta 2008: 171–3).

However, beyond the ideologies, the main reasons for such internal migration can be seen as the demographic attraction of coastal areas for the less developed communities of inland regions and the obvious dichotomy between developed and underdeveloped economies (Torelli 1988: 54). The inland Sabines and above all the *Samnites* and *Piceni* were considered warriors, whose descendants resisted the Romans fiercely on many occasions; huge groups of them were often employed as mercenaries and that provided the occasion of further social mobility (Cherici 2003; Tagliamonte 1996: 13–7, 2003). The legacy of this perception was still active in the Augustan period, when Vergil (*Georgics* II.136ff.) depicted Italic people as two types: the wild warriors, (e.g. the Sabellians or the inland Sabines, the *Marsi*, Ligurians and *Volsci*) and the more civilized Latins, Romans, Etruscans and the Tiber Valley Sabines (Giardina 1997: 33–4).

Conclusions

Ethnicity starts as an ideological invention based on selected distinctions and omitted diversities, but, once started, it can become a factor of real transformation of societies. Thus, instead of considering the rise of an ethnic landscape, we should focus on the way in which ethnicity was considered and represented and how it influenced the organization of territories. In my opinion, literary and epigraphic data still represent a very important source of evidence for the reconstruction of ideology, but landscape archaeology also has a high potential which should also be used.

In central Tyrrhenian Italy, despite the fact that some local cultural characterization can be seen already in Final Bronze Age, the development of ethnic-political identity

was obviously linked with the rise of the city-state system from the Early Iron Age onwards. Along the frontier of the Tiber Valley, the archaeology of landscape reveals a first deep differentiation which took place in the first phase of the Early Iron Age (ninth century BC); in this period the future territories of Umbrians, Sabines, Latins and Etruscans started developing very different strategies of territorial organization, which reflect different social and economic structures. However it is only from the sixth century BC that some of such distinctions started to be used to define ethnic groups based on huge territories. As matter of fact, between the sixth and fifth century BC, in Etruria and Latium the rise of new political landscapes characterized by cities and farmhouses, together with political borders marked by sanctuaries and fortresses, was probably the main way to represent the new ethnicity.

Behind such changes we can distinguish many political and social factors. One of the main political factors could have been the rise of Rome in the sixth century BC and its political influence on Latium and southern Etruria, which probably forced the surrounding Italic communities into larger alliances, based on ethnic identity and with the ideal contradistinction to Rome and the Latin culture. As has been observed for the shaping of Hellenic identity (Hall 2002: 179), this phase marks the transformation of previous ethnic identities, based on purely aggregational self-definitions between city states sharing similarities of culture, language and religions, into new broader ethnicities based on the 'oppositional' self-definition to an external enemy. However, there are also social aspects to be considered as well: Archaic ethnic identities could have been developed above all thanks to the advanced state organization of central Tyrrhenian Italy, where the rise of new elites and the consolidation of a kind of middle class produced new forms of ideology, religion, politics and self representation. From this point of view, the new landmarks in the landscape, such as the extra-urban sanctuaries, can be considered the first step towards the creation of a cultural collective memory.

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Index

- Abad, L. 229–31, 233
Acquafredda 101
Acquarossa 152, 155
Aeneas 8, 109–11, 114
Agamemnon 29, 31
Alba Longa 5, 10, 21, 109, 110, 111
alphabet 25, 160, 198, 232
 Greek 25
 Greek-Iberian 232
 Etruscan 160
 Ionic 25
 Levantine 232
 Meridian 232
 Phoenician 25
 Venetic 198
Ancestor 29, 52, 74, 111, 114, 118, 217–19, 250
ancient authors 53, 56, 90, 94–5, 97–8, 104,
 106, 109, 111, 120, 126, 149, 156, 161, 174,
 188–9, 191, 196, 211–15, 228–9, 230–1, 233,
 236, 242–3, 246, 266, 287, 292
Aphrodisias 31
Alt de Benimaquia 274
Altino 191, 201
Anabesta 12
Anagnia 158
Anderson, Benedict 238, 254
Appadurai, A 284
Antium 109, 113
Arcadia 24, 29, 30
 ‘Arcado-Cypriot’ dialect 29
Archaic period 2, 12, 14, 17–19, 21, 23, 25,
 27–30, 33–49, 52, 65, 68–71, 75, 79, 88, 91,
 96, 98, 104, 108, 117–19, 120–1, 123, 125–42,
 147, 153–6, 158–9, 162, 166–7, 169, 177, 179,
 182–4, 188, 201–2, 204–6
Ardea 3, 98, 109–15, 119, 139, 141
Aricia 10, 110, 112, 113
Arjona 222
Arno river 174
Arse-Saguntum 235–6
Arvanites 58–63
Asia Minor 32–49, 292
Askra, modern 58
Asturia 246, 247, 249, 252–8, 260, 263, 264,
 265, 266
Atalaya de Lahiguera 222
Athens 18, 25, 27, 29, 30, 37, 58
Attica 27, 28, 36, 58, 62
Augustus 77, 86, 148, 214, 244
autochthony 26, 29, 30
Avienus 211, 229
Aztec Triple Alliance 290

Barano 168
Barth, Frederik 52, 89–93, 101, 104–6, 145,
 163, 188, 287–8
Bastetania 213–15, 220, 226, 227, 230
Bisentium (Bisenzio) 168, 169
Blanton, Richard 250
Boeotia (Boiotia) 24, 26, 28, 30–1, 51, 52,
 58, 62, 83
Bojano 80, 82, 84, 85
Bolsena
 Volsinii Novi 168, 171
 lake 152, 156, 166–70,
 mirror 8–9
boundaries 3, 11–12, 27, 28–9, 31, 33, 75, 86–7,
 89–92, 93, 104, 113, 121–2, 125, 127, 132–3,
 135–6, 145, 148, 152, 163, 174, 176, 187–9,
 191–2, 195, 196, 199–201, 203–6, 207–210,
 217, 219, 220, 224, 226–7, 231, 232, 234,
 253, 273, 287–8
 boundary markers 27, 92, 102, 127, 135–6,
 188, 192, 195, 199–200, 203–4, 206, 217,
 219, 224, 226–7, 231, 253, 259, 287–8
 natural boundaries 33, 86–7, 132, 152,
 169, 174, 176, 196, 220, 232
Bourdieu, Pierre 269, 278, 284–5
Bradley, Richard 174
Braudel, Fernand 64–6
Brindisi 64, 72
Bronze Age 17, 52, 56, 75, 79, 95, 97, 102,
 128, 143, 151, 152, 166, 177, 179–81, 184,
 223, 274

- Early Bronze Age 128, 166
 Middle Bronze Age 34, 95, 129, 177, 182
 Recent Bronze Age 95, 180, 182, 184
 Late Bronze Age 10, 34, 112, 166–7, 221, 250, 256, 270–2, 275–7, 280, 284
 Final Bronze Age 6, 8, 18, 20, 89, 96, 98–100, 132, 152, 161, 166, 168, 177, 180–2, 184, 236
 Bronze artefact 8, 46, 48, 78–84, 86–7, 100, 137, 139, 140, 156, 194, 196–8, 253, 256, 260, 275, 277–8
 Byzantine period 33, 36, 38, 58, 220

 Cabezo Pequeño del Estañó 272
 Caere 82, 83, 86, 100, 110, 149, 152, 154, 156, 166, 167
 Callaecia 246, 247, 249, 253–266
 Camara 274
 Capena 100, 126, 149, 155, 156–9, 166
 Caramoro II 271, 272
 Caria 32–49, 291
 Carlantino 86, 87, 88
 Casentino region 174
 Castellaro 155
 Castulo 219, 220, 223, 226
 Cato the Elder 155–6, 161
 Cauldron 253, 256,
 Celtiberian 220, 236, 246, 258
 Celtic 155, 202, 245–6, 253, 259, 261
 Cempsii 212
 Cerro de la Coronilla de Casalilla 221
 Cerro de las Atalayuelas 222
 Cerro de Torrejón 222
 Cerro de Villargordo 222, 223
 Cerro Largo 222
 Chalcolithic period 34, 128
 Chaplin, Charlie 207
 Childe, Vere Gordon 92, 145
 Circeii 113, 114
 Cisterna Grande (Crustumerium) 121, 133–42
 Colonial, colonialism 3, 66, 69–70, 76, 92, 113, 127, 155, 248–9, 265–6, 267–9, 272–3, 276, 279–80, 282–6, 289–90, 292–3
 colonization 22, 49, 58, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70, 76, 86, 113, 126–7, 155, 159, 166, 190, 218–9, 222–4, 226, 248–9, 265–6, 267–9, 272, 273, 276, 279, 280, 282–6, 289, 290, 293

 Etruscan 126–7, 155, 166
 Greek 49, 64–76, 159
 Phoenician 267–86
 Roman 22, 113, 190
 Contestania 3, 228–34, 242, 244
 Copper artefacts 275–7
 Cora 110, 158
 Corinth 26, 27–8, 30
 Corinthian style 27, 42
 Cornos 167
 Cosmology 2, 74–5, 250
 Croce, Benedetto 145
 cultural memory 5, 91, 145–6, 155, 162, 227
 Cures Sabini 5, 149, 152, 159
 Crustumerium 3, 102, 103–105, 121, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142

 Dark Age 52, 56–7
 Demaratus 96
 Demeter 75, 242
 Demography (population) 6, 58, 70, 113, 151–2, 161, 164, 169, 171, 182, 184, 190–1, 210–1, 217, 220, 222–3, 236, 247, 254
 Dietler, Michael 276, 280
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 110, 112, 113, 155, 158, 160

 Earle, Tim 250
 Edeta 236, 240, 241, 243
 Edetania 220, 226, 228–34, 244
 El Berrueco 223
 El Bosch 271, 272
 El Castell de Sagunt 236
 El Espino 222
 El Molar 281–3, 284
 El Pajarillo 219
 El Tabaza 272, 275
 El Tolmo de Minateda (Ilnum) 235, 237, 240
 Elbysinii 212
 Elektra 31
 Emic 145, 188, 288, 292
 Enlightenment, The 143, 249
 environmental determinism 24–5, 55–6
 Eretum 135, 139, 159
 Este 191–201, 203–5
 ethnicity
 anthropological model 90–2, 247–9

- archaeological model 92–4, 269
- culture-historical model 64, 92, 95–6, 106, 229, 231, 234, 242, 245–6
- definition 52, 89–90, 108–9, 121–2, 145–6, 187–8, 245–7, 265–6
- ethnocentrism 32, 49, 146, 163
- ethnogenesis 5, 32, 36, 49, 62, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 106, 147, 159, 161, 289, 292
- ethnos 5, 24, 28–9, 31, 52, 57–8, 59, 92, 104, 106, 135, 144, 147, 264
- functionalist 66, 75, 90, 92
- genetics 53, 55, 96, 105, 121, 144
- Herodotos 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 104, 108, 144, 292
- history of study 94–6, 144–6, 244–7
- self-construction 32, 77, 97, 118–9, 136, 141, 148, 162, 247, 253, 260–1, 266, 287, 290
- temporal aspects 208, 289
- Ethnography 143, 183, 211, 229, 231, 247–9, 251, 254, 256, 263, 266, 268, 288, 292–3
- Etic 145, 188, 252, 292
- Etmanei 212
- Etruscan identity 6, 96, 99, 101, 120, 144–62, 163–4, 174, 291
- Etrusco-Corinthian style 138
- Exchange, trade 22, 31, 33, 35, 70, 110, 114, 146–7, 151–2, 155, 158, 161, 162, 164, 169, 171, 185, 217, 219, 226, 232, 234, 236–7, 248, 250, 251, 256, 261, 268, 271–6, 285, 293
- Falerii Veteres 149, 158, 159
- Faliscan identity 3, 96, 121, 131, 156–9, 174
- Fidenae 133, 139
- Fonteta 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 280, 285
- fortification walls 10, 11, 34, 38, 39, 72, 211, 217, 219, 220, 221, 226, 276
- Foucault, Michel 249, 256, 261
- foundation myths 5, 12, 18, 21, 22, 109–11, 202
 - Roman foundation ritual 8–12
 - angulus summus 10, 175
 - angulus infimus 10
 - auguria 8
 - auspica 8, 9, 19
 - pomerium 10
 - templum in aere 10
- frontiers 3, 87, 146, 148, 151, 152, 155–6, 158, 162, 163–72, 174, 207–11, 215, 217, 219–20, 222–7, 248, 259, 288
 - lakes as frontier areas 152, 166–5
- Gabii 105, 133, 166
- Genealogy 26, 31, 52, 108–10, 187, 202, 248, 256, 292
- Gender 28, 90, 92, 94, 98, 106, 108, 121, 195, 197, 204, 244, 245, 249, 278, 285
- Genetics 53, 104–5, 121, 144
- Geometric period 14, 25, 27, 43, 56, 82
- GIS (Geographical Information Systems) 90, 128, 134, 171–2
- Glass artefact 84, 114, 216
- Godelier, Maurice 208
- Gold artifact 31, 253, 260
- Gramsci 147
- Gran Carro 167
- Gravisca 114
- Grotte di Castro 3, 152, 155, 163–172
- Groube, L 211
- Guadalquivir river 3, 208, 212–18, 220–3, 225–6, 240
- Gubbio 3, 174–86
- Hall, Jonathan 25, 26, 52, 95, 121, 145, 263
- Herbich, I 276, 280
- Hecateus 211–2, 229
- Hegel 144
- Helen of Troy 26
- Hellenic identity 159, 162
- Hellenistic period 2, 4, 31, 35–6, 38, 65, 72–5, 109, 134, 158, 169, 233
- Hellenization 279
- Herodorus of Heraclea 211–12
- Herodotos 29–30, 37–8, 104, 144, 202, 292
- Hesiod 26, 58, 109, 159
- Heterarchy 251, 259, 261, 276
- Hierarchy 79, 99, 125–6, 132, 139, 153, 157, 176, 179, 188, 204, 222–3, 230, 234, 237, 248–9, 254, 256, 259–61, 265, 276, 290
- Hill-forts 79, 151, 152, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 166, 167, 168, 208, 219, 236, 253, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262
- Historical sources 202–3, 211–15, 229–30, 263, 292

- Hodder, Ian 93, 287
- Hybridization 2, 5, 70–1, 268–9, 278, 282, 283–6
- Iberian people 3, 211–13, 215, 220, 227, 228–34, 236–44, 246, 267, 278–9, 281
- Iberian period 222, 225, 228, 235, 236, 238, 240, 279–80
- identity
- cultural 1, 2, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 90, 91, 92, 93, 104, 108, 118, 121, 122, 144–6, 156, 158, 166, 173, 174, 186, 188, 189, 191, 198, 202, 203, 204–6, 234, 239, 242–4, 247, 251, 252, 258, 261, 263, 265–6, 269, 278, 282, 291
 - communal 2, 19, 31, 58, 66, 70, 72, 74–6, 90, 98, 102, 104–5, 109, 120, 122, 125, 133, 142, 145, 149, 158, 164, 179, 188, 189, 201–6, 217, 238, 240, 242, 248–9, 251, 253, 260–2, 264–6, 278, 290, 292
 - ‘nested’ 90, 123–6, 136, 141–2, 174, 185, 189, 204–6, 261, 290
 - political 2, 3, 19, 24, 27–8, 30–1, 89, 91, 93, 97, 104, 108, 109, 118–19, 120, 133, 142, 149, 155, 156, 161–2, 175, 176, 201, 205, 209, 234–5, 240, 242–4, 247, 249, 250, 256, 259, 265–6, 290
 - social 75, 90–4, 101–5, 108, 121–2, 134–6, 141–2, 147, 149, 155, 162, 188, 204, 209, 254, 266, 280, 283–6, 289, 290
- Ileati (Gleti) 212
- Iliad 26, 33, 36, 38, 48, 49, 202
- Ilici 235, 237, 240, 241
- ‘imagined communities’ 185, 254
- Imperial (Roman) period 10, 101
- Imperialist 265, 288–91
- Indiges (Pater Indiges) 114, 118
- Inscriptions, epigraphy 29, 35–37, 39, 43, 77, 89, 95–8, 105, 110–1, 146–7, 149, 154, 156, 158–9, 161, 167, 185, 188–9, 190, 192, 198–202, 203, 205–6, 215, 231–3, 236, 253, 258, 272–3
- Ionian 24, 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 46, 47, 49, 144, 291, 292
- Ionian League 36, 37, 46, 47, 49
- Ipolca-Obulco 215, 223, 224, 226
- Iron Age 3, 10, 17, 26–7, 34, 68–9, 79–81, 85–8, 89, 91, 94–100, 102, 126–7, 134, 136, 147, 151, 152, 156–7, 161–2, 164, 166, 167–8, 179, 227, 228, 236, 238, 242, 245–7, 249–50, 256, 259–61, 265–6, 271, 273
- iron artefacts 42, 44, 45, 78, 88, 141, 167, 179, 277, 278, 284
- iron technology 279
- ius iurandum 17
- ivory artefact 29, 46, 272
- James, Wendy 251
- Jedrej, Charles 248, 261, 264
- Jupiter 17, 97
- Fereretrius 17
- Khaironeia 28, 31
- Kossina 145
- L’Amastuola 68–71, 76
- La Alcudia de Elche (L’Alcúdia) 233, 235, 275
- La Aragonesa 221, 222
- La Regina, Adriano 211
- La Serrata of Alcoi 222
- Lake Bracciano 166–7, 169
- landscape theory 64, 207–11, 234–5, 290–2
- Language 29, 58, 90, 92, 96, 98, 106, 108–9, 121–2, 144–5, 147, 149, 156, 158, 162, 187–9, 198, 202, 205–6, 232, 239–40, 247–8, 253–4, 258, 262, 266, 268
- Lanuvium 110, 138
- Las Atalayuelas de Fuerte del Rey 223
- Las Calañas de Marmolejo 222
- Latins 5, 6, 9, 23, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 108–14, 118–19, 120, 121, 133–6, 139, 141, 142, 147, 148, 149, 151, 155, 156–9, 161–2, 166, 182, 185, 291
- Latin League 98, 109, 110, 111, 113, 149
- Latium vetus 89, 94, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 109, 112, 113, 121, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142
- Laurentum 113
- Lavinium 103, 110–11, 114, 138
- Lead artifact 29–30, 42, 232–3, 275
- Les Casetes 281–4
- Les Moreres 272, 277
- Limestone 47, 64, 72, 155, 215

- Liminality 163–4, 169, 172, 179, 181, 197, 200–1, 205
 Limit, Limitation of space 3, 10, 93, 179, 183, 188, 200–1, 207–211, 217, 219–20, 225, 226
 Livy 19, 110–11, 113–14, 120, 132, 155–6, 196, 213
 longue durée 3, 56, 76, 161, 256
 Los Saladares 271, 272, 276, 280, 285
 Los Villares de Andujar 222, 235
 Llobregat, E. 228–9, 233, 242

 Magliano 159
 Magna Graecia 146, 163, 169
 Marble artefact 36–7, 42–4, 49
 Marspiter 12
 Marxism 3, 135
 Mastieni 212, 213, 225, 229, 230
 Mauss, Marcel 251
 Melia 32–3, 35, 38–9, 46, 49
 Meliakos Polemos 32, 36, 46, 49
 Memory 5, 12, 18–20, 31, 91, 145, 155, 162, 226–7
 Menelaus 26, 29
 Mexica 290
 Miletus 36, 38, 43
 Molinos, M. 3, 229–31, 288, 292
 Molise/Abruzzo 77–88
 Monastil 274
 Mons Albanus 6, 10, 21, 98, 114, 166
 Monte Rocca Romana 166
 Monte S. Angelo 127, 166, 167
 Montesquieu 144
 Montagnana 191
 Montefiascone 167–8
 Monterado 155, 168
 Montoro (Epura) 221
 Moret, P. 229, 231
 Mycale 32–49
 Myth 5, 8, 12, 18, 21–22, 26–7, 30–1, 32–3, 48, 52–3, 56, 74, 97, 108–11, 118–19, 121, 132, 145–6, 148, 156, 158–9, 187, 202, 208, 211, 218, 239–40, 251, 253, 263, 266, 291
 Mycenae, Mycenaean 34, 250

 Narce 80–4, 126, 127, 142
 Naxos 42
 Neolithic period 128–9, 287

 Nepi 3, 120, 122–133, 142

 Orestes 29–31
 Oretania 213–15, 217, 219, 220–1, 225, 226–7
 Oria 75
 Orientalizing period 12, 16, 26, 86, 100, 102, 126–8, 130–2, 135–8, 140, 141, 152, 158, 169, 171, 293
 Orospea 213, 220, 226
 Osteria dell'Osa 103, 136–8

 Padua 191, 193, 195–205
 Panopeus 31
 Pallottino, Massimo 94–6, 98
 Pausanias 19, 31
 Peña Negra 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 280, 285
 Peroni, Renato 6, 147
 Perugia (Perugia) 166, 174, 176,
 Phoenicians 25, 104, 114, 237, 267, 268, 269, 271–85, 293
 Phokis 28, 31, 52
 Picenes 77, 161
 Pithecusa (Pitheculae) 83, 147
 Pliny the Elder 21, 110, 114, 144, 148, 156, 161, 202, 212–5, 220, 226, 254
 Polis, Poleis 2, 24–6, 28–30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 56, 104, 259, 292
 political economy 247–52
 Polybius 113, 147, 213–4, 219–20, 229, 243
 Poseidon 27, 33, 36, 37–8, 46–7, 48
 Helikonios 33, 36, 37–8, 46–7
 Positivism 144, 279
 post-colonialism 3, 4, 145, 146, 163, 267–8, 279, 290
 post-processualism 3, 66, 144, 163, 247
 Praeneste 109, 139, 158
 Priene 34–9, 43
 Prisci Latini 112
 Protogeometric period 25, 34–5
 Ptolemy 212–5, 220, 226–7, 254
 Purcell, N. 269
 Pyrgi 114

 Race 51, 53, 92, 245, 249
 Renaissance period 146

- Republican period 91, 98, 104, 109, 114, 130, 133, 138, 147, 176
 Rome 1, 5–23, 31, 98, 101, 102, 104, 108–11, 112–13, 114, 115, 116, 133, 139, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 162, 166, 171, 185, 202, 229, 243, 258, 291
 Arx 8, 12
 Aventine 8, 9
 Capitolium 8, 16–17
 casa Romuli 10
 Cermalus 9–10
 Doliola 17
 Forum 1, 5, 8, 12, 16–17, 20, 22
 House of the Vestal Virgins 14
 Palatine 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 22
 temples, *see* sanctuaries, Roman
 Roman identity 5, 12, 17, 19, 20, 22, 96, 98, 104, 108, 146, 147, 148, 149, 158, 161
 romanization 161, 171, 279
 Romulus 5, 6, 9, 20, 21
 Ruiz, A. 3, 229–31, 288, 292
 Rutuli (Ardeates Rutuli) 98, 109, 110, 112

 Sabines 5, 21, 77, 100, 120, 135, 139, 141, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159–61, 162, 211
 Saepinum 79, 80, 84
 Sahlins, Marshall 251–2
 Saiti 235, 236
 Salaminioi 27
 Salento 64–76
 Samnites 77, 79, 87, 161, 211, 291
 Samos 35–6, 41, 46–8
 sanctuaries
 Etruscan:
 Casamaggiore 166
 Fanum Voltumnae 149, 156
 Fondaccio 155, 156, 167, 168, 169
 S. Feliciano 166
 Tragliatella 167
 Tuoro/Sanguinetto 166
 Greek:
 Artemis Orthia (Sparta) 29
 Athena Alea at Tegea 29
 Hera at Perachora 27
 Panionion 2, 32–3, 36–49
 Poseidon at Isthmia 27
 Iberia:
 Edeta 241
 La Serreta of Alcoi 236–7, 241
 Latin:
 Aphrodisium 109, 113, 114
 Aricia (Demeter and Kore) 110
 Iuppiter Latiaris 114
 Le Salzare (Ardea) 115–18
 Lucus Dianius 113, 114
 Lucus Ferentinae 114
 Lucus Feroniae 155
 Mater Matuta (Satricum) 115–16
 Nemus Aricinus 166
 Torvaianica (locus Solis Indigetis) 111
 peak sanctuaries 156, 164, 179, 184, 242
 ritual landscapes 72–5, 113–14, 155–6, 195
 Roman:
 Minerva and Diana 9
 Vesta 5, 12–15, 20
 Volcanus 12
 Salento
 Grotta di S. Maria d'Agnano 75
 Oria 75
 Umbrian:
 Monte Ansciano 178–180, 182, 183, 184
 Monte Ingino 177, 180, 181, 182, 184
 Veneto:
 Altichiero 196
 Altino 201
 Lova 196
 Meggiaro 194–5, 203
 of Reitia at Baratella 194, 195
 S. Pietro Montagnon 196
 Santa Cecilia 221, 222
 Sant'Imbenia 82–3
 Satricum 102, 116, 118, 158
 Scott, J. C. 251
 Segni (Signia) 118, 158
 Septimontium 6, 21
 Silver artefact 47, 236, 258
 social mobility 5, 21, 22, 108, 147, 154, 161, 287
 Sparta 18, 28–30, 31, 52
 Stanish, Charles 250
 state formation 3, 89, 94, 97, 104, 105, 106, 125, 152, 195, 249, 288, 289, 291

- Stele 70–1, 199–201, 284
 Strabo 114, 156, 161, 196, 202, 212–15, 220, 223, 227, 263
 Subgeometric period 34
 Suggrundaria 17, 102, 103
 Sutri 126, 127, 142
 Symposium 46
 Synoikism 30

 Tabulae Iguvinae (Iguvine Tables) 10, 149, 174–86
 Taras (Taranto) 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71
 Tarquinii (Tarquinia) 6, 133, 152, 156, 158, 159, 169
 Tartessi 212, 213, 214, 215, 222, 225, 230, 246
 ‘taskscape’ 120, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129
 Tegea 24, 28–30, 31
 Terminus 11
 Terni 100, 103, 149, 152,
 Terracina (Tarracina) 113, 114
 Tharros 83
 Thompson, E. P. 251
 Thorikos 27–30
 Tiber Valley 3, 99, 122, 133, 149–55, 159, 161, 162, 164
 Tibur 110, 158
 Titus Tatius 5–6
 Todi 149, 185
 Torreparedones (Iptuci) 221, 222, 226
 Trade, exchange 22, 31, 33, 35, 70, 110, 114, 146–7, 151–2, 155, 158, 161, 162, 164, 169, 171, 185, 217, 219, 226, 232, 234, 236–7, 248, 250, 251, 256, 261, 268, 271–6, 285, 293
 transhumance 79
 travertine 155
 Trevignano 166
 Treviso 191, 201
 Trinkhaus, K.M. 211
 Trojans 38, 110–11
 Troy 26, 31
 Tuff 47, 112, 115–16, 137, 139–40, 169
 Tugša 215, 217, 219
 Turduli 213–15
 Turnus 110–11
 Tusculum 109, 110, 111

 Ubeda la Vieja (Iltiraka) 217, 218
 Urbanization 89, 133, 148, 188, 189, 190–1, 198, 205, 206, 238, 240, 241

 van Dommelen 268
 Van Gennep, Arnold 173
 Varro 6, 19, 111
 Veii 6, 82, 83, 84, 115, 116, 126–7, 133, 139, 149, 152, 154, 156–7, 158, 159, 166, 167
 Venus 110, 114
 Ver sacrum 161
 Vilar, Pierre 207
 Villasmundo 82
 Volscans 113, 161
 Volsinii 149, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 168, 169, 171
 votive objects 11, 17, 27, 29, 30, 41, 47, 48, 75, 156, 167, 171, 177, 194–7, 198, 200, 203, 205, 216, 241, 260
 Vulci 86, 152, 158, 159, 169, 171

 Weber 91, 145, 209, 253