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Exchange Networks and Local Transformations

Interaction and local change in Europe and the
Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age

Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini

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Preface

The idea of this volume matured gradually over time, following a series of events. Originally, it was the aim of the editors to promote a large project investigating trade and exchange as a means for the development and expansion of societies in Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe and the Mediterranean. A convenient starting discussion for this project took place at a relevant session at the 14th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Malta (September 2008).¹ The project has not yet materialized. However, following the session in Malta there was general agreement regarding the lack of comprehensive studies on the reciprocal relations between exchange networks and local transformations, particularly those focusing on the latter and their specific dynamics. We decided then to attempt to address this scientific gap. With an eye to our main areas and periods of interest (the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Mediterranean and Europe) we felt that such a study would benefit from including a large number of regions and chronological horizons.

We also agreed on the potentially fruitful results that could arise from overcoming the disciplinary barriers which often prevent dialogue between archaeologists working in the Mediterranean and in continental Europe. While this problem undoubtedly persists, the channels of communication have been opened, and we feel the present volume represents a significant step in

the right direction. Some of the articles in the volume were written by participants in the EAA session in Malta 2008 while others were written by scholars who were subsequently invited by the editors.

During the long editing process² we have had support from several colleagues and friends. In particular we wish to thank Kristian Kristiansen, who also contributed to the volume, as well as Paola Càssola Guida, Elisabetta Borgna, Renato Peroni and Andrea Cardarelli. As far as the very conception of this book is concerned, thanks must go to Anthony Harding for the inspiring talk right after the session in Malta 2008. We are also grateful to the organisers of the 14th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Malta, who made the session possible. In addition, we wish to thank Göteborg University and the Jubileumsfond for its generous support. Of course we also extend warm thanks to all of the contributors to this book – their collaboration has been very stimulating in many ways. We wish to also thank very much Kristin Bornholdt Collins for considerably improving the language of the introductory parts of this volume. Finally, we would like to thank the publisher Oxbow Books Ltd for taking an interest in our work, and in particular Dr Julie Gardiner and Samantha McLeod for help and support with the publication.

Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini
2012

¹ The original title of the session was: Exchange, interactions, conflicts and transformations: social and cultural changes in Europe and the Mediterranean between the Bronze and Iron Ages.

² The volume was completed at the beginning of 2011. Therefore, not all bibliographical references might be fully updated. Both editors equally worked on the volume.

Indigenous political dynamics and identity from a comparative perspective: Etruria and *Latium Vetus*

Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart

Introduction

'The Formation of the City in *Latium*' (*La formazione della città nel Lazio*) congress, held in Rome in the late 1970s (Ampolo *et al.* 1980), sparked a huge debate on urbanisation and state formation in middle Tyrrhenian Italy. This debate could be seen as polarised between two main schools of thought: 'Orientalists' and 'Occidentalists'.

In order to simplify the complex and long-running arguments, let us state that Orientalists emphasise the role of external influences (Ampolo *et al.* 1980; Harris 1989; Pallottino 1984, 213 and 307; 1991, 55–56; Damgaard Andersen 1997; Rasmussen 2005, 72ff. and 82–83; Sherratt 1993, 93), while Occidentalists identify and define settlement and funerary patterns toward higher complexity, which originated from local impulses at least from the end of the Bronze Age, if not earlier (Peroni 1979; 1989; 1996; 2000; di Gennaro and Peroni 1986; di Gennaro 1986; 2000; Stoddart and Spivey 1990, 40–61; Guidi 1992; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 84; di Gennaro and Guidi 2000; Pacciarelli 2001).

While the Orientalist perspective ('*ex Oriente lux*') dominated in the 1970s and the 1980s, the Occidental point of view emerged and was reinforced during the 1980s and 1990s. Andrea Carandini has even recently suggested that the beginning of the city-state model (generally associated with the origin of the Greek Polis) possibly took place prior in the Western Mediterranean, as demonstrated by the early origin and development of the city of Rome (Carandini 2007, 13–14).

Another dominant theme in the debate on urbanisation in central Italy was the supposed priority of this process in Etruria (*e.g.* Peroni 1989; Pacciarelli 2001, 127), when compared with nearby regions such as *Latium vetus*, the Sabine region, the Faliscan and the Capenate areas (Stoddart 1989; Bietti Sestieri 1992a). By focusing on settlement organization and social transformations, as mirrored in the funerary evidence, this paper will compare and contrast political and social developments in Etruria and *Latium vetus* (Fig. 9.1).

And it will place those trajectories within the wider context of socio-political transformations and connectivity in the entire Mediterranean region during the 1st Millennium BC. In doing so, this paper will show that neither a pure externalist nor an internalist explanation of urbanization in central Italy is fully explanatory; whereas a combination of both internal and external catalyzing interactions suits the evidence more precisely, and can help to better understand this dynamic process.

In contrast with the traditional view, Etruria and *Latium vetus* should not to be considered as monolithic blocks, but, rather, as linked societies with different, contrasting dynamics and specific developments which can be identified internally at a local level. A network model will allow the identification of these interactions at different scales of analysis, and this paper will suggest it as the most promising approach to give account of local trajectories within a wider regional and global Mediterranean framework.

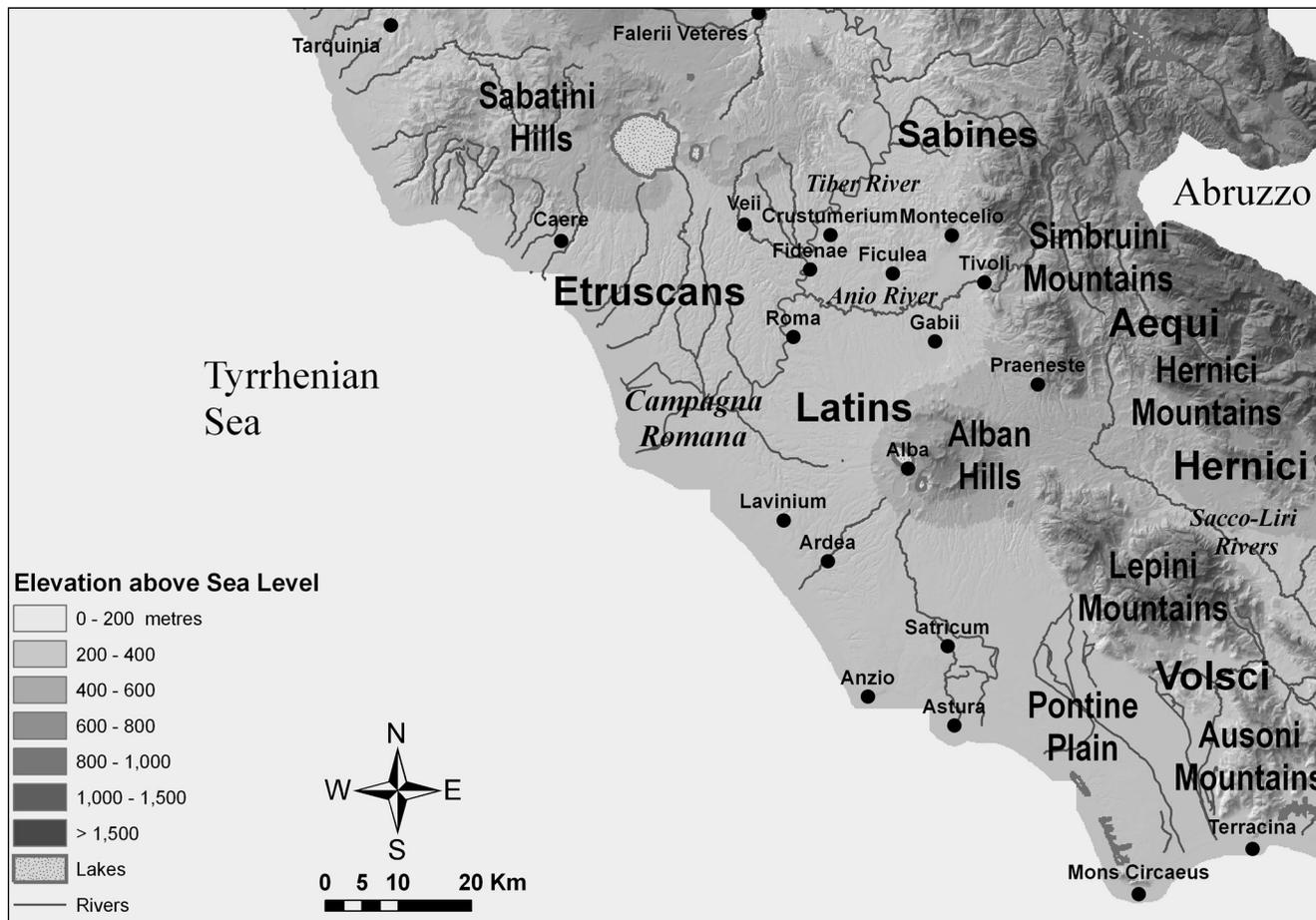


Figure 9.1 The geographical context. Pre-Roman populations in central Italy (by F. Fulminante).

Urbanisation in middle Tyrrhenian Italy: principal issues of the debate

Ex Oriente Lux?

Simplifying a complex question, the key issues of the debate on urban formation in central Italy, have always been: when did the city begin in central Italy: 6th, 7th or even 8th century BC? and what was there before the city?

On the first question, scholars generally agree that urbanization was largely completed in central Italy between the late Orientalizing Age and the end of the Archaic Period (from the late 7th to the end of the 6th century BC). By that time, Rome had been monumentalised and most of its civic and political *foci* were built or even restored in stone: the *Regia* (Brown 1935; 1967; 1974–5), the Temple of *Mater Matuta* in the sacred area of Sant’Omobono (Pisani Sartorio 1990), the temple of the *Magna Mater* at the south-west corner of the Palatine Hill (Pensabene 2000; 2002; Pensabene and Falzone 2001), the House of the Vestals and the

so called House of the Kings at the foot of the Palatine Hills toward the *Forum* (Carandini and Carafa 2000; Carandini 2004).

By the late Orientalizing Age/Early Archaic Period the *Forum* itself with the *Comitium*, had been equipped with a tuff pavement and with the *Cloaca Maxima*, while during the Archaic Period the so-called Servian wall, possibly the *Circus Maximus* and finally the Capitoline Temple were being built, this last dedicated in the first year of the Republic –509 BC (Carafa and Terrenato 1996; Carafa 1997; Cifani 1997a and 1997b; Smith 2000). Similarly, by that point, most of the other first order centres in *Latium vetus* and Etruria had defensive stone walls (Guaitoli 1984, 371–372; Cifani 1997a, 363–364; 2008, 255–264) and stone temples (Colonna 1985, 67–97; 1986, 432–434 and 2006; Cifani 2008, 287–298).

When considering the origin of the city in middle Tyrrhenian Italy and the nature of settlements in the region, the debate over the last 40 years polarized, as explained in the introduction, between the two opposite schools of thought, Orientalists

and Occidentalists. Orientalists (mainly historians, classicists and etruscologists) highlight the role of external influences, namely from the Near East via Greek and Phoenician colonists, in the birth and development of cities and urban aristocracies (see bibliography above in the Introduction).

On the other hand, Occidentalists (mainly pre-historians and a minority of etruscologists and classical archaeologists) emphasise autochthonous impulses and local developments toward higher complexity. These local trajectories towards higher complexity can be detected in the settlement pattern and in social developments (as demonstrated by the funerary evidence) prior to Greek colonisation in southern Italy, by the end of the Final Bronze Age/beginning of the Early Iron Age (10–9th centuries BC), if not earlier (see bibliography above in the Introduction).

While the Orientalist point of view seemed to prevail during the 1970s and 1980s, recent research has revealed that the formation of cities in middle Tyrrhenian Italy and in Southern Italy (*Magna Graecia*) seems to pre-date similar developments in mainland and insular Greece

(Malkin 1994, 2003), suggesting that the traditional idea of a passive transmission of the city-state model from the east to the west, along with goods such as the Phoenician bowls (Fig. 9.2), which inspired and catalysed the so-called Orientalizing phenomenon, has to be revised (e.g. Riva and Vella 2006).

In fact, recent research conducted in Southern Italy (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989), Southern Spain (Cunliffe and Fernandez Castro 1995) and Sardinia (Van Dommelen 1997) has demonstrated that, similarly to middle Tyrrhenian Italy, colonisation was only a marginal or at least a partial factor in regional processes that led indigenous communities toward urbanisation from the end of the Bronze Age to the 7th–6th century BC.

Therefore, within the wider Mediterranean perspective, this paper suggests the adoption of the network model as a theoretical framework to further develop the understanding of urbanisation in the 1st millennium BC. As suggested by recent scholarship, during the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (if not earlier) the Mediterranean has to be seen as a net of



Figure 9.2 Phoenician bowl from the Bernardini 'princely' tomb in Palestrina, second quarter of the 7th century BC (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, courtesy ICCD, Photographic Archive N° F3 686).

reciprocal connections and exchanges between east and west and even from and to continental Europe (Cunliffe 2008).

Within this framework, there were probably more and less advanced areas, but their interconnection and dynamic relationships contributed to the global changes which led to the formation of the city in the Mediterranean during the 1st millennium BC.

The Supposed Priority of the Proto-urban Process in Southern Etruria, when compared to nearby regions with a particular reference to *Latium vetus*

As already mentioned in the introduction, the other dominant perspective in the debate on urbanisation in central Italy was the supposed priority of this process in southern Etruria (Peroni 1989; Pacciarelli 2001, 127), where the model of the city-state was believed to have developed according to the principle of the 'peer polity' interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Renfrew 1986). Only then was the idea of the city-state transmitted to northern Etruria, *Latium vetus* and the other surrounding regions (Faliscan, Capenate and the Sabine area) and in this instance only as a propagation of the original Etruscan prototype (Bietti Sestieri 1992a; Stoddart 1989).

In the following section political and social developments in Etruria and *Latium vetus* will be compared, by analysing settlement patterns and funerary evidence. New funerary and settlement evidence, made available by recent excavations, and existing evidence, reconsidered in the light of traditional theoretical models and new ideas, will show that the conventional model has to be revised. The traditional view, which contrasts a sudden and revolutionary proto-urban formation in southern Etruria with the later and gradual process in *Latium vetus*, has to be reframed in the light of this new evidence. As will be shown, a closer consideration of singular cases reveals more complex and richer internal dynamics than previously thought.

At the same time, it will be shown that an updated application of the rank-size rule, pioneered for central Italy by Sheldon Judson and Pamela Hemphill (Judson and Hemphill 1981) and subsequently adopted by other scholars such as Alessandro Guidi (Guidi 1985) and Simon Stoddart (Stoddart 1987; forthcoming), seems to suggest that the main differences in the process of formation of proto-urban centres in Etruria and *Latium vetus* does not consist in the chronological gap (which seems to have to be reduced) or the

modality of the large plateaux occupation (closer consideration reveals exceptions to the dominant patterns in both regions, supposedly revolutionary, sudden and earlier in southern Etruria, and gradual and later in *Latium vetus*), but are to be found in the interaction, territorial dynamics and political equilibrium between different emerging city-states (Stoddart and Redhouse forthcoming).

Indigenous political and social dynamics from a comparative perspective: Etruria and *Latium vetus*

Settlement Patterns

The priority of the urbanisation process in southern Etruria as opposed to *Latium vetus* was generally assumed on the basis of the contrasting model of proto-urban centres formation found in the two nearby regions separated by the Tiber. In fact surveys and research conducted in southern Etruria has shown that between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age a sudden and revolutionary change took place in the settlement organisation.

By this time, in fact, Bronze Age villages in open positions or on small hill-tops (on average 5–6 ha and never more than 10–20 ha) were abandoned in favour of larger nucleated and centralised settlements on the big plateaux (between 100 and 200 ha), later occupied by the cities of the Archaic period such as Veio, *Caere*, Tarquinia and Vulci (Pacciarelli 2001, but already di Gennaro 1986; Stoddart and Spivey 1990; Barker and Rasmussen 1998).

A few common features between these large nucleated settlements have been observed (Pacciarelli 1994, 229): large unitarian morphological units consisting of big flat plateaux with steep slopes, with an area ranging from 100/120 ha to 180/200 ha; closeness to rivers of regional importance; accessibility to the sea; availability of a large territory with agricultural land around the settlement.

The consistency of these common features in all of the new settlements, the suddenness of the shift from dispersed to nucleated, centralised settlements and the continuity of occupation of these sites by later cities, have induced scholars to believe that those communities acted on the basis of original and thoroughly thought-out planning. According to this view the re-location of the old communities and the choice of the location for the new settlements had been chosen according to well defined and conscious long-term preparation (Pacciarelli 1994, 229–230 with previous references).

On the opposite side, the formation of proto-urban centres in *Latium vetus* seemed to follow a more gradual pattern, slightly later and on a smaller scale when considering the major settlements. In fact, in this region the occupation of the large plateaux, later occupied by the cities of the Archaic period (with a maximum extension of 50–80 ha), seemed only to start at an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age (Latial period IIA–IIB), generally following an earlier occupation (mostly from the Middle or the Recent Bronze Age) of defended positions (*Acropoleis*) connected to these plateaux (Pacciarelli 2001, 120–127).

Ardea, *Lavinium* and *Satricum* are clear examples of this model. Similar developments are also found in *Fidenae*, *Ficulea* and possibly *Gabii* (although here the situation is unclear due to the presence of quarries, which have completely destroyed the original elevated region to the east of the Castiglione basin: Pacciarelli 2001, 122).

Within this general framework the uniqueness and much earlier development of Rome has already been emphasized by several scholars. Two quite large settlements already seem to have been present on the Capitoline and the Palatine Hills by the Early/Middle Bronze Age and the Recent Bronze Age.¹ By the beginning of the Early Iron Age, possibly from a very early stage (Latial period IIA), or more probably slightly later (Latial period IIB), the two settlements seemed to have merged into one big centre.

This is demonstrated by the abandonment of the cemetery in the *Forum* and the beginning of the use of the cemetery of the Esquiline and other funerary areas around the seven hills, which from that point were only used for habitation purposes (Carandini 1997, but already Müller-Karpe 1962 and Guidi 1982; see also Bettelli 1997). At this stage, Rome had reached the remarkable size of ca. 202 ha,² which differentiates this centre from all of the other primary order settlements in *Latium vetus* (which are never larger than 50–80 ha) and makes it similar to the major settlements of southern Etruria.

In addition, an early development of the proto-urban centre of *Lavinium*, by the end of the Final Bronze Age or the very beginning of the Early Iron Age, has been cautiously suggested in a recent paper by Alessandro Guidi. This scholar noticed that the funerary use of the central area of the plateaux of *Lavinium* seems to stop at the end of Final Bronze Age, when all funerary areas seem to have been moved away and to be located in the areas surrounding the plateaux. This seems to suggest a greater use of the area of the plateaux for residential use, no longer limited to the *Acropolis* (Guidi 2000a).

Similarly recent surveys and research conducted in Etruria have revealed significant exceptions to the dominant model. For example in the more remote and inland part of southern Etruria, where the major centres of Orvieto and Bolsena are located, several hilltop Bronze Age sites, such as Montepiombone, Montefiascone, Sermugnano, Civita di Turona and Castellonchio show a continuity of occupation well into the Early Iron Age (Pacciarelli 1991, 171–172). In addition, Final Bronze Age archaeological evidence known from the sites later occupied by big proto-urban centres and subsequent cities appear to be more abundant than previously believed, indicating that earlier settlements in those sites might have been more significant than previously assumed (Pacciarelli 1991, 173–179).

In this sense, the case of Tarquinia seems to be particularly emblematic. The recent topographical surveys and re-evaluation of the human occupation in the area of Tarquinia and its territory during the Bronze and the Early Iron Age has shown a continuous occupation of the Civita di Castellina from the Early Bronze Age until the Orientalizing Period (Mandolesi 1999, in particular 203 with summary table). In particular, during the course of the Final Bronze Age, human groups seem to have spread out from this well defended hill-top (*Acropolis*), to occupy sites on the nearby Pian della Civita, inducing Alessandro Mandolesi to attribute a specific leading role of the Civita di Castellina in the occupation of the large plateaux (Mandolesi 1999, 138–140).

The examples presented above from southern Etruria and from *Latium vetus* have shown that the traditional view of a dramatic contraposition between the two areas probably has to be reconsidered and that local variability should be taken into account. When applying a theoretical model such as the rank-size rule (Johnson 1977; 1980; 1981) further similarities and differences can be detected. For example the calculation of the rank size index (Johnson 1981, 154–156), from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic period, shows a similar trend toward higher complexity and a more hierarchical settlement organisation for both regions (Fig. 9.3).

When analysing and comparing the rank-size curves in detail, slightly different trajectories can be detected. During the Final Bronze Age both regions present a concave curve, which indicates a low level of settlement integration and hierarchy (Fig. 9.4). But different patterns can be observed at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Southern Etruria shows a primo-convex curve (that is a curve with a mixed concave and convex trend) at an early stage of the Early Iron Age 1 (Fig. 9.5), while the graph still presents a concave

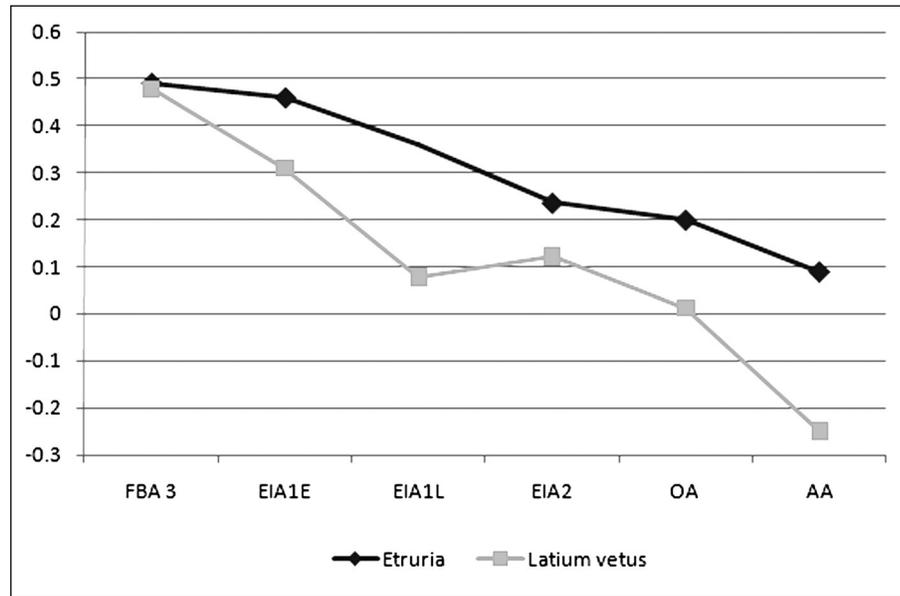


Figure 9.3 Rank-size index. Etruria (Calculations by S. Stoddart) and Latium vetus (Calculations by F. Fulminante).

curve for *Latium vetus* (Figs 9.6 and 9.7). But at a more advanced stage of the Early Iron Age 1 and in Early Iron Age 2, while Etruria maintains a primo-convex curve (Fig. 9.8), *Latium vetus* has clearly developed a log-normal curve, which implies a very high level of settlement integration and hierarchical organisation, generally found in regions with a state-level society (Figs 9.6, 9.7 and 9.9).

This model, predicted by the application of the rank-size rule, on the one hand showed that a similar grade of complexity can be detected in both regions by the Final Bronze Age (calculation of the rank size index), and that a general trend toward higher complexity (eventually aiming towards the development of a state-level hierarchy) can be detected in both regions at a similar pace. However, the model also reveals an important difference between the two regions, which might explain, from a sub-structural point of view, the final success and dominance of Rome.

While southern Etruria is a wider region dominated by a few very large proto-urban centres, ranging in size between 100 and 200 ha (and possibly therefore the primo-convex curve), with more or less equal power and territorial influence (Fig. 9.10), *Latium vetus* is a smaller and more compact region, with major settlements, which never exceed the size of 50–80 ha. But, from a later stage of the Early Iron Age the dramatic growth of Rome (attested by the relocation of funerary areas from the *Forum* to the Esquiline and Quirinal hills, which implies a settlement size of about

200–210 ha), led this settlement to dominate *Latium vetus* (Fig. 9.11) and thereby favourably compete with the more numerous but smaller Etruscan city-states.

From this point on, the Roman polity, dominating the whole *Latium vetus* and from the Archaic Period also dominating, directly or by alliances, the *Latium adiectum*, probably at least down to Circei and Terracina (see for example Capanna 2005 or Musti 1990 and Coarelli 1990 with a more nuanced view; differently Cornell 1995, according to whom, the tradition on Roman conquests outside *Latium vetus* can be considered reliable only since the Early Republican Period), would have been much bigger and more powerful than any individual Etruscan city-state. Another advantage contributing to the success of Rome can be detected in the centralised authority of the Roman monarchy as compared to the more decentralised and heterarchical power of the Etruscan aristocracies.

Funerary Evidence

The supposed delay in the development of proto-urban centres in *Latium vetus* is even more challenged if the focus is moved from settlement analysis to the funerary dimension. A contextual analysis of all available evidence from Early Iron Age cemeteries and burial areas in *Latium vetus* has suggested that the supposed egalitarian tribal organization, hypothesized on the analysis of Osteria dell'Osa necropolis evidence

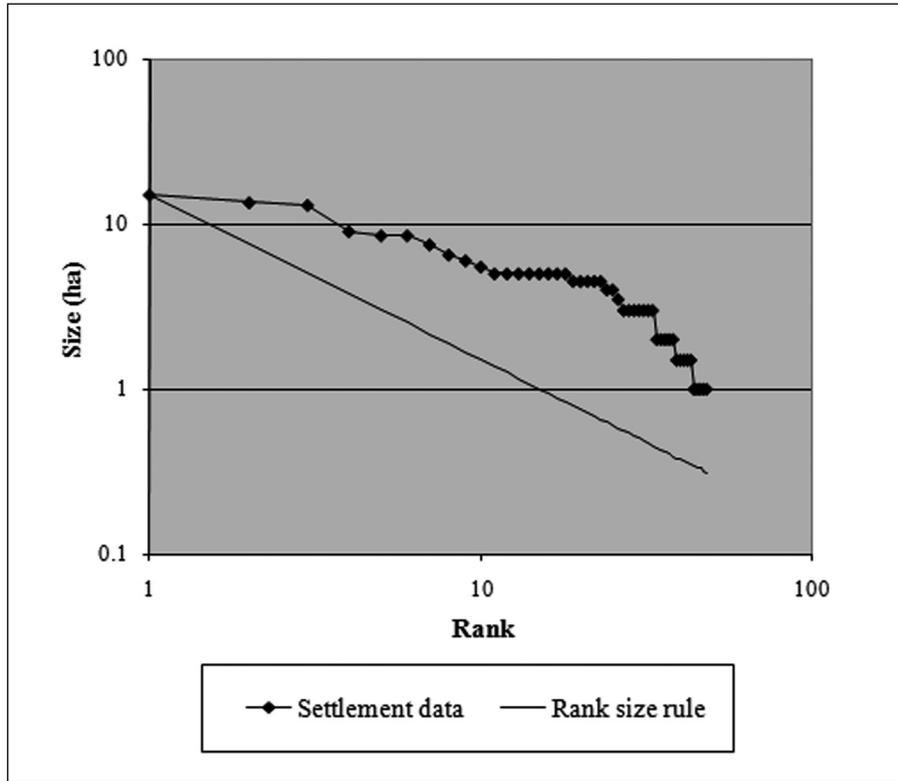


Figure 9.4 a Rank-size rule. Final Bronze Age. Etruria (Calculations by S. Stoddart)

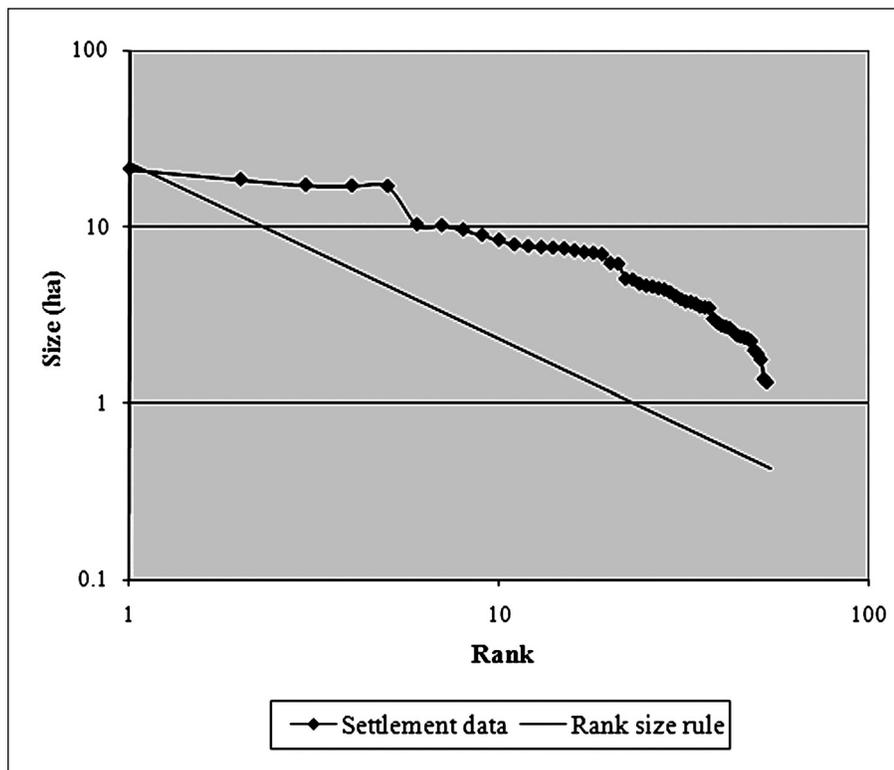


Figure 9.4 b Rank-size rule. Final Bronze Age. Latium vetus (Calculations by F. Fulminante).

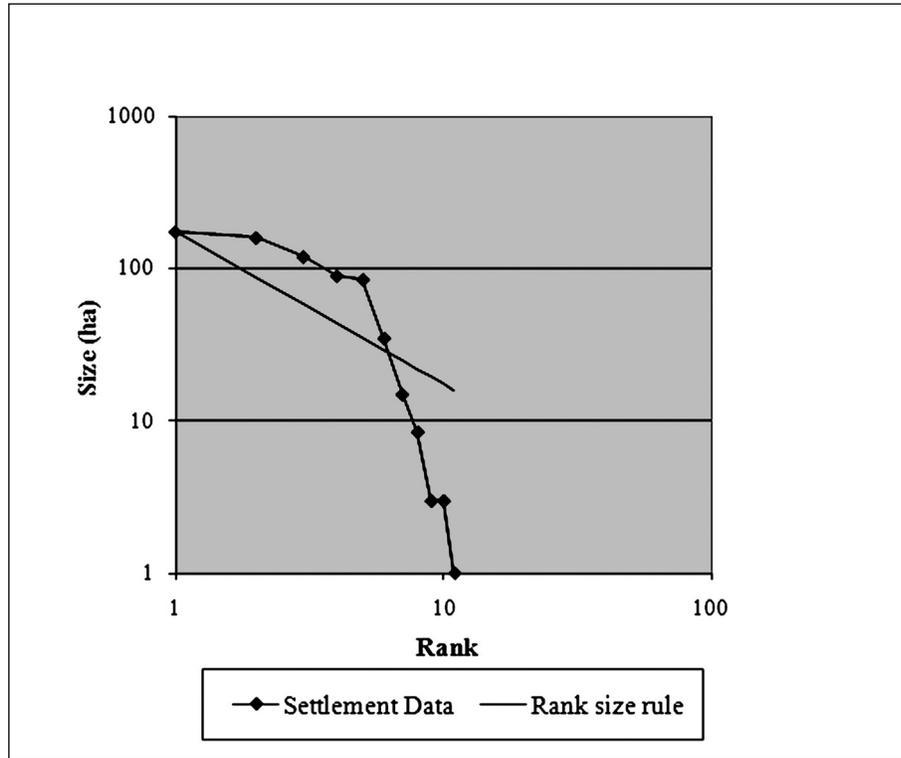


Figure 9.5 Rank-size rule. Early Iron Age 1 Etruria (Calculations by S. Stoddart).

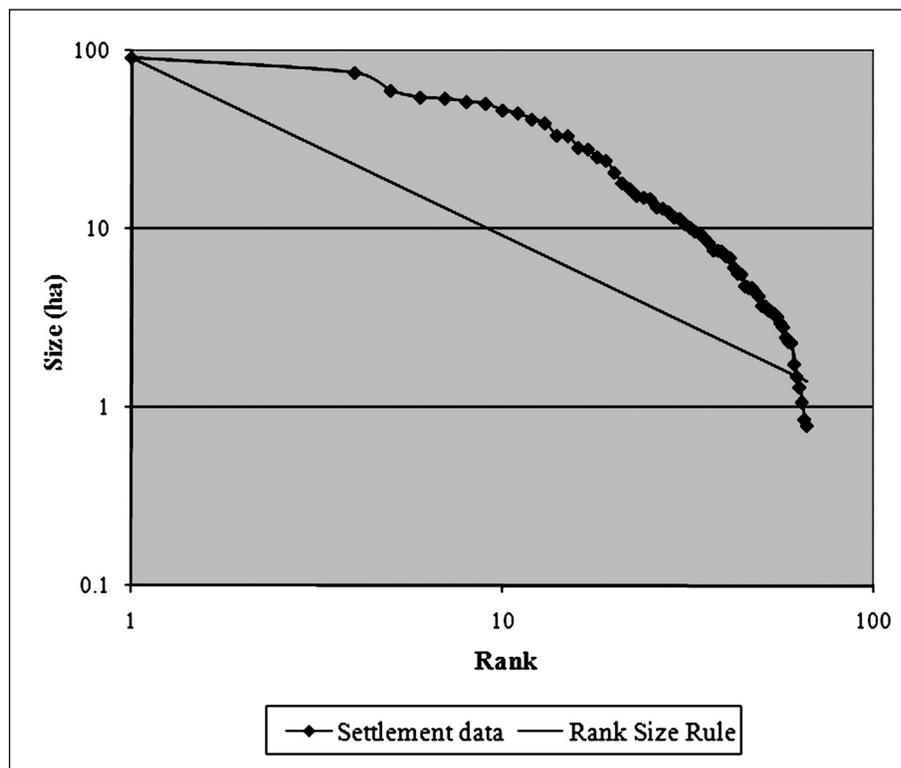


Figure 9.6 Rank-size rule. Early Iron Age 1 Early Latium vetus (Calculations by F. Fulminante).

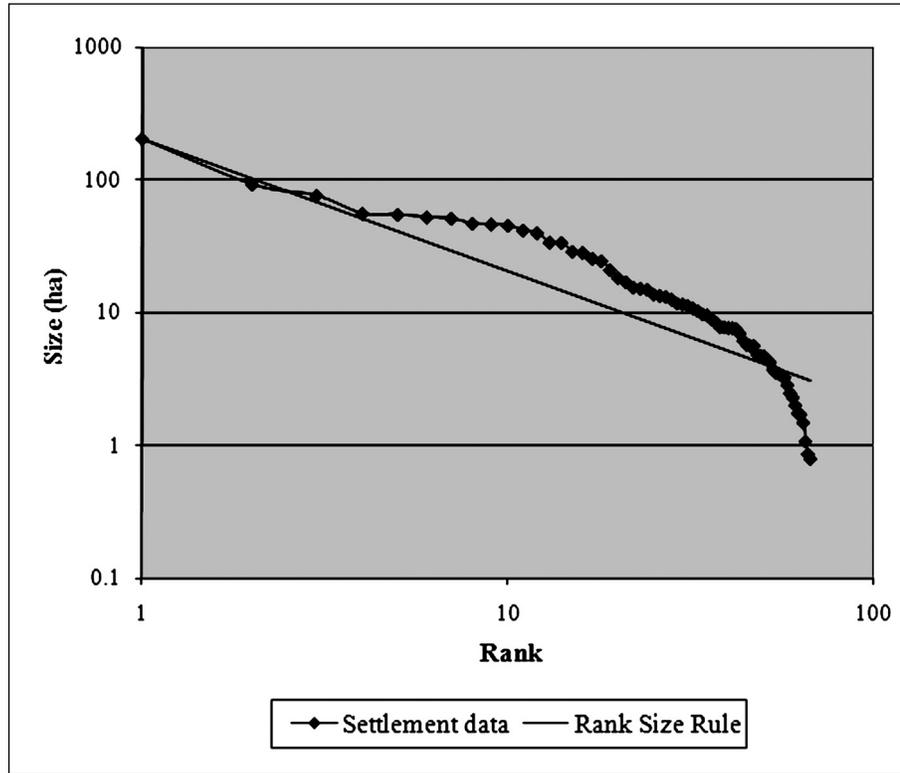


Figure 9.7 Rank-size rule. Early Iron Age 1 Late Latium vetus (Calculations by F. Fulminante).

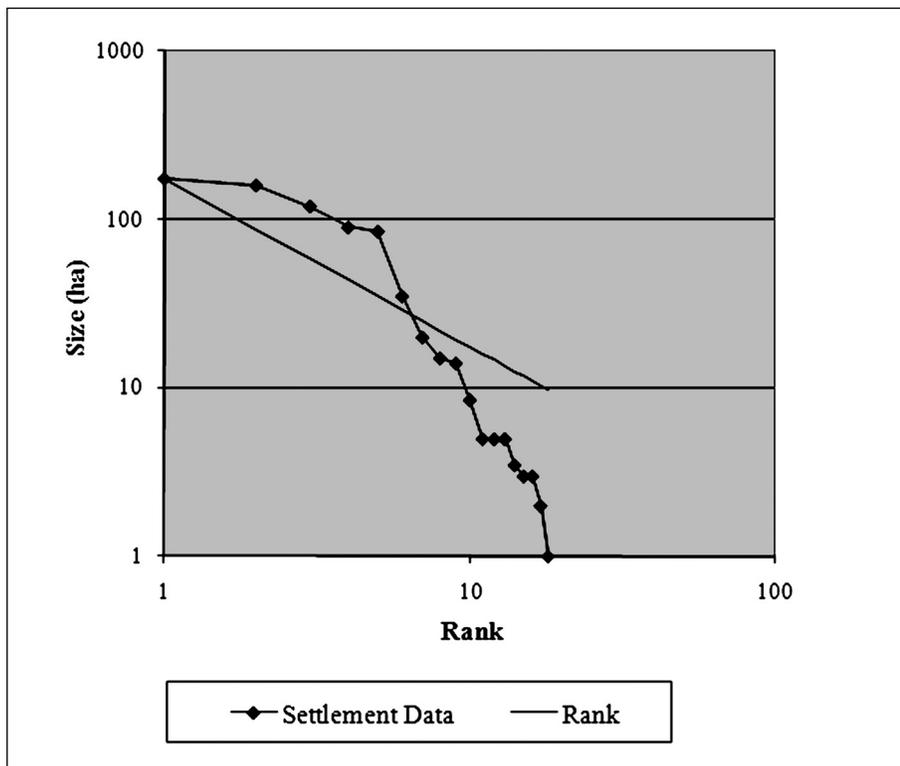


Figure 9.8 Rank-size rule. Early Iron Age 2 Etruria (Calculations by S. Stoddart).

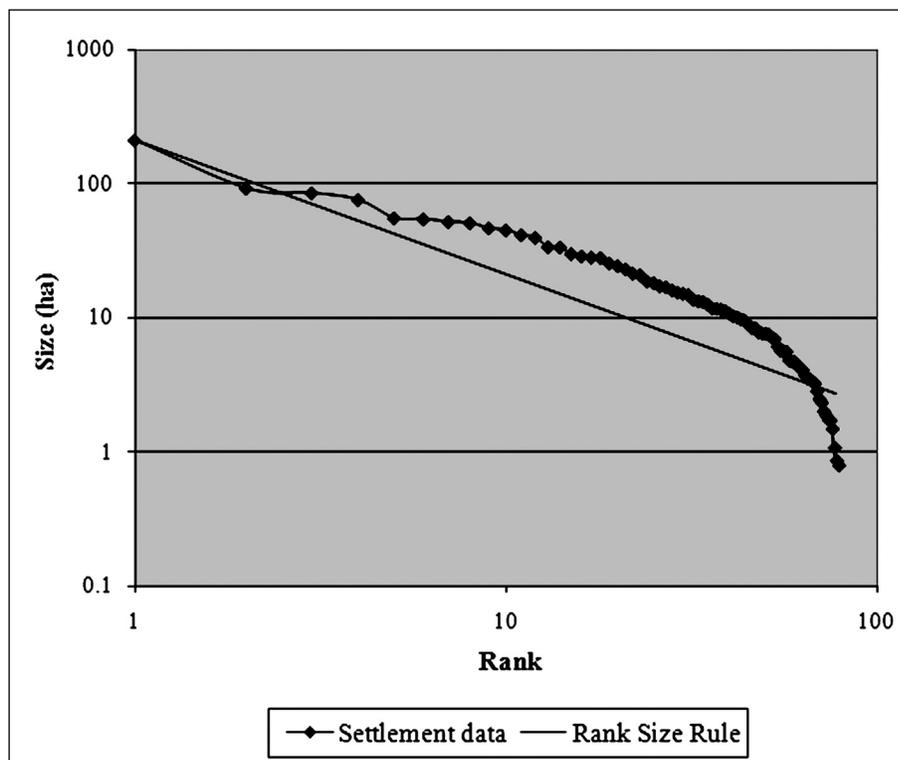


Figure 9.9 Rank-size rule. Early Iron Age 2 Latium vetus (Calculations by F. Fulminante).

by Bietti Sestieri (Bietti Sestieri 1992a), may have to be revised or at least reframed in the light of recent discussion.

It has been suggested that the apparent lack of wealth differentiation and consequently social stratification revealed by the analysis of the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa, might be interpreted as a case of ideological manipulation and masking of a more hierarchical social organization (Guidi 2000b; Pacciarelli 2001; Fulminante 2003). This interpretation is supported by the recent discovery of a few emerging burials dated to the end of the Final Bronze Age/very beginning of the Early Iron Age. In fact a few important male burials from the Latial Period I–II A, recently discovered in Rome and the surrounding territory, show clear indicators of religious and political power (Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2003; De Santis 2005; 2007) (Figs 9.12–9.14), while a rich female child burial from Latial Period I, excavated a few years ago near Tivoli, has also been interpreted as a possible indication of the existence of hereditary status at this early phase (Le Caprine, Tomb 2) (Guidi 2000b; Pacciarelli 2001; Fulminante 2003).

To conclude, new evidence and recent studies have challenged the traditional model of the gradual, continuous and late proto-urban formation of the Latin proto-urban settlements as opposed to sudden

and revolutionary early settlement nucleation and centralization in southern Etruria. While in general terms the difference is still valid, a much greater variability and local specificity seems to emerge. In order to take into consideration this variability and reciprocal interactions both at the local, regional and supra-regional levels, a new model focused on the idea of networks and identity formation will be suggested in the following section as a novel perspective from which to study urbanisation in central Italy specifically, and in the Mediterranean more generally.

Interactions in central Italy, the Mediterranean and Europe and the network model

As mentioned in the previous sections, it is now a commonly held belief that 8th century BC Etruscan and Latin cities represent only the final stage of a long process of settlement nucleation, centralization and territorial hierarchy definition, initiated by the end of the Bronze Age if not earlier. This picture has been developed by a series of studies started by the Roman School of Proto-history, which has the merit of having emphasised local impulses toward settlement centralization and social higher complexity well before

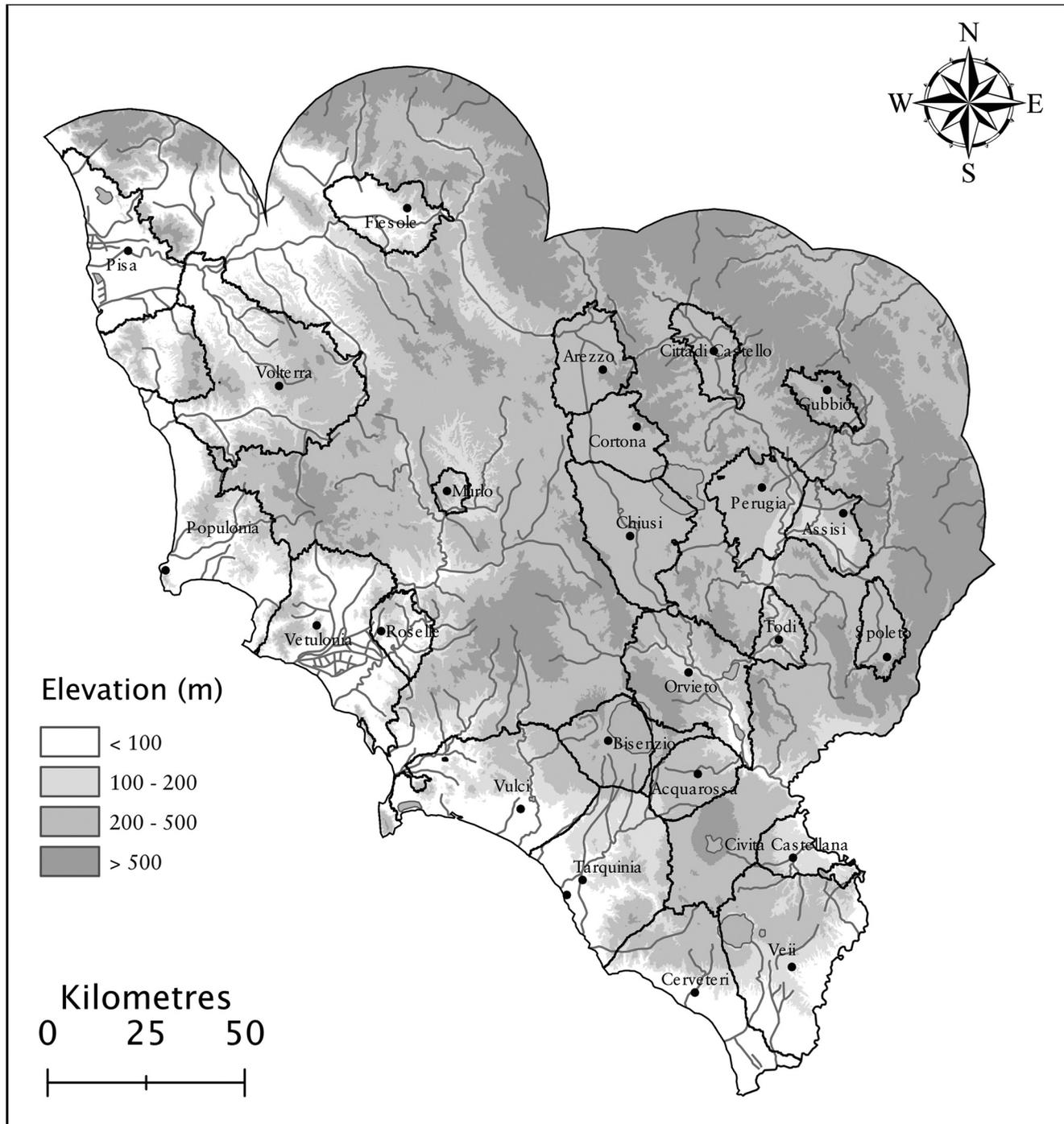


Figure 9.10 Orientalizing Age polities in central Italy: X-Tent in Etruria (by S. Stoddart and D. Redhouse).

the appearance of the first colonies in southern Italy (see *e.g.* di Gennaro and Stoddart 1982; di Gennaro and Peroni 1986; Peroni 1996; Guidi 2000b; Pacciarelli 2001). Therefore the traditional idea of the formation of the city in middle Tyrrhenian Italy as merely a triggered phenomenon, imported along with products,

styles and ideas from the east Mediterranean, has been greatly challenged by this tradition of studies.

In addition, recent research has suggested that the model of the city-state, seen as a community of citizens ruled by a centralized power and sharing a common political identity, can be dated in Rome as

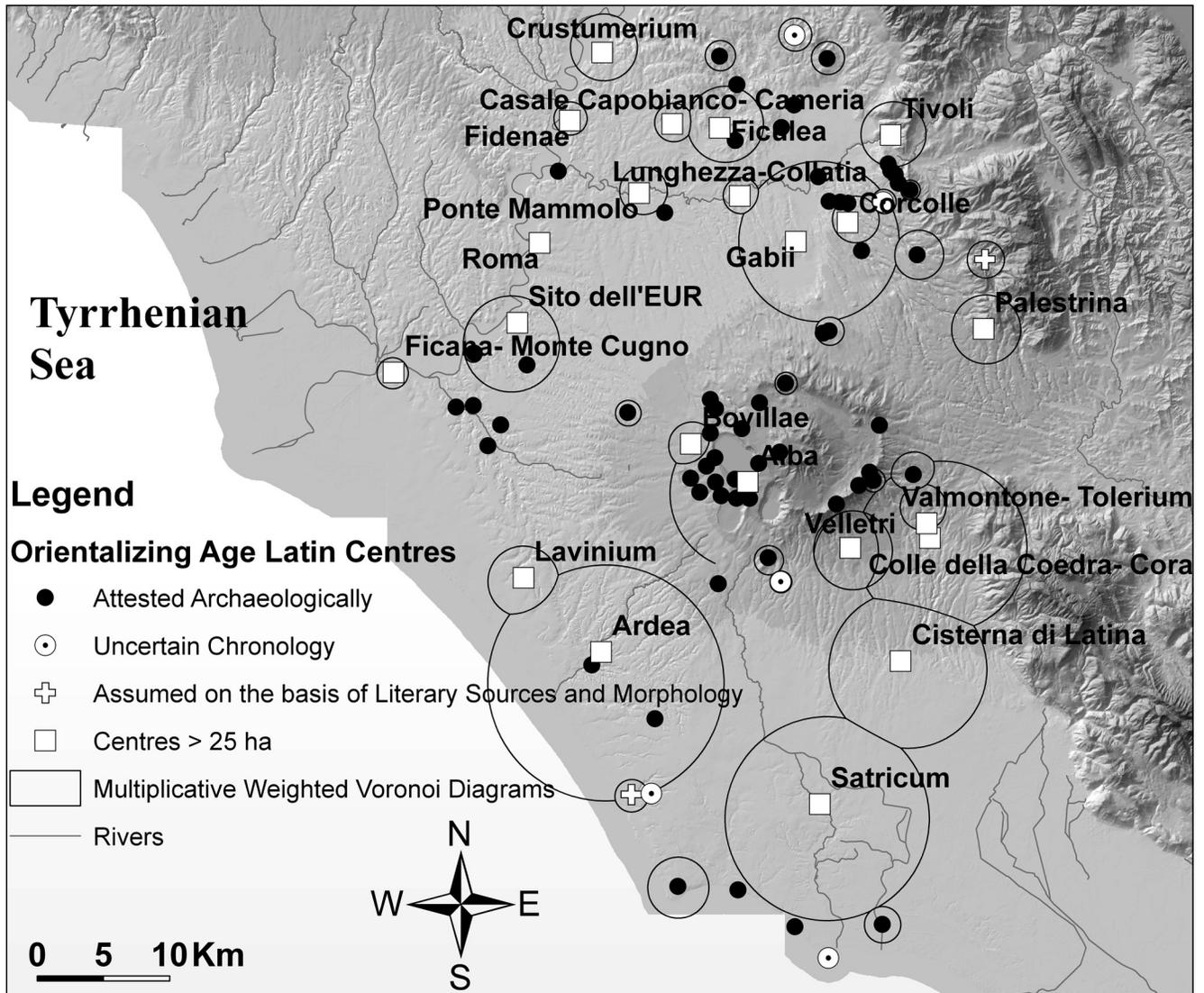


Figure 9.11 Orientalizing Age polities in central Italy: Multiplicatively Weighted Voronoi Diagrams (or M.W. Thiessen Polygons) in Latium vetus (in MWVD the dominant centre is left without a 'polygon') (by F. Fulminante).

early as the middle of the 8th century BC. Therefore it seems to pre-date similar Greek city-state foundations both on the mainland and in the colonial contexts (Carandini 2007, 12–15). In fact excavations, conducted in the very centre of Rome, have uncovered two significant monuments that appear to date from a similar period: an earthen wall around the Palatine, which seems to have more ideological, religious and political significance than defensive purposes and an exceptionally large rectangular building with benches around the walls, very likely to have been used for ceremonial occasions such as meetings and ritual meals (for a synthetic presentation and interpretation of this evidence see Carandini 2007, 44–77).

The connection of these works with the wall built by *Romulus* and the House of the Kings, mentioned by the literary sources, suggested by Andrea Carandini, is suggestive but not conclusive. However the public importance of these monuments and their political significance, together with the earliest phase of the *Forum* for civic assemblies (possibly dated to the last quarter of the 8th century and more certainly to the first quarter of the 7th by Ammerman (1990) and Filippi (2005)), is undeniable and suggests the existence of a community of citizens, sharing a common political identity, hence of the beginning of the city-state model from at least this time.



Figure 9.12 Emerging burials of Latial Period IIA: Santa Palomba, Tenuta Palazzo, Tomb 1, tenth century BC c.: Cardiophylakes (heart protectors), double shields, greaves, sword, spears (from De Santis, A., 2007, p. 493–494, II.1003–1009, II.1011–1016, II.1017–1023, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma – ‘by kind permission of the Council for Cultural Heritage and Activities – Special Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Rome’).

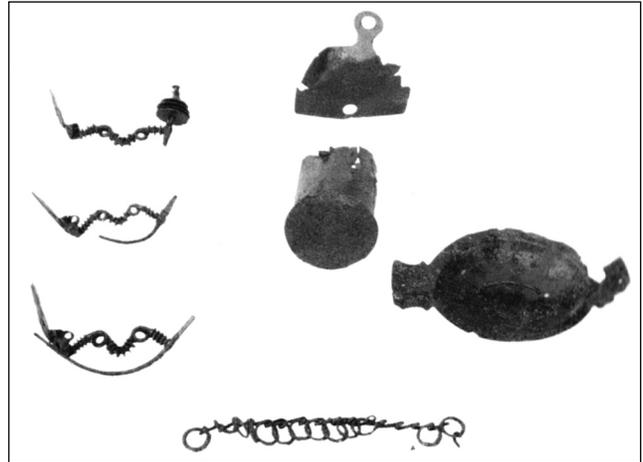


Figure 9.13 Emerging burials of Latial Period IIA: Santa Palomba, Tenuta Palazzo, Tomb 1, tenth century BC c.: Three fibulae (brooches), razor, stand/incense burner?, boat-shaped object and chain (from De Santis, A., 2007, p. 493–494, II.1003–1009, II.1011–1016, II.1017–1023, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma – ‘by kind permission of the Council for Cultural Heritage and Activities – Special Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Rome’).



Figure 9.14 Emerging burials of Latial Period IIA: Santa Palomba, Tenuta Palazzo, Tomb 1, tenth century BC c.: Pottery (from De Santis, A., 2007, p. 493–494, II.1003–1009, II.1011–1016, II.1017–1023, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma – ‘by kind permission of the Council for Cultural Heritage and Activities – Special Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Rome’).

However, early contact between Latin and Etruscan communities and Greek and Near Eastern people, attested by imported products and later by the introduction of Greek customs, such as the symposium (Rathje 1995), cannot be denied. Some of the clearest examples being the famous Greek inscription of Osteria dell'Osa, found on a local impasto jug related to a female cremation burial (tomb 482, Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 686).

This tomb is dated by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri (1992) to the Latial Period IIB2, that is between 800 and 770 BC *c.*, according to the traditional chronology (Colonna 1976 or Ampolo *et al.* 1980), or between 875 and 850/825 BC *c.*, according to new absolute chronologies, which take into account dendrocronology and radiocarbon dating (Pacciarelli 2001; Nijboer 2005). However Marco Bettelli (1997) suggests even an earlier date and attributes Osteria dell'Osa tomb 482 to the Latial Period IIB1, which would be between 830 and 800 BC *c.*, in the traditional chronology, or between 900 and 875 BC *c.*, in the new chronology.

Of the same chronological horizon as the inscription of Osteria dell'Osa is a proto-Corinthian cup with concentric semicircles found at *Veii* in the Necropolis of Quattro Fontanili, where a few later examples are also known. As shown by Gilda Bartoloni, contacts seem to increase with the appearance of the first colonies in the West, while a bit later local imitations and painted local pottery start to be produced (Bartoloni 2005, 347–348). On the other hand, a study by Alessandro Naso on Etruscan offerings found in Greek sanctuaries in the Eastern Mediterranean has demonstrated that there was a reciprocity in the contacts and that the movement of goods and ideas was not limited from the East to the West but was also active in the opposite direction (Naso 2000 and 2006; for Western elements in the Eastern Mediterranean during previous phases – from the 13th to the 11th centuries BC – see Francesco Iacono in this volume, with previous references).

In addition, it has been suggested that the so-called Orientalizing phenomenon, has to be seen as an expression of common ideology rather than a passive imitation of the East by the West. In this perspective, the presence from the end of the 8th century BC and during the whole 7th century of imported materials and works (*exotica*) or imitated objects from the Near East in rich burials and more rarely in sanctuaries or settlements of Etruria and *Latium vetus*, should be interpreted as an indicator of common customs and rituals among Mediterranean elites during the 8th and 7th centuries BC (Fulminante 2003; Riva 2006; Guidi and Santoro 2008).

Finally, recent research by Serena Sabatini has demonstrated that the same conception of cinerary

urns in the shape of a hut was common to Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age central Italy and Late Bronze Age northern Europe (Scandinavia, north and eastern Germany and north Poland). In fact a very similar object was used for the same purpose in the two regions but the models show completely different styles suggesting a common conceptualization rather than a simple imitation or derivation (Sabatini 2006).

It is always possible to interpret the two cases as parallel independent developments but the striking similarities in the conception of the objects in the two regions seem to suggest a relationship between the two phenomena. This study seems to confirm that during the Early Iron Age, and probably the Bronze Age, the Mediterranean was connected with a network of reciprocal communications, trades and relationships, and this network also included or was involved with continental Europe.

This paper suggests, therefore, the adoption of the network model in order to study and understand the important transformations which occurred in Europe during the 1st Millennium BC. This model in fact allows the study of systems as a unity, but can also investigate reciprocal relationships and identify central or peripheral nodes of the system. As demonstrated in this paper both Orientalist and Occidentalist approaches to the study of urbanisation in the Mediterranean during the 1st Millennium BC appear to fail as impartial and biased perspectives. While a network approach, which emphasises interconnections and reciprocal catalyzing interactions, seems less rigid and more promising.

Conclusions

By comparing two geographically related but contrasting regions in middle Tyrrhenian Italy, Etruria and *Latium vetus*, this paper confirmed the model already proposed by the Roman School of proto-history, which emphasises local developments and impulses toward urbanisation in this area, which had already begun well before the first contact with Greek colonists.

However it has also shown that the traditional opposition between Etruria (earlier and more marked processes) in comparison to *Latium vetus* (secondary urbanisation and more gradual process), has to be revised or at least attenuated. In fact, the sudden abandonment of small hilltops sites by the Final Bronze Age and the convergence of domestic sites on the plateaux later occupied by the cities of the Archaic Period cannot be denied.

But an early occupation of dominant positions connected with these plateaux (for example the

case of Castellina di Civita for Tarquinia) seems to suggest that the communities living on these *Acropoleis* might have had some sort of leadership in the management of the process. Similarly the supposed delay of the proto-urban phenomenon in *Latium vetus* is challenged when funerary evidence is taken into account, especially when considering the case of Rome and its territory.

Finally, the consideration of the local trajectories of settlement nucleation and centralization toward urbanization in the wider context of the Mediterranean and continental contacts seems to suggest that the network model offers the best approach to study the major transformations, which occurred in the Mediterranean during the 1st Millennium BC. In fact, both Orientalists and Occidentalists views on urbanisation in middle Tyrrhenian Italy seem to be incomplete and unsatisfactory while the assumption of reciprocal contacts and catalysing interactions seems to more closely fit the evidence and offer more promising research perspectives.

Notes

- 1 The morphological units of the Capitoline Hill (including both the *Capitolium* and the *Arx*) and of the Palatine Hill (including the *Cermalus*) are respectively calculated in about 14 ha and 23 ha.
- 2 Excluding the Caelian Hill.

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The article presents a common view by the two authors; the original initiative was taken by Francesca Fulminante (the senior author) who conducted the analyses on *Latium vetus* whereas Simon Stoddart

has contributed towards the analyses on Etruscan settlements. The paper has been revised and elaborated for publication by Francesca Fulminante during a fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (NIAS) in Wassenaar, the Netherlands, which provided a perfect environment to feed thoughts and ideas on Social Network Analysis in archaeology. Here, we introduce that model as a metaphor and an interpretative framework, while another paper, which applies this technique/tool experimentally, will appear elsewhere (Fulminante forthcoming). The deepest gratitude goes to Serena and Emanuela, to NIAS fellow fellows and staff for all the stimulating interactions, while any responsibility for mistakes or errors remains with the two authors.

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