

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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AND IDENTITY

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

with the support of Skylar Neil

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Ethnicity, identity and state formation in the Latin landscape. Problems and approaches.

Francesca Fulminante

Keywords: ethnicity, identity, state, city-state, boundaries, central Italy, *Latium vetus*, Iron Age

Uno, nessuno, centomila...(One, No One and One Hundred Thousand, the last and most famous novel by Luigi Pirandello, published 1924–1926).

‘We need...to remind ourselves all the time that each of us participates in an ethnicity – perhaps more than one – just like them, just like Other, just like ‘the “minorities”’ (Jenkins 1997: 14).

‘Understanding the chronological development of, and balance between, often highly localized ties of place and broader notions of people and/or geography in the construction of political identities is a particularly important challenge’ (Morgan 2003: 1)

It is a commonly held belief that ethnogenesis in *Latium vetus* is strictly linked to the processes of state formation and urbanization, occurring in this region between the end of the Final Bronze Age and during the Early Iron Age (Guidi 2006). The richness and variety of available data, such as archaeological sources (material culture, epigraphy, anthropological remains etc.) and ancient authors, makes research on the topic in this area most exciting, but carries with it a series of difficulties, resulting from the combination of so many different kinds of evidence (on the difficult relationship between text and artefacts, see Little 1992, Thurston 1997; Andr n 1998; with reference to Rome and Italy, see Storey 1999 and below with further references).

The aim of this paper is not to present a comprehensive and conclusive discourse on ethnicity, identity and state formation in *Latium vetus*; but to discuss a number of previous and current approaches to ethnicity in this area, and suggest a fresh perspective on this topic. The model presented in this paper is rooted in the social anthropological approach proposed by Barth in the introduction to his collection: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). According to Barth, ethnicity is socially constructed, constantly negotiated not only by groups (especially in the political action) but also by individuals

in their daily-life experience. A corollary to this model is that ethnicity represents only one of many identities played by an individual according to different contexts and situations: gender, status, family identity, civic identity etc. (for an anthropological perspective, see for example Jenkins 1997: 167–8 and further references below).

However the social construction of ethnicity does not deny the cultural content of ethnicity, but puts it in the right perspective. Ethnicity is not an *a priori* entity to which people belong; rather ethnicity must mean something to someone. However in order to have a meaning for someone, there must be a cultural and/or biological content (language, common belief, same physical traits etc.), the basis by which members of a group recognise similarities among themselves, 'us', or differences from an other, 'them' (Jenkins 1997: 168–9, further illustrated below).

On the basis of this theoretical premise, this paper proposes to integrate different types of evidence (material culture, ancient authors and possibly anthropological, faunal and vegetal remains) in a relational model, in order to recognize these cultural elements, identify ethnic boundaries and analyze ethnic dynamics. Since almost any cultural element (language, food habit, material culture etc.) can assume an ethnic connotation, it is here proposed to adopt the principle of redundancy (Emberling 1997) in order to define ethnic boundaries between different groups. The integration of data in a relational model would allow a multi-scale approach and the possibility of studying identity and ethnicity both horizontally (among different ethnic groups) and vertically (from the individual to the family to the social group, the community and the region or the ethnic group) on a long term perspective.

For this purpose Geographical Information Systems (already widely used within archaeology) and/or Social Network Analysis models and techniques (only recently starting to be adopted on a wider scale within this discipline) would provide powerful tools of manipulation, analysis and visualization of data in order to help their interpretation.

The social anthropological model of ethnicity

It is generally agreed that a paradigm shift in anthropological studies on ethnicity was introduced by the ground-breaking and highly influential book edited by Friedrik Barth (1969) from the proceedings of the symposium: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1967). In his introduction to that collection, Barth outlined an approach to the study of ethnicity which focused on the on-going negotiations of boundaries between groups of people.

According to the previously dominant structural functionalist perspective, ethnic groups were commonly considered as more or less firmly bounded social groups defined by common biological and/or cultural traits; ethnic boundaries were treated or understood as social 'facts', reified entities or as logical *a priori* constructs, to which people naturally belonged. In contrast to this view, Barth affirmed that: 'ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves' (1969: 10).

Moving the focus from the cultural characteristics of ethnic groups to the dynamic interactions between them and their reciprocal definition by differentiation, Barth laid the foundation of the constructive approach to ethnicity, which has now been adopted by most anthropological scholarship. In fact, as emphasized by Jenkins (1997: 12ff.),

the 'basic social anthropological model of ethnicity', pioneered by Barth, moved the focus from the substance or content of ethnicity (which he called the 'cultural stuff'), to the interface between groups. He defined ethnic identity as part of a dynamic social process and claimed that the content of social categories not only changed over time but so did the boundaries between them (Barth 1969: 14ff.).

According to Barth's model, ethnic formation is an on-going process, which combines internal definition on the basis of similarities (self-awareness and the definition of 'us'), with external categorization by differences from 'them' or 'the other' (it is the recognition and production of differences in relation to 'them' or 'others' that create and reinforce the image of internal similarities, Jenkins 1997: 12ff.). Therefore, ethnicity is by definition 'transactional, shifting and essentially impermanent'; 'group-ness' boundaries are changeable, variable and contingent, being continuously defined and re-defined in an endless process of power negotiation among individuals and groups within different and conflicting interests (Jenkins 1988: 175).

As shown by Jenkins (1997: 10–2), the theoretical premises of Barth's model are ultimately rooted in the work of the sociologists Max Weber and Everett Hughes. In particular, as reminded by Jenkins (1997: 10), Hughes (1948) had already shown how the unity of ethnic groups is not based on objective, measurable differences, but on the behaviour of people ins and outs of these groups, who talk, feel, and act as if they were separate groups (Hughes 1994: 91). Similarly Weber, in his work *Economy and Society* (first published in 1922), maintained that an ethnic group is based on the belief, shared by its members, that they belong to a common descent; but, according to him, it is not the common belief which defines the group and creates a sense of affiliation among its members. On the contrary, it is primarily the common political action of a group that, on the basis of certain common cultural or biological factors, inspires the belief in common ethnicity (Weber 1978: 385–9). As will be shown later, this link between collective political action and identity, no matter how artificially organized, and ethnic formation, emphasized by Jenkins as a central concept both in Weber's and Barth's work (and in the study of 'cultural memory' and the formation of 'political identity' in ancient civilizations by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann 1992), is particularly suitable to be applied to the ethnic and social dynamics in central Italy during the Early Iron Age and the subsequent Archaic and Republican periods.

Finally, another theoretical aspect that should be taken into account when considering ethnicity (both in present and past times) is the relationship between 'identity' and 'ethnicity'. As correctly emphasized by Jenkins, 'ethnicity has to mean something – in the sense of making a difference – not only to the people one is studying, but also to individual persons' (1997: 13). In this sense, ethnicity represents only one of many different possible identities (personal, family, social, sexual, political etc.), which an individual may decide to act and perform according to the specific contexts or situations. When ethnicity is correctly understood as one of many social identities, it is clear that 'group-ness' boundaries are also permeable in the sense that, for example, status membership may crosscut ethnic membership and connect members of different ethnic groups (compare on this point Emberling 1997: 299, 305 ff; within the sociological theory this approach seems to have much in common with the so-called intersectionality theory, a branch of feminist studies, aimed at understanding social inequality as a global but also multilayered and

multifaceted phenomenon, in which different levels of discrimination – status, gender, race etc. – are often combined and entangled in various and complex ways¹).

Even when ethnicity is agreed to be a social construction, cultural contents or cultural objects ('cultural stuffs' in Barth's terminology) are still required for the construction of an ethnic identity; Jenkins emphasised that there is still a need for a 'social marker' (no matter how minor, real or imaginary), which is identified, agreed and recognized as held in common both by the individuals inside and by those outside the group (1988: 167–9). These social markers (territoriality, language, history, economic considerations, symbolic identifications of one kind or another) can be identified in different aspects of the material culture and can be studied by archaeologists in order to try to detect past people's identities and their interactions (for a recent discussion of the role of material culture in 'ethnic' and other 'cultural self/other identities definition and negotiation' see Lucy 2005, in particular pp. 100–108).

The following section, based upon Emberling's work, will show how the social anthropological model can be profitably applied to the study of ethnogenesis, with specific reference to the formation of complex societies and the definition of 'ethnic' boundaries in central Italy, and how it could be further developed.

Ethnicity and archaeology: material culture and the definition of boundaries

As emphasised in the previous section, the logically immediate but naïve connection between material cultures and ethnic groups, which dominated the traditional (and according to many 'colonial'), structural functionalist and anthropological perspective to ethnicity, was definitively surpassed by Barth's constructive approach, which held that ethnicity is socially created through continuous (re-)negotiation (1969). Similarly, an independent evolution within the archaeological discipline made archaeologists aware of the complex semantic system of symbols attached to artifacts, and their different meanings according to contexts and situations (see for example the fundamental work by Hodder 1982; and more recently Robb 1998) and led them to deny strongly (see for example papers in the volume edited by Shennan 1989 or Jones 1997: 14–39, 106ff.) the old link between material culture and ethnos, dominant in the traditional, cultural-historical approach founded by the *Dawn of European Civilization* (Childe 1925).

However, as remarked by Jenkins, the cultural content of ethnicity is still important because 'for similarity to be identified there has to be something in common...[there] have to be differences which make a difference to someone'; therefore 'there are local limits how arbitrary the social construction of identity can be' (Jenkins 1997: 168). In this perspective, the account on *Ethnicity in Complex Societies* (1997), provided by Geoff Emberling (who adopts Barth's perspective), convincingly demonstrated that several aspects of material culture worked as markers of ethnic identity in the past; and that by embracing the social anthropological model, the archaeological study of ethnicity still has great potential to improve the understanding of ethnic dynamics in past societies.

When considering the almost infinite cultural features that can be used to distinguish one ethnic group from the others (language, religion, body ornamentation, cuisine,

architecture, clothing and household objects such as pottery etc.), Emberling emphasizes that the problem for the archaeologist is to identify the particular social meaning (ethnic, political, economic etc.) of that particular cultural trait in a given social situation (1997: 310–1). This assumption by Emberling is consistent with Barth's definition of ethnic categories as 'organizational vessels that may be given varying amount and forms of content in different sociocultural systems' (1969: 14). For instance, the distribution of a particular pottery style may indicate ethnic boundaries but could equally represent the spatial limits of a particular system of distribution (Emberling 1997: 311).

In this case, a careful contextual analysis of the production and use of artefacts, following the pioneering approach developed by Ian Hodder in his work in the Baringo district of Kenya (1982), may help understand their correct symbolic meaning. The key method, in this case, is to identifying the meaning of stylistic variation through the principle of redundancy, according to which:

important social boundaries or those being negotiated are likely to be marked redundantly; [thus] comparing stylistic distributions of multiple categories of material culture gives a greater likelihood of locating important social boundaries (Emberling 1997: 318).

When dealing with past societies, it might be the case that one stylistic feature specific to one preserved class of artefacts would have been redundant with other cultural features not preserved in the archaeological record:

'Nevertheless, a redundantly marked difference will be more likely to have been important in the past' (Emberling 1997: 318).

In order to identify if a stylistic distribution represents a meaningful social boundary, or not, it is important to know the scale of a system of production and distribution. In fact:

A stylistic distribution larger than the scale of production and distribution suggests that some larger social meaning maintained the unity of the style. Objects produced at a small scale within the territory of an ethnic group are more likely to be distinctive of that group than are objects produced at larger scales and widely distributed (Emberling 1997: 319).

As suggested by Emberling, the study of 'stylistic variation' to identify ethnic markers is particularly fruitful in the case of 'ethnic enclaves', where the movement of members of one group into another makes differences particularly marked and strategies of assimilation and/or the maintenance of differences are strongly emphasized and exacerbated (1997: 316). According to this scholar, ethnographic comparisons or literary sources might be helpful in identifying social and ethnic boundaries; however these boundaries, roughly marked, have to be tested by 'intra-regional contextual analysis' of 'production' and 'use' of artifacts, compared with 'inter-regional analysis of different practices or artifacts' between neighbouring groups; and finally these results have to be confronted with analyses of other categories of evidence, which may support an identification of ethnic difference (1997: 311).

The following sections will show how the 'constructive' anthropological model of ethnicity (advanced by Barth 1969 and further enhanced, with specific application to past societies, for example by Emberling 1997; Jones 1997; Hall 2000; or in contributions to the volume edited by Malkin 2001), can be fruitfully applied to the study of ethnogenesis and identity definition in Early Iron Age central Italy, with a great potential for further enhancement.

Ethnicity and archaeology in Early Iron Age central Italy: ethnogenesis, state formation and identity definition/characterization

Ranging between two opposing opinions, ethnogenesis can either be linked with hunter-gatherer bands or connected with the birth of contemporary nations and restricted to modern historical times (Emberling 1997: 307). As already mentioned, the relationship between ethnogenesis and the development of complex societies has been successfully emphasized by Emberling (1997, but also Bentley 1987 and Assmann 1992), while Renfrew has placed the birth of the modern notion of ethnicity in Europe during the Early Iron Age (Renfrew 1987).

With particular reference to *Latium vetus* and central Italy, it has already been suggested by many authors that ethnogenesis, poleogenesis and state formation were interwoven processes, which occurred during the course of the Early Iron Age, from about the eleventh/tenth to the eighth/seventh century BC (for example Torelli 1988; Guidi 1998; Guidi 2006; following an early statement by Pallottino 1942: 77). This paper suggests that this particular period of time (generally addressed by scholarship as proto-history because it witnessed the transition from pre-historic to historical times, dominated by cities and by literacy), can also be seen as a time of identity *definition* and *characterization*.

In this sense, ethnicity is only one of many identities played out by individuals in different contexts and at different levels (family, city, region, class, gender etc.); therefore ethnic identity cannot be studied *per se*, independently from the others (cf. Stoddart 2009). The following sections will identify the evidence for the study of ethnicity in central Italy and review previous approaches. Then, on the basis of the theoretical premises illustrated in the first two sections, further developments will be suggested for the study of ethnicity and other social identities in central Italy, which could also be applied to other geographical and historical contexts.

Available sources: archaeology and 'ancient authors'

The archaeology and history of early central Italy has the great advantage (or disadvantage) of having a rich array of archaeological evidence (mainly from funerary contexts but also from settlements) and also complementary sources, such as 'ancient authors'.

The possibility of using 'ancient authors' in combination with the archaeological evidence could be considered a positive contribution. It allows one to consider a different and independent piece of evidence and provides alternative points of view, which give a more complete and integrated picture than the one solely derived from

archaeological data (for a positive approach to a combined use of 'written' and 'material sources', see Moreland 2001). On the other hand, this potential opportunity can turn into a potential issue, which can be the object of several criticisms.

The use of 'ancient authors' in the reconstruction of the earliest phases of Italian history for example has been acritically and simplistically stigmatized as old-fashioned by Bradley (2000b) with reference to the model of ethnic group identification proposed by Pallottino (1942; see also 1991, in English). Alternatively, an exact match between literary sources and archaeology has been sought with the expectation that one should test the other (see Bietti Sestieri 1998). This has resulted in a sterile debate on whether ancient authors or archaeological data should have primacy, and which should verify or falsify the other (this 'expectation' might explain the origin of the debate between Andrea Carandini and Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, with specific reference to early Roman history, for which see Bietti Sestieri 2000).

It cannot be denied that there are many methodological problems and biases inherent in the use of 'ancient authors' as a source of information for the historical reconstruction of pre- and proto-historic processes in central Italy. Two major themes of discussion might be summarized as follow. Firstly, most surviving accounts are much later than the actual events and the many steps in the transmission of original information from primary sources to the final elaborations by ancient authors are still unclear and debated (see for example, among recent contributions: Cornell 1995: 1–80; Drummond and Ogilvie 1989; Wiseman 1994; Poucet 1994). Secondly, it is generally claimed that literary accounts provide only a partial point of view, from the perspective of the dominant Roman elite of the time (Poucet 2000: 105ff.; and with particular reference to sources on Italic ethnic groups, Lomas 1997).

However, if 'ancient authors' are considered as another source of evidence together with epigraphic and archaeological evidence, they can be a useful and valuable independent and complementary piece of information for the study of ethnic dynamics in central Italy during the Early Iron Age and in general for the historical reconstruction of this period (for example, ancient authors are considered essential for the study of the 'ethnic discourse' in Greece by Hall 1997/2000).

Traditional cultural-historical approach

It is a commonly held belief that during the Bronze Age the Italian Peninsula was characterized by relatively loose territorial divisions and lack of strongly defined ethnic identities (see Bietti Sestieri 1998: 280). In fact, even though local variations and regional sub-groups have been identified, during the Middle Bronze Age I–II (1700–1400 BC), central and northern Italy (from northern Lazio and Tuscany on the Tyrrhenian sea to eastern Emilia and Romagna on the Adriatic sea) were discontinuously but almost entirely occupied by the *Grotta Nuova* culture, while the rest of the southern Italian peninsula (from southern Lazio and the Marche in the centre, down to Calabria in the south, with a lack of evidence in Molise) was characterized by the Proto-Apennine culture (Cocchi Genick 1995; see fig. 8.1.A). And subsequently, during the Middle Bronze Age III (1400–1325/1300 BC) and the Recent Bronze Age (1325/1300–1200 BC), the whole

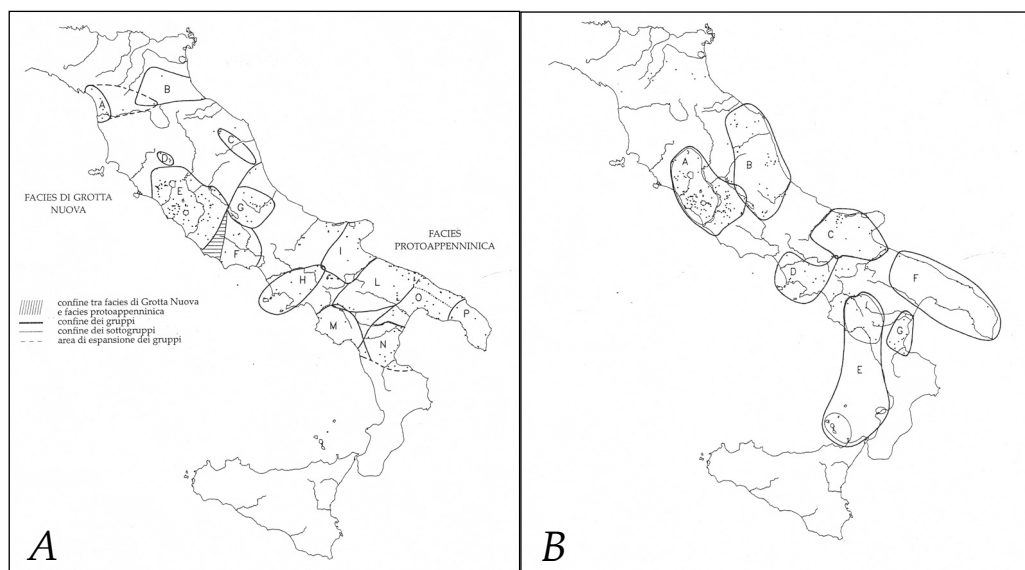


Figure 8.1. Geographical distribution of the (A) Grotta Nuova and Proto-Apennine cultures, 1700–1400 BC and of the (B) Apennine culture, 1400–1325/1300 BC (from Cocchi Genick 1995: tav. 1–2).

peninsula (from southern Tuscany south to the Sibari plain in Calabria, with a lack of evidence in northern Campania and Molise), was almost entirely unified in the Apennine and the following sub-Apennine cultures (Cocchi Genick 1995; see Fig 8.1.B).

Starting in the Final Bronze Age (1200–950/925 BC) and more markedly during the Early Iron Age (950/925–750/725 BC), distinctive regional cultures seem to appear. This emerging differentiation in the material culture during the Early Iron Age was originally linked to ethnogenetic processes and to the definition of the different people of the Italian peninsula by the famous Etruscologist Massimo Pallottino (1942, in English 1991). As shown in Fig. 8.2, this scholar noticed the striking coincidence between the distribution of material culture, languages (evident from inscriptions) and territories recorded for the various ethnic groups by literary sources.

This approach, based on a contentious assumption of correspondence between language, people and culture, has been criticized as naïve, based on ‘common sense’ and old-fashioned in a recent paper by Guy Bradley (2000b). Bradley noticed that Umbria produced as many Etruscan inscriptions as Umbrians. Therefore, he argues, mixed language use was probably more common than dominant ‘regional languages’ (Bradley 2000b: 113). However this idea of inter-ethnic composition of Early Iron Age and Archaic societies in central Italy had already been suggested on the basis of both archaeological and literary sources, for example, for the Faliscan area, a sort of Latin enclave in the Etruscan territory (see Camporeale 1991; Cifani 2005; Colonna 1990b Cristofani 1988 and Iaia 2000); similarly the open character and the mobility of the Etruscan and Roman societies during the Archaic Age, has been suggested by Carmine

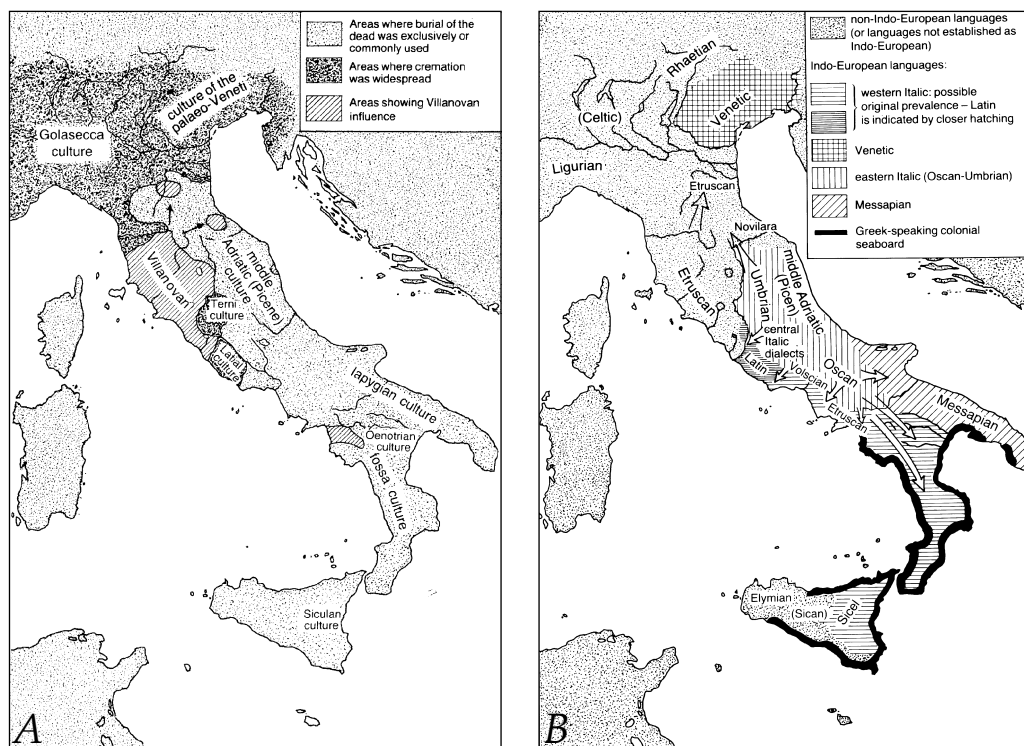


Figure 8.2. (A) Cultural areas of Italy at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, tenth–ninth century BC, compared with (B) the original distribution and spread of the languages of earliest Italic populations (from Pallottino 1991: fig. 1–2).

Ampolo, by using the character of Demaratus as a case study (Ampolo 1976–7, 1981, 1987), and by other scholars (for example Cornell 1995: 157–9 and Torelli 1989).

Bradley discounted literary sources and epigraphic evidence on the basis that there is no evidence of self-identification by Italic people prior to the sixth, fifth or fourth century BC (2000b: 115–7), but he was probably too ready to deny the striking coincidence between ‘ethnic groups’, as mentioned by ancient authors, and the self-identification, suggested by material cultures held in common. On the other hand, as already suggested by Emberling (see above), Bradley has correctly related ethnogenesis to state and urban formation and has rightly interpreted political action as a critical element in the formation of ethnic identity (2000b: 118–21).

In particular, Bradley correctly remarks that the Latin identity, when defined as a self-identification, existed well before the emergence of all other major states in central Italy. In fact, 'there can be little doubt on the antiquity of a Latin myth of common ancestry related to the cult of Jupiter on the Alban Mount' (Cornell 1997: 9), dated generally at least as far back as the end of the Bronze Age, and it has been recently suggested, that an original totemic mythology of the Latins might have been even earlier (Carandini 2002: 123ff.). According to Bradley, all other Italic ethnic identities gradually emerged

in the area throughout the first millennium BC, as a form of ideological resistance to the advancing and inexorable military power of Rome (Bradley 2000b: 116, but already Malone and Stoddart 1994; Smith 1996: 215–23; and see Dench 1997 on the Samnites; see also Stoddart this volume).

A recent paper by Stéphane Bourdin addressed the same topic of ethnic identity used as tool of inter-state competition and political resistance, by analyzing the case of Ardea and by combining epigraphic, archaeological and literary evidence (2005). Bourdin demonstrated that Ardea (one of the main Latin centres), during the sixth century BC strongly claimed to be descended from the *Rutuli* (one of the Latin tribes, who according to ancient authors, celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* on the *Mons Albanus*, the annual festival of the Latin commonwealth consisting of the sacrifice of a pig and a communal ritual meal) in order to contrast the rival Rome, trying to impose his authority on the Latin league (Bourdin 2005: 629ff.).

While Bradley has emphasized how Italic people became aware of their ethnic identity in *contrast* to the expansion of the Latin/Roman identity imposed by the growing power of Rome (see also Bradley 2000a), the study by Bourdin has analyzed a case of *competitive* identity, where Ardea, in order to contrast Rome, claimed its original provenance from the *Rutuli*, a similar ancient and prestigious origin within the Latin commonwealth. In convergence with Barth's model, Bradley has suggested ethnicity as a construction rather than something in place from the beginning of the Early Iron Age and Bourdin's study has showed how ethnicity in central Italy, during the Early Iron Age and the Archaic Age, was developed in an articulated and complex negotiation between wider (regional, ethnic) and more local (city-state or community) identities (see also Bradley 2000a: 262ff.; Davies 1997: 28, with reference to Greece).

This paper suggests that this perspective deserves further development by adopting a supra-regional focus and long-term perspectives in order to define how these different levels of identity (regional, local community, ethnic group but also family, gender etc.) interacted through time. After reviewing a number of recent approaches to ethnicity in central Italy with particular reference to *Latium vetus*, the last section of this paper will propose an holistic perspective, which takes into account all possible available sources (or at least a good proportion of them) including, the less fashionable 'ancient authors', as the best approach to investigate the complex processes of ethnic definition and characterization which occurred within the region by the end of the Final Bronze Age and the expansion of Rome in the Archaic/Republican Period.

More recent approaches

The traditional historical approach to ethnogenesis in central Italy, inaugurated by Pallottino, as mentioned in the previous section, dominated Italian scholarship and especially the discipline of Etruscology. Its basic assumption of an unquestioned congruence between culture, language and ethnos has been called into question by several scholars both outside and within Italy, but its basic intuition of locating in the Early Iron Age the process of ethnogenesis of Italic people is still valid and generally accepted in current scholarship (see Guidi 1998; Guidi *et al.* 2002).

However, under the impulse of a renewed interest in ethnicity in the last few years, novel studies have been undertaken by a few younger Italian scholars more inclined to accept intellectual stimuli from outside. For example, a few years ago, Gabriele Cifani published a study on settlement patterns in the middle Tiber Valley from the end of the Final Bronze Age to the Roman conquest. In particular, this scholar detected different settlement dynamics from the Final Bronze Age onwards with the evolution of different urban models according to the specific cultural and social context of the different ethnic groups (2003).

Cifani (see also this volume) proposes that the Etruscan area was already organized as a 'territorial state' or 'macro state', with a settlement hierarchy of at least three tiers

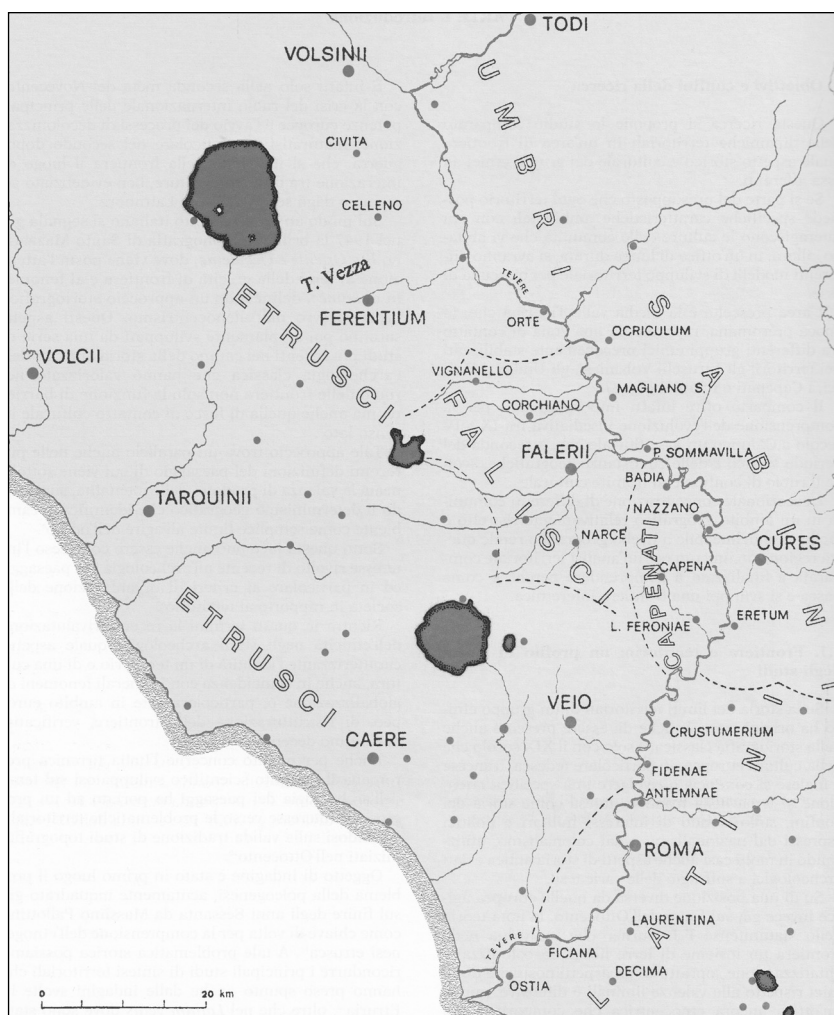


Figure 8.3. The lower Tiber Valley and the ethnic groups studied by Gabriele Cifani (2003) from the perspective of territoriality and settlement organization (from Cifani 2003: tav. 1).

(second and third order settlements dependent upon a dominant centre), already by the later phase of the Early Iron Age. He furthermore proposes that by contrast the Umbrian and the Sabine areas were structured according the model of the 'city-state', with primary centres only dominating a small territory with few dependent satellite settlements. This model was developed in the southern Umbrian area by the end of the Final Bronze Age, but only developed in the Sabine area by a later phase of the Early Iron Age (Cifani 2003: in particular 191–193 and 200; Fig. 8.3).

Another recent *ethnographic* study in central Italy, is Iaia's contextual analysis of a specific female jewelry ornament, that is bronze rings suspended from bronze *fibulae* (Fig. 8.4), adopted by women of Latin communities during the whole duration of the early Iron Age and the Orientalizing Period from the ninth to the sixth century BC (see Bietti Sestieri 1992A). He has noticed that this typically Latin female ornament, has a very specific geographical and chronological distribution outside *Latium vetus*. It has been found in the territory of *Caere* and *Capena* during the latest part of the early Iron Age (from about 830–800 to 750–730 BC), and has been only occasionally attested in the Umbrian (Terni) and the Sabine area (Iaia 2007).

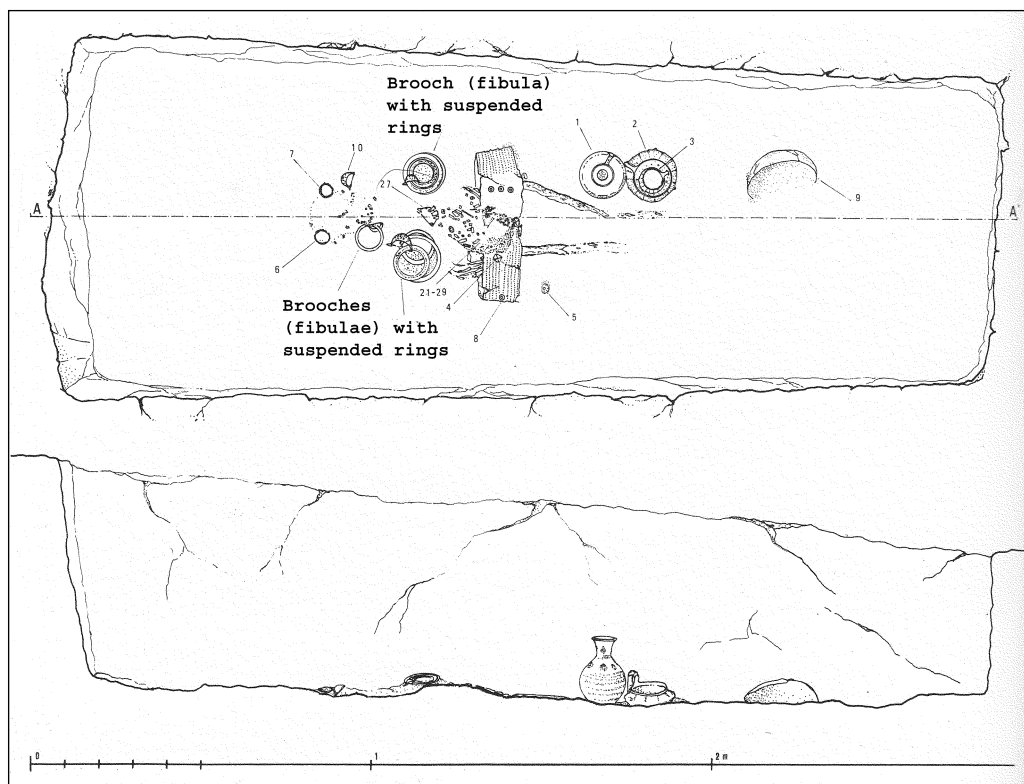


Figure 8.4. Leech bronze brooches (*sanguisuga fibulae*) with suspended rings in tomb 83 at La Rustica, dated to the second half of the eighth century BC (from Anzidei et al. 1985: 187, fig. 146/1)

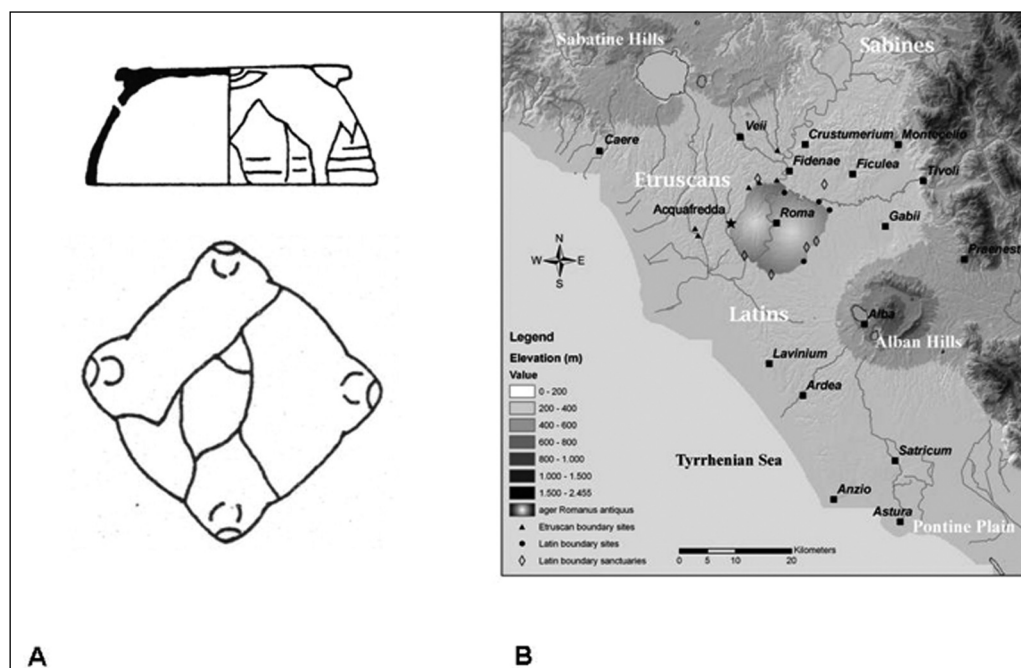


Figure 8.5. (A) Latin bread-baking cover with four flat handles (from Zifferero 2004: 260, fig. 3); (B) localization of the Etruscan site of Acquafredda at the edge of the ager Romanus antiquus, the oldest territory of Rome.

Finally, Andrea Zifferero has undertaken interesting research combining material culture and literary sources to study food habits and customs of proto-urban societies in central Italy (Etruria and *Latium vetus*) specifically focusing on cooking stands and bread baking covers (*testi da pane*). For example, he noticed that, in the Etruscan site of Acquafredda at the edge of the so-called *ager Romanus antiquus*, bread baking covers of Latin type and possibly Etruscan cooking stands were found, probably indicating a mobile and mixed ethnic composition of the site (Zifferero 2004: 267; Fig. 8.5).

Further potential developments in the the study of ethnic and social identities in central Italy

In this final section, the paper will show that previous approaches to ethnicity in central Italy have revealed essential and very important aspects of a complex problematic, which deserves further investigation.

By adopting Barth's model in the analysis of ethnicity from an archaeological perspective, and with particular reference to complex societies, Emberling's study (1997) has shown that ethnicity can be seen as an arena for political and, more specifically, inter-state relationships. With particular reference to central Italy, as suggested by Smith

(1996: 215–23), Bradley (2000a, 2000b) and Bourdin (2005), ethnicity can be seen as a tool for the construction of political unity (the Latins) or imperial policy (Rome) or, on the contrary, as a form of resistance (Italic groups), providing a sensible explanation for a variety of specific relationships between ethnic groups. A number of recent studies, focused on central Italy and *Latium vetus*, more specifically illustrated in the previous section, showed as well that there can be different arenas in which ethnicity can be played out or negotiated: on a macro-scale, for example, different ethnic groups can show different settlement patterns and territorial behaviours (Cifani 2003); on a micro and local scale, ethnic markers can disclose the multi-ethnic composition of boundary settlements (Zifferero 2004); and finally they can reveal inter-community mobility (through inter-community marriages) or, on the contrary, community closure to maintain the control of land property against other rival city-states (Iaia 2007).

The following elements can be added to the above examples to exemplify how identity, defined as an individual and shared multi-level construction, which includes but is not limited to ethnic identity, can be investigated through the analysis of material culture:

- Several elements (pottery and metal objects types, ritual or funerary practices etc.) pointing to some sort of shared identity or, in any case, strong interconnections among different ‘ethnic groups’ in central Italy, both in pre and post-Roman times, have been identified by Laura Bonomi Ponzi (1996), who has addressed this phenomenon in terms of the central Italian *koinè* (Greek word for ‘common’; Fig. 8.6);
- Examples of regional identity include, specifically for the Latin area, the above mentioned suspended rings, the so-called Latial amphora, *anforetta laziale*, or the custom of infant domestic burials, *suggrundaria* (see Modica 1993 and, recently, Roncoroni 2001; Fig. 8.7);
- Local identity can be expressed by: a) amphorae and cups with long spikes (*anfore e tazze ad anse aculeate*), b) the so-called ‘crustumina’ bowl (*scodella crustumina*), which are particularly popular in *Crustumium* (while the first seem to indicate a local preference for a particular style, the second might be an exclusive local production; di Gennaro *et al.* 2007: 144, 157ff.); c) the stone circular precinct placed around burials, which, within the Latin area, has only been found at Tivoli, and which connected this site to similar burial customs in the Apennine regions of Abruzzo and Umbria; d) the so-called comb motif decoration on *impasto* pots, which has never been found outside the territory of *Satricum*, so that it might be considered a local character (Beijer 1991: 34; Fig. 8.8);
- Status identity, as it is well known, can be demonstrated by paraphernalia, exotic objects and *orientalia* found, for example, in the so-called ‘princely graves’ of the Orientalizing Age (Fig. 8.9).

Interestingly a similar multi-level identity pattern, which comprised a regional stylistic homogeneity with specific local variations has not only been detected in Early Iron Age *Latium vetus*, but also in Early Bronze Age Jordan (these local variation have been effectively described as local ‘flavours’ by Meredith Chesson in a seminar given at Cambridge

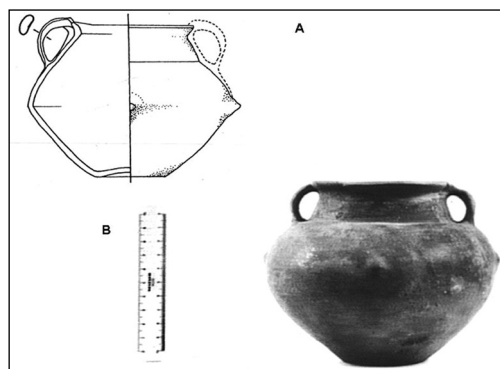


Figure 8.6. Impasto biconical globular amphora as an example of supra-regional identity or inter-regional interactions: (A) from Colfiorito (Terni, Umbria), ninth century BC (from Bonomi Ponzi 1996: 396, fig. 2b); (B) from Osteria dell'Osa (Gabii, Latium vetus), ninth/eighth century BC (Museo nazionale Etnografico Luigi Pigorini, ICCD Photographic Archive N° F42079).

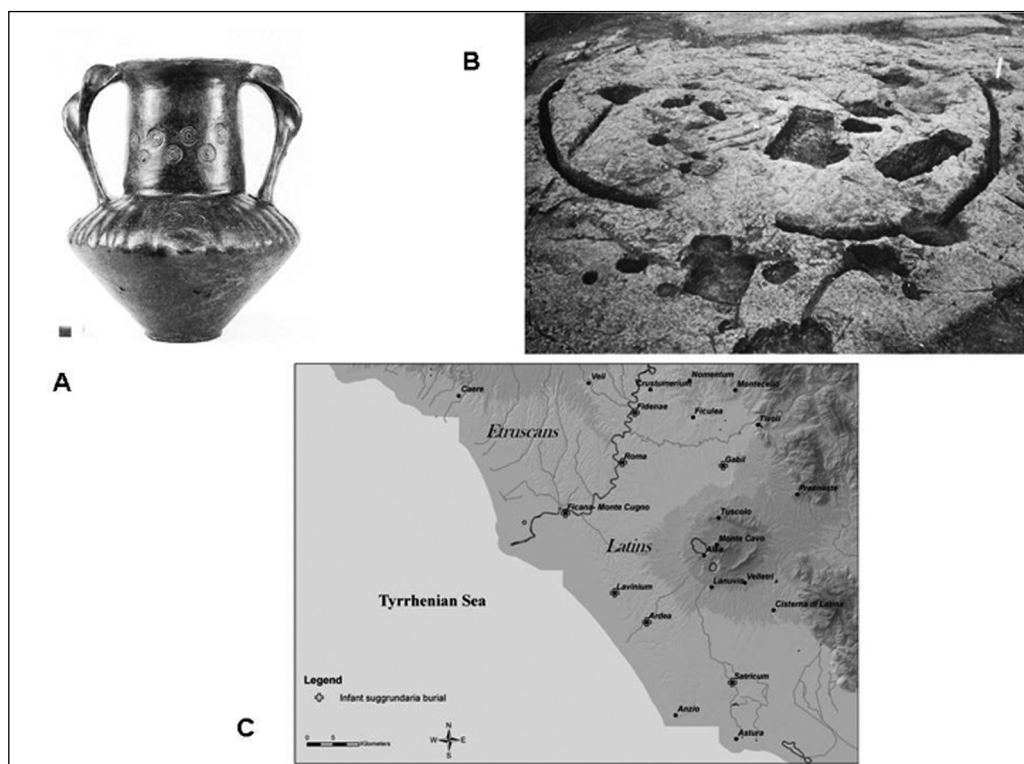


Figure 8.7. Examples of regional and possibly ethnic identity: (A) Latial Amphora found in a burial context in Crustumerium (from di Gennaro 1999a); (B) infant domestic burials or suggrundaria (circular ditch of a hut of the beginning of the seventh century BC and two rectangular infant burials, on the right, dated to the eighth century BC, Lavinium (from Anzidei, Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 1985: fig. 153); (C) geographical distribution of suggrundaria (children burials among/under houses) in Latium vetus.

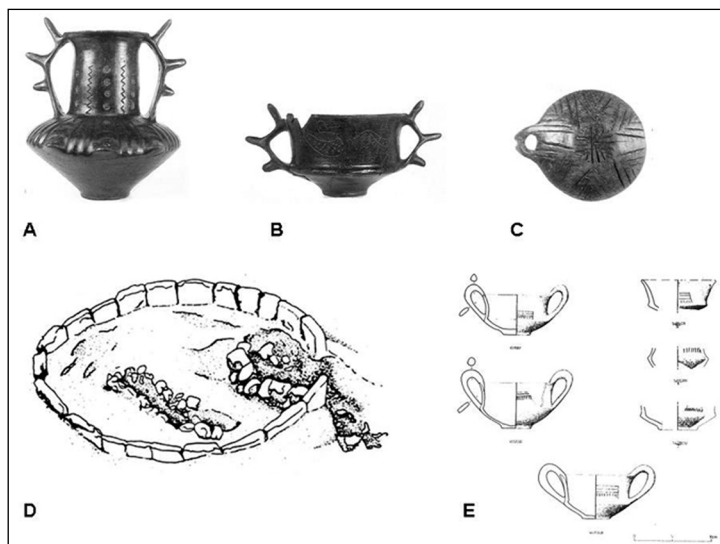


Figure 8.8. Examples of local identity: amphora (A) and kantharos-cup (B) with spikes, and bowl (C) from burial contexts at Crustumerium (from di Gennaro 1999); circle grave (D) from Tivoli; kantharoi-cups with comb motif (E) from Satricum (from Beijer 1991: 35, Fig. 8).

Figure 8.9. Phoenician bowl from the Bernardini 'princely' tomb in Palestrina, second quarter of the seventh century BC (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, ICCD Photographic Archive N° F3 686).



University in the academic year 2006/2007). In these two regions, archaeological markers are found both in funerary evidence and in settlement organization, indicating processes toward higher social complexity, state formation and urban development. It could be argued that identity (ethnic or local) definition and characterization was played out as an instrument of political action.

To conclude, this paper suggests we should combine different kinds of evidence, such as material culture, ancient authors and possibly genetic data and faunal or vegetal remains (the use of multiple 'sources and classes of data' in the study of ethnicity has been suggested also by Jones 1997: 125 and fruitfully applied in the study of Andean pre-hispanic states by Janusek 2002), and analyze their context in order to make a reasonable attempt to grasp past people identity construction and possibly: 1) identify cultural and/or biological contents of ethnicity (Barth's cultural 'stuff'); and 2) verify ethnic boundaries using the principle of redundancy suggested by Emberling (1997).

Since ethnicity is only one of several identities experienced and acted out by an individual, the adoption of a multi-scale approach, with a supra-regional focus and a long-term perspective, in order to be able to study ethnicity as a process rather than as a static entity, is essential. A diachronic and multi-dimensional perspective has also been suggested by Jones (1997) and Ruby (2006), with reference to Greece, and by Stoddart (2009), with reference to Etruria. Similarly, Davies (1997: 28) and Malkin (2001: 3), among others, have emphasized how ethnic identifiers and *polis* identities and ideologies used by Herodotos and others for Archaic Greece, cross-cut themselves in various complex ways.

With reference to central Italy, Bradley has already identified at least three competing components in the dynamic formation of Umbrian ethnicity: Umbrian *ethnos*, local community and Roman citizenship (2000a, 2000b). While regarding later ages, the tension between ethnic identity and Roman citizenship, expressed in the well-known exploration by Cicero of his own loyalty to two homelands or *patriae* (Cicero *De Legibus* 2.2–3) has been illuminated in the recent book investigating the complex relationship between ethnic identity, Roman citizenship and aristocratic political competition in Republican Rome (Farney 2007).

As already mentioned, the application of a simple relational multi-scale model would help to analyze artifacts and other types of elements and their context, thus allowing to explore how different identities (including ethnicity, which might have meant something different to past people as it means to us, as pointed out by Lucy 2005: 109) were negotiated among individuals, families, social or political groups. It could be possible to start from a combined analysis of funerary rites, stylistic choices, settlement patterns and epigraphic evidence (for which abundant data are already available from excavations, surveys and catalogues) and then integrate them with the results from scientific analyses, such as anthropological, faunal (for example, Hesse and Wapnish 1997; Gates St-Pierre 2006) and vegetal studies, or petrographic analyses to reveal technological aspects of pottery production (Stark *et al.* 2000; Livingstone Smith 2000). With reference to scientific analyses related to studies on identity in central Italy, a palaeobiological study of the community living in the area of *Gabii* has recently been conducted in order to detect different food habits among different social groups and/or communities (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2004) and biological differences among different populations in proto-historic and historic central Italy have been investigated and identified (for example, Becker 1996; Rubini 2006); however archaeogenetic studies, while useful, are still considered too costly at the present, as well as controversial in their interpretation. Petrographic analyses are still rare in central Italy and while they are being implemented in a few cases (for example, Carafa 1995; ongoing research is being conducted on material from *Crustumerium*) any study of this kind has until now only been undertaken in order to study technological aspects of pottery production rather than as ethnicity or identity markers.

The potential value of combining contextual analysis of artifacts with modern scientific analyses has been remarked on recently also by Sam Lucy (2005: 108–9). Similarly to the approach presented in this paper, this scholar has correctly discussed the importance of the scales, at which archaeologists work, and valued contextual analysis at the local level:

By working at the local level, employing detailed analyses of data in order to tease out the complex interrelationships of artefacts and the minutiae of spatial patterning, archaeologists can at least start to identify contexts in which social identities would have been recreated through everyday practices (Lucy 2005: 109).

However, following Emberling's work, is it here suggested that a coarser focus of resolution should not be disregarded as well, because it is the combination and comparison of contextual analysis at different levels, which provides a broader picture and sometime keys for possible alternative explanations, which have to be assessed and discussed in the search of the interpretation.

Conclusions

As stated in the introduction, this paper did not aim to provide a comprehensive and conclusive discourse on ethnicity and state formation in central Italy, but to provide a fresh perspective to approach this topic in a new way.

In the first section, the social anthropological model of ethnicity proposed by Barth in the introduction to the collection *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), and followed by most anthropological scholarship thereafter, has been briefly illustrated and the implementation of the original model by Jenkins (1997) has been reviewed. The second section introduced Emberling's paper on *Ethnicity and Complex Societies* (1997) and the great potential of this model for archaeological research on ethnicity.

In the third section, the link between ethnogenesis and state formation, already suggested by Emberling and other scholars, has been considered with particular reference to central Italy and the sources for the study of ethnicity in this region have been presented. Given the availability of ancient authors' accounts and archaeological sources, issues related to the relationship between texts and material culture have been briefly discussed; finally previous approaches to the study of ethnicity in central Italy, with reference to both the traditional cultural historical approach (and its critiques) and more recent studies, were considered.

The final section, building on the theoretical premise offered by Barth's social anthropological model, has suggested a new approach to the study of ethnicity, with specific reference to central Italy, but also applicable to other areas. As ethnicity is 'socially constructed' and is only one of many identities constantly negotiated by individuals in their daily lives, there is still a cultural content (common cultural/biological trait or common belief), by which the members of an ethnic group identify themselves as 'us' and distinguish themselves from the 'other' or 'them'. The materialization of these contents (burial costumes, food habits, territorial behaviours, language, belief in a common ancestry etc.) in concrete objects makes it possible for archaeologists to study identities of past societies and their dynamics through time (for an illuminating study on the materialization of power see, for example, DeMarrais *et al.* 1996).

The approach presented in this paper suggests to combine different types of evidence (for example with particular reference to central Italy, material culture could be evaluated against ancient authors' accounts and possibly anthropological, faunal and vegetal data) and investigate their cultural contents by analyzing them in their context

in order to explore how identities (family, gender, class, city, region, ethnos etc.) are defined through constant (re-)negotiation. In particular, it is here suggested that the context to be considered should be both the physical-geographical location and also the cultural context, defined as the sum of links and connections, within which each artefact/cultural element has a specific meaning.

For this scope a multi-scale focus and a long-term perspective would be appropriate: different interrelations between artefacts and them and their meaning are more likely to be understood by comparing (and/or contrasting) in a constant dialectic discourse, at different times, local and higher resolution views, which are not mutually exclusive but complementary².

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Notes

- 1 I learned about this tradition of study by giving a workshop at the GCSC, Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture at the Justus Leibig Universität in Giessen, Germany.
- 2 While revising the draft of this paper for publication I realized that the book *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, by C. Morgan, investigates, in relation to mainland Greek communities, the same topic of identity and ethnicity with a detailed and accurate consideration of some of the same issues briefly discussed here, (ethnicity and identity as social construct, importance of scale, sites and place identities, etc.), and therefore would have deserved more consideration. Although a comparative study was beyond the scope of this paper, even from a quick reading there are several points in common and many potential elements of fruitful comparison between Greece and Italy, which would be interesting to develop.

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