SOCIAL NETWORKS AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN BRONZE AGE ITALY

This book takes an innovative approach to detecting regional groupings in peninsular Italy during the Late Bronze Age, a notoriously murky period of Italian prehistory. Applying social network analysis to the distributions of imports and other distinctive objects, Emma Blake reveals previously unrecognized exchange networks that are in some cases the precursors of the named peoples of the first millennium BC: the Etruscans, the Veneti, and others. In a series of regional case studies, she uses quantitative methods to both reconstruct and analyze the character of these early networks and posits that, through path dependence, the initial structure of the networks played a role in the success or failure of the groups occupying those same regions in later times. This book thus bridges the divide between Italian prehistory and the Classical period and demonstrates that Italy’s regionalism began far earlier than previously thought.

Emma Blake is Associate Professor in the School of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. She has published widely on prehistoric Italy, on such topics as monumentality, identity, space and spatiality, social memory, and culture contract. She has conducted fieldwork in Sardinia and codirects the Marsala Hinterland Survey in Sicily.
SOCIAL NETWORKS AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN BRONZE AGE ITALY

EMMA BLAKE
The University of Arizona
For Rob
CONTENTS

Figures page ix
Tables xi
Acknowledgments xiii

1 Introduction: The Problem of Italy's Ancient Peoples 1
2 Imports and Specialized Products in Italy in the Recent and Final Bronze Ages 34
3 Group Identity in Prehistory: Theory, Interactions, and Social Networks 66
4 The Recent and Final Bronze Age Peninsular Networks: Assessing Structure and Cohesion 87
5 The Northern Networks from the Terramare to the Veneto 113
6 West-Central Italy: Networks and Neighbors 150
7 Marche, Umbria, and the Apennine Mountain Muddle 182
8 Southern Italy: Networks by Land and by Sea 207
9 Conclusions and Aftermath 240

Appendix 257
Bibliography 295
Index 319
FIGURES

1.1 Major population groups of Italy, third century BC  
1.2 Early Iron Age archaeological “cultures”  
2.1 Timeline of Recent Bronze Age object types included in the study  
2.2 Timeline of Final Bronze Age 1–2 object types included in the study  
4.1 Graph of RBA peninsular network with ties based on shared objects and ≤ 50 km apart, excluding isolates  
4.2 Map of Italian peninsula showing RBA subgroups  
4.3 Graph of RBA peninsular network with ties based on shared objects and ≤ 40 km apart, excluding isolates  
4.4 Graph of RBA peninsular network with ties based on shared objects, with distance measured on a continuous scale  
4.5 Graph of FBA peninsular network with ties based on shared objects and ≤ 50 km apart, excluding isolates  
4.6 Map of Italian peninsula showing FBA subgroups  
5.1 Graph of RBA Terramare network, no hoards, ties based on shared objects  
5.2 Survival rate and degree centrality of RBA Terramare-Apennine network sites  
5.3 Map of RBA Terramare-Apennine network with sites that continue into the FBA indicated  
5.4 Map showing locations of RBA sites in northern Italy included in the study  
5.5 Graph of RBA sites in northern Italy, hoards included, ties based on objects only
Figures

5.6 Graph of large cluster in RBA northern Italy, hoards included, ties based on shared objects only 129
5.7 Map showing locations of FBA sites in northern Italy included in this study 138
5.8 Graph of FBA sites in northern Italy, with ties based on shared objects, hoards included 139
5.9 Map of northern Italy showing FBA sites with factions indicated 143
6.1 Map showing RBA find spots in Etruria and Latium 161
6.2 Graph of RBA network in Etruria, ties based on shared objects 162
6.3 Map showing FBA find spots in Etruria and Latium 163
6.4 Graph of FBA sites in Etruria, ties based on shared objects 166
6.5 Graph showing network of FBA sites in Etruria, Umbria, and Marche 170
6.6 Map of Etruria, Umbria, and Marche showing FBA sites with factions indicated 172
6.7 Graph of FBA sites with Gubbio and Scarceta removed 174
6.8 Graph of RBA sites in Etruria, Umbria, and Marche 174
6.9 Map showing sites in FBA Latium and Etruria, with Rome as a hypothetical node 178
7.1 Graph of RBA network in Umbria and Marche 193
7.2 Map showing RBA find spots in Umbria and Marche 194
7.3 Graph of FBA network in Umbria and Marche, with ties based on shared objects only 198
7.4 Map showing FBA network sites in Umbria and Marche, with Augustan regional boundaries 199
8.1 Map of RBA find spots in southern Italy 223
8.2 Graph of RBA find spots in southern Italy, hoards and ritual deposits included, ties based on shared objects 224
8.3 Graph of RBA south-Italian sites, ties based on shared objects, Aegean pottery excluded 225
8.4 Map showing RBA find spots in southern Italy, with nodes in the non-ceramic network indicated 226
8.5 Map showing FBA find spots in southern Italy 228
8.6 Graph of FBA southern Italy cluster, hoards included, ties based on shared objects 230
8.7 Graph of FBA southern Italy network, Aegean pots excluded, ties based on shared objects 231
8.8 Map showing FBA find spots in southern Italy, with nodes in the non-ceramic network indicated 232
9.1 Map of Italy indicating the Augustan regions 246
### TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Sample sociomatrix</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Measures of cohesion and structure of the major subgroups in the RBA peninsula network</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Measures of cohesion and structure of the major subgroups in the FBA peninsula network</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Object types circulating in northern Italy in the RBA</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Object types circulating in northern Italy in the FBA</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Permuted matrix of FBA northern Italy sites, ties based on objects only, hoards included. Divided into two factions</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Permuted matrix of FBA northern Italy sites, ties based on objects only, hoards included. Divided into five factions</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Object types circulating in Etruria in the RBA</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Object types circulating in Etruria in the FBA</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Permuted matrix of FBA sites in Etruria, ties based on objects only, hoards included, divided into two factions</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Permuted matrix of FBA connected sites in Etruria, Umbria, and Marche, ties based on objects only, hoards included, divided into three factions</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Object types circulating in Marche and Umbria in the RBA</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Object types circulating in Marche and Umbria in the FBA</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Object types circulating in southern Italy in the RBA</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Object types circulating in southern Italy in the FBA</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For a book this long in the making, there are many people and institutions to whom I am indebted for help along the way. Before the book even got started, two formative influences were Ian Hodder and Ian Morris, who each shaped my approach to the archaeological record. At the start of the project, Tufts University granted me a Junior Research Leave to begin working on this book in earnest. I spent the leave at the Stanford Archaeology Center as a Visiting Scholar and received excellent early feedback from colleagues there. I have Lynn Meskell to thank for that time at the Center, and for friendship and mentoring over many years. Comments and questions following talks given at Stanford, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Arizona, the American Academy in Rome, and Università di Roma–La Sapienza were extremely helpful. I can’t thank Carl Knappett enough for introducing me to social network analysis! Carl has also read, heard, and commented on various parts of the book and has provided wonderful insights along the way. Many thanks also to Barbara Mills for reading and commenting on early parts and for numerous conversations about networks. Steve Kuhn’s suggestions on statistics were very useful. Joe Galaskiewicz graciously allowed me to audit his graduate seminar on social networks in the School of Sociology at the University of Arizona. I learned a lot in that seminar, and I am very grateful to Joe for giving essential and patient guidance to a network novice that semester and several times since. David Melamed helped me with constructing and analyzing the early iterations of my networks. Suchismita Dash and Donna Feng were outstanding research
Acknowledgments

assistants. My colleagues in the School of Anthropology have been a kind and supportive bunch, showing great interest in my research and providing a happy work environment. I owe special thanks to David Soren and Dani Triadan for sound advice and encouragement always.

I was able to complete the manuscript finally, and improve it enormously, with a Junior Faculty Research Leave from the University of Arizona. I wholeheartedly thank the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Academy in Rome (AAR), which together funded my postdoctoral Rome Prize at the AAR. Not only did this fellowship allow me to extend my leave from a semester to a full year, but the benefits of being in Rome and at the Academy were extraordinary. I was able to meet the Italian scholars whose work I had been reading and admiring for years. I will be forever indebted to those scholars for their generosity with their time and expertise. Specifically I must mention Marco Bettelli, Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, Alberto Cazzella, Isabella Damiani, Francesco di Gennaro, Alessandro Guidi, Giulia Recchia, and Alessandro Vanzetti. Also while in Rome, my conversations with Stéphane Bourdin, Kim Bowes, Christopher Celenza, and Christopher Smith pushed my ideas further. In the home stretch, Victoria Moses and Lars Fogelin read through the entire draft and made terrific suggestions; in particular, Lars’s comments on the final draft gave me the courage I needed to let go of the manuscript and send it off. Russ Biggs valiantly produced maps and revised graphs in the nick of time.

Most importantly, my family has been there through thick and thin. Robert Schon read and critiqued multiple drafts of chapters and believed in me and in the book unwaveringly. Harry and Charlie have taught me that the book is not everything. My parents and my aunt Peg have been constant sources of support for years. In particular, without my mother’s emotional support – not to mention her help with child care – this book would not have been written. I am glad I can finally answer their perennial unspoken question and say, “Yes, the book is done!”