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QUESTIONING THE NEOEVOLUTIONIST PARADIGM

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State Formation in Southern Coastal Etruria: An application of the Kipp-Schortman model

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Introduction

Much is known, but little actually understood about the emergence of the first Etruscan states. There is general agreement among scholars that the earliest polities that we would recognize as states were centered on the three great iron-age settlements of southern coastal Etruria – Velch, Tarchna (or Tarchuna), and Cisra (Fig. 9.1) – and that the crucial time-period for the emergence in this region of the forms of centralized political control widely held to be characteristic of states extended roughly from the middle of the 8th to the middle of the 6th century BCE. Scholarship directed at the elucidation

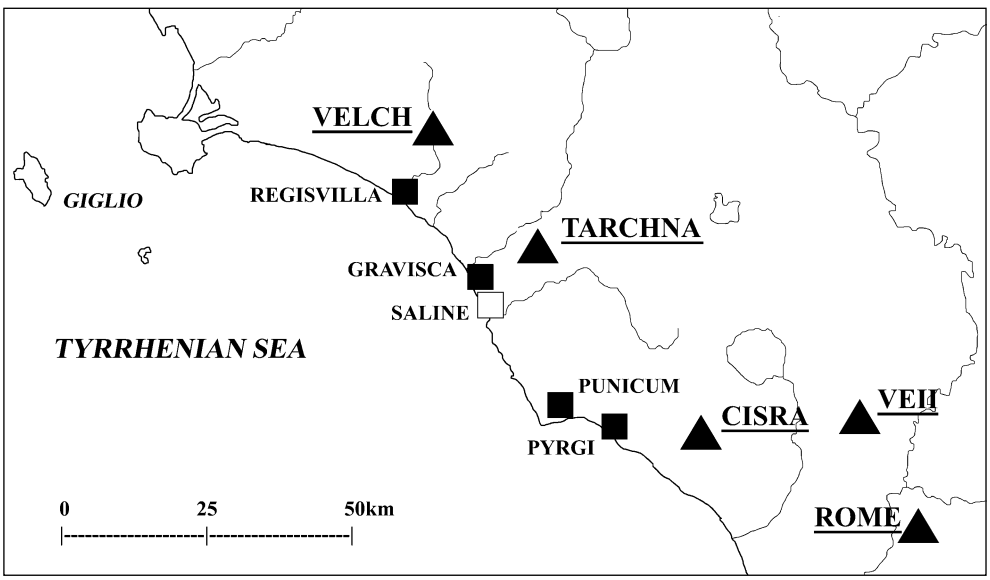

Figure 9.1. Map of southern coastal Etruria and adjacent areas. Key: triangle: political center of early state; square: presumed emporium; open square: presumed pre- emporium trade site.

of socio-political developments in Etruria during this period (*e.g.*, Torelli 1984, 47–103; Camporeale 1985; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 117–40; Naso 2000) has been largely concerned with tracing the crystallization of a pronounced social hierarchy, particularly the emergence of what are termed "aristocracies", the most conspicuous markers of which are the spectacular elite burials for which Etruria is famous. Until quite recently, little of this work has made explicit reference to the concepts that have been central to the study of state formation in the neo-evolutionist anthropological tradition, and, viewed from the perspective of this tradition, there remains a substantial gap in the literature concerned with the emergence of the earliest Etruscan states.

There is broad agreement among scholars concerned with the Etruscan case that an important – perhaps even the decisive – element in the emergence of aristocracies and, along with them, forms of centralized political control in southern coastal Etruria was the initiation and then intensification of exchange relations between, on the one hand, the inhabitants of the region and, on the other, the Phoenician and Greek traders who began to frequent the shores of the Italian peninsula during the late 9th or early 8th century BCE. Precisely how this external trade served as a stimulus to the transformation of these societies from some pre-state form of socio-political organization – chiefdoms, for lack of a better term – to proto-states, is, however, generally left unexplored. This essay argues that forces set in motion by this external trade had a profoundly destabilizing effect on these societies, creating a dynamic that lead during the period *c.* 600–550 BCE to the emergence of the first Etruscan states.

The Kipp-Schortman model of secondary state formation

In order to advance this view this essay makes use of a general model of secondary state formation articulated by Rita Kipp and Edward Schortman (1989). This model seeks to specify the role that trade – defined as market exchange – may sometimes have played in the transformation of chiefdoms to states in the context of trade diasporas. The concept of the trade diaspora refers to situations in which cross-cultural market exchange is facilitated by the emigration of groups of traders for the purpose of establishing special-purpose trade settlements and/or settlement enclaves. As documented by Philip Curtin (1984), the historical record presents numerous instances of this phenomenon, and scholars have generally assumed that some such arrangement was involved in the exchange relations between the inhabitants of southern coastal Etruria and the Phoenicians and Greeks with whom they traded.

The Kipp-Schortman model proposes that when traders from state societies develop exchange relations with chiefdoms in the context of a trade diaspora, exchange will at the outset assume the forms of reciprocal gift exchange between elites. From the point of view of the traders, it makes sense to funnel exchange through elites, since they enjoy the ability both to mobilize the items that the traders wish to acquire and to provide for the order and security that facilitate smooth exchange relations. From the point of view of the elites, the newly emergent exchange relations represent, in effect, a useful supplement to the system of gift exchange that they already maintain with the elites from neighboring chiefdoms. These elites may either retain exclusive control of

the exotic items acquired through this new relationship, employing these as prestige markers, or they may distribute these varyingly to neighboring elites, lower-ranking local elites, and/or commoners, in either instance exploiting these items to enhance their status and to cement their social control.

Social and political order within the chiefdom is eventually destabilized, however, as, on the one hand, traders, and, on the other, lower-ranking elites and commoners, all of whom have interests that diverge from those of the elites, begin to circumvent the system of elite control to establish independent exchange relations with each other. These relations will generally take the form of market exchange, as each of the parties involved seeks to maximize its benefits from the transaction, acquiring the largest possible amount of materials that it desires at the lowest possible price. Kipp and Schortman (1989, 375) specify the logical outcome of this development: "If the goods that define and maintain high status – goods once the prerogative of chiefs in an interlocking but restricted network of reciprocal partnerships – become available for a price, then chiefs must restrict access to these goods by novel means. They must try to insure that only *they* can pay the price. Status and wealth become linked all the more strongly, and new levels of coercion also come into play." In their view, the elite responses to the erosion of their position will include the organization of forces at arms, ostensibly for the purpose of "protecting" the traders from piracy and theft, but which can be employed to reassert elite control of trade and to extract increased amounts of surplus from the labor of commoners, enhancing elite economic and thus social prospects, while at the same time limiting those of their inferiors. It is in this development, they argue, that we can trace the initial steps towards the emergence of the institutional basis of the state.

It is possible to illustrate the plausibility of the Kipp-Schortman model by briefly considering the relatively well-documented ethnohistoric case of the formation of the Hawaiian state during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Kuykendall 1968; Kirch and Sahlins 1992). At the time of initial European contact in 1778, in the form of the third and last of Captain James Cook's voyages of exploration, the Hawaiian Islands were the locus of several competing chiefdoms which had an aggregate population on the order of two hundred thousand individuals. A salient aspect of Hawaiian culture was an extensive system of taboos, which served to define the roles of men and women, as well as those of chiefs, low-ranking chiefs, and commoners. There was ongoing low-level contact with European and American traders from the late 1780s through the early nineteenth century. Between 1790 and 1795, Kamehameha, the charismatic paramount chief on the island of Hawaii, succeeded – with the help of arms acquired from European traders – in conquering the other islands, uniting these into a single polity under his kingship. The intensity of external trade relations escalated dramatically with the emergence of the Asian sandalwood market in the years after 1804, with large amounts of this aromatic wood harvested on the mountain slopes of several of the islands in the archipelago and exchanged with American and, to a lesser extent, European traders. The signal incident in the destruction of the traditional Hawaiian socio-political system was the formal abolition in 1819 by Liholiho, Kamehameha's son and successor as king, of the taboo system. This led to a period of intense conflict between traditionalist and modernizing factions within the Hawaiian elite, which

witnessed the creation of the machinery of a fledgling state that promulgated its first laws in 1827, less than fifty years after initial European contact.

The role played by trade in these events is instructive. According to Marshall Sahlins (1981, 38), "Chiefly transactions with the captains [of Cooks' ships] were marked by *noblesse oblige*. Gifts of especially valuable goods, or large amounts of ordinary goods, passed reciprocally between the Hawaiian and European higher instances in the way of disinterested royal transactions. On the other hand, the common people…were content to enter into a peaceful commercial exchange of 'refreshments' for British iron goods." From the first episodes of European contact the chiefs sought to turn exchange with the foreigners to their social and political advantage by acquiring not only arms, but also items of various kinds – especially textiles and clothing – that could serve them as prestige markers. Again, according to Sahlins (1981, 31), "The Hawaiian chiefs seized upon the European distinctions between 'plain' and 'fancy' cloth to mark their own distance from the common people. The tendency was especially noticeable after Kemehameha's [sic] death in 1819, as a tactic in the ensuing conflict between ranking chiefs within the cadre of the early nineteenth century state. European *mana* [*i.e.*, divine power] in the form of domestic possessions now replaced military supplies as the principal means of aristocratic competition. Status was played out in the brightest silks of China and the finest textiles of New England. Nor would the chiefs at this period dip into accumulated political capital: to reduce their growing stores of clothing would be symptomatic of weakness; if need be they would rather go further into debt to acquire more of the same kinds of things as they already possessed in surfeit."

The Hawaiian chiefs sought to guarantee their control of trade by restricting the time and place where it could be carried out, often under the pretext of providing for the security of the traders, prescribing the categories of items that could be exchanged by either side, invoking chiefly precedence in exchange with each newly-arrived vessel, meting out violent reprisals against commoners who violated the rules governing exchange, and ultimately declaring the sandalwood trade a chiefly monopoly, while compelling commoners to undertake the onerous task of harvesting sandalwood as a form of rent on the agricultural lands that they were assigned by chiefly decree. Lower ranking chiefs and commoners consistently sought to circumvent these restrictions, developing independent trade relations with the foreign traders. The items most avidly sought by the commoners included adzes, nails, and bracelets, as well as clothing and textiles.

This competition had the effect of destabilizing the traditional social system. Once again, Sahlins (1981, 43): "The forms of chiefly violence upon the underlying population witnessed by the Cook expedition were to be observed repeatedly by later voyages, including the running down of canoes, beatings with sticks and driving off with rocks…. Not that the chiefs were known to abjure violence in a purely Hawaiian and traditional context. The point is that the traditional context would hardly provide such occasions for it. It did not regularly suppose such competition between chiefs and people over the sources of *mana*, nor otherwise engage the chiefs in such defense of their access to it. But the historic contact with Europeans submitted the relationship between chiefs and people to unparalleled strains." The chiefs' efforts to protect their trade prerogatives frequently took the form of *ad hoc* modifications to the taboo system. This had the effect

of undermining its legitimacy in the eyes of both low-ranking chiefs and commoners, and ultimately led to its collapse. Out of its ruins arose the Hawaiian state.

Applying the Kipp-Schortman model to the Etruscan case

It appears possible that a dynamic along the lines of that posited by the Kipp-Schortman model lay behind the transition from chiefdom to state in southern coastal Etruria. The specific path followed in each case where a dynamic of this kind occurred presumably differed as a function of the specific social, political, and economic structures involved, and also of specific historical and environmental circumstances. There is no reason to assume, for example, that the scenario that occurred in southern coastal Etruria bore any detailed resemblance to that which occurred in Hawaii. Indeed, certain elements of the Hawaiian social system at the time of contact that played an important role in the emergence of the Hawaiian state (*e.g.*, the extremely pronounced social distance between chiefs and commoners) are regarded by cultural anthropologists as anomalous even within the Polynesian culture area. Again, whereas the Hawaiian archipelago represented a closed system at the time of contact, archaeology has been able to document a long, if somewhat intermittent history of exchange relations between the inhabitants of southern coastal Etruria and groups living outside the region, including the late bronze-age Phoenician and Mycenaean societies of the eastern Mediterranean.

In order to evaluate the proposition that the emergence of states in southern coastal Etruria was driven by a dynamic similar to that posited by the Kipp-Schortman model it is necessary first to specify the nature of the archaeological record likely to be produced by a scenario of this kind. Kipp and Schortman (1989, 375) identify three general archaeological correlates that they believe should be the result of the dynamic that they envision:

- the appearance of market forms of exchange; followed by
- a widening of the gap – presumably in terms of wealth – between elites and commoners; and
- the concentration of instruments of coercive power in the hands of the elite.

The second and third of these proposed correlates are extremely difficult, if not, indeed, impossible to document in most archaeological cases, and for the purpose at hand it thus seems preferable to replace these with correlates that are apt to be more readily susceptible to recognition in the archaeological record, as follows:

- elite efforts to control external trade, and
- the intensification of productive activities with an aim to increasing the surplus available to elites for external trade.

We can now turn to southern coastal Etruria during the period in which the earliest states emerged, examining the archaeological record of the region (Rendeli 1993) in order to establish whether it presents evidence for developments that may be interpreted as corresponding to these proposed archaeological correlates.

Market exchange

We may first consider the question of what the archaeological record of southern coastal Etruria indicates with respect to the forms of exchange that governed trade relations between the inhabitants of the region and Phoenician and Greek traders during the period under consideration. Scholars have generally assumed that at some point following the establishment of exchange relations during the later 9th or early 8th century BCE Phoenician and Greek trade enclaves either grew up in an informal fashion or were formally established at certain of the coastal settlements in this region, with these facilities serving as the principal venues for this exchange. The actual evidence for the existence of these trade enclaves – generally referred to as *emporia* – is slight, consisting principally of the fact that one of Cisra's two principal ports was later known to the Romans as Punicum and the fact that from as early as the middle of the 8th century BCE Greek craftsmen appear to have settled at various locations in southern coastal Etruria. Still, analogies with the organization of Greek trade in the eastern Mediterranean at this time, specifically at Naukratis, in Egypt, as well as general historical analogy make this seem a not unreasonable assumption.

But were the transactions that took place between Etruscans, Phoenicians, and Greeks either at these settlements or elsewhere in the region instances of market exchange? The differentiation between the various modes of exchange – distinguishing market exchange from prestation and redistribution, as well as from theft/plunder – solely on the basis of archaeological evidence is a notoriously problematic, if not always completely intractable task. In the case at hand, while scholars have undertaken studies that have involved the plotting of the find spots of various categories of the trade goods involved in these transactions (*e.g.*, decorated ostrich shells, various classes of painted Greek tableware, unguent bottles, Phoenician and Greek wine amphoras) (*e.g.*, Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 84–91; Arafat and Morgan 1994, 108–21), the resulting maps do little to elucidate the specific mechanisms that generated the distributions of these items. In a similar vein, items that it is suspected may have been employed as proto-money in the context of market transactions (principally irregular lumps and shaped bars/ingots of metal) are generally recovered either as votive offerings at sanctuaries or as grave goods, shedding little light on their possible monetary functions. More informative would be assemblages of trade goods and items that possibly functioned as proto-money from use-related contexts clearly connected with exchange activities.

While contexts of this kind are extremely rare in archaeology, they are not entirely absent from the archaeological record of southern coastal Etruria. Most significant in this regard is the Giglio Campese wreck, the remains of a merchantman that went down at some point during the period *c.* 600–580 BCE inside an inlet on the northwest side of Giglio, a small island lying roughly 15 km off the Italian mainland opposite the Monte Argentario. This wreck, extensively investigated by a joint team from Oxford University and the World Ship Trust under the direction of Mensun Bound during the years 1982–1985, provides a wealth of information regarding various aspects of Greek-Etruscan trade in the early 6th century BCE (Bound 1991a; 1991b; 1991c). Giglio, which contains deposits of iron, lead, copper, and zinc (Alberti *et al.* 1970, 117–18) – the most important sources of metal in the northern portion of the area

ITEM	ORIGIN	QUANTITY	COMMENTS
amphoras	Samos	6+	wine?
bowls	Ionia	80	Type A2
aryballoi	Korinth	28	scented oil?
aryballoi	Lakonia	6	scented oil?
amphoras	Velch	130+	Py 1 / 2, 3A, 3B; pitch, olives, wine?
kantheroi	Velch	?	bucchero
anchor stocks	Giglio	12	Giglio granite
Pb ingots	Giglio?	9	8.4-11.7 kg each
Cu ingots	Giglio?	3	*c*. 40 kg each

Table 9.1. Items from Giglio Campese shipwreck likely to belong to cargo.

ITEM	ORIGIN	QUANTITY	COMMENTS
utilitarian ware	Samos?	?	crew's possessions
Ae helmet	Korinth	1	defense? cargo?
Ae cheek piece	?	1	defense? cargo?
Ae arrowheads	Ionia	28	defense? means of exchange?
Cu nuggets	?	19	means of exchange?
Fe spits	?	51+	means of exchange?
pieces of amber	?	2	means of exchange?
wooden writing tablet	?	1	manifest? receipt/permit?
amphora	Clazomenae	1	cargo? stores?
amphora	Lakonia	1	cargo? stores?
amphora	Korinth	1+	cargo? stores?
amphora	Phoenicia	1+	cargo? stores?

Table 9.2. Other items from Giglio Campese shipwreck.

here under consideration – is generally assumed to have lain under the control of the polity centered on Velch.

The wreck was subject to a very considerable amount of looting by both sport divers and organized gangs of robbers before and even during the series of campaigns directed at its investigation, and it is clear that we possess information regarding only an indefinable, perhaps minor portion of the ship's non-perishable cargo, as well as a few items of what is normally perishable cargo that happened to be preserved due to the fact that they became trapped inside semi-liquid pitch being carried aboard the vessel. The items recovered from the wreck that may be identified with a fair degree of certainty as belonging to the ship's cargo are indicated in Table 9.1. These include 6-plus Samian amphoras that were likely carrying wine, 80 Ionian bowls, 28 Korinthian and eight Lakonian *aryballoi* that were likely holding scented oil or some such product, 130-plus amphoras from Velch, some of which held pine pitch, some of which held olives, and some of which may have held wine, an unknown number of bucchero *kantheroi*, also from Velch, 12 anchor stocks of Giglio granite, nine bun-shaped lead ingots, presumably from Giglio, and three large disk-shaped copper ingots, also presumably from Giglio. Table 9.2 indicates other items of interest recovered from the wreck that seem more likely to have been among the ship's equipment or the crew's possessions.

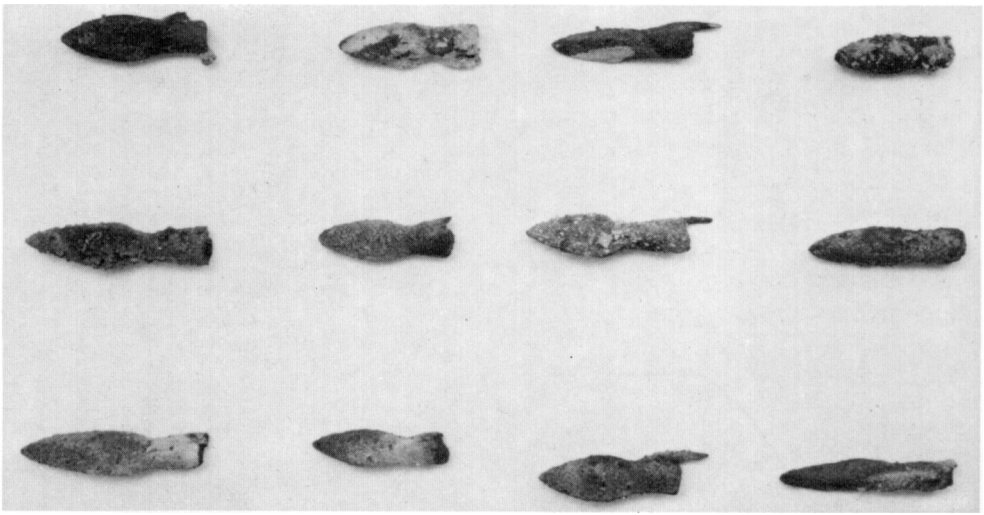

Figure 9.2. Selection of bronze arrowheads from Giglio Campese shipwreck (Bound 1991c, 230 fig. 69).

These include vessels of utilitarian pottery of apparent Samian origin, a bronze helmet from Korinth, a bronze cheekpiece, 28 bronze arrowheads of three distinct types (Fig. 9.2), all Ionian, 19 copper nuggets (Fig. 9.3), perhaps in three distinct sizes, at least 51, and probably substantially more iron spits (Fig. 9.4), 2 small pieces of amber, and a wooden writing tablet bereft of its wax inset, and thus any trace of a text. Also recovered at the site were an amphora from Clazomenae, a Phoenician amphora, and sherds from Korinthian and Lakonian amphoras. These vessels might have constituted part of the ship's cargo or held either the crew's provisions or ship's stores.

On the basis of this evidence we can reconstruct in some degree of detail the route that the ship likely followed on its final voyage (Cristofani 1995, 29; 1998, 229–30). While Bound consistently has referred to the ship as an Etruscan merchantman, Cristofani argued quite convincingly that the array of cargo, the utilitarian vessels, and the arrowheads point to an East Greek, in all probability Samian origin. The cargo suggests a departure from a port in Ionia, presumably Samos, followed by at least one call in a port on the Greek mainland, most likely Korinth, where the ship took on additional cargo, before then striking westward for Italy. Upon arrival, the ship probably put in at Regisvilla, the principal port of Velch, where it took on a substantial consignment of cargo, presumably after first unloading and disposing of a significant portion of the materials taken aboard in Ionia and on the Greek mainland. The ship must then have made the short hop to Giglio, where it took on additional cargo before coming to grief. Where it would have headed next had its voyage not been interrupted can only be guessed at. An attractive suggestion, however, is Massalia (modern Marseilles), a Phocaean Greek colony founded *c.* 600 BCE, which at the time of the ship's voyage would have had need of naval stores, wine, olives, and tablewares, and which is assumed to have served as the principal intermediary for the distribution

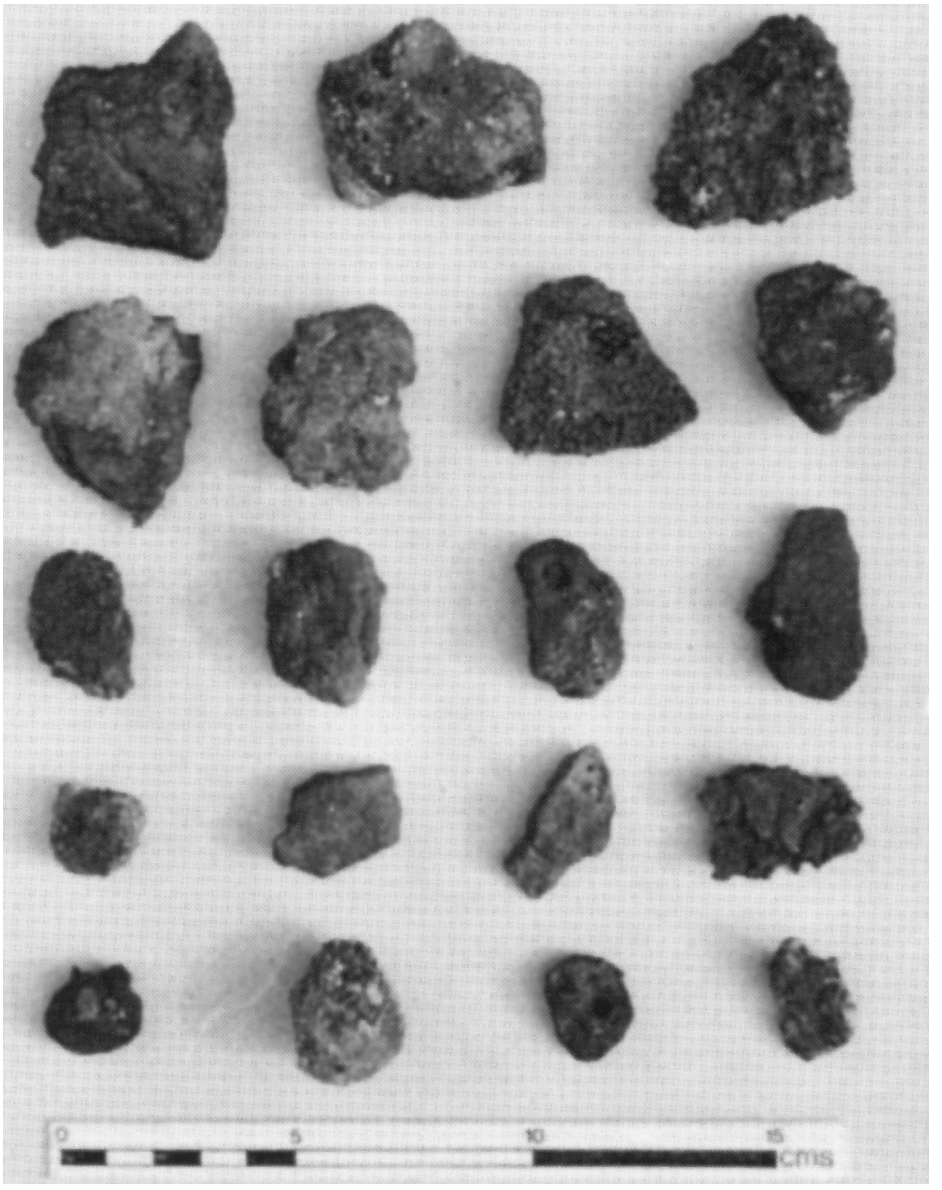

Figure 9.3. Selection of copper nuggets from Giglio Campese shipwreck (Bound 1991c, 231 fig. 73).

of both Greek and Etruscan trade goods throughout the lower Rhône basin and beyond (Arafat and Morgan 1994, 126–28; Dietler 1998, 293–95).

The evidence from the Giglio Campese wreck demonstrates that by the early 6th century BCE Velch was exporting a wide array of items via Greek traders, including

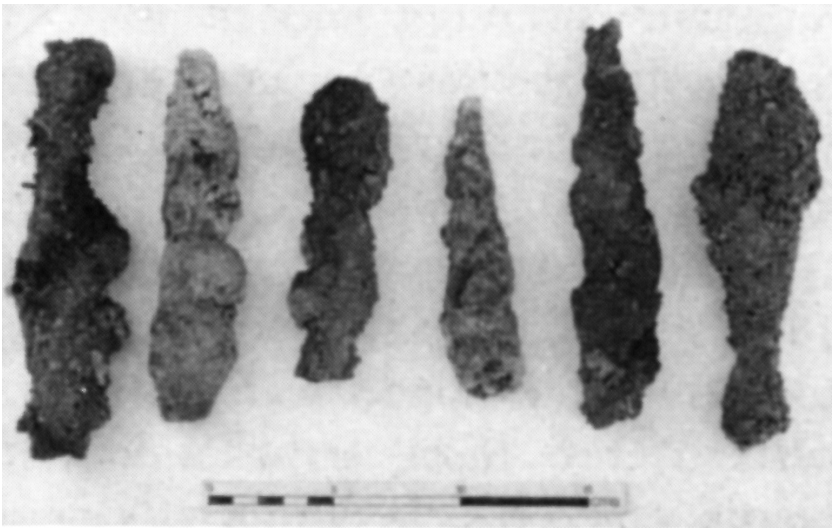

Figure 9.4. Fragments of iron spits from Giglio Campese shipwreck (Bound 1991c, 231 fig. 74).

agricultural produce in the form of olives and perhaps also wine, forest products in the form of pine pitch, low-cost craft goods in the form of bucchero tableware, finished stone items in the form of anchor stocks, and refined metal in the form of ingots of lead and copper. We should like to know, of course, from whom at Velch and Giglio the trader or traders aboard the vessel obtained these items, the specific forms that these transactions took, and how this surplus was generated and then mobilized for external exchange. What Velch was receiving in return for these materials is less clear, although the remaining items of cargo that originated in Ionia and on the Greek mainland provide some clues – wine, tablewares and luxury items such as scented oils. Much is presumably missing from the picture on both sides – the metal ware for which Velch is renowned, hides and leather goods, Greek textiles, and so forth.

What else do the finds from the Giglio Campese wreck suggest about the activities of those who sailed aboard the vessel? The helmet and arrowheads may point to security concerns on the part of the crew, perhaps involving pirates. The writing tablet may have borne a cargo manifest, or perhaps been a receipt or permit of some kind issued at Velch that authorized the ship to take aboard specified cargo upon its arrival at Giglio. Lastly and crucially, it seems highly likely that the copper nuggets and iron spits, and perhaps also the arrowheads and lumps of amber being carried aboard the ship functioned as means of exchange, facilitating small- and medium-scale transactions (Seaford 2004, 102–9; D'Agostino 1977, 9–12; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 211–12).

The complicated route that the Giglio Campese ship followed, the striking variety of the items that those who sailed with the vessel both alienated and acquired during the course of the voyage, and the presence aboard the ship of two or perhaps as many as four different classes of items that functioned as means of exchange in the context of these transactions, when taken in combination, make it appear all but certain that these individuals were partaking in complex and sophisticated forms of market exchange.

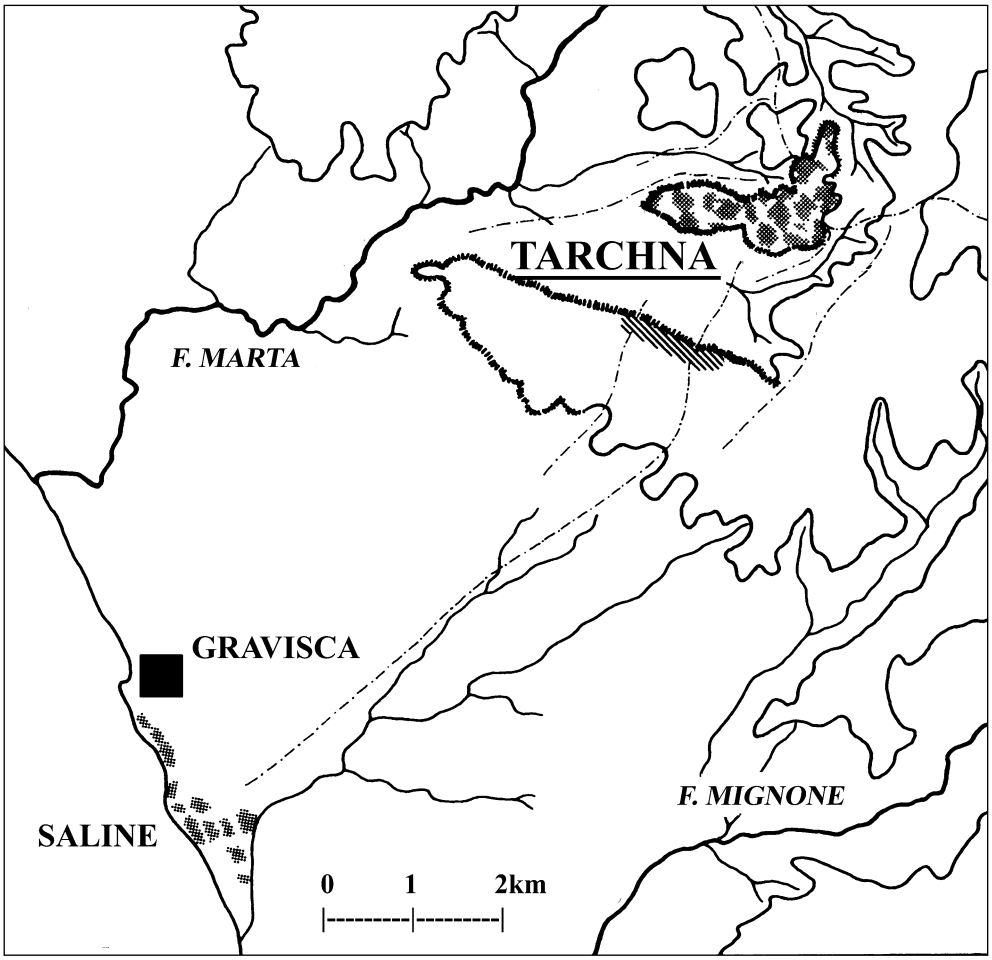

Figure 9.5. Map showing settlement areas of Tarchna and Saline in eighth century BCE and approximate settlement area of Gravisca in sixth century BCE (after Mandolesi, 1999, 201 fig. 86).

Greek and Phoenician traders had been frequenting the shores of Etruria for at least two centuries by the time of the ship's voyage (Mele 1979; Tandy 1997), and we have no idea of the time depth associated with practices of the kind revealed by this unique and serendipitously preserved archaeological find.

Elite efforts to control external trade

In order to consider the second of the three archaeological correlates proposed above – evidence for efforts on the part of the elite to control trade – we now turn to the territory of Tarchna. (Fig. 9.5) Of interest in this instance is the coastal settlement

located in the area now known as Le Saline ('The Salt Works'), roughly 9 km from Tarchna (Mandolesi 1999, 174–76, 200–3; Perego 2001, 18). While the site was extensively damaged by the construction of a salt production facility in the modern period and has not been subject to systematic intensive surface investigation, scattered observations of surface material indicate that occupation began at some point during the 10th or 9th century BCE, with the settlement eventually growing to occupy a zone that stretched along the coast for a distance of *c.* 1 km, for a total area of at least 60 ha. The site appears to have been abandoned by the beginning of the 6th century BCE. Locational considerations, together with the presence at several points across the site of the remains of large storage jars suggest that this settlement served as the principal venue for exchange between the inhabitants of the territory of Tarchna and Phoenician and Greek traders during the first century or two of their exchange relations.

Excavations undertaken by the Università di Perugia and the Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale under the direction of Mario Torelli and Francesca Boitani from 1969 to 1979, and again from 1994 to 1999 in the area of Porto Clementino, *c.* one kilometer to the north of Le Saline, have revealed a portion of a coastal settlement established near the very end of the 7th century BCE (Boitani 1985; 2001; Leighton 2004, 128–31). Architectural remains and votive offerings attest to the presence from the earliest phase of the settlement's life of a sanctuary dedicated to the Greek goddess Aphrodite, who on some of the votives is referred to by her Etruscan name, Turan. Over the next century sanctuaries dedicated to three other Greek divinities, – Hera, Demeter, and Adonis – were added. Votive offerings bearing inscriptions in Greek indicate that these were frequented by persons, presumably traders, sailors, and craftsmen, from various parts of the Greek world, though principally from Ionia. The large quantity of Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan transport amphoras recovered at the site indicates that this locale served as a venue for the exchange, storage, transvasing, and/or consumption of wine and possibly other liquid or semi-liquid products throughout the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th century BCE. In addition, the presence of the remains of several metallurgical furnaces, metal-working tools, and lumps of slag and other production debris demonstrate that from the earliest period of its occupation the settlement was the scene of the manufacture of finished goods in iron, and, from at least *c.* 530 BCE, bronze (Fiorini 2001). The extent of this settlement remains unknown.

Scholars have generally assumed that the settlement at Porto Clementino, usually referred to as Gravisca – the name of the Roman colony founded on this same location *c.* 281 BCE – was an *emporium* inhabited at least in part by Greek traders that served as the principal conduit for Tarchna's external trade during the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th century BCE. The mutual recognition of the goddesses Aphrodite and Hera on the part of Greeks and Etruscans is believed to have functioned in some way to provide security for persons and goods and/or to insure fair dealing in transactions. A similar function is generally assumed for the great sanctuary of Thesan/Leukothea at Pyrgi, one of Cisra's two main ports, which appears to have been established only slightly later than the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Gravisca (Colonna 1985). Representative of this view is Robert Leighton's recent effort to envision life at Gravisca (Leighton 2004, 128): "Gravisca at this time was predominantly a Greek colony, almost a dockland

ghetto for foreigners….[It] presumably had a social and economic life peculiar to its role and community of mariners, traders, artisans, sanctuary staff and fishermen. Like its counterparts of Regisvilla and Pyrgi, it must have been a crucible of colourful interaction, buzzing through the summer months with the excitement of comings and goings, loading, unloading, bargaining, victualling and repairs; a place of conversations in several languages, where news from the land was exchanged for news from the sea."

But would the mediating influence exercised by the sanctuaries at Gravisca and Pyrgi have sufficed by itself to render manageable the tensions inherent in the "colourful interaction" envisaged by Leighton – tensions not only between natives and foreigners, but also between competing groups of foreign traders that hailed from different parts of the Greek, and perhaps also the Phoenician world? Reference to the historical record regarding relations at settlements of this kind that grew up in the context of more recent trade diasporas gives us cause to doubt that this necessarily would have been the case. We may consider, for example, the case of the factory (trading post) that the English East India Company established in 1603 at Bantam, at the western end of Java, for the purpose of facilitating the trade in spices (for a popular account, see Milton 2002, 133–34, 243–47). This facility consisted of a two-story wood and cane structure that was staffed by eleven men. From the outset, developing good relations with the population of the town proved difficult, and the factory staff not only felt compelled to bolt the compound's gate each night, but also hung torches around the perimeter wall in order to ward off thieves and assailants. The Bantamese, in their turn, took to terrorizing the Englishmen by shooting fire arrows onto the structure's cane roof at all hours of the night, setting the building alight on more than one occasion. The rival Dutch East India Company established a factory at Bantam shortly thereafter, and by 1615 relations between the two groups of foreign traders had degenerated to the point of open hostility. Members of the more numerous Dutch contingent assaulted the English in the streets of the town, even going so far as to kidnap one in order to demonstrate to the Javanese which of the two groups was the stronger. The president of the English factory appealed to the local governor, inspiring the Dutch, who wished to avoid souring relations with their hosts, to release the kidnapped man.

Relations between the personnel of the factories established by these same two companies at Hirado, in Japan, came to be characterized by an even greater level of violence (Milton 2002, 182–83, 298–300). By 1619 England and Holland were formally at war, and the employees of the Dutch factory together with sailors from Dutch warships that had put in at Hirado massed in front of the English factory to attack it. Reacting to the dramatic situation, the local governor sent a troop of soldiers to defend the English and to disperse the Dutch. Not to be deterred, a band of Dutchmen crept back to the English factory during the night and forced their way in, seizing the complex. A contingent of Japanese troops was again dispatched to the scene by the governor, evicting the Dutch and restoring control of their factory to the English. The English thereupon engaged armed Japanese to serve as guards, while the governor warned the Dutch that any future disturbances would be dealt with severely.

The historical record documents considerable conflict between Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans in the Tyrrhenian Sea region during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, including episodes not just of piracy, but of open warfare, and there is reason to believe

that the competition between traders belonging to these three ethnic groups was every bit as intense as that which colored relations between English and Dutch traders in Asian waters during the early seventeenth century. It is thus by no means far-fetched to suggest that life at Pyrgi, Punicum, Gravisca, and Regisvilla was characterized by tensions similar to those attested for Bantam and Hirado. If so, it seems likely that these settlements could not have functioned effectively as *emporia* unless a local political establishment of some kind had possessed the ability to effect occasional applications of coercive force for the purpose of maintaining or restoring order.

The fact that the foundation of the settlement at Gravisca may coincide with the abandonment of the one at Le Saline is noteworthy, in that it raises the possibility that the latter was suppressed at the time of Gravisca's establishment, with the inhabitants relocated, perhaps forcibly, to Gravisca, Tarchna, or some other location. This observation suggests that at some point during the late 7th or early 6th century BCE there was a deliberate effort on the part of a political establishment of some sort at Tarchna to assert control over external trade that involved eliminating the extant structures and replacing these with a new set of structures situated in an entirely different location. Recent excavations on the Civita plateau, the main area of the settlement at Tarchna, suggest that by the middle of the 7th century BCE some such political establishment had, in fact, emerged there. These excavations, carried out during the period 1982–2001 by the Università degli Studi di Milano under the direction of Maria Bonghi Jovino, uncovered a set of impressive, if highly fragmentary architectural remains that the excavators reconstruct as a monumental building complex (Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Trerè 1997, 167–81; Bonghi Jovino 2000; 2001). This set of structures, varyingly termed the "*Complesso Monumentale*" or "*Complesso Sacro-Istituzionale*", was realized in two phases, which the excavators date to "the first and second generations of the 7th century". According to the excavators, the structures display characteristics suggesting that they were designed by a master architect of Near Eastern origin, while the overall conception and realization of the project point to the presence at Tarchna during the period in question of centralized political authority in the form of a king or priest-king. The comparative historical evidence considered above suggests that, once an *emporium* had been established by the political establishment at Tarchna, its ongoing operation would have required periodic interventions on the part of this establishment to enforce order, necessitating the creation/elaboration of instruments of coercive force of the kind that are broadly regarded as characteristic of the state.

Intensification of productive activities to the advantage of elites

We may now turn to a consideration of the third of the three proposed archaeological correlates – the intensification of productive activities with the aim of increasing the wealth available to elites for external trade. Of importance in this regard is evidence concerning changes in the exploitation of the mineral resources located in the Monti della Tolfa, the range of hills that lies between Tarchna and Cisra. The Monti della Tolfa contain a wide array of mineral deposits that might have been exploited in antiquity (Brunori and Mela 1990; Zifferero 1990b; 1995) (Fig. 9.6). On their northern slope,

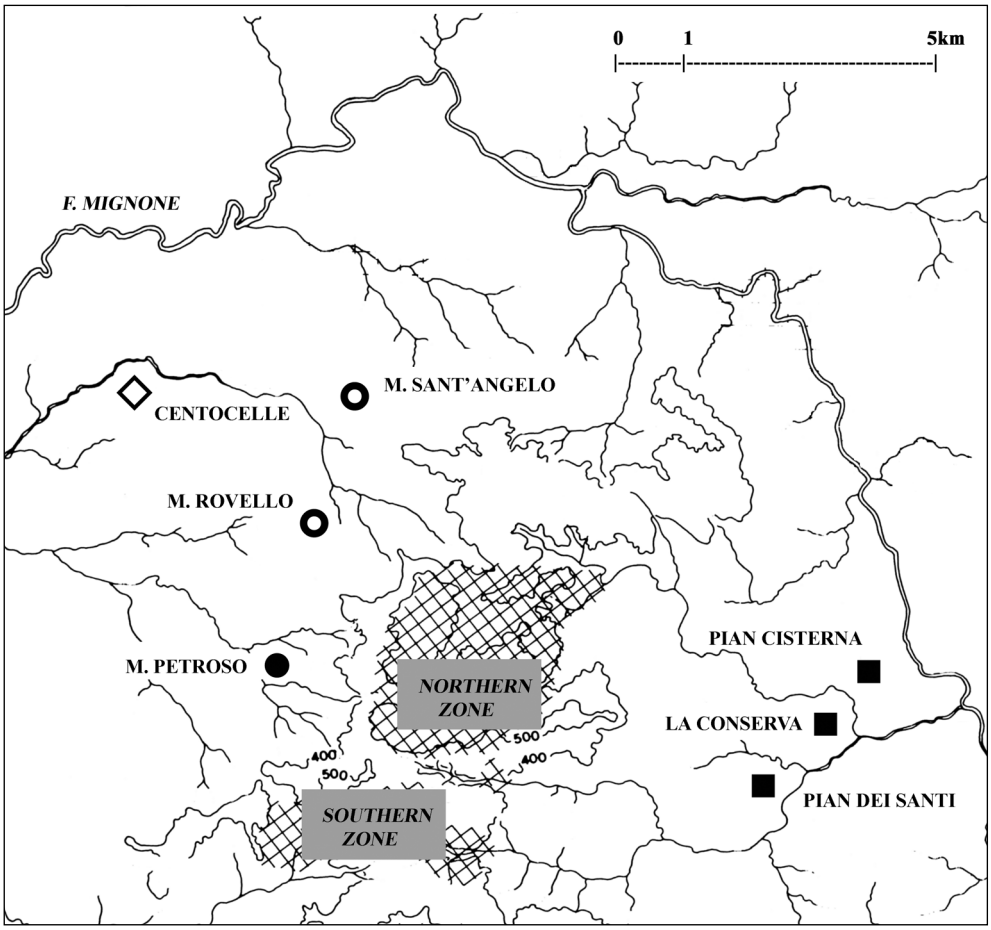

Figure 9.6. Map of Monti della Tolfa showing location of zones of mineral deposits and sites dated to late seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Key: square: large site (> 20 ha); open diamond: probable intermediate site; circle: small site (< 1ha); open circle: probable small site (after Zifferero 1995, 546 fig. 4).

facing Tarchna, are extensive deposits of alunite, from which it is possible to obtain alum, employed in antiquity in connection with tanning and the dyeing of cloth, as well as sources of cinnabar and kaolin, both utilized as coloring agents, and both quartz crystal and chalcedony, semi-precious stones. On their southern slope, facing Cisra, are extensive deposits of metal-bearing minerals, from which it is possible to obtain iron, copper, lead, silver, and perhaps also zinc. Several of these sources were extensively exploited for commercial purposes from the later middle ages through the middle of the twentieth century.

During the period 1985–1989 the Gruppo Archeologico Romano carried out a

project of topographic investigation in the Monti della Tolfa and the valley of the Fosso Mignone, the small perennial that drains the northern slope of the Monti della Tolfa massif, that has provided a wealth of evidence regarding the development of settlement within this area (Coccia *et al.* 1985; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990; Zifferero 1990a). This shows that after a period of only very low-level occupation during the early Iron Age, there was a considerable increase in settlement beginning during the second half of the 7th century BCE and extending into the 6th century BCE. This involved the establishment of at least four settlements, one perhaps of moderate size (Centocelle, *c.* 3 plus ha?), one of small size (Monte Pietroso, 0.75 ha), and two of unknown size, though presumably small (Monte Rovello, Monte Sant'Angelo), on the lower to middle reaches of the northwest slope of the massif along the route that connected Tarchna and Cisra, and the establishment of three large settlements (Pian dei Santi, 28.3 ha; La Conserva, 32.3 ha; Pian Cisterna, 21.4 ha) in close proximity to one another on the lower reaches of the southeast slope of the massif (Zifferero 1990a, 62 tables 1–2, 63 fig. 82, 65–68; Rendeli 1993, 423, 431, 481, 482; Perego 2001, 17 fig. 12, 19). While no settlements of the second half of the 7th or the 6th century BCE were documented either on or immediately adjacent to the two main zones of mineral deposits, the dense forest cover encountered by the researchers at higher elevations and the extensive exploitation of these deposits during the modern period may well have obscured or destroyed any such sites (Zifferero 1990a, 60–61; 1990b, 73–74).

While it seems reasonably clear that this settlement evidence represents an intensification of a struggle for the control of this area between the polities centered on Tarchna and Cisra, with the sites on the northwest slope of the massif presumably in the political orbit of the former and those on its southeast slope in that of the latter (Rendeli 1993, 238–40, 339–42), its precise implications for our understanding of the exploitation of the mineral resources of the area remain somewhat uncertain. Andrea Zifferero (1990b, 74; 1995, 547, 553), for example, has questioned whether these resources were exploited to any significant degree in the Etruscan period, though recognizes that activity of this sort might have involved an arrangement other than permanent settlement on or immediately adjacent to the deposits (*e.g.*, seasonal encampments), that would have left few traces in the archaeological record. Ennio Brunori and Angelo Mela (1990, 226), indeed, point out that it might have been advantageous to process alunite and metal ore at lower elevations, where there would have been more convenient access to both running water and regular transport. In point of fact, the three settlements on the northeast slope of the massif and the cluster of three settlements on its southeast slope each lies within no more than 1.5 to 4 km in a straight-line distance from a known mineral deposit (if as much as *c.* 250–300 meters lower in elevation), and it seems entirely possible that they served as bases for the exploitation of these resources. Thus, while it must be acknowledged that there is no direct and definitive evidence for an increase in the intensity of the exploitation of these resources during the period in question, there is considerable circumstantial evidence that this did, in fact, occur.

These resources either could have been refined and exchanged as raw materials or employed for the manufacture of a wide variety of semi-finished or finished goods, including, in the case of alum, hides, leather goods, cloth, and garments, in the case of

cinnabar and kaolin, cosmetics and frescos, in the case of chalcedony and quartz crystal, jewelry and seals, and, in the case of the metals, jewelry, furniture, vessels, and tools and implements of various kinds, including arms. There is evidence that to some extent the refining of these raw materials and their conversion into semi-finished and finished goods took place at or near the *emporia* located on the coast. Specifically, at the site of Castellina, situated where the Monti della Tolfa reach the coast and immediately inland from the presumed *emporium* at Punicum, excavations recovered numerous lumps of iron slag in contexts datable to the 7th century BCE, while fragments of ferruginous material, sometimes showing evidence of smelting, are readily visible on the surface (Brunori and Mela 1990, 224–25). Again, as previously noted, there is evidence that from the late 7th or early 6th century BCE the manufacture of iron objects took place in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Gravisca. This evidence indicates that at least a portion of these resources was directed towards external trade.

While it is not possible to demonstrate who would have benefited from the exchange of these raw materials and semi-finished and finished goods, our general understanding of social structure at Tarchna and Cisra during the period *c.* 650–550 BCE suggests that it very probably would have been the socio-political elites (Mandolesi 1999, 204 n.224). It is thus possible to read the expansion of settlement in the Monti della Tolfa as an effort on the part of the elites at these two centers to increase the amount of wealth that they derived from the exploitation of the mineral resources situated in this area, at least in part so that they could employ this in external trade.

Conclusions

This extremely brief and selective review of the archaeological record of southern coastal Etruria demonstrates that there is substantial evidence for the occurrence there of events and processes along the lines of those envisaged by the Kipp-Schortman model. To recapitulate: the Giglio Campese shipwreck indicates that by the early 6th century BCE exchange between Greeks and Etruscans at Velch involved sophisticated forms of market exchange; evidence from Le Saline and Gravisca combines to suggest that during the later 7th or early 6th century BCE a political establishment of some kind at Tarchna took measures to assert control over external exchange by founding a new trading settlement at the latter location, while perhaps suppressing the already extant one at the former; finally, settlement evidence from the Monti della Tolfa suggests that beginning in the later 7th century BCE both Tarchna and Cisra took measures to intensify the exploitation of the wide array of mineral resources available in this area, with the wealth generated by this activity likely accruing to the socio-political elite, who may have employed it to expand their participation in external trade. Taken in combination, this evidence supports the proposition that a dynamic along the lines of that described by the Kipp-Schortman model was at work in southern coastal Etruria during the period *c.* 625–575 BCE, and we may conjecture that this played a determining role in the crystallization of states at Cisra, Tarchna, and Velch over the course of the first half of the 6th century BCE. There is not room in the context of this essay to attempt a detailed exposition of the specific circumstances that may have been involved in this

process, incorporating, for example, surviving elements from the historical tradition that are of possible relevance, such as the Demaratus/Lucumo story.

It is, of course, possible to interpret this evidence in ways that are at variance with this conclusion, and it should be regarded as constituting, at most, weak confirmation of the proposition that the emergence of states in this region was driven by a dynamic of the sort envisaged by the Kipp-Schortman model. While this might seem a strangely pessimistic point with which to conclude, it should be kept in mind that there is, at present, no alternative explanation for the emergence of the earliest Etruscan states that can be said to enjoy even this modest level of support.

It is possible to identify various lines of investigation that might be pursued in order both to expand this argument and to demonstrate it in a more compelling fashion than has been possible in this short and very preliminary exposition. These include efforts to better define the chronology of the various events and processes taken into consideration with a view to validating (or invalidating) the assumption that they relate to the proposed dynamic in the ways suggested, the excavation of refuse deposits at residential sites occupied by elites and non-elites in order to elucidate patterns of consumption within these two groups and how these may have changed over the course of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, the study of the locus of productive activities of various kinds in order to better understand the relationship between these activities and sources of elite and non-elite wealth, and, perhaps less usefully, the re-evaluation of the copious mortuary evidence from the region in order to document access to various kinds of import items among different social segments during the period in question. In the end, however, we must ask ourselves what would we know or understand of the Hawaiian case of state formation if all that we had at our disposal was the archaeological evidence. It may, in fact, prove impossible to arrive at any detailed and satisfactory explanation of the emergence of the first Etruscan states.

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