ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOKS

The Routledge Handbook of the Archeology of Urbanism in Italy in the Age of Roman Expansion

Edited by Fabio Colivicchi and Myles McCallum

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF URBANISM IN ITALY IN THE AGE OF ROMAN EXPANSION

The Routledge Handbook of the Archaeology of Urbanism in Italy in the Age of Roman Expansion explores trends in urbanism across Italy in the period when Rome extended its power across the entire peninsula, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

Chapters present the most up-to-date archaeological data in the first broad and detailed treatment of this topic, superseding traditional academic particularism. They present a significant re-evaluation of the process of Roman imperialism and the role of urbanization within it. Particular attention is paid to evidence for local agency in different regions and at different sites, but general trends are also highlighted. Various types of urban sites are examined, including Indigenous urban centers that pre-date Rome's conquest, colonies, both Greek and Roman, small centers in the hinterlands of larger urban entities, and the symbiotic relationship between urban centers and their rural territories. This volume challenges the existence of a standardized "Roman model" imposed on Rome's vanquished enemies through conquest and highlights that this was a period of intense experimentation. Archaeological data are used to challenge traditional text-based historiographic models and reveal the complex interplay and tensions between Roman imperial control, local and regional traditions, and broader Mediterranean trends.

This book is of importance to archaeologists and ancient historians working on urbanism and Roman Imperialism, as well as those interested in early urbanism in the Western Mediterranean and Europe and the comparative study of imperialism and colonialism across geographical areas and historical periods.

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INTRODUCTION

Fabio Colivicchi and Myles McCallum

In the fourth and third centuries BCE, Rome ceased to be one among many city-states within Central Italy and expanded spectacularly its area of direct and indirect domination to include territories with very diverse urban cultures, from the old city-states of Etruria and Latium to the polities of the Apennine uplands. In the aftermath of the First Punic War, the Roman *imperium* also incorporated territories outside peninsular Italy such as Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. In the last decades, the first two centuries of Roman expansion have been the subject of intense debate in the context of a more general discussion of Roman imperialism. The traditional idea that the Roman expansion brought about the deliberate introduction of a homogenous and well-defined socio-political and cultural model has been vigorously challenged, the result being an almost complete reversal of perspective. Emphasis on local agency and diversity has contributed to a more nuanced and balanced view of Roman expansion, but with the risk of losing sight of more general trends.

Urbanization holds a special place in this debate. Roman conquest has often been associated with the introduction of urban life into areas where it was previously unknown, as a necessary building block of imperial control. There are also scholarly traditions that describe the "arrival of the Romans" in a sharply different manner. For those studying Etruria or Magna Graecia and Sicily, the Roman conquest has long been held responsible for the decline and crisis of once free urban communities, be they Etruscan cities, Greek *poleis*, or nucleated Indigenous settlements, replaced by a landscape of extensive slave-staffed estates owned by absentee landlords. These views, which are the expression of past and recent political and cultural trends and, in part, disciplinary particularism, echo (and build on) ancient sources, none of which are contemporary with the early phase of Roman expansion. These perspectives not only identify the rule of Rome with the introduction of urban life among 'uncivilized' peoples but also describe nostalgically the decline of famous ancient Italian cities to the rank of villages or their complete abandonment in the aftermath of Roman conquest.

The contribution of archaeology to this discussion is crucial. Urbanization is certainly not to be considered, as it once was, an integral and necessary part of the Roman imperial "package." It is very important, however, to study the development of the urban form (or lack thereof) across Italy in the fourth and third centuries BCE without preconceptions and with a broad supra-regional perspective, since recent studies tend to focus on specific phenomena such as colonization or discrete regions and subregions of Italy. Only a large, updated, chronologically detailed, and geographically broad dataset can identify general trends and local variables. The settlements of the different areas of Italy – Roman, Etruscan, Italic, Greek, and Punic – were not only contemporaneous, but constituted parts of a larger and interconnected system, and should be studied as such.

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A very significant part of the data presented in this volume was produced by recent fieldwork of Italian scholars and was previously accessible only in Italian. This volume makes that data available to a much wider audience of archaeologists and ancient historians.

This handbook provides the reader with a broad geographic coverage of the peninsula and the islands. Following a chapter with a general and theoretical perspective, the material is organized into sections by geographic area and following the chronological order in which they became part of the Roman *imperium*, starting with Etruria and Latium, the first area of Roman expansion, and ending with Sicily and Sardinia, the first provinces and conquered territories outside of peninsular Italy. The Po valley and the rest of northern Italy have not been included since their conquest was consolidated only after the Second Punic War in a historical context that was very different from that of the early phase of Roman expansion. The focus is on the fourth and third centuries BCE, but the developments of the Late Republic are also covered and there are brief accounts of the Early Imperial phases as well. Each section is introduced by a brief chapter summarizing the historical events that brought the area under Roman control and its subsequent history as part of the Roman Republican system. Some geographical areas are not directly treated in the chapters, but the introductions to the regional sections provide a summary of current research and a relevant bibliography on those areas as well. Throughout, there is detailed discussion of the rural territories and secondary centers alongside regional higher-order settlements, because the relationship between urban center and rural territory is in many ways symbiotic and thus they cannot be studied in isolation.

The chapter by Nicola Terrenato provides a broad reflection on the general trends observed in Italy, tying together the individual chapters, followed by our own, which briefly highlights further points for discussion. These are by no means definitive conclusions, and we hope that this volume will generate a lively debate. The subject is far from exhausted and discussions about it are highly dynamic, as will be seen in the diverse views expressed by the authors of the various chapters. We decided not to impose a single theoretical framework on our volume in order to reflect the multiple voices of current scholarship and to acknowledge that no single interpretation is definitive.

This volume stems from a series of conferences in North America (a panel at the 2017 AIA meeting in Toronto) and Italy (two conferences hosted by the KNIR in Rome in 2018 and 2019). It has been a long journey, with a devastating pandemic wreaking havoc over the last three years. We would like to thank the many institutions and colleagues who have supported and contributed to this project.

During the production of this volume, Italian archaeology and the international academic community were shocked by the sudden passing in June 2022 of one of our co-authors, Francesco La Torre, who revolutionized the archaeology of Calabria and authored fundamental works on South Italy and Sicily. Sadly, this is not the only grave loss to the field in recent years, as two other great scholars and teachers have also left us: Enzo Lippolis in 2018 and Mario Torelli in 2020. We respectfully and gratefully dedicate this volume to their memory.

PART I

Italian Urbanism in the Broader Context

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POST-CONQUEST URBANISM IN HELLENISTIC ITALY

Peninsular Perspectives

Jamie Sewell

Introduction

In her book, *Pompeii. The Life of Roman Town*,[1] Mary Beard repeatedly refers to Pompeii as "small," "little," and a "backwater" without explaining why she believes this to be the case. These descriptive terms color the public and scholarly perceptions of the archaeological site, and contextualize its size relative to other Roman urban centers. Yet what data support the idea that Pompeii was small in comparison to other contemporary towns in Italy? There were other Campanian towns estimated to have had larger surface areas, such as Naples, Puteoli, Cumae, Capua, and Nuceria. So yes, Pompeii was smaller than many of its neighbors. But by comparing the surface area sizes of all of the contemporary towns on the Italian peninsula south of the river Po (excluding Rome) for which we have metrological data, suddenly Pompeii no longer appears small; in fact quite the opposite. At 66 ha, Pompeii was certainly in the top 8% in terms of size, and roughly four times bigger than the average-sized town of the time. That Pompeii was nevertheless surrounded by larger neighbors emphasizes the fact that southern Campania, next to the city of Rome, was by far the most dynamic region for urbanism in Italy during classical antiquity and, arguably, still is today. Pompeii was not a backwater. As this analysis demonstrates, by quantifying and comparing archaeological data from towns at a peninsular level, bright new light can be shone on the nature of local and regional urbanism.

This chapter offers a peninsular overview of the regional and supra-regional trajectories of urbanism in Italy during the period from 300 to 100 BCE. An analytical database containing relevant data on 583 peninsular higher-order settlements was employed for the analyses.[2] In order to avoid repetition of a detailed explanation of the database's methodology and research design, the reader is directed to previous publications on the project.[3] In brief, a quantitative study of peninsular urbanism had never been undertaken before, but was felt necessary for multiple reasons. Although the research output in relation to higher-order settlements in Italy has been prodigious, especially during the last 30 years, published archaeological studies are prone to evaluate individual sites, regions, the settlements of distinct cultural groups, and Roman colonization.[4] Existing studies are thus ill-equipped to examine historical processes affecting urbanism across the entire peninsula, such as the Roman conquest, municipalization, veteran colonization, and the transformation from Republic to Empire. The aim of the project was thus to identify urban change at a peninsular scale, redress the regional bias of previous scholarship, and also provide a means by which regional studies can be contextualized in relation to one another.

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The object of study is mostly (proto-)urban settlements (=>2 ha) on the Italian peninsula south of the Po River dated to the period of classical antiquity. Due to the vast number of relevant sites, computer-based solutions were necessary in the form of an analytical database and a geographic information system (GIS). The resulting data files are freely available for download at the Archaeology Data Service website.[5] Because of the highly interpretive nature of much of the data, the primary methodological challenge of the project was to create a means by which they can be meaningfully compared. The data were thus systematically and reflexively flagged according to their robustness, reflecting differing levels of confidence in the interpretations they represent. For example, the database allows chronological interpretations of fortifications to be differentiated according to those derived from construction techniques and those based on stratigraphic excavation. Naturally, the database is not a precision tool. It cannot compensate for the diversity in the quality and quantity of data provided by each site, or for disagreements among scholars regarding chronological and metrological interpretations. The strength of the database lies in the very high quantity of data it contains. Some of the patterns it produces from interrogations are extremely pronounced, meaning that they would barely change even if the data of a significant number of sites were amended according to new or alternative interpretations. Such highly prominent patterns are the main themes of discussion in the following pages.

Due to the interpretive nature of the data in the database, the quantitative results it produces should be taken to be indicative rather than absolute. By way of example, 215 sites in the database are described by their modern toponyms due to their ancient names being either unknown or disputed. Yet during the project, a list of 275 ancient settlement names was compiled from textual sources, the locations of which are either unknown or disputed. Establishing how many of the 275 names belong to the 215 sites without names was not one of the project's undertakings. Yet this problem signifies that the total number of sites in the database does not represent the total quantity of higher-order settlements on the peninsula. When the database is queried, its chronological structure reveals that the overall number of sites changed significantly over time, as did the overall average size of settlements. Due to the high number of sites in the database, it can be argued with confidence that such pronounced trends reflect actual historical processes, and therein lies the database's value. It is designed specifically to identify prominent changes in the pattern and character of peninsular urbanism over time. Here we are concerned with the changes during the period from 300 to 100 BCE, and they were considerable.

Some parts of the area under study were already under Roman hegemony at the beginning of the period, while the last to be subjugated was Liguria by 155 BCE.[6] A chronological structure was created for the database, making it possible to distinguish between archaeologically identifiable changes occurring before, during, and after the specific period of the conquest relevant to the region in which each site is located. Sites with low levels of confidence in their chronologies are excluded from the following discussion, unless otherwise stated, because the patterns in the data would not change significantly if they were added. By omitting less reliable data, I provide a more robust evidential basis for the analysis. Not all of the sites discussed in this chapter are referenced with notes, but the works consulted on these sites can be found in the database's online bibliography.[7]

This chapter is a follow up to my analysis of peninsular urbanism at the time of the Roman conquest in the later fourth century BCE,[8] at which time large swathes of central-western and southern Italy witnessed an unparalleled spike in the founding of new settlements and fortification construction. Yet this activity was not confined to areas where Roman military activity is reported in textual sources. In stark contrast, after the peninsula fell to Roman hegemony, settlement-founding and wall-building dropped off sharply. More settlements were abandoned between 300 and 100 BCE than were founded, but regional and chronological differences in the patterns of abandonment are evident. As well as an overall decrease in the number of towns, another pronounced pattern in post-conquest urbanism is a reduction in the average size of urban centers.

Roman colonization is referred to in the discussions on specific regions in order to juxtapose Roman and non-Roman settlement activity, and a summary of Roman colony-founding at the peninsular level is presented.

But here I am actually more interested in the types of non-colonial higher-order settlements founded in the third and second centuries, and what their formation processes can reveal about the consequences of Roman hegemony for peninsular urbanism. Specifically, the data has highlighted a pronounced change after the conquest in the type of locations chosen for new non-colonial settlements. Whereas previously hilltops were preferred, communities were now favoring sites that offered little natural defense. This phenomenon is epitomized by the forum, a new form of settlement to emerge after the conquest.

Quantifying Higher-Order Settlements in Post-Conquest Italy: An Overview

Although the quantification of interpretive data risks imprecision, considerably greater inaccuracy can result if conclusions about quantities are drawn without the necessary calculations. Take, for example, this statement by Elio Lo Cascio: "those two centuries [third to first centuries BCE] had witnessed an undeniable growth of urban centers in Italy, both in number and size."[9] No argument or sources are provided to support his assertion. The database returns precisely the opposite conclusion: higher-order settlements significantly reduced in number and in average size from the third to first centuries. Nevertheless, Lo Cascio's statement cannot be dismissed, because it all depends on how one defines the term 'urban center'. No universal definition exists, and it is becoming ever more difficult to create one. The growing body of evidence on ancient urbanism increasingly highlights the diversity in the functions and forms of ancient cities.[10] In order to state whether the number of urban centers increased or decreased, it is first necessary to define what is being counted.

During the period under discussion there were many diverse types of peninsular higher-order settlements. By the Augustan period many of them were 'Pompeii-like', with paved streets lined with adjoining houses, and equipped with bath houses, temples, basilicas, theaters, and amphitheaters. This type of urban landscape has shaped our imagination of what constituted a Roman town. But if we return to the period 300 to 100 CE, in many cases, the urban appearance of towns cannot be reconstructed due either to the obliteration of relevant structures by subsequent building activity or by abandonment and spoliation. Moreover, our imagination is also restricted by the often very small proportions of overall urban surface areas actually excavated at these sites. To circumnavigate these problems, a functional definition of an urban center was devised for the database project: 'higher-order settlement'. This means a settlement belonging to a community that administered a territorial unit. By the Augustan period, the peninsula was populated with *municipia* and colonies which, by definition, were self-governing communities of Roman citizens and thus higher-order settlements. Prior to municipalization in the first century BCE, it is impossible to prove whether many of these centers had higher-order status or not, due to the lack of confirmatory textual sources. This is why all fortified sites of 2 ha and above in size were included in the database, because most of the peninsula's higher-order settlements are likely to be among them. Additionally, 133 unfortified sites were included in the database because they were characterized by authors or by ancient textual sources as higher-order settlements.[11] Whether all of the database's sites would be considered 'urban centers' during our period is a matter of debate, and one that we will return to after the evidence has been presented.

The impression that the overall number of towns increased during our period is understandable, because many were indeed founded. But in order to fully understand the overall trend, it is also necessary to include the numbers of centers that were abandoned. This has been done in Table 1.1, which demonstrates an increasingly high rate of abandonment during the third century BCE, and a partial recovery of overall site numbers during the second century. Table 1.1 also contextualizes our period by indicating the high rate of new foundations in the later fourth century BCE, and the relative stability of site numbers during the first century. Regional variations in patterns of founding and abandonment are depicted in Figure 1.1. For the contextualization of Figure 1.1, the areas with high rates of abandonment in central-western and southern Italy broadly correspond to those areas with previously high rates of new foundations in the second half of the fourth century depicted in Table 1.1.[12] Figure 1.1 includes Latin and Roman citizen colonies founded in

Table 1.1 Numbers of sites founded and abandoned on the Italian peninsula from 350 BCE to 300 CE, excluding sites with a low level of confidence in their chronologies

Date-range	*No. of sites founded*	*No. of sites abandoned*	*Net gain/loss of sites*
350 to 300 BCE	85	18	+67
300 to 250 BCE	17	36	−19
250 to 200 BCE	14	56	−42
200 to 150 BCE	23	10	+13
150 to 100 BCE	16	14	+2
100 to 50 BCE	15	17	−2
50 to 0 BCE	11	9	+2
0 to 300 CE	3	29	−26
Totals	184	189	−5

Dates in bold text are the period under discussion.

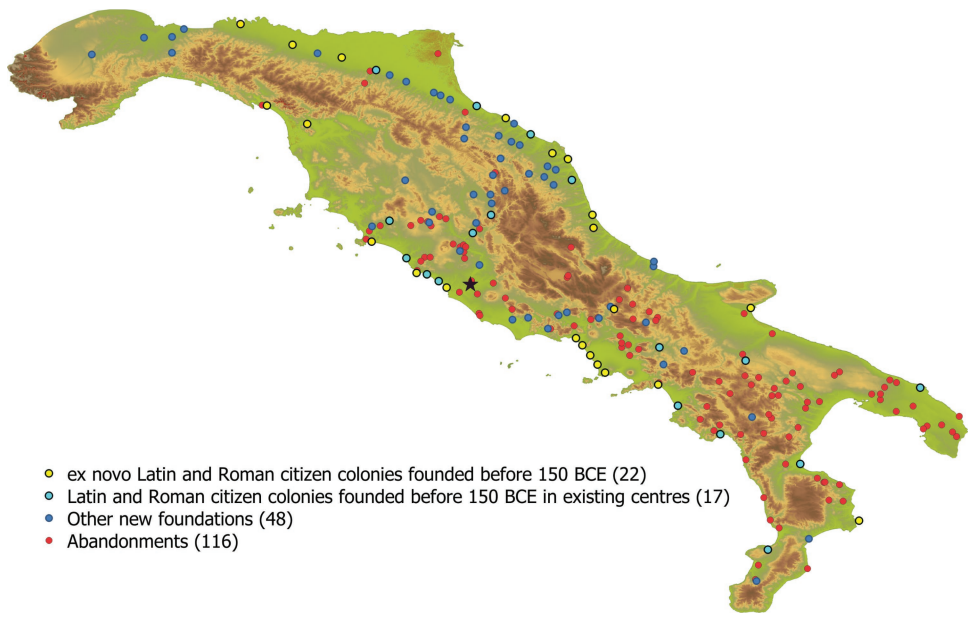

Figure 1.1 Latin and Roman citizen colonies and other settlements founded or abandoned between 300 and 100 BCE, excluding sites with low levels of confidence in their occupation chronologies.

the period. It is important to note that of the 39 colonies depicted in Figure 1.1, all of which were founded by the mid-second century BCE, 17 of them were founded in pre-existing settlements and are thus not counted as new foundations in Table 1.1. Also, if sites with low levels of confidence in their chronologies were added to Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1, a further 39 abandonments and 16 foundations from 300 to 100 BCE would be seen. Their addition would only serve to intensify the tabulated chronological trends and illustrated geographical pattern. If sites with all categories of chronological robustness are included, the database records a total of 402 sites existing in 300 BCE and 338 sites in 100 BCE.

Abandonments: Regional Comparisons

One of the research aims of the database project was to develop a method by which the consequences of the Roman conquest could be better understood from the perspective of the peninsula's non-Roman cultural groups. All settlements that are archaeologically determined to have been founded before the historically attested conquest are labeled in the database with the cultural group associated with the region in which the settlement is located. This information was provided by the publications consulted for each site, although in most cases these labels are ultimately derived from Greek and Roman texts.[13] Finding correlation between the areas ancient sources indicate were dominated by a particular group and culturally specific artifactual assemblages is not always easy. It has in fact proven impossible at some sites for archaeologists to determine which cultural group dominated.[14] This problem provides a glimpse into the potential cultural and ethnic complexity of pre-Roman Italy and how we are hampered in our understanding by a lack of non-Roman written sources.[15] Although my use of these labels here follows accepted convention, many of these communities might have had complex ethnic and cultural compositions that changed over time.

Because of the high number of known peoples who inhabited pre-Roman Italy, it is easier to visualize the comparative losses of their settlements in tabular form (Table 1.2). As Table 1.2 is primarily about abandonments, the totals in the fourth column are the focus. Some initial explanations and conclusions from these figures prelude the discussion. Firstly, the four groups with the highest number of abandonments are also those groups with the four highest overall numbers of sites in the database (Samnites 84, Etruscans 62, Lucanians 44, Messapians 32). The term 'hilltop' in the fifth and seventh columns (and from here on) describes sites that could only be approached via a steep climb and were clearly chosen because they were easily defendable in the event of a siege. More than two-thirds of all abandoned sites fall into this category and the purpose of the fifth column is to demonstrate this. By adding sites that survived into the first century in the sixth column, some idea of the proportion of sites lost from 300 to 100 BCE can be imagined. Listing the quantities of hilltop sites among the survivors in the seventh column demonstrates that the high rate of loss of hilltop sites during the period under discussion did not represent a peninsular crisis for such sites per se. More than half of the surviving settlements were hilltop sites and many of them went on to become Roman towns.

At a peninsular level, it is not possible to generalize about why the abandonment rate was so high in the third century BCE. Published interpretations on the causes of abandonment are to be found in regional studies, and there is insufficient space here to summarize all of them in relation to all the regions and groups listed in Table 1.2. The discussion will instead focus on the five groups in Table 1.2 with the highest numbers of abandonments (Lucanians, Samnites, Etruscans, Messapians, Bruttians), for their combined lost settlements represent more than two-thirds of the peninsular total. For the purposes of contextualization, new foundations and rural settlement patterns in the regions associated with these groups are also discussed. The greatest number of abandonments occurred in southern Italy (Lucanians, Bruttians, Messapians), and thus is treated as a single region in the following discussion, which also includes Greek and Daunian centers, most of which radically reduced in size during the period. Summarizing the trajectories of contiguous regions enables regional contextualization.

Southern Italy

Southern Italy appears to have been flourishing in the second half of the fourth century BCE due to the great number of new higher-order settlements and rural sites dated to this period.[16] The most pronounced pattern produced by the database for the whole of classical antiquity is the late fourth-century spike. Considerably more peninsular sites were founded and more fortifications were constructed between 350 and 300 BCE than any other 50 year-period in classical antiquity. And this pattern is not only relevant to urban centers but is also reflected in the appearance of a large number of new rural sites. This pattern manifests itself in the territories

Table 1.2 Numbers of pre-conquest sites abandoned during and after the Roman conquest of Italy until 100 BCE, excluding sites with low levels of confidence in their chronologies

	Number of sites abandoned		***Total no. of abandoned sites***	*Abandoned hilltop sites*	*Total no of sites extant in 1st c BCE**	*Hilltop sites extant in 1st c BCE*
	320 to 200 BCE	*200 to 100 BCE*				
Lucanian	25	1	**26**	26	7	6
Samnite	15	8	**23**	19	27	14
Etruscan	17	1	**18**	15	32	25
Messapian	8	6	**14**	1	15	2
Bruttian	10	1	**11**	9	1	1
Volscian	4	3	**7**	6	3	2
Faliscan	6	0	**6**	6	2	2
Peucetian	3	1	**4**	3	5	0
Roman	3	1	**4**	3	N/A	N/A
Gallic	3	0	**3**	1	0	0
Greek	3	0	**3**	2	9	1
Daunian	2	0	**2**	0	8	2
Latin	2	0	**2**	0	8	6
Marsic	1	1	**2**	2	4	3
Umbrian	2	0	**2**	1	14	7
Unknown	1	1	**2**	2	1	1
Aequian	1	0	**1**	1	1	1
Auruncun	1	0	**1**	1	0	0
Ligurian	1	0	**1**	0	5	1
Sabine	1	0	**1**	1	5	4
Vestinian	1	0	**1**	1	5	3
Ausonian	0	0	**0**	0	1	0
Campanian	0	0	**0**	0	4	0
Frentanian	0	0	**0**	0	4	4
Hernican	0	0	**0**	0	4	4
Marrucinian	0	0	**0**	0	1	1
Paelignian	0	0	**0**	0	2	1
Picentine	0	0	**0**	0	6	4
Praetutian	0	0	**0**	0	2	0
Sidicinian	0	0	**0**	0	1	1
Totals	110	24	**134**	99	176	96

* Excluding sites founded after the conquest in the region associated with the cultural group.

Numbers in bold text are the primary focus of the discussion

of all the cultural groups of southern Italy. As Table 1.1 shows, the situation in the third century changes dramatically, when the same groups that flourished in the fourth century witness decline of varying degrees during the following century.

With the fall of Tarentum in 272 BCE, the Lucanians became allies of Rome.[17] Lucanian sites are the most numerous in the abandonments column of Table 1.2, with 26. Four were abandoned by 300 BCE, 11 more by 250 BCE, a further 10 by 200 BCE, and 1 more by the end of the second century BCE. Three further

abandonments would be added to these losses if sites with low levels of confidence in their chronologies were added. Moreover, as a result of the criteria devised to determine which sites were included in the database, considerable numbers of fortified hilltop sites were omitted from the study. This is due to these sites being either smaller than the designated 2 ha threshold, or of indeterminable size, or due to a lack chronological data. Referred to from here on as 'excluded sites', they were compiled in a list that was also published online.[18] References to a further 37 reported Lucanian fortified sites are on the excluded list, and for those for which chronological data were available, none survived the third century BCE. As nearly all the abandonments occurred in the third century, there has been a strong temptation to link them with contemporary historical events. Roman campaigning, the conflict with Pyrrhus, and the subsequent Hannibalic War and its consequences are all cited.[19] Notably, there is no direct textual evidence to indicate that Lucanian centers were destroyed in punitive actions by Rome at the end of the third century.[20] It is believed that large areas of Lucania were turned into *Ager Publicus*, another potential cause of abandonments. Yet it is difficult to identify public land archaeologically,[21] and much of it might initially have been held by Italic communities in the post-conquest period.[22]

So what happened to the Lucanians? This question was recently discussed by Elena Isayev.[23] Enslavement, slaughter, and migration seem to be the primary options. Their absorption into the countryside immediately surrounding the abandoned centers is not visible archaeologically, for if rural sites exhibit any change during the third and second centuries, it is in a reduction of their numbers and size.[24] Migration to the radically reduced number of surviving Lucanian higher-order settlements, if it occurred, did not result in the archaeologically traceable expansion of these centers. At Grumentum, however, development within the area of the town can be seen in the third and second centuries BCE.[25] Perhaps some Lucanians were enrolled in the colonies of Paestum (273) and Buxentum (194). In the countryside, the overall trend is in the decline in the number of sites through to the end of the period. The continued existence of the Lucanians as a group is reported for the first century BCE with their participation in the Social War.[26]

According to our sources, Roman subjugation of neighboring Bruttium was achieved by 272 BCE with the fall of Tarentum.[27] Two Bruttian sites were abandoned by 250 BCE, eight more by 200 BCE, and another by 150 BCE. Only one other site with an unreliable chronology might be added to this total, and only three potential fortified sites were recorded as excluded sites. Most of the abandonments occurred at the end of the third century and are linked by authors to the aftermath of the Hannibalic War.[28] Proportionately, the Bruttians lost more settlements than any other of the peninsula's cultural groups. By the second century, Petelia and possibly Taurianum were the only higher-order settlements to have survived.[29] There is a clear consensus among authors that, in one way or another, the Romans were responsible for these radical changes to the region's settlement systems.[30] Coastal Roman and Latin colonies were established at Copia (Thurii) (194 BCE), Vibo Valentia (194 BCE), and Capo Colonna (Croton) (194 BCE), while toward the end of the period the Gracchan colony of Scolacium (122 BCE) was founded. A refounded settlement, suspected to be Mamertion (c. 200 BCE), is the only new non-Roman site recorded in the period in Bruttium.[31] Large numbers of villas were established in some areas of Bruttium during the second century BCE,[32] and Bruttian identity disappears from the record by the Augustan period.[33]

Colonies established by Rome in Bruttium were all founded within former Greek city-states, the histories of which had long since been intertwined with the peoples of the interior. Most of the Greek-founded centers of the Calabrian and southern coasts of the peninsular underwent radical physical contraction during the third and second centuries BCE. It was not only the centers in which colonies were set up – Hipponion (Vibo Valentia), Thurii (Copia), Croton (Capo Colonna) – but also Heraclea, Locri, Metapontum, and Tarentum drastically reduced in size. Scylla and Rhegium are the only Greek centers without known physical contraction at this time, but they are also the archaeologically least well known of them. Even they are reported to have reduced dramatically in size by the end of the first century BCE.[34] Kaulonia is reported to have been destroyed by the end of the third century BCE and became nothing more than a way station.[35] The chronologies of these

contractions are not synchronous, but the overall impact during the period was dramatic. Metrological data are not available for all the sites, but by adding together the surface areas of the five centers for which data are available (Copia, Croton, Heraclea, Metapontum, Tarentum), in 300 BCE, it totaled 1,187 ha and by 100 BCE, only 117 ha. This represents a total disruption of the civic, social, and economic traditions of these cities, and of the network they had once been part of. Interestingly, these developments are in sharp contrast to the contemporary situation in Sicily. During the third and second centuries BCE, investment in civic centers and residential areas of coastal towns in eastern and northern parts of the island continued after the establishment of Roman hegemony.[36]

While on the theme of settlements reducing in size, the Daunian centers of the east coast were undergoing an even more radical resizing, as I have discussed previously.[37] Their large dispersed centers underwent processes of nucleation or urbanization between the mid-fourth and late third centuries, the causes of which remain disputed.[38] By adding together the surface areas of the Daunian centers for which data is available (Arpi, Canusium, Bantia, Forentum, Herdoniae, and Teanum Apulum), we have total of 3,460 ha by the mid-fourth century BCE, reduced to a total of 145 ha by the end of the third century BCE. Because of the previously dispersed nature of these large settlements, their subsequent nucleation might represent a redistribution rather than a reduction of the population. In sum, ca. 70% of the total intramural surface area of peninsular settlements lost from 300 BCE to 100 BCE resulted from the resizing of Greek and Daunian centers alone. Thus, one can assert confidently that the average surface area of higher-order settlements decreased during the period.

Roman intervention in Daunia is recorded as beginning in 326 BCE when *Arpi* requested support in its conflict with the Samnites.[39] Subsequently the Latin colonies of Luceria (314 BCE) and Venusia (291 BCE) were deducted. Roman armies came into conflict with Pyrrhus and Hannibal in Daunian territory (*Cannae*). After the battle of Cannae, some Daunian communities sided with Hannibal. Yet from an archaeological perspective, there is little indication of rapid urban change as a result of subjugation to Rome after the Hannibalic War.[40] The distinctiveness of Daunian culture eroded slowly and was transformed over two centuries. Two Daunian settlements, Barduli and Cupola, were abandoned by 200 BCE.[41] The latter is believed to have been pre-Roman Sipontum, referred to by Livy as existing in the fourth century BCE.[42] It was abandoned around the same time as the nearby Roman colony of Sipontum was founded, on a site without pre-Roman archaeology. At least in some areas, the numbers of farms had decreased by the first century BCE, but those that survived increased in size.[43]

On the Salento peninsula, about half of all Messapian sites in the database were abandoned or reduced to very small settlements between the end of the third and the end of the second centuries BCE. Of the 14 sites that survived, seven contracted in size during this same period. Authors attempting to explain this pattern discuss multiple responsible factors.[44] Sources refer to the Roman subjugation of the Salento peninsula in the 260s BCE. Yet there is hardly any reference to the violent destruction of towns and their populations in textual sources, either at this time or during the Hannibalic War, and there is also little archaeological indication of such. The founding of the Latin colony of Brundisium (244 BCE) within a former Messapian center is considered to be a key moment for the fortunes of the region. Rome's focus on the eastern half of the Mediterranean in the second century BCE elevated the importance of Brundisium, where the Via Appia now terminated. Those Messapian settlements positioned close to the road system declined more slowly. Although the number of rural sites shrank, many of those that survived increased considerably in size.[45] An intensification of agricultural production is thus envisaged, both for export and supplying the armies headed eastward, emphasized by the presence of centers producing transport amphorae. Because of the post-conquest investment in the countryside, the decline of higher-order settlements may have led to a redistribution rather than a decrease in the Salento peninsula's population.[46]

The Samnites

After a series of wars from the mid-fourth century BCE onward, the Samnites of the central Apennines were initially subjugated by Rome in 290 BCE.[47] Subsequently they became allies of Pyrrhus, and some of the Samnites sided with Hannibal. In Table 1.2, the 22 Samnite abandonments can be broken down into 11 from 320 to 250 BCE, four more from 250 to 200 BCE, and another seven during the second century BCE. All but three of the abandoned sites were fortified hilltop sites, many of them likely to have been permanent settlements.[48] Because relatively few of the very high number of Samnite fortified sites have been systematically investigated, omitted from the list are a further 25 hilltop sites with low confidence ratings in their chronologies. A considerable number of these sites were also likely to have been abandoned during the period. The same can be said for the 94 further fortifications attributed to the Samnites in the list of excluded sites, although small structures such as watchtowers are among them, and some sites may have been misidentified as being Samnite.[49]

Several important observations can be made regarding the Samnite situation. Firstly, most of the hilltop sites that have been excavated are believed to have been founded in the fourth century BCE. Their creation, in large numbers, is a major contributor to the fourth-century 'spike'. Yet there are no clear chronological or geographical patterns in the abandonments of these centers. Although 11 may have been abandoned during the period of the Samnite Wars, another 11 were given up between 250 and 100 BCE. Subsequently, a further five disappeared during the first century BCE (Curino, Ferrazzano, Monte San Giovanni, Monte Vairano, Morcone) and, surviving even longer, perhaps as many as six of them became *municipia* (Aquilonia, Bovianum, Caiatia, Cluviae, Compsa, Fagifulae). Thus, the process of gradual abandonment continued into the Imperial period, when the number of surviving pre-conquest hilltop centers stabilized. Not all Samnite pre-conquest settlements were perched on hilltops, however, and several of them also survived to become *municipia* or veteran colonies (Allifae, Caudium, Telesia). In sum, the abandonment of pre-conquest centers from 300 to 100 BCE was gradual and only partial, and therefore difficult to link with specific historical events.

In addition to the five Latin colonies founded in the later fourth century BCE in relation to conflict with the Samnites (Fregellae (328/313 BCE), Luceria (314 BCE), Saticula (ca.313 BCE), Interamna Lirenas (312 BCE), and Sora (303 BCE), three more were founded in the first half of the third century. Venusia (291 BCE) and Beneventum (268 BCE) were within or associated with previously existing settlements, and Aesernia (263 BCE) was set up ex novo. All of these colonies survived the period except Fregellae and probably Saticula. Unlike in the southern peninsular regions discussed above, in Samnium the database documents four post-conquest non-colonial foundations in the third and second centuries that went on to become *municipia* or veteran colonies. This category of settlement is of particular interest, and will be discussed separately below.

In surveyed areas of Samnium, a sharp increase in the number of rural sites is noted for the later fourth century, and this process continued after the conquest.[50] Based on this evidence, albeit far from complete, the Roman conquest had little impact on rural settlement infill. Change is apparent in Latin colonial landscapes, however, where recent research is revealing a complex pattern of continuity, abandonment, and the creation of new rural sites.[51] From this new insight, it appears that settlement strategies in each colonial territory were distinct and, in some cases, adaptive to pre-colonial systems.

The Etruscans

Rome's conflict with the Etruscan city-states spanned more than two centuries. Etruria is usually considered to have fully succumbed to Roman hegemony in 264 BCE with the reported destruction of Velzna (Volsinii Veteres),[52] and it remained effectively loyal to Rome during the Hannibalic War.[53] Of the 18 Etruscan sites in the database abandoned from 320 to 100 BCE, there is a distinct cluster of 14 centers lost by the mid-third century, three between 250 and 200 BCE, and one other in the second century BCE. Two further sites with

chronologies rated with low confidence might also have been abandoned in the third century BCE. On the list of excluded sites, there are ca. 60 fortified sites reported in the area of Etruria, many of which might have been occupied for some or all of the period. As Table 1.2 demonstrates, most of the abandonments were hilltop centers, but many other such settlements survived until the first century BCE and later; perhaps as many as 23 of them became *municipia* or veteran colonies.

More than 75% of the database's Etruscan abandonments are roughly synchronous with the chronology of the Roman conquest specific to the region in which the affected settlements are located. Etruria provides the strongest peninsular evidence for a correlation between abandonment and the Roman conquest.[54] The most direct and obvious signs of the conquest one might expect to find are those of violent destruction. In fact, at a peninsular level, actual traces of destruction dated archaeologically by authors to a period corresponding to the Roman conquest were rare. Most of the peninsular cases are attested in a specific region of Etruria, and are dated to the first half of the third century BCE when sources report Roman victories over Vulci, Caere, and Velzna.[55] Vulci survived, but part of its defenses were found to be demolished,[56] and the nearby fortified settlements of Doganella, Poggio Evangelista, Rofalco, and Ghiaccio Forte were all abandoned at this time, associated with layers of burning and destruction.[57] Similarly, archaeological investigation has found destruction levels at nearby Pyrgi,[58] and similarly also at Suana and Saturnia.[59] Ancient sources also report the destruction of Velzna in 264 BCE, the population of which was moved to a new site on the shore of Lake Bolsena.[60] Thus, a total of eight sites in this area of Etruria have produced archaeological evidence for destruction dated to a period when our sources maintain the Romans were active there. Due to the high quantity of contemporaneously affected sites in a geographical cluster, there is a strong likelihood it resulted from conflict, or from an imposed order to render these settlements unusable.[61] This case stands out particularly due to an absence of parallels elsewhere on the peninsula, meaning that no other cases of complete abandonment associated with archaeologically attested destruction *at the time of the conquest* were documented during the project.[62]

Roman citizen colonies were founded within the Etruscan settlements of Pyrgi (by 273 BCE), Alsium (247 BCE), Saturnia (183 BCE), and Graviscae (181 BCE). Four ex novo colonies were set up in the form of two Latin colonies at Cosa (273 BCE) and Luca (180–177 BCE), and the two Roman colonies of Castrum Novum (264 BCE) and Fregenae (245 BCE). Another colony was founded at Heba, probably in the second century BCE. Only Volsinii Novi and perhaps Pistoriae were the only non-colonial settlements founded in Etruscan territory between 300 and 100 BCE that went on to become *municipia*. During the later fourth century BCE, Etruria is one of the regions in which new rural sites were created in large numbers.[63] In many areas, farms survived under Roman hegemony and new sites were created in our period.[64]

Colonies Founded Between 300 and 100 BCE: A Summary

Although Roman colonization has already been touched upon above in the context of multiple regional trajectories, here I provide quantitative and geographical summaries for the peninsula as a whole. Of the database's 70 ex novo new settlements founded during the period,[65] 28 were colonies (Table 1.3). A further 19 colonies were founded within pre-conquest settlements. The peninsula's long, vulnerable, and economically vital coast dominated as a location for colonies during the period (see Figure 1.1). The relatively level coastal terrain provided farmland for colonists. In most cases, specific regional concerns determined the choice of non-coastal sites for colonies.[66] Aesernia, Beneventum, and Venusia were founded in the first half of the third century BCE in recently subdued Samnite territory. Rome's northern expansion in the third century BCE across the Apennines to the Adriatic coast and then toward the Po plain is apparent in Figure 1.1. Colonies were founded on the route of Via Flaminia/Via Aemilia to consolidate the region and exploit it economically. Respectively, from south to north along this line (excluding coastal colonies) were Narnia (299 BCE), Spoletium (ca. 240 BCE), Bononia (189 BCE), Mutina (183 BCE), Parma (183 BCE), and Placentia (218/190 BCE). Luca (ca. 180 BCE) was founded on the border of Ligurian territory, just after Liguria had been made

Table 1.3 Numbers of colonies founded from 300 to 100, including sites with low levels of confidence in their chronologies

Colony Type	*300 to 200 BCE*	*200 to 100 BCE*	*Totals*
Latin colonies founded *ex novo*	4	1	5
Latin colonies founded in pre-conquest centers	9	2	11
Roman citizen colonies founded *ex novo*	5	12	17
Roman citizen colonies founded in pre-conquest centers	3	3	6
Colonies founded *ex novo* in the second half of the second century	0	6	6
Colonies founded in pre-conquest centers in the second half of the second century	0	2	2
Totals	21 (incl. 9 ex novo)	26 (incl. 19 ex novo)	47

a consular province but before it had been fully pacified.[67] Why Saturnia (183 BCE) was founded 30 km inland from the coast in Etruria is not entirely clear. It was, however, well placed to exploit the fertile Albegna valley. Over time the types of locations selected for colonies changed, from those clearly related to security concerns to those more focused on providing suitable farmland for the colonists. Following the argument of F. Tweedie,[68] Saturnia might be an early example of the latter.

After the founding of Auximum, probably in 174 BCE,[69] traditionally there is considered to be a hiatus in Roman colonization until the second half the second century BCE.[70] Perhaps as many as eight colonies were founded ca. 150 to 100 BCE, although their chronologies are not all agreed upon. The database records Heba (ex novo) in Etruria, Privernum (ex novo) in the Pontine region, former Hernican Verulae, Fabrateria Nova (ex novo) in former Volscian territory, Scolacium (ex novo) in Bruttium, Neptunia at Tarentum,[71] Dertona (ex novo) in Liguria, and Pollentia/Urbs Salvia (ex novo) in Picenum.[72] So for the purposes of contextualization, in only 50 years, from 350 to 300 BCE, the database records the founding of 86 ex novo settlements, of which four were colonies (ca. 5%).[73] Over the next 200 years, from 300 to 100 BCE, only 70 ex novo centers were created, of which 26 were colonies (40%). If the sites with low confidence ratings in their chronologies were included, it would be 87 ex novo settlements founded between 300 and 100 BCE, of which 28 (32%) were colonies. The intriguing question, then, is if colonies represent the minority of post-conquest ex novo foundations in the third and second centuries BCE, what types of settlement comprised the majority of them?

Non-colonial Post-conquest Settlements Founded Between 300 and 100 BCE

This is a particularly useful category of settlement for understanding the impact of the Roman conquest if examined from the perspective of agency. Why were these centers set up, who founded them, and to what extent were Roman magistrates or citizens involved in the process? The somewhat long and awkward description of

this category, 'non-colonial post-conquest settlements', reflects the fact that we can describe settlements as either Roman or non-Roman up until the conquest, but for centers founded after it the distinction is often not so clear. There are 59 sites in this category if those with low chronological confidence ratings are included, and 45 if they are excluded. For the purposes of analysis, the less chronologically reliable sites will be counted this time, as the primary aim here is to shed light on formation processes. For example, from the information provided by Roman texts, we know that at least 39 out of the total of 59 centers went on to become *municipia* or veteran colonies after the Social War. Eight other centers are hypothesized by authors to have received colonial or municipal status. Based on this information, between 65% and 80% of them became Roman towns in the first century BCE and early Empire. But when these settlements were created in the third and second centuries BCE, this outcome could not have been foreseen and thus has no bearing on the reasons why they were founded. It is often difficult to imagine the appearance of these centers in their early stages of development due to the destruction of early architectural phases by subsequent construction and spoliation.

The creation of a planned grid of streets at the moment of foundation reflects an intention for the settlement to develop an urban character, as it is the physical basis for property division and controlled urban growth. About half of the centers under discussion were or are suspected to have been orthogonally planned, but only seven had street systems that can be dated with some degree of confidence to the period: Grumentum, Suasa, Falerii Novi, Mamertion, Sentinum, Fioccaglia di Flumeri, and Fundi. Nine other settlements founded in the period 300 to 100 BCE have street-grids dated to the first century BCE, and the remaining 14 examples are not dated or are only suspected to exist. It has been speculated for both Grumentum and Suasa that they began as *praefecturae*,[74] and for Suasa alternatively that it might have been a *conciliabulum*. These are examples of a tendency by authors to propose hypothetical links between non-colonial post-conquest urbanism and the presence of Roman citizens or magistrates. As far as definitions are concerned, however, a prefecture was not a category of settlement, but rather an area in which jurisdiction was exercised.[75] A *conciliabulum* was a meeting place for Roman citizens.[76] An urban center would therefore not seem to be a prerequisite for *praefecturae* and *conciliabula*. Examples of known prefectures at settlements founded after the conquest are Vestinian Aveia[77] and Pentrian Venafrum,[78] both of which had well-defined urban centers by the Augustan period. Yet the urban characteristics of these two towns, such as fortifications and a grid of streets, were only installed after the Social War. Venafrum had been a prefecture since the third century BCE, but only 200 years later did it adopt the familiar characteristics of Roman urbanism. Becoming a prefecture, it appears, did not necessarily stimulate transformation into an urban center.

Changing Preferences for the Locations of New Settlements

Aveia and Venafrum are also examples of another observable post-conquest trend. They are both hypothesized to represent the settlements of communities that moved from pre-conquest fortified centers on nearby hilltops to lower-lying, more accessible sites on level terrain. *Aveia* is speculated to have replaced the walled hilltop settlement of Monte di Cerro, some 1.5 km to the east.[79] Venafrum is thought to have replaced the Samnite fortified settlement of Monte Santa Croce, located on top of the hill at whose base the Roman town was founded.[80] In total, eight cases of replacement of this kind are documented in the database, two of which are famously recorded in Roman historical sources. The reported Roman destruction of Velzna (Volsinii) in 264 BCE led to the relocation of the population on the shores of Lake Bolsena.[81] (For the destruction and replacement of Falerii, see Chapters 4 and 5 in this volume.) Another of these cases is Fundi. Sources refer to Fundi having received *civitas sine suffragio* in the fourth century BCE,[82] but the oldest archaeology from the town itself dates to the third or even second centuries BCE.[83] Thus, it has been proposed by S. Quilici-Gigli and L. Quilici that the site of fourth-century Fundi is a large nearby hilltop settlement on Monte Pianora that was abandoned by the end of the third century.[84] Again, the theory is that a hilltop site was replaced by one on level terrain in the post-conquest period.

Thus, we get a sense for communities on the move on the one hand, and a new interest in low-lying accessible sites on the other. The popularity of non-hilltop sites for new settlements is particularly prevalent after the conquest, a phenomenon which I believe is linked with another trend, being a dramatic reduction in the rate new fortifications being constructed across the peninsula. Both of these patterns are only relevant for non-colonial sites. Because of the strategic role of colonies, during the period they continue to be founded on hilltops and surrounded by strong walls to deter sieges. For colonies charged with coastal defense, the local terrain did not always offer starkly elevated sites for urban centers, but they all had walls. For non-colonial sites, it is a different matter. This is particularly apparent when compared to the immediately preceding period. Including sites with low chronological confidence ratings, 110 non-Roman sites were founded between 350 and 300 BCE. About 76% of them (84 sites) were on hilltops clearly chosen with defensive considerations in mind and with evidence of having been fortified at this time. Fortified hilltop centers thus dominate as the favored form of settlement in non-Roman contexts from 350 to 300 BCE. If we now turn to the period 300 to 100 BCE, the number of non-colonial settlements founded in the third and second centuries totals 59. Arguably, only two of them (3.5%) were founded on hilltop sites chosen primarily for siege-deterrence and fortified during the period. This simple calculation reflects a sea-change in the nature of urbanism after the Roman conquest. The evidential basis for this calculation is not straightforward, however, and requires explanation. By doing so, it also offers a chance to elucidate other processes and patterns apparent in post-conquest urbanism.

As Figure 1.1 makes clear, the majority of new settlements in the third and second centuries BCE are clustered in regions toward the north of the peninsula. A series of historical events are traditionally considered to have paved the way for the creation of new centers in these areas. The Battle of Sentinum in 295 BCE, the subsequent subduing of eastern Umbria and Picenum, and the creation of the *Ager Gallicus* in the first half of the third century BCE extended Rome's hegemony to the east of the Apennines.[85] Roman settlement became possible on the Po plain in the period between the founding of Ariminum (268 BCE) and Parma (183 BCE), by which time the Via Flaminia and the Via Aemilia had been created to link the area more directly with Rome.[86] Historically attested conflict between Rome and the Ligurians began in 238 BCE and ceased in 155 BCE.[87]

A large proportion of the surface area of some of these new territories was relatively level open terrain. Just under half of all the post-conquest non-colonial settlements, 26 in total, were founded here, in Umbrian, Picentine, Gallic, and Ligurian areas. Of those 26, all but three of them, Carsulae, Cingulum, and Urvinum Hortense (to which we will turn in a moment), were founded on sites without natural defenses. This, one might think, is merely due to the fact that the local topography offered little choice other than to place centers on non-elevated ground. But some of the new settlements were located within in the hillier parts of these regions, and the preference for avoiding hilltops is quite evident here as well. There were centers that could have been placed on hilltops but were founded on adjacent valley floors instead. Suasa and Ostra in Picenum are just two of many examples, both of which are considered likely to have been *conciliabula*, centers created by the recipients of viritane assignations.[88] Ostra is the only non-colonial center in the database, founded between 300 and 100 BCE, with a forum archaeologically dated to the second century BCE.[89]

The routes of new consular roads were attractive as locations for new towns.[90] About 75% of all non-colonial foundations of the period were founded in positions that were on or subsequently would be on or close to major roads. Because of the macro-scale of the project and the difficulty of dating roads archaeologically, the database does not possess the resolution needed to recognize either the degree to which towns benefitted from being in proximity to roads over time, or were disadvantaged from being distant to them, if at all. Carsulae, although placed on relatively high ground, post-dates the Via Flaminia and was founded on it. So the route of the road seems to have been the main factor determining the site for the town, but a particularly elevated position along that route also seems to have been a deliberate choice. An undated *agger* fortification has been identified at Carsulae.

Cingulum in Picenum is another settlement in an elevated position that one might think was chosen for defensive considerations. Cingulum is considered to date back to the third century BCE, at which point it might have been a *vicus*.[91] Like so many other settlements founded in the third and second centuries BCE, it did not take on urban form until after it had received municipal status the later first century BCE. Only then was its first known fortification wall constructed.[92] It was thus not a fortified hilltop center in the period under discussion here. This can also be said for Grumentum in Lucania. It was founded in the third century BCE on a raised plateau that falls away steeply on three sides and was thereby naturally protected against armed assault to some degree. But its earliest city wall dates to the first century BCE. It was not a fortified center during the period of its founding.[93]

Although its walls are not dated, Urvinum Hortense is in an Etrusco-Umbrian area and dates to the third century BCE. It is on a hilltop perfectly suited to deter a siege. But this appears not to be the reason why it was founded here. Rather, it was due to the presence of a pre-conquest sanctuary on the hilltop.[94] A temple was built on the site in the third century BCE, and what seems to have been a *vicus* coalesced around it over time, which then received municipal status in the first century BCE. Other new settlements on elevated locations might also have formed around sanctuaries, such as Trebula in Samnium,[95] Trebula Mutuesca near Monteleone Sabino,[96] and the site of Coriglia near Orvieto.[97] It also seems to have been in the third century BCE when the ancient sanctuary of Lucus Feroniae also developed into a permanent settlement.[98]

Through this process of elimination, only two non-colonial centers in the database were possibly founded and fortified in the post-conquest period on sites that were chosen for their natural defenses against physical assault. One is Abellinum in Samnium,[99] although the raised plateau on which it is located is not as pronounced as the hills surrounding the site. Little is known about its early history, and I would not be surprised if it turned out to have pre-conquest origins. The other is Piazza di Siena near Petroio, a 4 ha fortified Etruscan center.[100] Its excavators maintain it was founded and fortified at an unspecified moment in the third century BCE and abandoned in the first century BCE. If it dates to the early third century, it might not classify as a post-conquest center, but two other third-century Etruscan fortified hilltop sites are documented in the list of excluded sites.[101] The difficulty in finding a convincing example of a non-colonial hilltop site that was both founded and fortified in the third and second centuries BCE is particularly notable due to this being by far the most numerous type of settlement founded in the later fourth century BCE. Based on the lack of interest shown by peninsular communities in hilltop locations for new settlements, one might conclude that they felt themselves to be at a lower risk of physical attack after the conquest than before or during it.

This decreased threat may also be reflected in the drastic reduction of the number of town walls being built. Many fewer non-colonial fortifications were constructed in the third and second centuries BCE than in the second half of the fourth century BCE (Figure 1.2). Only six centers founded between 300 and 100 BCE are reported to have had walls built during the period: Abellinum, Falerii Novi, Fundi, and near the end of the second century BCE also Forum Popillii (Carinola) and Septempeda in Picenum. There are 14 cases of post-conquest fortifications built around pre-conquest centers, with a noticeable cluster in Umbria: Ameria, Asisium, Interamna Nahars, Tuder, and Urvinum Mataurense. Much more frequent than the building of new walls was the refurbishment of old ones. Wall reconstruction is a category in the database, and 27 non-colonial instances are recorded for the period, with no discernible regional clustering.

The Fora

Perhaps the ultimate expression of the low risk of attack perceived in the post-conquest period is a new category of settlement: the forum.[102] All of the archaeologically known peninsular examples are in the database, representing 18 sites, although the locations of three of them are contested. The foundation dates of four of

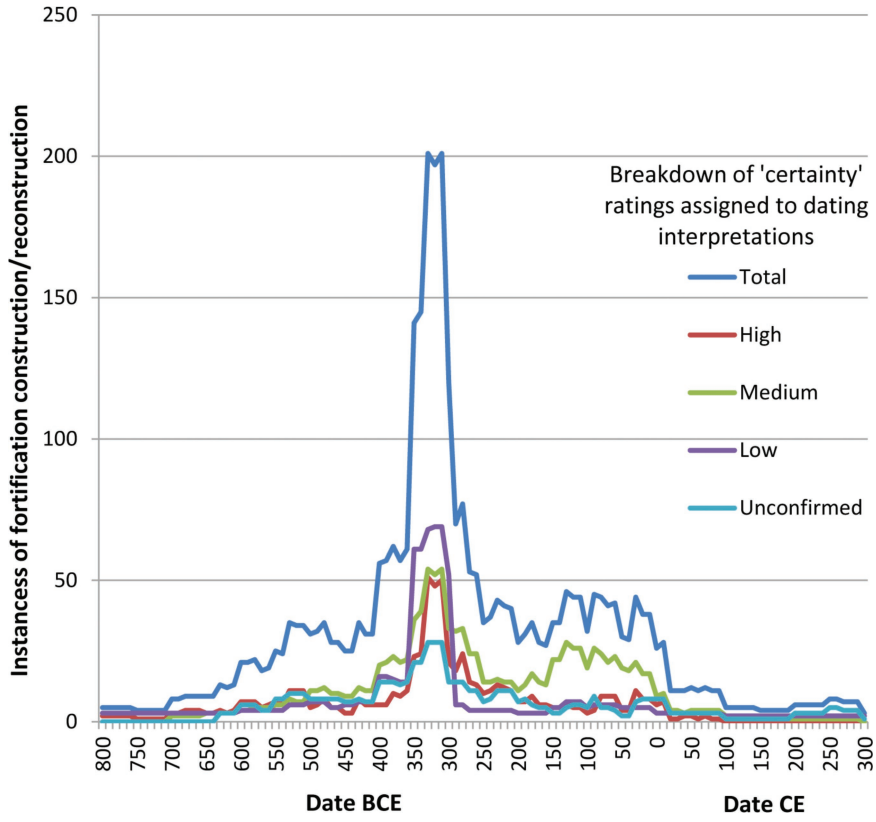

Figure 1.2 Instances of fortification construction/reconstruction.

them are unknown. Another four are believed to have been founded in the first century BCE or later, but ten are believed to have been founded in the third and second centuries, seven of these between 150 and 100 BCE. Several went on to become *municipia* in the first century BCE, and textual evidence demonstrates the status of *fora* as higher-order settlements by the end of the first century.[103] Aside from the shared characteristics of being founded on *Ager Publicus* and that most of them were located on major roads, they otherwise differed from one another significantly in terms of size as well as urbanistic and architectural features. This also seems to be confirmed by the literary evidence.[104]

Only one of them, Forum Popillii (Carinola), was found to have fortifications, although an inscription infers the presence of a city wall at Forum Sempronii.[105] The latter, together with Forum Cornelii, are the only two known to have street-grids. This may be part of the problem with the archaeological identification and investigation of the others, because they were not all nucleated, making them difficult to identify and define in the landscape. Investigations at Forum Cassii and Forum Novum (S. Maria in Vescovio) have determined them to be dispersed settlements. None of them were founded in locations that offered significant natural protection against attack. The image of the forum emerging from the results of archaeological investigations, with a few exceptions, is that of multiple architectural nuclei with significant gaps between them and no fortifications, all located on more or less level terrain. They would have been ideal prey for raiding parties, had there been any. It is difficult to imagine this form of settlement would have existed at all in the landscape if there had been a lingering perceived threat of attack.

The Reduction of Settlement Size

One of Lo Cascio's assertions is that the size of urban centers increased during the period. Here again, definitions are important. Lo Cascio is interested in population sizes, but the database only records the physical size of settlements. And the pattern for the third and second centuries BCE is unequivocal, for there is a clear reduction in the average size of new foundations over time (Table 1.4). Settlement sizes in the database upon which the calculations in Table 1.4 are based represent the surface area within the perimeter of the settlement, with the boundary usually being the line of the fortifications. Often the town wall was built sometime after the foundation of the settlement, or not built at all, in which case the size entered in the database is the full extension of the habitation at its peak. Because the database records the maximum surface area of a settlement rather than its size when founded, the results of Table 1.4 could be more accurately expressed as follows: during the last three centuries BCE, on average, towns founded later in the period developed to have smaller surface areas than those founded earlier in the period.

There was also a considerable decrease in the overall average size of centers between 300 and 100 BCE, including surviving pre-conquest sites. More than twice as many settlements reduced in size as increased in size during the period (42 vs. 17). The huge proportions of surface area shed in the resizing of the very large Archaic Daunian and Greek settlements alone account for about half of the intramural space lost in the third and second centuries in the study area. Yet much of this space was probably devoid of structures before it ceased to be considered part of the settlements. A reduction in surface area was thus not necessarily linked with a decrease in population size. Although in some cases it might reflect depopulation, in others it might instead signal a demographic redistribution within a territory or an intensification of population density within an urban center, although the database does not make the distinction. Size data was only available for 86% of sites and in less than half of the cases did authors publish estimates of the redimensioned surface areas of sites that reduced or increased in size. Excluding metrological data from the city of Rome, and with the caveat that the calculation is based on lacunose data, the mean average surface area of all sites existing in 300 BCE for which there is data was ca. 46 ha (from 345 sites) and in 100 it was ca. 33 ha (from 291 sites). Although the data are not complete, they are of sufficient quantity to state with confidence that the average surface areas of settlements decreased between the third and first centuries.

But this does not necessarily contradict Lo Cascio's assertion that urban centers increased in size, demographically speaking. Some large dispersed centers turned into smaller more densely occupied ones. As the majority of new settlements were not founded on hilltops, a greater proportion of their surface areas were suitable for construction. The demographic growth of Rome must also be taken into account. On the other hand, there is a particular problem in seeing an increase in urban populations during the period, due once again to the definition of what constitutes an urban center. Many of the sites in the database during this period could barely be described as towns. Demographic historians of Roman Italy persistently make the distinction between urban and rural populations,[106] but for many non-colonial settlements, the urban-rural dichotomy is not clear cut. It might be reductive to simplify categories of settlement for the sake of classifying their inhabitants as either urban or rural. Moreover, this lack of distinction continued in some cases into the first century

Table 1.4 Average size of higher-order settlements founded after the conquest (including colonies) for which size data is available

Century BCE	*Number of settlements founded*	*Mean average size*	*Median average size*
3rd	33	22.4 ha	18.5 ha
2nd	41	18.2 ha	16 ha
1st	25	19.1 ha	12 ha

BCE and beyond. It appears as though not all *municipia* were urban in character, with some existing instead as dispersed or polycentric settlements.

Conclusion

From a peninsular perspective, there are three pronounced and interrelated trajectories of non-colonial post-conquest urbanism in the third and second centuries BCE. Firstly, observable from at least the mid-third century, sites with natural defenses in the case of siege were actively avoided for new settlements with hardly any exceptions, whereas previously in the later fourth century BCE, they had been the most popular types of sites for new foundations. Secondly, there was a severely reduced desire or ability to construct fortifications when compared to the later fourth century BCE. Lastly, both new and existing settlements were increasingly smaller in surface area than pre-conquest centers.

These results must be understood in conjunction with the observation on the number of pre-conquest sites abandoned during the period, specifically abandoned hilltop sites. As we have seen, the situations in Bruttium and Lucania are exceptional due to the almost complete lack of replenishment of abandoned hilltop sites with new nucleated centers. In Bruttium and Lucania, it is possible to speak of a total disruption of the pattern of higher-order settlements. Elsewhere, significant numbers of highland centers survived until the first century BCE, as shown in Table 1.2, and many developed into Roman towns. Whatever the agency was that encouraged communities to ignore hilltops as locations for new centers, with a handful of exceptions this agency did not exert enough pressure on the inhabitants of many pre-conquest hilltop centers to relocate their settlements to less elevated sites.

Still, the enthusiasm for non-hilltop sites for new foundations from the mid-third century BCE onward is a pronounced pattern, but it cannot be explained easily. Firstly, I do not consider it resulted from any form of state intervention by Rome because there is simply no evidence to support the idea. It is not difficult of course to imagine the benefits of non-elevated sites for towns, with improved access to water, communication routes, and fields being the obvious ones. The only disadvantages were perhaps poorer drainage and, most importantly of all, reduced security, suggesting that communities considered the risk of assault to be much lower after the conquest than immediately before or during it. The big question is, by whom did they no longer feel threatened? Naturally, the perceived threat of Roman military intervention dissipated for subject communities after they became incorporated into the Roman alliance. But if the danger removed in the post-conquest period was that posed by the Romans themselves, it implies that the popularity of hilltop sites and fortification building in the later fourth century BCE had been stimulated by this danger. There are good reasons to doubt this hypothesis, at least for some peninsular areas, as many of these town walls were being built far from where Roman military operations are reported.[107]

One of the major consequences for communities now under Roman hegemony was a severely reduced ability to pursue aggressive foreign policies toward one another. In his book on early Roman expansion in Italy, Terrenato has emphasized the long history of seasonal raiding conducted by elite-led war bands of the peninsula's cultural groups prior to the conquest.[108] Glimpses are all we get of this kind of activity in surviving texts. Most of the known examples are just those considered by Roman writers to be relevant to their particular versions of Rome's historical narrative. Although we can be confident that conflicts between the peoples of pre-conquest Italy occurred, their frequency and severity cannot be reconstructed from Roman texts. A reduced risk of attack from other peninsular communities was one of the outcomes of the Roman conquest for Italy's cultural groups, or following Terrenato's attractive theory, it was one of the main reasons why they chose to join the Roman alliance voluntarily.[109] But if the reduced fear of raiders accounts for many new communities not configuring their settlements to withstand attack, again the logic implies that it had been a heightened fear of raids (including Roman ones) in the later fourth century BCE that stimulated the creation of fortified hilltop sites. There is a problem with this hypothetical scenario, however, given what was going on in the countryside. In the areas of west-central and southern Italy where the late fourth-century spike in

settlement activity is concentrated, large numbers of rural sites also appear simultaneously.[110] If it was the increased risk of raiding that stimulated the creation of fortified hilltop centers at this time, then we have the counterintuitive scenario of heightened levels of conflict occurring in landscapes which attest to heightened economic growth. There are clearly important pieces of this puzzle that remain to be found.

To return to Lo Cascio's assertion about growth in the number and size of urban centers in the third and second centuries BCE, when all the abandonments are taken into account, especially those in Etruria, Samnium, and Lucania, higher-order settlements decline significantly in number. But so much depends on definitions. It could be argued that many of the centers abandoned in the period were not 'urban centers'. Although a few of the Lucanian sites were orthogonally planned, such as Laos, Monte Coppola, and Pomarico Vecchio, they have not yet been found to possess public spaces associated with political assembly, an activity which might instead have been conducted at rural sanctuary sites.[111] Can a settlement without such public spaces be classified as urban? Our perception of the fortified Samnite hilltop sites as permanent settlements is often only conveyed through the surface recognition of ceramic and roof tiles. Fortifications and roof tiles alone do not define settlements as towns. The database contains numerous small fortified Etruscan sites. Several of the abandoned examples are considered to have been founded by major Etruscan city-states as outposts on their territorial borders,[112] which even calls into question whether they can be defined as higher-order settlements. On the other hand, exactly the kinds of sites described above could go on to become the urban centers of colonies and *municipia* in the first century BCE. Blanda, a veteran colony of the triumviral period, was once an orthogonally planned, Lucanian fortified hilltop site of 5 ha. Bovianum had been a Samnite hilltop center, fortified at the time of the Samnite Wars.[113] It survived to become a *municipium* and subsequently a colony in the first century. Etruscan Vettona, it has been argued, was a 5 ha fortified outpost of Perusia in the later fourth century BCE,[114] but even this form of secondary center received municipal status. Although many of the abandoned sites cannot be described as 'urban', if they had instead survived, they might have had a chance of becoming a 'Roman town' in the first century BCE.

Many of the new settlements founded after the conquest can also not be described as towns in their early phases. Colonies are the category of settlement most likely to assume urban characteristics during the period, such as street-grids and fortifications. Yet even several of the colonies have yielded virtually no sign of domestic architecture pre-dating the second century BCE, meaning that during the third century they could barely be described as settlements, let alone towns.[115] Other centers where urban features appear soon after foundation are linked with communities with Roman citizenship, such as Fundi, or centers that Roman textual sources state were founded by the Romans, such as Volsinii Novi and Falerii Novi. As we have seen, prefectures, *conciliabula*, and especially *fora* were not necessarily synonymous with urban centers. Indeed, few of the other non-colonial foundations of the period could be described as urban centers prior to the first century BCE. For example, of the 59 non-colonial centers founded in the period 300 to 100 BCE, only one has a forum (market-place) dated archaeologically to the second century (Ostra). The *fora* of the 58 others are either dated to the first century or later, or undated, or not yet located.

New non-colonial settlements that would later become towns were forming in the third and second centuries BCE through various processes. Some small pre-conquest centers grew in size or nucleated to the point they could later be recognized archaeologically. Religious *foci* in the rural landscape stimulated the formation of habitation in their immediate vicinity. Settlers from elsewhere came to exploit new economic opportunities and created new permanent habitation on *Ager Publicus* and at key points on the routes of the developing network of consular roads. New centers continued to be formed in this way through to the first century BCE. Many of them seem to have had dispersed or polycentric structures initially, followed usually by nucleation and urbanization resulting from municipalization and veteran colonization. Therefore, because many of the abandoned settlements and new foundations of the period should not be labeled 'urban centers', it would be more prudent to describe the net reduction in site numbers as follows: of the types of settlement that went on to become urban centers in the first century, more were abandoned than were created in the third and second centuries BCE.

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Notes

1 Beard (2008).
2 The database was created by the author as a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship (Project No. 300969, ROMURBITAL) at the Archaeology Department of Durham University between 2012 and 2014 (Scientist in Charge: Dr. Robert Witcher).
3 Sewell and Witcher 2015 fully explains the project's research design and methodology. See also Sewell (2016, 603–9).
4 Sewell and Witcher (2015).
5 Sewell and Witcher (2015), https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romurbital_mc_2015/
6 Giannattasio (2007, 124–6, 161–5).
7 https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/arch-2087-1/dissemination/pdf/Bibliography_ROMURBITAL.pdf. Sites are listed alphabetically in the bibliography as headings with the consulted works for that site below each heading.
8 Sewell (2016).
9 Lo Cascio (2013, 160); cf. Morley (2001, 50).
10 Cf. Marcus and Sabloff (2008).
11 See Sewell and Witcher (2015).
12 See Sewell (2016).
13 Sewell and Witcher (2015).
14 For example at San Salvatore (Timmari): Osanna et al. (2012); Frigento: Ebanista (2009); Montescaglioso: Canosa (1993).
15 As an example, see Scopacasa (2015) for an insight into the cultural complexity of the Samnites, or for pre-conquest peninsular Italy more generally, see Terrenato (2019, 31–72).
16 Sewell (2016).
17 Greco and Longo (2008, 72–3, 96–7).
18 The list contains a brief description and bibliographical references, if available. It may be downloaded at https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/arch-2087-1/dissemination/xlsx/Excluded_Sites_ROMURBITAL.xlsx
19 Greco and Longo (2008, 72–3, 96–7); Isayev (2007, 150).
20 Di Giuseppe (2011, 70–1).
21 Fracchia (2013, 194–5).
22 Gualtieri (2015, 88); Roselaar (2008, 597).
23 Isayev (2017, 158–87).
24 Di Giuseppe (2011, 70–2); Isayev (2017, 144); Marchi and Margani (2019).
25 Marchetti (2018).
26 Isayev (2007, 169–85).
27 Cappelletti (2018, 324).
28 Sangineto (2014, 479).
29 D'Alessio (2014, 484) suggests *Consentia* was perhaps reoccupied in the first century.
30 E.g., La Torre (1997); Sangineto (2014).
31 Visonà (1999).
32 La Torre (1997); Sangineto (2014, 480).
33 Cappelletti (2018, 332–4).
34 For *Scylla* see Grelle and Volpe (1996, 117); for *Rhegium* see Andronico (2002, 197–245).
35 A further two inland hilltop sites, Cozzo Presepe (Montescaglioso) and Torre Mordillo (Spezzo Albanese), described as Greek by their excavators, were abandoned by the end of the third century.
36 Prag (2014).
37 Sewell (2016, 619).
38 See Goffredo (2010, 21n.29) for a summary of the theories and references to them.
39 Greco and Longo (2008, 406–10).
40 Colivicchi (2011).

41 There are no Daunian sites in the database with low levels of confidence in their chronologies. One potential fortified hilltop site is in the excluded list.
42 Livy 8.24.
43 Goffredo (2010, 25).
44 Burgers (1998, esp. 266–92, 303–7); De Mitri (2010); Yntema (2006).
45 See also Burgers (2009).
46 Yntema (2006, 98).
47 Tagliamonte (2018, 421–3).
48 Sewell (2016, 613–17) with further references.
49 See for example the revisionist contribution of Sardella and Fasolo (2018).
50 Lloyd (1995); Attema et al. (2010, 162); Pelgrom and Stek (2010, 48–51).
51 Casarotto et al. (2016); Casarotto et al. (2019).
52 Cornell (1995, 324–62).
53 Fronda (2010, 289–90).
54 Whereas a greater cluster of abandonments of southern peninsular centers coincides with the period and aftermath of the Hannibalic War.
55 Cornell (1995, 362–3).
56 Bianchi (2017, 139–40) with further references.
57 Michelucci (2008); Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli (2010, 10); Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli (2012, 71). Rofalco is not in the database, as it is smaller than the 2 ha threshold required for inclusion.
58 Enei (2012).
59 Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli (2010, 10); Fentress (2002, 123–4).
60 Sisani (2006, 5–7, 39–49). Cf. the contributions by N. Terrenato, R. Opitz, and D. Maras in this volume on the parallel case of Falerii Novi/Falerii Veteres.
61 Cf. Livy 9.41.
62 A partial destruction in the early third century of the Messapian site of Muro Leccese is recorded: De Mitri (2010, 36, 95). Post-conquest, Lucanian Serra di Vaglio was abandoned in the mid-third century after destruction: Greco and Longo (2008, 266).
63 Terrenato (2007, 142–3); Fracchia (2013, 191–2).
64 Rasmussen (1991, 109–14); Terrenato (2001, 63); Becker (2017, 1220–1).
65 Excluding a further 17 sites documented with a low level of confidence in their chronologies.
66 *Firmum*, *Hatria*, and *Auximum* were all within 11 km of the coast, founded on easily defendable hilltop sites with easy access to the sea.
67 Giannattasio (2007, 161–5).
68 Tweedie (2011).
69 *Auximum* might instead have been founded in 157 or 128: Briscoe (2012, 116).
70 See Tweedie (2011) on the validity of this hiatus.
71 Pelgrom (2012, 168–70) considers *Neptunia* and *Tarentum* to have been distinct settlements.
72 See n.8 for references to all of these sites.
73 *Carseoli*, *Fregellae*, *Interamna Lirenas*, *Ostia*.
74 Destro and Giorgi (2012, 126–37); Gualtieri (2009, 219–20). A prefecture was installed in *Grumentum* by the second century but is only speculated for the third century.
75 Bispham (2007, 95–100, 112).
76 Bispham (2007, 88).
77 La Torre (1985); Pesando and Giglio (2013).
78 Cera (2011, 30–3).
79 Mattiocco (1986, 196–9).
80 Cera (2011, 30–3).
81 Zonaras 8.7.
82 Cornell (1995, 351).
83 Cassieri and Quadrino (2006, 177–93).
84 Quilici and Quilici Gigli (2006).
85 Vermeulen (2017, 61–2).
86 Marini Calvani (2000).
87 Giannattasio (2007, 124–6, 161–5).
88 Vermeulen (2017, 75).

89 Dall'Aglio et al. (2012).
90 Laurence (1999).
91 Paci (1986).
92 Perna (2012, 387).
93 Livy (XXII, 31–42) reports walls at *Grumentum* in the third century, but no archaeological trace of them has been found: Soriano and Camerlengo (2009).
94 Zuddas (2013, 102–8).
95 Lapenna (1997).
96 Costatini (2008, 472–7).
97 George (2013).
98 Ceci (2008, 32–1).
99 De Caro and Greco (1981, 175–6); Scopacasa (2015, 186–7).
100 Vilucchi and Salvi (2008).
101 Cetamura (Castelnuovo Berardenga) and Poggio La Guardia (Radda in Chianti). See Valenti (1995, 206–7, 329).
102 Ruoff-Väänänen (1978); Pina Polo (2011, 181–7); Bispham (2007, 87–90).
103 Laurence (1999, 34–5).
104 Laurence (1999, 34).
105 *CIL* XI 6136.
106 E.g., Morley (2001); Lo Cascio (2013).
107 Sewell (2016, 620–1).
108 Terrenato (2019, 100–6, 128–9, 134–43, 147–9, 264).
109 Terrenato (2019).
110 Sewell (2016, 622–5).
111 Isayev (2007, 127–40).
112 Steingräber (2008).
113 De Benedittis (2004, 26–8).
114 Sisani (2006, 34–8).
115 Sewell (2010, 169–71); cf. the contribution by Michele Silani in this volume.

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PART II

Etruria and Latium

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2

THE FIRST STEPS OF ROMAN EXPANSION

Etruria and Latium

Fabio Colivicchi

Historical Background

Etruria and Latium hold a special place in the narrative of Roman expansion. Literary sources record wars against the Etruscan and Latin neighbors dating from the legendary origins of Rome and the monarchical period. The historical nature of these early events is often doubtful, but it is certainly plausible and even natural that the relations between developing and expanding communities could also take the form of military conflicts. Soon after the foundation of the city, according to tradition, Romulus obtained his first victory over the otherwise obscure Latin city of Caenina and dedicated the *spolia opima* taken from king Acron in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline, while he ended his life of king and founder with a triumph over the Etruscan city of Veii, an achievement that ancient authors connect directly with his subsequent disappearance from earth and his apotheosis. Moving to firmer historical ground, the tradition concerning the difficult fifth century BCE and the military pressure from the Latins, the Volscians, and other central Italian groups, and the neighboring Etruscans, Veii above all, may reflect a phase of serious instability and widespread conflict, corresponding to a period that Italian archaeologists call "the fifth century crisis." The much-debated treaty with Carthage of 509 BCE reported by Polybius (3.22) reveals the ambitions of Rome, at the time clearly the largest community of Latium, and may explain the hostility of the Latins in the early years of the Republic, resolved with the uneven agreement of the *Foedus Cassianum* of 493 BCE. The functioning of the early Latin League is a debated topic that lies beyond the scope of this short introduction, but the agreement has a direct connection with the topic of urbanization for the series of Latin colonies founded in this period (Signia in 495, on the site of an archaic colony, Norba in 492, Ardea in 442, Setia in 383, Circeii, re-founded in 395/3, Sutrium and Nepet in 382). In the volatile situation of the fifth century, the burden of the conflicts may have been more on the Latin allies than on Rome, and that may explain the tensions of the early fourth century when some Latin communities refused to fulfill their military commitments.

The conquest of Veii and its territory in the early fourth century marks the transition from forms of warfare with limited objectives, usually control of small frontier territories, acquisition of resources by raiding, and reprisal for enemy raids, to a veritable policy of conquest and permanent occupation of large territories. This is a watershed in Roman history and was perceived as such by ancient historians who describe the conflict between Rome and Veii in epic terms and project the mortal struggle between the two cities back to the origins of the urbs. As the chapter on South Etruria will show, the circumstances of the Roman acquisition of Veii may have been less unidimensionally military than its literary narratives have portrayed them to be, and

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its consequences were certainly less disastrous for the Etruscan population. In any case, Rome emerged from the conflict completely transformed, having doubled its territory and with potential resources and manpower without equal in Central Italy.

The period that immediately follows saw important changes in the Roman policy toward the Latins, some of whom were unhappy with the terms of their obligations to the Latin League. The Latins, however, did not form a common front and Rome may have encouraged their divisions to assume an even clearer hegemony. The incorporation of Tusculum into full Roman citizenship in 381 BCE (the first case reported) has been recognized by many as a milestone of Roman expansion.

The progression of Roman expansion into Etruria after the conquest of Veii is marked by the sequence of wars and triumphs recorded in literary sources. Modern historians have frequently taken a somewhat anachronistic attitude toward these narratives, tracking the progress of Rome as if it were the movement at the front in a modern war, with Rome on one side and its enemies on the other trying to resist the unstoppable Roman onslaught. The situation, as recognized by some recent scholarship, was certainly more fluid and nuanced, with a complex combination and alternation of alliances, negotiations, compromises, threats, and open hostilities in which the elite network connecting the Roman ruling class to that of the other communities of Central Italy was an important factor, while ethnic solidarities played a limited role in determining the policy of the parts involved. A good example is the Roman intervention at Arretium, at the turn of the fourth century, in support of the local *gens* of the Cilnii against internal opposition described by the sources as a popular uprising. The episode repeats an earlier intervention, this time with Tarquinia in the role of the savior and a Tarquinian aristocrat connected by marriage with the Cilnii as the general, as recorded in the inscriptions called the *Elogia Tarquiniensia*. Roman intervention in a distant area of inland Etruria was probably caused by similar considerations of mutual support between elites and the defense of the interests of prominent clans, regardless "ethnic" differences. Almost a century earlier, according to Roman tradition, Rome came in support of Clusium under pressure of the Gauls, causing the invasion of Brennus. The narratives of the Gallic sack are largely fictional, but the early solidarity between Rome and Clusium could be grounded in historical fact.

To the period following the conquest of Veii also date the establishment of the especially close relations with the Etruscan city of Caere through the grant of *hospitium publicum* or, less likely, the *ciuitas sine suffragio*.

On the military front, historical sources contain accounts of several battles against the Etruscans and Faliscans, according to which Capena would have surrendered immediately after the fall of Veii, while Falerii remained hostile. Volsinii would have also been defeated. Rome and Tarquinia would have conducted raids in each other's territory, and the foundations of the Latin colonies of Sutrium and Nepet in an area of great strategic importance would have provoked attacks by the Etruscans. There are, however, numerous inconsistencies and suspect reduplications in the accounts by historical sources.

The most important conflict of the mid-fourth century was certainly the war between Rome and Tarquinia (358–351 BCE), in which the Etruscan city found an ally in Falerii and was able to briefly detach from the Roman front even the usually loyal Caere. The war ended without a clear winner and a 40-year truce was declared. The Tarquinians, however, never again challenged Rome. The truce was promptly renewed when it expired and there are no records of Tarquinian involvement in military operations against Rome in the ensuing period. After a conflict that was costly for both parties, Tarquinia seems to have changed its policy and found a mutually acceptable agreement with Rome.

The largest Latin cities, Tibur and Praeneste, also became hostile and recruited Gallic troops against Rome, acting in coordination with the renewed activity of the Syracusans along the coast of Latium. Their efforts were unsuccessful, however, and the Romano-Carthaginian treaty of 348 BCE confirmed Roman control of Latium.

On the internal political front, the central decades of the fourth century saw momentous changes resulting from economic and social processes that the conquest of Veii may have caused or accelerated. From the 360s onward, access to power was widened following major political reforms. In the same period, we also

see Latins and other individuals of non-Roman origin attaining positions of power. As the Roman ruling class was becoming larger and more diverse, the Latin War of 340–338 BCE broke out and the Latin League was dissolved. As for the Etruscan wars, the conflict did not simply oppose Romans to non-Romans. The Latin front was diverse and unstable and a role was played by the interests and the network of alliances of the elites of both sides, as confirmed by the appearance of Latins in positions of power in the period following the war. The old common counsel of the Latins seems to have been replaced by a different form of power sharing, one in which the issue was not the relations among member communities, but the nature of the Roman state and its ability to represent the (sometimes diverging) interests of its many shareholders. Some historians have even put forward the concept of the "Latinization" of Rome. Following the Latin War, many communities were granted full citizenship (Aricia, Lanuvium, Pedum, Nomentum, Lavinium), some saw their lands confiscated, Tibur and Praeneste were limited in their independence, Velitrae was forced to dismantle its city walls and its ruling class was relocated, and in particular in the so-called *Latium Adiectum* (about which see Chapter 7) there were grants of citizenship without the vote. Latin colonization resumed in earnest, complemented by the smaller Roman colonies on the coast, Antium in 338, Tarracina in 329, and Ostia for which the archaeological dating ranges from the mid- to the late fourth century.

In the late fourth century, in a much-changed historical context in which Rome had become a very significant player at the peninsular scale, new conflicts broke out with Etruscan cities, this time not with closer neighbors to the south. In 311 BCE, the sources record the attack of a large Etruscan coalition, with the notable absence of Arretium, against Sutrium, a strategic center the possession of which was contested in the earlier period. It is unlikely that it was a pan-Etruscan alliance, since the Roman campaigns that followed were directed primarily against Perugia and resulted in the growth of Roman influence in Umbria and the Valdichiana.

At the turn of the century, there are also brief mentions of campaigns in Etruria and Umbria, the causes and objectives of which remain unclear. The theater of operations was in central and northern Etruria, Volterra and Rusellae in particular. The abovementioned intervention of M. Valerius Corvus at Arezzo in 302 was certainly in support of a friendly local faction rather than a conquest expedition.

The battle of Sentinum (295 BCE) is described by literary sources as the decisive event in the destiny of Italy. The great coalition of enemies of Rome also included Umbrians and Etruscans, but the extent and nature of Etruscan participation remain uncertain. The historical tradition on the battle is particularly problematic. In any case, the years that followed saw further campaigns against Etruscan cities: Rusellae, which was also taken by storm, Volsinii, Clusium and Perugia, Vulci. Falerii also appears in these dry lists of battles and victories.

Gallic troops are frequently involved in these rather confused events, sometimes apparently in the service of (or in coordination with) enemies of Rome, in other cases acting independently, as they did when they attacked Arretium and defeated a Roman relief army. The enemy army defeated at Lake Vadimone is described as being a coalition of Etruscans and Gauls.

The events of the early third century are especially obscure due to the loss of Livy's account, which leaves only much shorter and fragmentary accounts. One of those mentions a triumph *de Etrusceis* in 281 BCE, conjecturally referred by Karl Julius Beloch to Tarquinia but with no compelling evidence.

In 273 BCE, Caere became a Roman *praefectura*, without military intervention according to the scant sources that survive. This event marks the end of the military resistance of Etruscan communities against Rome, at this point in firm control of the Italian peninsula and preparing for its imminent clash with Carthage. From now on, Etruria was an integral part of the Roman confederation, in which the individual communities played a role, each pursuing its own particular interests without any serious plan to break free. That same year the Latin colony of Cosa was founded. Traditionally considered one of the most compelling examples of Rome's grand strategy of conquest, Cosa is now described in much different and problematic terms, as the chapter by A. De Giorgi will show.

The conquest of Volsinii in 265 BCE was a military intervention in defense of a local elite well connected to Rome, following a well-established pattern, rather than an imperialist conquest. The subsequent history of

this community and the development of the new center of Bolsena should probably be regarded more as the result of local dynamics than as a brutal punishment exerted by the Romans, who deported the population after razing the city. The alleged destruction of the sanctuary of Fanum Voltumnae, now identified with the site of Campo della Fiera, has been disproved by archaeological research, which revealed its continuity. The similar, slightly later case of Falerii, treated in two chapters in this section, is a revealing comparison.

The Etruscans passed the test of the Second Punic War and remained loyal to Rome, despite not being subjected to the same pressure as the southern Italian *socii*. The involvement of the Etruscan territory in events of the Civil Wars is perhaps related to social and economic tensions, in any case not exclusive to this area, but was certainly not the expression of anachronistic projects of independence.

Urban form and Conquest: The Elusive Roman Model

Studying the relation between Rome and the cities of Latium and Etruria in the development of forms of organization of the urban space in the fourth and third centuries BCE is difficult due to incomplete and heterogenous documentation, although important progress has been made. The existence of an "urban model" created by Rome, albeit building on Etruscan and especially Greek traditions, and promoted and applied in the numerous cases of urban renovations or foundations across Italy, is a traditional concept that is now being seriously questioned. Rome was possibly the most complex but by no means the only one among the many communities of Latium to develop urban forms, each following its own trajectory. Between the fourth and the third centuries, the urban tradition developed in Latium, rather than only at Rome, appears to have played a crucial role in the processes of urban renovation that took place in Central Italy, typically those involving the construction or improvement of city walls and gates, the organization of the urban space with terrace walls and a network of streets, or the construction or renovation of religious buildings. These trends developed in tandem with the political expansion of Rome, even though the chronology of architectures and even complete urban plans is often very broad and generic, which makes the building phases and their dating difficult to reconstruct. In general, the urban network of *Latium vetus* was firmly established in the period under examination, although the role of the numerous smaller sites has not yet been fully appreciated. The Latin centers exhibit little change during the fifth century, especially after the initial decades. At the beginning of the Middle Republican phase (early fourth century BCE), the general spatial organization was largely that established in the late Archaic period. In the fourth and third centuries, there are numerous cases of construction or substantial improvement of the city walls, with both practical and symbolic significance. In some cases, the perimeter wall was modified to achieve a more direct connection with the network of interregional roads that developed in this period. In many Latin cities, there was significant investment in monumental extra- or sub-urban sanctuaries. Although the urban space was not radically re-organized, there were efforts at regular planning with the frequent use of terracing walls, one of the most typical features of Latium's architectural tradition, which were also used to emphasize communal spaces. The forum square appears to develop into a monumental and well-defined element of the urban landscape. This is visible at Tusculum, where the trapezoid square was defined between the end of the fourth and the first half of the third century BCE, surrounded by religious and possibly residential buildings. Of particular interest is a late third-century structure that may represent an early stage in the development of the architectural type of the basilica.

The trends observed in Rome are remarkably similar, with a long period of stagnation in the fifth century, when the urban space substantially retained its late Archaic organization, followed by a series of important interventions that begin with the reconstruction of the city walls in the second quarter of the fourth century. Between the fourth and third centuries BCE, the Roman forum was gradually transformed by a long series of renovations and additions, although many uncertainties remain and established reconstructions have been questioned. The *fora* of the Latin colonies, traditionally considered accurate replicas of a model that was physically developed at Rome, have long been used to reconstruct the Roman forum of the Middle Republic,