Setting the Scene

CHAPTER 1

Italy Before the Romans

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1.1   Introduction

The spread of Roman hegemonic power was not itself responsible for the creation of an entity called Italy (Figure 1.1). In the end it was the result of a newly formed method of organization, an overarching structure that by the late Republic bound all those inhabiting the peninsula to each other through the central authority based in Rome; an authority that became the director of resources both human and material, shaping the Italian landscape to orient itself around the center (Morley, 1996). Yet we can argue for an Italy even before this moment. Already in the early 2nd century BC Cato could treat the peninsula as if it was his high street, noting the best places to get provisions for running a farm: if purchasing an olive press, best to go to the yard of Rufrius in Pompeii (*De agricultura*: 22). Interregional connections which developed rapidly in the Hellenistic period led to the formation of a single organism. Prior to such a moment, Italy the peninsula was multi-polar, and not only in a physical sense. A number of overlapping organizational forces operated simultaneously, and competed in controlling the resource base. These forces were not restricted by the coastline; Italy was not their container: rather, they drew on networks that criss-crossed the Mediterranean and reached beyond it (Horden and Purcell, 2000; van Dommelen and Knapp, 2010). In the Archaic period a merchant from Veii in Etruria probably had more in common with another such trader from Carthage, Corinth, or Massilia than with one living in the region of Messapia in the heel of Italy. There was more chance that the two Italians would meet at a festival abroad, a port at one of the trading hubs such as Corinth, a boat captured by pirates, or as part of a mixed mercenary force fighting for a Greek tyrant, than on the peninsula itself. It is also plausible that they might find it easier to communicate with each other in Punic or Greek, rather than in any Italic language, of which there would have been at least a dozen at the time (cf. Lomas, ch.11 this vol.). That does not mean that there were no links, common socio-political worries, interest in economic opportunities, or shared modes of cultural expression that ran along the length of Italy's spine, but rather that such ties were not necessarily stronger simply because those who were bound by them shared the landscapes of the peninsula as their home.

Narratives of pre-Roman Italy usually begin by outlining its broad regional divisions, where each territorial section overlaps with a particular ethnic group's sphere of influence, its

Figure 1.1 Map of Italy with sites cited in the text (modern names in italics). Drawing: Antonio Montesanti.

associated language, and its other distinguishing cultural characteristics. These tend to include the following: most prominently the Etruscans with a base in Etruria who extended to Campania in the south and the Po Valley in the north; they edged the territory of Cisalpine Gaul, which encompassed Liguria, the Veneto, the Insubres and also a number of Celtic groups; in a central position reaching to the west coast was Latium; the length of Italy's spine was the main home to the speakers of Osco-Umbrian or Sabellic languages associated mostly with the Umbrians, Samnites, and Lucanians, stretching into the toe of Bruttium, and Campania on the west coast; these were edged on the east coast by Picenum, and further south the Apulian region incorporated Daunia and Messapia on the Salento peninsula; ringed around the south coast, the Greek colonies which appeared from the eighth century BC onward are also usually taken as a group. Such an overview is helpful for categorizing information, but also has the danger of lending cohesion to areas where it did not exist, while overlooking ties beyond them. Even the homogeneity of the Greek colonies has been

questioned. Scholars point to the mixed nature of such settlements and show that their beginnings have the characteristic of being small group ventures rather than any state-initiated enterprise (Osborne, 1998; Hurst and Owen, 2005; Bradley and Wilson, 2006). A regional approach to Italy begins to break down once the focus shifts onto individual sites and networks of connectivity that ran through them (Bradley, Isayev, and Riva, 2007). This chapter looks at the organizational possibilities that were prevalent in Italy before it gained a cohesive form, at a time when her shores were fluid. How these were transformed and super-seded, and which of them continued to exist in a Roman *Italia*, is in part what the rest of this volume is about.

1.2   Forces of Centralization – Interpreting Settlement Patterns

The single settlement is often seen as the most concrete organizational unit, whether it is a city, town, or village. But its relationship to a particular community is less straightforward. We may take the most obvious case of the Roman citizen body, which extended well beyond the group who inhabited the physical city. Those born in Rome who held the citizenship could choose to live abroad, while those born outside the city could gain the citizenship through various means, such as the carrying out of services for the state (Sherwin-White, 1973). Eventually whole settlements, such as colonies, held Roman citizen status, and in 89 BC it was granted to all communities south of the Po. We know little about how other Italic member-ships functioned, but there is enough to indicate fluidity between members of different communities who were of the same high social standing, including those from outside Italy. It is such fluidity and openness that allowed Rome to experiment with different forms of membership status and inter-community ties that some see as the key to its success in Italy and the Mediterranean (Eckstein, 2006: ch. 7).

   The question is how we interpret the diverse settlement patterns across the peninsula that existed simultaneously, and what do the structures on the ground tell us about community and state- formation (Bradley, Isayev, and Riva, 2007; Terrenato and Haggis, 2011; Cornell, 1995; Riva 2010a)? Landscape archaeology has allowed for a wide-reaching sweep of the peninsula (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010; Patterson, 2004; Carter, 2006). The material shows two key points of transformation which, although varying in scale and rates of change, affect the whole of Italy: centralization in the early centuries of the first millennium BC, and a filling in of habitation in the countryside in the early Hellenistic period. A shift to nucleated settlements occurs in the period between the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age. It is most visible in Etruria, Umbria and northern Latium, in what was already a densely populated landscape characterized by a multiplicity of small sites of circa 1–15 hectares throughout the Bronze Age. Within only a few centuries there was a process of amalgam-ation, which led to the rise of fewer but substantially larger settlements, some of 100–200 hectares, occupying broad plateaus that could accommodate populations in the thousands (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010; Smith, 2007b). The most prominent communities that continued to flourish and exert power throughout the eighth–sixth centuries BC were Tarquinii, Caere, Veii, Volsinii, Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi, Arezzo, and arguably Rome.

   Just to the south of these hubs in the Pontine region of Latium, the transformations resulted in a different pattern. Here, sites such as Satricum and Lanuvium also show centralizing tendencies, but the sites are significantly smaller, 20–50 hectares and they are distributed more evenly through the landscape, especially around the Alban Hills (Attema, Burgers and van Leusen, 2010: 112–17). A similar pattern of site distribution is evident in the south of

Italy. Nucleating forces in the Salento peninsula privileged the creation of equally modest sites of 30–50 hectares, such as Oria (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 132). In the north of Italy, a region such as the Veneto saw both the creation of substantial towns such as Este and Padua, and smaller sites in the mountainous hinterland (Lomas, 2007), which was also characteristic of Liguria in the east (Häussler, 2007).

Comparative settlement sizes and distribution patterns are a starting point for ascertaining how sites related to each other and their surrounding territories. One way to analyze the data is through the model of *peer polity interaction* (Renfrew and Cherry, 1986). It proposes that change is initiated by the interaction and competition between a large number of independent and initially equally matched polities. This explanatory framework seems suited to the inhabited landscapes of Latium's Pontine region and the Salento peninsula in the Iron Age and Archaic periods. Forces that transformed this balance are particularly visible in Latium, where the significant rise of Rome led to a more hierarchical system of power relations oriented around a prominent central place (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 140–43). At this point a different model of *core and periphery* may be more suitable, according to which change is driven by unequal interacting parts of single systems (Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen, 1987). Both of the models are supported by rank-size studies that theoretically position a site within a hierarchy, and project the extent of its territorial control. The results can then be visualized through the use of cartographic techniques such as Thiessen polygons, and the more advanced XTENT model (Renfrew and Level, 1979; Redhouse and Stoddart, 2011; Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen 2010: 26–29). These methods are helpful in providing indicative results of territorial divisions and hierarchies, but they cannot be taken as evidence of political or territorial dependency on their own, as the bonds between center and hinterland varied over time, and clear evidence of their interaction is still hard to produce (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 151–52).

One of the issues is that size alone does not mean that a settlement necessarily functioned as a coherent autonomous polity, such as a city or state, which exerted power over a significant territory. Other signs are necessary, especially that of communal action, that would point to the presence of a central authority, with decision-making power and institutions that could enact these decisions by harnessing shared resources. Conversely, it is not necessary to have a model urban center for such communal action to take place, or, put another way, the community that shares its resources and socio-political structures can encompass a number of settlements, which its members inhabit. Hence, attempts at locating settlements in ancient Italy, on a spectrum which employs model definitions of city and state, have struggled, since the parameters are too rigid to encompass the variety of organizational forms. We may take the example of the settlement of Arpi, in Puglia, ancient Daunia, which Strabo (6.3.9) noted as once being one of the largest *poleis* in Italy. Remains of a substantial earthwork, which are still visible around the settlement, would seem to support this statement, but the archaeological material of the early phases of the site presents a more complex picture (Herring, 2007, 286–90). The site was occupied already in the eighth century BC, and by the sixth century BC it was encircled by the large earthwork structure. Whether it was defensive is debatable as its perimeter is far too long to secure efficiently. This monumental project is the main evidence of any communal enterprise at the site. Otherwise it has been shown that until the Hellenistic period there is no evidence of public areas, structures, or any organized approach to the use of space. The habitation within the enclosure was of a dispersed nature, suggesting a number of small villages and farmsteads, with their own cemeteries and agricultural land, with little evidence that they formed a coherent unit. A similar pattern of semi-nucleated settlement is evident in other parts of the region, such as at Tiati and Ordona.

As a comparison we may consider the development of Veii on the north side of the Tiber. Veii's impressive remains allow for an investigation of the workings of the centralizing forces

through which a single city unit materialized. Recent re-evaluation of the material from the Tiber Valley survey has shown the way that Archaic Veii emerged from distinct village-type settlements of the Early Iron Age, positioned around the tufo plateau. A total of sixteen separate necropoli which encircle the site, containing thousands of burials of the tenth–fourth centuries BC, are believed to be testament of the earlier distinct groups (Patterson, 2004; Murray, 2011; Riva, 2010a: 26–27). Communal efforts between these groups are evident on a large scale from the sixth century BC: construction of a fortification circuit around the plateau, the creation of *cuniculi* – a sophisticated system of water distribution- and the monumentalization of sacred precincts, such as the Portonaccio sanctuary, complete with Tuscan temple and water pool (Colonna, 2002; Colonna and Ambrosini, 2009). There is also a contemporaneous interest in the division of land that may be recognized through the remains of furrows at Piazza d'Armi, which point to an orthogonal division of space, along with erection of boundary walls and the construction of elite residences. An internal hierarchical organization is also apparent from the funerary evidence: tomb assemblages are full of banqueting equipment representing commensality, and other forms of elite display. The pride of the town's elite was not limited to the private domain: Veii's elaborate architectural displays and art works were well known, and according to tradition it is to Veii that Rome looked when seeking top artists to design the sculpture of Jupiter for the Capitoline Temple (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 35.157).

   The key features of centralization and communal decisions visible at Veii, and evident at other sites across Italy, include the creation of public spaces, fortification circuits, land division, spatial planning, and the building of sacred structures. Other signs of early collective action may be added to this list, for example specialization of production and the control of common resources such as grazing lands, although the latter is difficult to show. In the material record, where epigraphic texts are lacking, what we see are the products rather than the process of such decision-making, which is associated with state formation. The question is, did state formation precede such joint ventures or were they the catalysts for it? At the center of such a debate is the creation of the Roman forum, which some see as a major initiative that led to state formation. Others argue that necessary reclamation of the marginal land on which it was positioned in 600 BC would have required that some form of state already existed to make the decisions for the organization of resources and substantial manpower to drain and infill the area (Ammerman, 2011). A further issue for this early period is to understand the way in which a central authority emerged through a negotiation of dominant individuals and varied competing kinship and other groups, visible in the funerary sphere (C.J. Smith, 2007a; Terrenato and Haggis, 2011). What prompted them into this joint action to begin with? The idea that such transformations were necessarily a response to foreign stimuli, such as Greco-Phoenician merchants and settlers coming from the East, is now being challenged, as there is enough evidence to support that they were a result of long-established internally motivated trajectories (Izzet, 2007: 232–33). Engagement with foreign culture, individuals and knowledge was part of the process but not its initiator, in that, by joining together, these disparate groups could exploit wider mutually beneficial networks.

   The impact and role of newcomers to the peninsula has been most critically tested in south Italy, which by the sixth century BC housed a substantial number of Greek colonial schemes. Prior to this period those who arrived at such sites as Pithekoussai, just off the Italian coast – mostly Greek and Phoenician merchants and laborers – were part of small group ventures that sought out lucrative opportunities around the Mediterranean. Some of them came to rest at Pithekoussai because it allowed them to take part in the exchange and distribution of goods, especially metals, from the coastal regions of Italy such as Etruria and Campania (Osborne, 1998; Cuozzo, 2007; Bradley and Wilson, 2006). Increasing material visibility allows us to track the newcomers as they settled down and integrated into existing settlements or established

ones *ex novo*. These early interactions were not the kind of state-initiated colonial enterprises that appeared by the end of the sixth century BC. The motivation for these later ventures was to establish power bases in competition, not so much with their Italic neighbors, but with the Greek rivals of the founders, as may be seen by Kroton's takeover of Achaean Sybaris in 510 BC and the eventual Athenian creation of the new site of Thurioi in 446/444 BC in its place.

The story of Sybaris as a city wielding a south Italian empire is well attested, yet its early history and the position of the first Greek arrivals are less well understood. According to tradition, Sybaris was an Achaean colony founded in the eighth century BC which exerted a hegemonic influence until its destruction in 510 BC. Strabo (6.1.13) states that it ruled three tribes and twenty-five towns. Of the original colony, other than a few archaic houses at Stombi, little remains due to the alluvial deposits covering earlier habitation layers near the coastline. What evidence there is comes from the territory further inland. At sites such as Timpone della Motta, some thirty km. away, there is evidence of Archaic houses with similar style and technique as at Stombi. The site also has remains of a sanctuary with Greek material, as does Torre Mordillo. The latter also has a settlement that shows centralizing tendencies in the Iron Age. Other sites in the area, such as Amendolara, also have evidence of Greek material dating from the early seventh century BC. For those who subscribe to the traditional narrative, these pieces of evidence provide further support of Greek hegemony from the start (Guzzo, 1987: 373–79; de Polignac, 1984; Osanna, 1992: 122–32, 157–66; Greco, 1993: 467). Early Greek material in the surrounding territory could be read as a sign of Sybarite expansion, while Timpone della Motta and Torre Mordillo may be interpreted as frontier sanctuaries created to defend the early colonial territory. These suppositions have supported the notion that the Greek influence not only triggered centralization in the surrounding indigenous communities during the colonial period, but also settlement transformation in the preceding phase (Guzzo, 1987). While such interpretations match the literary evidence, they do not explain other features of the material record that challenge this view. Centralization at Torre Mordillo shows prominent aristocratic houses with cult activities, centered on a weaving deity. These preceded the Greek-style temple complex on the site in the seventh century BC. Instead, once there is evidence of Greek material it appears in the cemeteries alongside indigenous material, and suggests the presence of Greek migrants who may have been integrated into the community. The evidence shows that indigenous elite were prominent in the period of site transformation and that Greek influence developed slowly, without necessarily initial aggression or violence. How Sybaris then extended to play a major role in the seventh century BC remains unclear (Kleibrink, 2001; Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 103–05, 119–23).

The initially slow infiltration of Greek settlers from the East Mediterranean is similarly witnessed slightly later in the Salento peninsula, with the founding of key centers at Taras and Metapontion. Here, too, evidence for a centralizing settlement pattern points to local internal factors, which may have drawn on and used the connections with foreign networks, but were not dependent on them for triggering change. Replacement of huts with houses in the Iron Age need not be a sign of destruction, but rather an upgrading of structures, which was a phenomenon witnessed across Italy (Brandt and Karrlson, 2001; Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 104–05). In the Salento peninsula, as in the Sibaritide area, there are remains of cohabitation and Greco-Indigenous integration at sites such as L'Amastuola (Burgers and Crielaard, 2007; 2011). There is no evidence that early colonial Greek objects proliferate in these indigenous contexts. Most Greek artefacts in the Salento were obtained from overseas as a result of trans-Adriatic exchange networks between Greeks and Italians. There is also no evidence to suggest that the Greeks dominated this exchange network; rather, it is the local elite that increasingly appropriated Greek culture for prestige, and integrated it into existing local value systems (Osborne, 2004; Burgers, 1998: 179–94; Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010:

131; Whitehouse and Wilkins, 1989). The nature of the evidence points to a framework of cooperation rather than domination in relation to early Greek-Indigenous encounters.

Far-reaching exchange networks allowed for an increase in the economic potential created by surplus goods, through the exploitation of natural resources and the access to a wide market base and its distributive framework. The economic zones that existed in the Mediterranean and its surrounding regions were built on small group exchange (Horden and Purcell, 2000) but had wide remits and required communal treaties and military forces to deal with common menaces such as pirates and enemy states (Bederman, 2001). Some groups were more successful in exploiting these than others, and it is the products of their energies that are inscribed on the Italian landscape. Tombs and cemeteries with assemblages of prestige objects are one sign of success; another is the spread of influence and power visible in the proliferation of cultural models such as urbanism. When Cato speaks of the early history of Italy he states that it was under Etruscan authority (Cato, *Origines*: F72 = Peter, *HRR*: 62). Critias points to some of the resources that fuelled this expansion by noting that they became important redistributors of metals and famous also in Greece for their metallurgical skills in gold and bronze (Critias cited in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*: 1.28b–c). Etruscan settlements proliferated from the center of Italy to the Po Valley in the north, with such sites as Felsina (Bologna), and south into Campania with the foundation of Capua. Prior to the rise of Rome, Etruscans were depicted as the most active colonizers, with such sites as Marzabotto, and Hatria (Livy: 5.33.8–10) in Italy, and Alalia/Aleria on Corsica (Diodorus Siculus: 5.13.3–5). The idea of an Etruscan empire and its extent through colonization is one way that ancient authors understood the variety of encounters of these Italic groups, but, as in the Greek context, colonization may not be an appropriate term (Riva, 2010b: 214–16). Other narratives of site foundation that were not labelled as colonies could be articulated through such myths as the *ver sacrum* – the sacred spring that culminated in the sending out of a group of youths to establish a new site (Dench, 1995: 189–93; Livy: 22.9.10; 24.44; Strabo: 5.4.12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*: 1.16). This was associated with the spread of the peoples from the Central Apennines, which later authors preferred to depict as tribal communities and more primitive than their urban counterparts. Their portrayal in ancient texts as lacking sophistication and complex community structures is questionable: archaeology tells a different but equally compelling story of their mountainous landscape.

Outside the heavily urbanized environment of Etruria and Latium, the rugged terrain of the Apennines, including the regions of Samnium and Lucania, sustained a substantial Oscan-speaking population that inhabited numerous small- and medium-sized sites on high plateaus and intermountain plains (Bispham, 2007b; Isayev, 2007). These are most prominently visible from their fourth-century BC remains and fortified circuits enclosing territories of 30–50 hectares, with some, such as Serra di Vaglio, already a major settlement in the sixth century BC, easily double that size. But, as noted above, size is not necessarily the main determining factor. A fortified center may have been just one of the elements of a wider settlement network that had outlying satellite sites. Roccagloriosa, a substantial center in the west coast highlands, had both villages and defensive towers positioned in its surrounding territory, which was interspersed with habitation complexes of varying sizes (Gualtieri and Fracchia, 1990; 2001). From what we know about the layout of these settlements, few have anything resembling recognizable public spaces or monumental structures. Where there are such open spaces within the fortifications they are small and have few, if any, structural features. At Roccagloriosa it has been argued that the houses of the elite – some with substantial court-yards and votive shrines – were used for public activities (Fracchia and Gualtieri, 1989), as was the elite dining room complex at another fortified site of Civita di Tricarico (de Cazanove, 2008). Primitivism, however, is not what these patterns represent, but a different value given to the settlement than that found among their urban-based contemporaries.

The potential of communities within this region to accumulate wealth, and to be active members of the cultural networks that pervaded Italy, is visible in the funerary evidence. It is also exemplified in the ancient literature which records that groups from these territories posed a serious threat, and were sought after as allies. The Samnite Wars with Rome are the most prominent, but also Lucanian alliances with the tyrants of Syracuse, and other polities. For investment in the public sphere within these communities, we need to look elsewhere in the landscape other than the settlement sites, where space may have been restricted by the mountainous terrains. The rise of rural sanctuary complexes may be the main areas of investment and focus for communal action in the fifth–third centuries BC. It is in this period that these Oscan communities exhibit the widest extent of power and influence, which is evident in the spread of material culture, and particularly in the use of Oscan language that infiltrated pre-existing settlements, including the Greek *poleis* in Italy. The transformations are noticeable in the Greek city of Poseidonia, particularly in the funerary sphere, with the appearance of a new trend of painted tombs, showing warriors sporting "Italic" forms of armor, such as the Samnite belt and the three-disk breastplate (Figure 1.2). Oscan inscriptions appear both in the private context of the tombs, and also in the most public platform in the city, painted on a stele, found in the center of the *ekklesiasterion* (Isayev, 2010; Crawford, 2006a). At this time historical narratives present these Oscan groups as the key competitors for resources on the peninsula along with Rome and other major centers such as Taranto.

Figure 1.2   Warrior returning home, from Andriulo Necropolis, Tomb 5340, Poseidonia (Paestum). Fourth century BC. Photograph: Elena Isayev.

By the early Hellenistic period we can identify four rival power hubs operating in Italy simultaneously. In part they replaced the authority previously held by Etruscan communities, which was already waning by the fifth century BC. To some extent the change arose from a re-centering of internal networks and alliances, allowing new actors onto the stage. When the Romans defeated Etruscan Veii in 396 BC, and as a result doubled their territory (Livy: 5.24; 30–31), Etruscan communities did not come to the aid of this powerful city. Rome's successful campaigns in this period allowed it to take over leadership of networks previously controlled by Etruscan polities, particularly in relation to Carthage, the other major operator in the Western Mediterranean. The treaties between Rome and Carthage that define each power's sphere of influence are recorded by Polybius (3.22–25), with the earliest dating to 509/8 BC. These may have been similar to those that Carthage had with other Italian polities such as Etruscan Caere (Serrati, 2006). The second and more substantial treaty of 348 BC includes clauses restricting Rome from founding cities on the far side of the Fair Promontory, at Mastia, Tarseum, Sardinia and Libya (Polybius: 3.24.4; 3.24.11), which gives a sense of the rapidly spreading Roman interests beyond Italy.

The shrinking of Etruscan power in the north of Italy provided the opportunity for increasing Gallic influence that spanned the Alpine mountain range. The Gallic sack of Rome in 389 BC (Livy: 5.35–55) may be one of the signs of this growing power, which suggests a new hostile incomer, with little history on the peninsula (e.g. Livy: 5.24; 5.33–35). Such a scenario is challenged by the material record from the northern regions. In the Veneto and Liguria, archaeological evidence points to the presence of these groups within Italic settlements visible already from the seventh century BC (Häussler, 2007: 45; Lomas 2007: 36). In Padua, a mixture of Celtic and Venetic names, such as Tivalos Bellenios, appears on inscriptions (Prosdocimi, 1988: 288–92), and funerary stelai exhibit Celtic motifs in the iconography (Fogolari, 1988: 102–03). The history of the early interaction of these groups is similar to that of Greek and local integration at sites in the south of the peninsula. In the heel of Italy, by the fourth century BC Taranto had successfully taken over the position that had previously been held by Kroton, and sustained it with the help of Italic allies and overseas connections, exploiting the ambitions of foreign generals from Macedon and Epirus. At the same time Oscan communities of the Central Apennines drew their power from other links, especially through their connections with the tyrants of Syracuse, who had their own agendas and used Italian allies and manpower to achieve them. Areas of earlier Etruscan influence in Campania were now taken over by Oscan speakers, who appear prominently at such sites as Neapolis, Capua, Pompeii, and Poseidonia.

These competing spheres of influence led to interregional links across the peninsula, gradually tying it into a single web. In so doing it increased the opportunities for knowledge-sharing that contributed to the other major peninsula-wide change in the settlement pattern: the infilling of the countryside through the proliferation of rural settlements. This phenomenon has been in part attributed to the development of agricultural technologies coupled with colonizing strategies that led to a more intensive exploitation of the landscape and reclamation of marginal territories (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 161–65). While there were local variations and diverse causes for this spread it was evident in all the regions of Italy. It could be that such dense populating of the landscape focused attention on Italy as a single landmass with a finite territory available for exploitation. Such a perception is implied in the Roman agrarian laws and the second-century BC land reform policies of the Gracchi that aimed at redistribution and placed limits on land-holding. All these forces within and outside Italy – some emanating from urban centers, others operating from a more diffuse base – were brought together in the period that followed, culminating in a series of conflicts out of which Rome emerged as the lead polity overseeing the many interconnected networks that rapidly extended its power across the Mediterranean.

1.3   Single Communities – Cemeteries

So far our focus has been on the formation of polities and interactions between them. On the level of individual communities, the funerary material and the layout of cemeteries provide our best evidence for understanding the way that individuals related to each other and the internal groupings they formed. The spectrum of such relationships and hierarchies, as we understand them, includes princely (and princessly) society, clan- and kin-based factions, and egalitarian elements, all of which need not be mutually exclusive. The archaeological material provides opportunities for understanding the societal structures and their transformation, as well as challenges, due to the nature of the evidence base. For the early periods we know much more about the cemeteries than the settlements with which they were associated, particularly in the Apennine regions, but there is a sharp drop in the amount of funerary evidence across the whole peninsula from the fourth century BC. It is furthermore difficult to know how representative any cemetery is of the community which used it, as burial may have been reserved only for certain groups and individuals, perhaps only elites or adults. In the Salento peninsula, which is considered exceptional in the South Italian Iron Age, we have no burial evidence until the sixth century BC, and then only a few examples. The communities of this region honored and disposed of their dead in archaeologically untraceable rituals, which only become visible when certain members of society had access to a more materially based form of burial (Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen, 2010: 126). In the following discussion a number of funerary cases primarily from Apennine Italy, will be used to explore the diverse forms of internal organization and the investigative process that informs our interpretations.

   The most visually impressive funerary evidence is to be found in the lavish Iron Age and Archaic chamber tombs of Umbria (Bradley, 2000: 92ff.), Etruria (Riva, 2010a), Campania (d'Agostino, 1988; Horsnaes, 2002; Cuozzo, 2007), Picenum (Colonna, 1992; Riva, 2004), and Latium (Fulminante, 2003). Many of these are lined with masonry walls and built into round earth tumuli that rise monumentally like small hills above the ground. They often contain multiple burials, with sarcophagi for inhumations and cinerary urns for cremations. These are accompanied by grave good assemblages that can include imported fine-wares, such as Attic black and red figure vases, bronze vessels, and banqueting implements, as well as jewelry, armor, and, most impressively, chariots. One such tomb at Monteleone di Spoleto in Umbria, contained a sixth-century BC chariot, whose bronze fittings depict what appears to be a scene from the myth of Achilles (Bradley, 2000: 94). It is not surprising that they are known as "princely" tombs, although to what extent they reflect a "princely" society, and what that would mean in this context is another matter (Morris, 1999; Ruby, 1999; Cuozzo, 2007). The extent to which such a princely led group may have differed from an organization that was centered on the clan or band is debatable (Smith, 2007a). What is clear is that such tombs represent an aristocratic culture that chose these funerary monuments as a way to display their wealth and power. Funerary assemblages, including imported goods as well as local ones, attest to extensive intercultural networks, connectivity that formed part of the power base that controlled resources and access to them. In a later period, such display moved from the personal to the civic and sacred sphere.

   In the central Apennines – the region associated with Samnium by ancient authors – funerary evidence has been employed to establish the existence and the nature of a Samnite *ethnos* (Salmon, 1967; Torelli, 1988). Inscriptions from the area with the self-referential term *safin-*, appearing from the fifth century BC, were believed to confirm the existence of such a cohesive ethnic group (La Regina, 1980; 1981; 1984). Its characteristically austere warrior mentality, of which later authors wrote when describing Roman wars with the Samnite enemy, was thought to be detectable within the burials. However, rather than cohesion within the

material record, what has been highlighted instead is the diversity of burial forms within the same region, and the extent of shared traits with other parts of Italy and links across the Mediterranean (Scopacasa, 2010; 2015). Rather than showing that the inhabitants of the region were essentially organized as an ethnic or "national" entity as described in ancient texts, the mortuary evidence points to a variety of other groupings that were the basis for community organization. Ethnicity may have had little role in inter-community ties and joint action. The extent to which any ethnic signifiers, as opposed to cultural traits, can be recognized in the material record becomes even more difficult to sustain (Shennan, 1994).

In the region of Samnium, lavish chamber tombs of the kind noted above are lacking, although some wealthy tombs do exist. One example is the so-called "grave of the princess" in Bisaccia, in which the inhumed body was covered in jewelry including amber beads and accompanied by bronze vessels (De Juliis, 1996a; Rathje, 2000). There are nevertheless other similarities in funerary practice which the region shares with those adjoining it (Scopacasa, 2015). Bronze disks that formed part of the armor, as displayed on the terracotta statue of the "Capestrano Warrior," are comparable to those found in ninth-century contexts in Umbria and Picenum. Similarities in the deposition of "Samnite belts" show cultural links with regions further south: Campania, Daunia, and Lucania. Other characteristics are shared across all Samnium and most of the surrounding regions. There is a common approach to the distribution of grave goods, with apparel such as jewelry and armor placed on the body, with objects such weapons and knives alongside it and vessels at the head or feet (Scopacasa, 2015). Another preference for supine burial in rectangular trenches is highlighted by the notable difference in the burying culture of neighboring Daunia, where crouching inhumations in circular pits was favored (Lo Schiavo, 1984; De Juliis, 1996b; Herring, 2000; 2007).

Cemeteries in Samnium may not have chamber tombs that provide a demarcated space to enclose a specific clan or kin unit. Nevertheless, the distribution of burials within a number of the cemeteries in Samnium, especially around the Sangro valley, suggests a similar interest in distinguishing the coherence of particular burial groups, often encircling a central grave that appears more prominent by its deposits (Scopacasa, 2015; Figure 1.3, Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5). It is from such patterns that we surmise that bands or clans were a key societal organizing method, where familial links may or may not have been a deciding factor. This cemetery organization differed from contemporaneous cemetery layouts that were associated with the Greek colonies, such as Poseidonia. Here the graves were not organized in groups nor with any clear hierarchical relationship that would suggest group enclaves, although individual burials could stand out, such as the painted tomb of the diver in Poseidonia. The distribution of burials in Greek colonial cemeteries may represent a more egalitarian society, or a disinterest in signaling power through the funerary sphere, but it should not be simply viewed as a difference between Greek and Italic communities. A number of cemeteries on the Adriatic coast of Samnium, such as at Porticone and Larino, are similarly organized without clear hierarchical structuring of burials (Scopacasa, 2015).

In those regions of Samnium where burials were organized hierarchically, the central-most prominent figure of each group need not have been male (Scopacasa, 2010). Women too were buried with the symbols of power, including banqueting and drinking equipment, chariots, and even weapons. The high position that was held by women is also notable in other regions. Wealthy burials are prevalent at Campanian sites such as Pontecagnano (e.g. tomb 2465) (Cuozzo, 2003; 2007) and in Etruria, where communal feasting between men and women is depicted on tomb paintings. Such practices differed significantly from those of the Greek sphere, consequently coming under scathing comment by the Hellenistic author Theopompus (*Philippica*: 43, cited in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae:* 12.517–18). It is notable that in the cemeteries of the Greek colonies of Poseidonia and Locri Epizephyrii, drinking equipment is primarily deposited with male burials and not female ones, suggesting a more
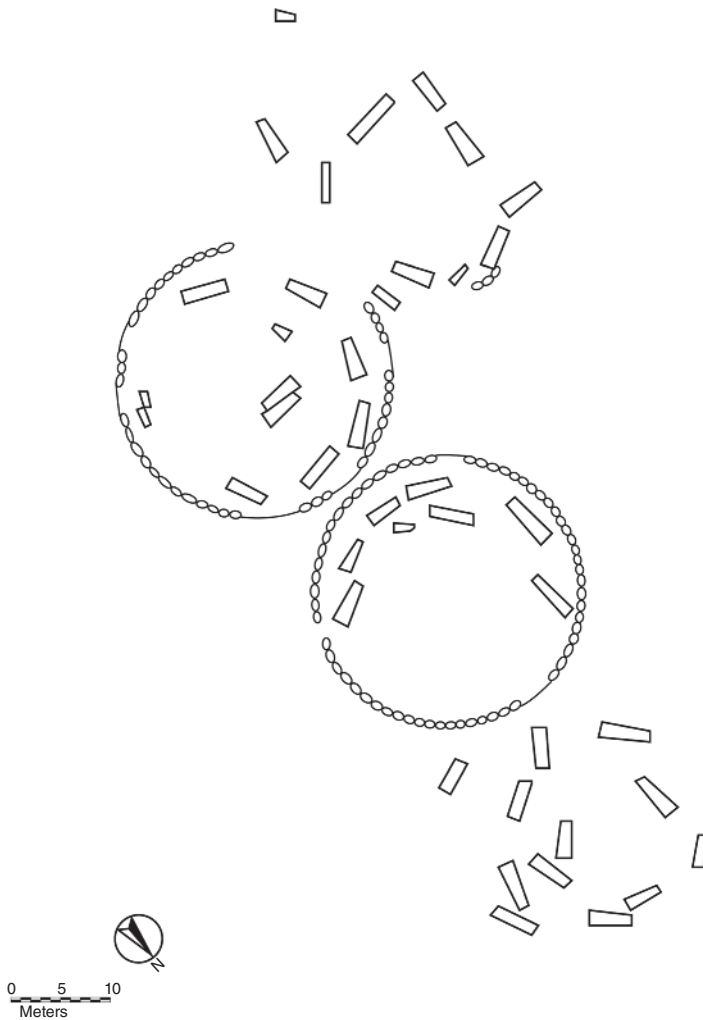
Figure 1.3 Necropolis of Alfedena. Redrawn by Antonio Montesanti after L. Mariani, 1901. "Aufidena." *Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 10: 225–638, tav.II.

male-dominated society (Scopacasa, 2010; Rathje, 1990; 2000; Spivey, 1991; d'Agostino, 1993; Bartoloni, 2003). Evidence for the powerful position of some Italic women may also be seen by inclusion of female names on curse tablets, such as that of the Etruscan Turana found in the Sicilian city of Selinus, dated to the fifth century BC (*SEG* IV, 38 (inv. s.n.); Heurgon, 1972–73; Tagliamonte, 1994: 93–94). Whoever she may have been, she had lived long enough in Sicily and held a high enough status there to have made enemies.

Whoever may have been the central figure within a burial group, whether male or female, a further question is how these groups interacted. Where no nearby settlement is known it is even difficult to tell whether a cemetery was used by a single centralized settlement or by a number of villages. In Latium at the prominent cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa, where 600 graves have been excavated, it is unclear whether the two Iron Age burial groups, which are distinguished by the nature of the pottery techniques, were representative of two kinship
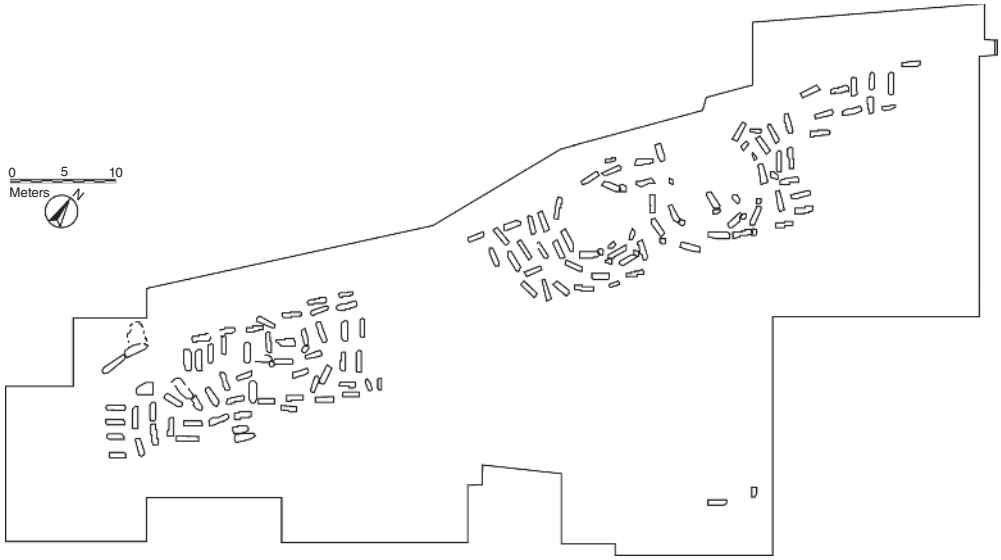
Figure 1.4 Necropolis of Alfedena – Campo Consolino. Redrawn by Antonio Montesanti after F. Parise Badoni and M. Ruggeri Giove, 1981. *Alfedena: la necropoli di Campo Consolino.* Chieti, Fig. 17.
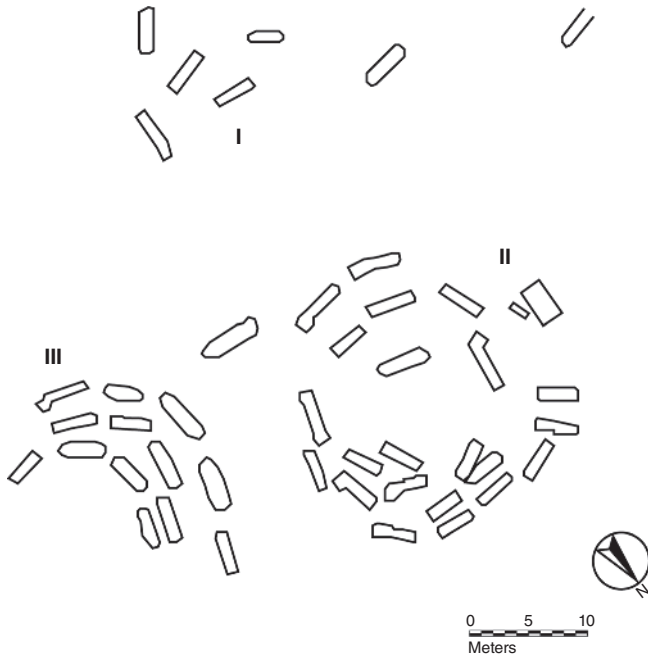

Figure 1.5 Necropolis of Opi – Val Fondillo. Redrawn by Antonio Montesanti after G. Tagliamonte, 1996. *I Sanniti. Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani.* Milan, Fig. 4.

groups or two settlements. Within both of these the internal organization is in clusters, where central cremations were surrounded by inhumations (Smith, 2007b). There is no straightforward model for how to read these sites, as demonstrated by the difference between two nearby settlements of Este and Padua in north Italy, which lie a mere thirty kilometers distance from each other (Lomas, 2007: 30–32). From the seventh century BC the settlement at Este has a number of burial areas, each associated with a concentration of houses, implying that it was a community which maintained a division along sub-groups. At Padua, in contrast, a single burial area on the east side of the city served the whole settlement. Nevertheless, the cemeteries of both of these sites expressed status difference through wealth and the distribution of the graves, with burials organized in clusters either in the open or within communal earth tumuli. As in Samnium either the clan or a non-kinship based group appears as the main unit of organization.

Hierarchical structures that were based on differential deposits or positioning of graves in the Iron Age began to change in the following period, with a rapid decline in the amount of wealth in the graves. At the same time, across the peninsula there is increasing evidence for investment in fortification walls, monumental architecture, and public works, whether in settlements or rural sanctuaries, some of which sported the latest Italic and Hellenistic styles. Wealth display appears to have shifted from a person-centered to a more commune-centered context, as we saw with the development of Veii. In the north Italian settlements of Este and Padua, by the fourth century BC the large clustered burials gave way to smaller tombs for individuals or just the nuclear family (Lomas, 2007: 31). Is this a sign of a more egalitarian society or rather a distribution among a wider elite group? The change may represent an interest of the elite in contributing to the well-being of a community rather than a focus on individual status; alternatively, it may be a shift to a wider platform on which to display one's power base. What the burial evidence shows is that on the whole it is difficult to identify clear regionally based trends that would suggest that they operated as coherent homogeneous units. Any such perspective is negated by diversity of practices within regions and by peninsula-wide phenomena that take effect almost simultaneously. By the third century BC there is very little funerary evidence anywhere in Italy.

1.4   Individual Networks and Mobility

From stories of characters such as Demaratus we can get a sense of wide-reaching networks and the multiplicity of backgrounds among community members. According to tradition, at some time in the eighth or seventh century BC, Demaratus and his band of followers from Corinth came to the shores of Italy (Livy 1.34–35; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*: 3.46–49; Strabo, 5.2.2; Polybius: 6.11a.7; Cornell, 1995: 122–30). Hospitality greeted them at the wealthy Etruscan town of Tarquinii, where Demaratus married a local girl, and their offspring Lucumo became the king of Rome under the name Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Demaratus is depicted as an exile escaping tyranny, a merchant and a craftsman, as well as the bringer of new technologies and ideas to Italy. It is also not by chance that Tarquinii was the chosen landing point: it was one of the vibrant and well-connected nodes of the Mediterranean that offered opportunities for the energetic looking for successful ventures. The prominent groups in Tarquinii, in their turn, would have benefited from the latest knowledge, expertise, and contacts that the likes of Demaratus would have brought, extending their networks and power base. It is also conceivable that they knew each other already. While many details of the Demaratus story are questionable, it is a very plausible scenario. The archaeological and epigraphic records from Italy for this period show substantial cultural

contact and trade between Corinth and Etruria, with trajectories extending through Campania and Latium (Cornell, 1995: 124–26; Osborne, 2004). We also know that the emporium and sanctuary at Gravisca, which is associated with Tarquinii, was a major cosmopolitan hub in the sixth century BC, and possibly a regional center for the export of wine *amphorae* (Peña, 2011: 190–91; Riva, 2010b: 220–21; Cristofani, 1996). It was only one of a number of such dynamic hubs, including the port sanctuary at Pyrgi, associated with the powerful city of Caere. Embodied in the character of Demaratus is a successful member of the mobile aristocratic community of the Mediterranean who could establish himself through his network of elite personal connections, which were powerful enough to place his offspring onto the Roman throne.

   Traces of such personal networks that operated in a domain external to any community organization are recognizable through the institution of guest friendship and gift exchange. They were embodied in objects, records of mutual friendship that acted as a binding contract extending over geographic distances and generations. The object itself, at times known as the *tessera hospitalis*, could be in a myriad shapes and designs, a ram or a lion for example (Figure 1.6 and Figure 1.7), and made out of a variety of materials, including ivory, metal, and terracotta. It consisted of two parts, each of which was kept by the parties whose names it recorded. We know how the object was used because Hanno the Carthaginian, a character in Plautus's play *The Carthaginian* (1047–55), carries one with him. As he arrives in Calydon, in Northern Greece, he presents it as proof of identity to the son of his now dead friend Agorastocles, who had the matching half of the *tessera* as a sign of the bond which they once had, and which the offspring would honor. We are also fortunate to have surviving examples of such objects from Italy and Rome and from other parts of the Mediterranean, attesting to links with individuals of Italic background (Arnott, 2004: 82; Cristofani, 1990: 21 no. 1.6, pl. 1; Turfa and Steinmayer, 2002: 21). One half of an ivory plaque of the sixth century BC, from a cemetery in Carthage, is carved in the shape of a boar (Figure 1.8 and Figure 1.9), and proclaims in Etruscan: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[---]na*; "I (am) Puinel from Carthage…" (Prag, 2006: 8–10; Rix, 1991: Af 3.1; Messineo, 1983; Acquaro, 1988: 532–37). It is testament of a link between a Carthaginian and his Etruscan-speaking guest-friend. These objects would have

Figure 1.6 Ivory Lion, sixth century BC from Sant'Omobono, side A. Inv. AC 27878, Capitoline museum, Rome. Photo copyright: Musei Capitolini, Rome.
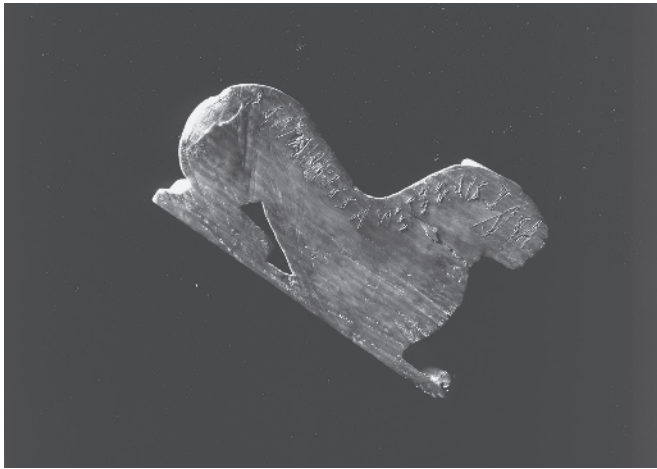
Figure 1.7 Ivory Lion, from Sant'Omobono, side B. Name inscribed in Etruscan: *Araz Silqetenas Spurianas.* Inv. AC 27878, Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo copyright: Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Figure 1.8 Ivory Boar, sixth century BC from a necropolis near ancient Carthage, side B. Drawing: Antonio Montesanti after E. Peruzzi, 1970. *Origini di Roma: La. Famiglia*, vol. 1, Florence: Valmartina, tav. I.

formed part of a wider system of private contracts and hospitality on which the Mediterranean network was based. The remains of banqueting and commensality that would have been crucial to maintaining these ties are found in the elite burials of both men and women. Scenes of such activities – banqueting, games, and processions – are also found on tomb paintings and depicted on vessels from the northern regions of the peninsula (Frey, 1986; Lomas, 2007: 33). They represent an elite culture not dissimilar to that of the Homeric world, which they could have easily fitted into, and perhaps to which they, along with their other Mediterranean compatriots, aspired (Malkin, 1998; 2002).
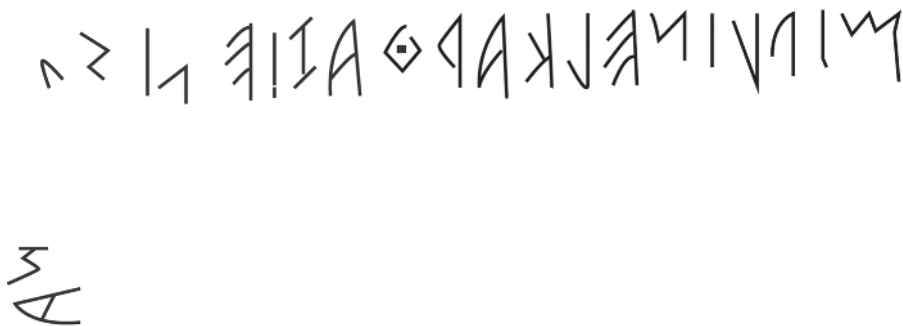
Figure 1.9 Ivory Boar, from a necropolis near ancient Carthage. Close up of inscription on side B, inscribed in Etruscan: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[---]na* (I (am) Puinel from Carthage…). Drawing: Antonio Montesanti after E. Peruzzi, 1970. *Origini di Roma: La Famiglia*, vol. 1, Florence: Valmartina, tav. II.

1.5   Community Organization Beyond Territory

When we picture early Italy through the mytho-histories of ancient writers, kingship appears quite prominently, and we are most familiar with it from the colorful exploits of the Etruscan kings of Rome (Cornell, 1995). As an institution, however, it is by no means straightforward, not least because in the Roman case for several generations the position was held by elected non-Roman elites. The so-called Tarquin dynasty, of which Demaratus's offspring may have been the initiator, came to rule over the *populus Romanus*, a community not its own. Tradition then depicts vibrantly how the dynasty was overthrown in 509 BC by that same community to be replaced by a republican system headed by two elected Roman consuls (Wiseman, 2008: chs 16–18). It is still unclear how these kings and the consuls who superseded them differed from the superior magistrates in other parts of Italy whom we know about from epigraphic evidence. These include the *meddix touticus*, a supreme Oscan magistrate, well attested in the central Apennines, (Bispham, 2007b; Dench, 1995: 135–36; La Regina, 1989: 304), the *uhtur* in Umbria (Bradley 2000: 178–83) and the *zilath* from the Etruscan sphere. Were these leading individuals the descendants or successors of those whose burials were at the center of chamber tombs and burial clusters in the earlier period? The complexity of institutional development is well attested within the urban environment of Rome (Cornell, 1995; Wiseman, 2008; Forsythe, 2005), with its annually elected consuls, later supported by the tribunes of the plebs and a series of other magistracies, such as the censors. The system for making decisions and pooling resources on behalf of the community operated using the mechanisms of the senate, the military and civic assemblies, and alongside them priestly colleges. As far as we know, other Italic communities had versions of these forms of organization as well.

Beyond urban-based polities we have epigraphic evidence for deliberative bodies and processes not dissimilar to the model at Rome, but what defined the community which they served is more difficult to pinpoint, as it may not have been based around a single settlement. Here we will focus on community forms that were represented by the Oscan term for the largest socio-political grouping, the *touta*. It is most prevalent in the Central Apennines, where it is also written as *tota* and associated with *trifu* in the Umbrian context (Bradley, 2000: 181), and *teuter* in the Veneto (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi, 1967: 264–68). It could be used to represent either an individual settlement-based community (Letta, 1994), or a combination of these that might form a unified people (La Regina, 1981: 129–37). While

there is some overlap with the terms *nomen* and *populus* in Latin, they are not exact substitutions, partly because the Latin terms also changed over time. One of the earliest instances of *touta* dates from the sixth/fifth century BC, as part of a dedication on a ceramic vessel from Castelluccio (Crawford, 2011: Lucania/NERLULUM 1, p.1340). The inscription, *toutikem dipoterem*, is written in what may be early Oscan using the Achaean alphabet. Its meaning is controversial but generally taken to be an offering made to the deity of the community, possibly Jupiter (Arena, 1972). There is no indication as to what the name of the "community" may have been, nor does it give us any sense of the constituency of the group. Other instances of the term, mainly dating from the Hellenistic period, are found in dedications and legal texts. *Touta* appears on a fragmentary *lex*, dated circa 300 BC, inscribed on a bronze tablet from the settlement of Roccagloriosa (Gualtieri and Poccetti, 2001: 239–40, Side B, 4). It reads: *[… p]oust touteikaiß aut […]*, which is a reference either to the people or the public good, the *populus* or *res publica* in Latin. The term appears in similar contexts in a much later Oscan legal text of the early first century BC *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* (*RS* I, 13).

These texts indicate the presence of a bounded community with a central authority which had decision-making powers and jurisdiction over its members. Such membership, as citizenship, implies that those who did not hold it were excluded. In Umbria, a unique text on the *Tabulae Iguvinae* records the ritual ceremonies for the purification of the Iguvine *poplo* and includes those who were banished, such as the Tadinates and the Etruscans (Rix, 2002: ST Um 1; Sisani, 2001: 216; Bradley, 2000: 181–83; Weiss, 2010). The Tadinates, for example, would have had their own internal membership, but as a community or tribe they also belonged to a wider grouping that in Latin may be called a *nomen*. *Touta*, *nomen*, and *poplo* represent units of membership with intentionally created frameworks of belonging that could be delimited along socio-political as well as other constructed boundaries, including religious, military and ethnic. How quickly these were superseded by new Roman frameworks of belonging is questionable. These corporate designations may have continued to exist even after Roman citizenship was extended to the whole of the peninsula in 89 BC. They could have functioned alongside the system of colonies and *municipia*, which represented the new vehicles through which one was officially tied to a particular community and one's citizenship rights were enacted (Bispham, 2007a; Sherwin-White, 1973: 134).

1.6   Supra-Community Organization

This chapter began with the image of fluid borders, and ties that stretched beyond them. In most ancient narratives early Italy and its communities are presented as the static receivers of knowledge and culture which they then absorbed and mediated. To redress the imbalance within ancient literature, epigraphic and other evidence has been used to stress the active involvement of Italic communities within the Mediterranean trade networks, and especially that of the Etruscans who are the most visible in the material record (Cristofani, 1996; Naso, 2001; Bonfante, 2003; Izzet, 2007: 215–23). Etruscan cities, such as Caere, had strong links and rivalries with centers overseas, Massilia and Carthage among them. Finds of Etruscan-produced wine *amphorae* in the south of France are a testament to the commercial activities of these Italic groups with the Gauls in that region, which pre-existed the Greek foundation of Massilia (Riva, 2010b: 213–14; Dietler, 2005: 46–47; Gori and Bettini, 2006). It may even be the case that, as recorded by Diodorus Siculus, Gaulish elites traded slaves for wine in this period (Diodorus Siculus: 5.26.3). Possibly the availability of this human resource may have allowed for the construction projects and embellishment of sites such as Veii in the sixth century BC. Shipwrecks, such as the Archaic Giglio Campese that sank fifteen kilometers. off the Italian coast, most likely en route to Massilia, reveal the variety of Italian products traded

around the Mediterranean (Peña, 2011: 184–89). Its cargo included numerous *amphorae* from Vulci with pine pitch, olives and maybe wine, as well as stone anchors, and copper and lead ingots probably from Giglio itself. Etruscan craftsmanship was sought-after even in Greece as indicated by Critias (Critias cited in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.28b–c). These economic activities coupled with traces of overseas expansion at such sites as Alalia on Corsica, are evidence that Italic communities, especially the Etruscans, were a maritime power already in the sixth century BC (Riva, 2010b: 214–16; Cristofani, 1996; Izzet, 2007).

In order to maintain a successful trading environment among the competitors and keep it free from pirates, many of whom were Etruscan, it was necessary to establish cooperative modes of understanding with other powerful polities that had shared interests (Bederman, 2001). The most visible of these is the relationship between the Etruscans and Carthaginians. An inscription on gold plaques at the Caeretan port sanctuary of Pyrgi includes a dedication to the Punic deity Astarte by the king of Caere, inscribed in Phoenician and Etruscan (Heurgon, 1966; Bonfante and Bonfante, 2002: 64–68). The far-reaching power of the Etrusco-Carthaginian alliance was important enough to have been recorded by Aristotle (*Politics*: 3.5.10–11). Herodotus (1.166–67) provides further insight into their joint ventures, and an alliance to counteract the influence of the Phocaeans, which culminated in the Sardinian sea battle of 540 BC (Riva, 2010b: 214). The Etrusco-Carthaginian success secured the Etruscan hold on the trading zone in the north Tyrrhenian, but could not prevent Massilia from developing into a Greco-Celtic power base. The competition between Massilia and the formidable Etruscan city of Caere was not only evident on the Western Mediterranean seas; both of these polities, and their elites, also had presence on a more global stage, through the erection of treasuries at the sanctuary of Delphi (Laroche and Nenna, 1992; Jacquemin, 1999; Caeretan treasury, Strabo 5.2.3; Massiliote treasury, Diodorus Siculus: 14.93.3; Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*: 8). A couple of centuries later, once Rome emerged as a substantial power and took over the network from Caere and other leading Etruscan cities, it replaced them as the key partner with Carthage, and also developed long-standing good relations with the Massiliotes (DeWitt, 1940). When the Romans won their victory over Veii and wanted the success marked globally, in 394 BC they dedicated a golden bowl to be deposited at Delphi in the Massiliote treasury. The story recounted by ancient authors describes how the Roman ship delivering the bowl to Delphi got waylaid by patrolling Lipareans, who mistook them for Etruscan pirates (Strabo: 6.2.2). It implies that the Romans were at this point newcomers to this international stage, but not for long.

1.7　Sanctuaries as *Fora*

Sanctuaries such as Delphi are well known to have been more than just the intersections of the human and divine: they were also relatively neutral inter-community meeting spaces. In that capacity they acted as platforms for state displays of power and provided a civic frame for ostentatious dedications by wealthy citizens (Neer, 2004). In Italy extra-mural sanctuaries and sacred groves had similar roles and were used as emporia and political meeting centers. They were a significant part of the mechanism through which multi-settlement and supra-community ties were negotiated and action was organized. Ancient texts record the use of rural sacred sites for gatherings, such as that of the Latins on the Alban Mount for the festival of the *Feriae Latinae* (Livy: 32.1.9; 37.3.4), or the more military assembly of Etruscans at the shrine of Voltumna (Livy: 4.23.5–4.25.6-8; 5.17.6–8; 6.2.2). The two major Etrurian sanctuaries already mentioned – Pyrgi and Gravisca – were dynamic cosmopolitan hubs that acted as in-between spaces for locals and outsiders serving the cities of Caere and Tarquinii, respectively. One way that their role has been understood is through the concepts of hybridity and the Middle Ground, where

distinct cultures come together and through interaction form a new cultural entity (Malkin, 2002). While such sites may have been exceptionally cosmopolitan, the mixed population they sustained was also comparable to any successful coastal or inland port city, and hence the idea of a gateway or intersection may be more relevant in describing their role.

In the more mountainous landscapes of Samnium and Lucania it is plausible that the rural sanctuaries, which gained permanent structures in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, had the additional role of acting as a forum would in a city. Such public spaces could be shared by a number of settlements, perhaps the remit of a *touta*. In Rome, temples were also multi-purpose structures, used for meetings and as galleries to exhibit the spoils of victorious generals. So too in Samnium the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante displayed the armor of Romans and others over whom victories were won (Stek, 2009: 39). Despite their substantial remains, Italic sacred sites are rarely mentioned by ancient authors and then often only in passing (Figure 1.10). The extant literary sources make no reference to the impressive temple-theater complex at Pietrabbondante in Samnium (Stek, 2009; Bispham, 2007b; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 137–43), or the monumental court-sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, in Lucania (Cracolici and Nava, 2005; Isayev, 2007; 2010). We have little understanding of who was responsible for their creation and whether it was through the efforts of small groups and elites or the joint initiatives of several communities. These sites do not represent any straightforward expression of territoriality, nor are they the materialization of borders, as may be the case in more urban environments. In the Veneto, the sacred precincts of Este developed on the perimeter of the city's territory, while at Padua, those that were further from the town appear to have been located on the border between its territory and that of Este. In the higher hinterland of the

Figure 1.10 Sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, view from the theater to the valley. Photograph: Elena Isayev.

Veneto, sanctuaries were positioned in the midst of rural territory away from centers (Lomas, 2007: 26), along a pattern that is not dissimilar to that of the rural sanctuaries in the Apennines.

It is not a given that all communities and polities occupied space bordering on others, which is only one model based on complete territorial occupation. Instead, a number of these rural sacred sites appear to be located in the midst of resource landscapes, such as pasture land, or at the center of crossing transhumance routes and other trajectories (Stek, 2009; Crawford, 2003: 62–63). Such positioning may be distinguished from those of extra-urban sanctuaries that are located immediately outside a specific settlement, such as for example that of Iguvium. The *tabulae Iguvinae* delimited the *poplo*, and it also outlined the rite for sancti-fying the sacred grove, and the rituals within it (Weiss, 2010). In this case the primary role of the rituals and the sanctuary, which may not have been permanent, was to create and entrench a shared identity through practice and repetition. In this sense it has more in common with the festival of the *Feriae Latinae* in which the Latins took part on the Alban Mount.

In the case of Pietrabbondante and Rossano di Vaglio, the diversity and wealth of material from the sites suggest that these sanctuaries attracted a more global audience than that of a single settlement or group. From the fourth century BC newly built permanent structures drew on a mixture of the latest fashions, which at the time must have rivaled other such mon-uments on the Italian peninsula. As noted in the discussion on cemeteries, it is precisely at this

Figure 1.11   Pietrabbondante theater, *cavea* seating with carved griffin. Photograph: Elena Isayev.

Figure 1.12 Pietrabbondante theater, telamon supporting the parodos retaining wall. Photograph: Elena Isayev.

point that we see the disappearance of funerary evidence and a shift of wealth investment from individual burials to the communal sphere. The resulting products of this new use of resources were such gems as the Pietrabbondante theater complex. It may not be the most impressive in its size but it is in the attention to detail in its architecture and positioning. It showcases Italic trends in temple construction and combines them with Hellenistic features in the theater design. The rows of seating in the *cavea* are guarded by carved griffins (Figure 1.11), while kneeling telamons support the retaining wall of the parados (Figure 1.12). Under the shadow of the temple, these creatures stare at each other across the auditorium which, from its high perch on the hillside, faces an uninterrupted breathtaking view of the valley. The environment that was created by this site is similar to that of the later first-century BC terraced sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste in Latium, with its dramatic views.

No such monumental structures survive at the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, which has a different architectural tradition. The site is centered on a large paved court area or piazza with fountains on the sides and a central altar of considerable proportions, stretching to some nine meters. Surrounding this open area are buildings, some with porticos and large rooms, which may have been used for ritual dining and votive deposition. Although it does not have a stone theater, slanting into the piazza is a natural bowl-shaped terrace that could easily have formed

a theater environment, which still has the remains of a central stone entrance flanked by the two fountains. The lack of a temple at the site relates to the particular architectural and ritual context of the region, where many of the sanctuaries use a similar layout of buildings around a courtyard, rather than having the temple as the focus of sacred activity. What Rossano di Vaglio shares with Pietrabbondante is its pattern of rise and decline. Both sites received substantial structures in the fourth century BC, which were then embellished in the following two centuries. By the first century BC the level of activity at these sites had severely diminished, and they were no longer operational by the time of the early Empire.

Rossano di Vaglio and Pietrabbondante both have rich material remains, in the form of votives that include sculpture, jewelry, and coins, and a large number of inscriptions, a substantial number of which are in Oscan. They indicate that Mefitis was the primary deity worshipped there among others, including Jupiter, Mamers and Venus (Lejeune, 1990; Isayev, 2010). The rich epigraphic evidence records the patrons who contributed to the embellishment of the sites and refers to magistrates, deliberative bodies, and other institutional frameworks which operated through them, or at least encompassed the sanctuaries in their business. What makes the collection of epigraphic texts stand out is the otherwise small number of inscriptions dating prior to the first century BC which have been recovered from any one site in the regions where these sanctuaries were based. They are testament to the wide-ranging audience that frequented these sites over several centuries and the important position they held. Their decline is paralleled by the Roman-induced spread of the organizational model which used the public spaces of the urban framework, including the *municipia* and the colony, for any display and gathering. The rural sacred sites, no longer functional in their capacity as centers for communal gathering and display, and increasingly distant from new road networks, were abandoned. Their sacred rituals were apparently secondary to their other socio-political roles.

1.8   Free Agents and Organization of Instant Communities

This final section looks at organizations and operators that existed outside community structures. Pirates were one such group, and, although a menace, they were also key distributors of resources around the Mediterranean that could be enlisted to help or hinder opponents (De Souza, 2002; Horden and Purcell, 2000: 386–87). Etruscan pirates were well known and operated over a wide area, as demonstrated by the capture of the Roman ship, mistaken for pirates, on its way to Delphi. Other well-known Italic pirates are attributed as originating from the Volscians and the Samnites (Livy: 8.26.1; 8.13.5; 3.1.5–7; Thiel, 1954: 8; Patterson 2006: 194–95, 199). Piratical activities bound a disparate group of people into a mobile community. They created connectivity not only amongst themselves but also, inadvertently, through encouraging joint state action in an attempt to stop them. By the end of the Republic they were a substantial enough group to be used as a tool in Roman political competitions, especially when it came to Pompey (Cicero, *On Duties*: 3.49; De Souza, 2002: 177). It also became convenient to label marginal groups as pirates, or as harboring pirates, to justify their suppression.

Operating outside any single community structure, another powerful group was created through the mercenary recruitment system. Mercenary armies formed some of the most visibly mobile groups in the Mediterranean, possessing a certain degree of independent agency both as individuals and as units. Soldiers from Italic communities made up just one fraction of a heterogeneous mass that was hired for military operations in the employ of tyrants and

states at least as early as the archaic period (Tagliamonte, 1994). The literary sources are most vocal about the activities of the Campanian cavalry hired by the Syracusan tyrants from the fifth century BC onward (Diodorus Siculus: 13.44.1–2). Their infamy was not simply due to their success, but their supposed brutality, fickleness, and powerful persistent presence in Sicily, which took on the form of autonomous communities. They infiltrated Sicilian settlements, when in the employ of Dionysius I of Syracuse, who is said initially to have engaged some 1200 Campanians for his cause (Frederiksen, 1968; Nicolet, 1962). The archaeological evidence from the Sicilian towns of Entella and Messana reflects the deep penetration of these military incomers, and the powerful positions which they occupied. They created an instant community, which minted its own coinage with legends KAMPANON and MAMERTINON (Tagliamonte, 1994: 243ff; Säström, 1940; I. Lee 2000; Crawford, 2006b; 2011, Sicilia/ MESSANA 1, p. 1511). They also introduced their own socio-political structures. Inscriptions attest to the use of the Oscan language and the application of Italic institutional forms with references to magistrates as *meddices* and the community as *touta* through the third century BC. On the architrave of the temple of Apollo at Messana, a dedication using the Greek alphabet gives the names of two *meddices*, Stenius Calinius Statis and Maras Pomptius Numsedis, of the *touta* Mamertina (Crawford, 2006b; Tagliamonte, 1994: 258–59; Crawford, 2011, Sicilia/ MESSANA 4, p. 1515–16). From the onomastic evidence at Messana, it is evident that the Mamertines, whose origins are still disputed, were a heterogeneous group, with roots not only in Campania but spanning across much of central and southern Italy, whose members even included such well-known *gens* names as the Claudii (Crawford, 2011, Sicilia/MESSANA 6, p. 1519–20; Tagliamonte, 1994: 260).

As Roman hegemony spread across the Mediterranean, opportunities for free agents to choose their military career paths became much more constrained. Within Italy the supply of military contingents was by then determined by the hierarchical status of different communities in their relationship to Rome, whether as *socii* (allies) or as citizens with or without the vote (*civitas sine suffragio*). Therefore, any mercenary troops upon which Rome itself would depend came from those communities that lay outside the system. In this way Rome made use of the Celtiberians in the Second Punic War (Livy: 24.49.7; 25.32) and Cretan archers against Philip of Macedon in 197 BC (Livy: 33.3.10). The network of alliances that was progressively centered on Rome required that communities took responsibility for the external military actions of their members, which were severely curtailed.

1.9   Conclusion

At what point can we talk about Italy as more than just a landmass projecting into the Mediterranean? Was it when Hannibal forced the communities to choose sides and hence recognize the extent to which their histories and fates were interconnected? Or were the forces of cohesion already evident in the fourth century BC in the treaties and alliances that bound polities, and in the shared knowledge that allowed the exploitation of marginal lands and resources, hence leading to the infilling of the countryside? Cato's work the *Origines* is an expression of the interconnectedness of the various peoples who, along with the Romans, came to share the peninsula. Without doubt, by the time of the Social War, *Italia* had gained a new meaning. *Italia* was the legend that appeared on the coins of the *socii* who challenged the hegemonic regime led by Rome, and with the culmination of the war the reality of this coherent entity was cemented in the extension of the Roman citizenship to all those in Italy who lived south of the Po in 89 BC. The shores were no longer fluid, but became the edges of a sphere that rotated around Rome, or at least that is what the leaders in the capital hoped. A century later, Lucan, writing in Nero's Rome, consciously questioned Rome's fixity

and centrality: Rome did not depend on its urban fabric or site, but could exist wherever good Romans were (Lucan, *Pharsalia*: 5.27-30; Masters, 1992; Bexley, 2009; Edwards, 1996: 64–66).

FURTHER READING

The works cited here are those, primarily in English, which have been published since the survey by Curti, Dench, and Patterson 1996. The most recent review of ancient Italy is the volume edited by. Bradley, Isayev, and Riva 2007 which includes references to more detailed regional studies. Other major collections on Italian themes include: on connectivity, mobility, and colonization – Horden and Purcell 2000, Harris, ed, 2005, Hales and Hodos, eds, 2010, van Dommelen and Knapp, eds, 2010; G. Bradley and Wilson, eds, 2006, Isayev forthcoming; on state formation and identity – Terrenato and Haggis, eds, 2011, Gleba and Horsnaes, eds, 2011, *Confini e Frontiera* 1999, Cornell and Lomas, eds, 1995, 1997, Herring and Lomas, eds, 2000, along with other volumes compiled under the auspices of *Accordia*; on culture, integration, and Romanization – Keay and Terrenato, eds, 2001, Torelli 1999, Roth and Keller, eds, 2007; on epigraphy, literacy, and language – Cooley, ed, 2000; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002 (rev. ed.); Lomas, Whitehouse, and Wilkins, eds, 2007; on landscape archaeology and spatial modelling – Attema, Burgers, van Leusen, eds, 2010, H. Patterson, ed, 2004, Camassa, De Guio, and Veronese, eds, 2000; on Italic religion and sanctuaries – Bispham and Smith 2000; de Cazanove and Scheid 2003; Stek 2009; G. Bradley forthcoming; Nava and Osanna, eds, 2005; de Grummond and Edlund-Berry, eds 2011; Whitehouse 1992; Schultz and Harvey, eds 2006; Scheid 2003; Beard, North, and Price 1998. For an Italian series focusing on Magna Graecia, see *Atti di Taranto* and *BTCGI*; on Etruscans, the journal *Studi Etruschi*. The following projects make the primary evidence base more accessible, for Italian coinages – Rutter ed, 2001; for epigraphy, language, and grammar – Untermann 2000, Rix 2002; and most recently Crawford's 2011, *Imagines Italicae*, which supplements Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, 1953, and *Inscriptiones Italiae*.

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