RURAL CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN ETRURIA:
A STUDY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES
FROM THE 7TH CENTURY B.C. TO THE 1ST CENTURY A.D.

by
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ABSTRACT

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Rural Change and Continuity in Etruria
from the 7th Century B.C. through the 1st Century A.D.
(Under the direction of Nicola Terrenato)

Etruria in the Roman Period was a land of contrast. Throughout much of the region,

the Roman conquest significantly altered the traditional lifeways of Etruscans drawn into

Rome's growing Mediterranean system. In other areas, just a few kilometers away,

Etruscan inhabitants continued to follow pre-Roman patterns of residence and modes of

existence. These patterns of change and continuity can be found at every level of the

settlement hierarchy, from the largest cities to the smallest farmsteads. Numerous field

survey projects, both systematic and unsystematic, provide the basis for examining

divergent trends in the Etruscan landscape from the period of the formation of the major

Etruscan city-states to the creation of a mature Roman Etruria (a development of the 1st

century A.D.). This study attempts to analyze the diversity of Roman initiative and native

response across the divide of the Roman conquest by examining an understudied category

of evidence, the secondary nucleated center or village community. These communities are

examined in the context of their regional landscape and the political events surrounding the

processes of urbanization and Romanization in order to expose the underlying local

economic, social, and environmental conditions that interacted to produce a landscape of

heterogeneous experience in Etruria among residents of village communities. Such a

narrative offers a corrective to the traditional text driven models that have tended to focus

on elites and urban communities while ignoring individuals at the bottom of society.

To Courtney and Morgan.
My source of support and distraction throughout this process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AmerAnt	*American Antiquity.*
AmAnth	*American Anthropologist.*
AncW	*The Ancient World.*
AnnEconSocCiv	*Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilizations.*
AnnFaina	*Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina.*
AnnCortona	*Annuario. Accademia Etrusca di Cortona.*
AnnPisa	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.*
Antiquity	*Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology.*
ArchCl	*Archeologia Classica.*
ArchMed	*Archeologia Medievale.*
Athenaeum	*Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità, Università di Pavia.*
AttiPetrarca	*Atti e Memorie della Accedemia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*
BAR-IS	*British Archaeological Reports. International Series.*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal.*
CIE	*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CSSH	*Comparative Studies in Society and History.*
CurrAnth	*Current Anthropology.*
DialArch	*Dialoghi di Archeologia.*
DHA	*Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon. Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne.*

EtrStud	*Etruscan Studies. Journal of the Etruscan Foundation.*
GiornStorLun	*Giornale Storico della Lunigiana e del Territorio Lucense.*
Historia	*Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte.*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
JAnthArch	*Journal of Anthropological Archaeology.*
JArchRes	*Journal of Archaeological Research.*
JAT	*Journal of Ancient Topography.*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology.*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
LatAmAnt	*Latin American Antiquity.*
Latomus	*Latomus Revue d'Études Latines.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité.*
MonAnt	*Monumenti Antichi.*
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi.*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology.*
OpRom	*Opuscula Romana.*
Ostraka	*Ostraka. Rivista di Antichità.*
PAAR	*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome.*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome.*
Phoenix	*Phoenix. The Classical Association of Canada.*
PP	*La Parola del Passato.*

ProcBritAc	*Proceedings of the British Academy.*
QITA	*Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia Antica della Università di Roma.*
RassAPiomb	*Rassegna di Archeologia Classica e Postclassica*
RBPhil	*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.*
REA	*Research in Economic Anthropology.*
RendPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti.*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
RStLig	*Rivista di Studi Liguri*
SCO	*Studi Classici ed Orientali.*
StEtr	*Studi Etruschi.*
StMat	Studi e Materiali. Soprintendenza ai Beni Archaeologici per la Toscana.
StRom	*Studi Romani.*
WorldArch	*World Archaeology.*

CHAPTER 1
NEW HISTORY FOR ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ETRURIA

Because a fool kills a nightingale with a stone, is he therefore greater than the nightingale? Because the Roman took the life out of the Etruscan, was he therefore greater than the Etruscan? Not he! Rome fell and the Roman phenomenon with it. Italy today is far more Etruscan in its pulse; and will always be so. The Etruscan element is like the grass of the field and the sprouting of the corn, in Italy: it will always be so.[1]

Amongst some ancient historians there is the feeling that archaeologists are 'non combatant workers', who gather information in a manner that does not ask historical questions, while the historians fight the major battles.[2]

Change and Continuity in Rural Etruria: Two Rural Lives

At its most basic level, this work is the study of two lives lived in Roman Etruria. In the case of both of our hypothetical Romans, their actions were constrained by the deeply dissected landscape of the Italian Peninsula, and both individuals were compelled to tailor their agricultural schedule to the demands of the hot dry summers, and cool wet winters of the Mediterranean. Both Romans lived in small rural communities, and both witnessed the disappearance of independence from their homeland. Both saw the growth of Roman power. These two farmers, however, experienced vastly different patterns of existence in their day-to-day lives, and these two Romans had radically different notions of what it meant to be "Roman." Both lived outside major urban centers in smaller village sized communities. One farmer lived in a small masonry farmhouse newly built in his own generation, with the newly introduced architectural material of concrete. In fact, this farmer

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[1]Lawrence 1986, 61-62.

[2]Stoddart 1990, 39.

was a new arrival to his plot of land, a plot of land that did not exist as a unit before the reapportionment of the landscape associated with the confiscations of the Roman conquest. The second farmer lived in the same wattle-and-daub farmhouse that his ancestors had occupied for nearly a millennium and farmed the land that had always been associated with this homestead. Both commuted into the fields to perform their day's work.

The first farmer paid his rent to an absentee landowner who occasionally inhabited one of the major villas in the region, this money made its way directly to the officials located in the village community, perhaps a *forum* or a *statio* on one of the major Roman roads. These taxes were forwarded on to Rome through a capillary network that drew tribute into the city. The first farmer was tied to a patron through reciprocal obligations that were played out in the *atria* of houses in urban spaces or rural villas. The second farmer continued to be tied to local aristocratic families in patterns of patronage that were played out in relationships of dependence and land tenure. He maintained obligations to a local lord who skimmed off a large portion of his produce as payment in rent. In turn, he received legal protection and access to goods that he could otherwise not have secured within his local setting. In contrast, our first farmer acquired the goods he needed directly from within his community, or perhaps by making a trip into the nearby city, a place where he sought to sell his surplus crops and to buy new pottery wares and metal goods. The second farmer depended on rough local pottery, and upon his landlord for access to markets for his surplus.

The two lives described above, one representing an almost unaltered picture of continuity from a Pre-Roman period, and the other greatly affected by the political and administrative realities of the expanding political influence of Rome, are both the manifestation of a blending of long-term trends in the landscape of the Mediterranean. Yet,

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although subject to the same long-term influences and political events, both represent divergent, but equally common patterns of life in the rural context of the Roman Republic. Clearly, the notion of what it meant to be "Roman" in Etruria was vastly different for each of the individuals described above. The lives described above represent two stereotypes at the extremes of the experience of the Etruscan population in their post-conquest iteration. On the whole, the Etruscan landscape saw three types of long-term development associated with conquest: confiscation and colonization of Etruscan land with the eventual creation of large *latifundia*; peaceful colonization, including a large proportion of the native population in the new regimes of settlement and often characterized by extensive small-holding; and finally limited disruption of the Pre-Roman systems of land tenure and social relationships.[3] The goal of this study is then to ascertain why such divergent schemes occurred in such close geographic proximity, and to evaluate the pre-conquest nature of individual bits of the Etruscan landscape in an attempt to gain a diachronic perspective on the nature of change associated with the advance of Roman cultural and political dominance.

In order to accomplish the goal this study proposes to examine diachronic changes in the culture of Etruria through the interpretive window of an often-ignored type of site, the secondary nucleated center or village. This type of site is ideal for such a study due to its integrating function of the social and economic life of the countryside, as well as for the important role that such centers played in post-conquest reorganization of the landscape. Interactions between villages and other segments of the landscape such as cities, farms, and villas provide key areas of investigation on which to construct a new narrative of rural life

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[3]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 474-475.

in the Roman world.[4] I wish to set these interactions against a larger pattern of change and continuity in the rural economy and local material consumption. This evidence will allow us to round out the picture of the cultural implications of the Roman conquest with reference to rural structures within the empire and to see them as a continuation of long-term trends in the development of specific regions within Etruria.

In many senses, the questions posed by this study are not new. Scholars have wrestled with the cultural implications of the Roman conquest for a little more than a century, and in recent decades, there has been an extensive effort to begin to understand the Roman countryside of Italy. What <u>is</u> new is the attempt to present a complete diachronic account of the transition of rural structures that occurred along with the extension of Roman power.[5] There is a tendency to divide the period in question into its Roman and Pre-Roman components, leading to a dearth of works of a truly diachronic nature.[6] Such divisions are more severe due to the system of partitions within the academic establishment. Administrative fragmentation has led to different types of training among prehistoric and Roman archaeologists.[7] Thus, there is a gap in good studies of Romanization due to lack of Classicists' training in the area of acculturation studies and Pre-Historians lack of ability to

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[4]The masterful treatments of the Roman countryside produced by Dyson (2003 and 1992) have largely ignored the significance of these sites. Both works of Dyson, the most coherent reconstruction of the Italian countryside to date, are self-aware of their limits. In both cases the countryside that is presented is unapologetically Roman. This is unsurprising since the goal of Dyson's work was not the description of the process of cultural change that accompanied Roman expansion. In contrast, the work that has been done on the transition to Roman rule in the Italian Peninsula has been heavily biased in favor of urban spaces and written sources. cf. Lomas 1995, 1993; Harris 1971; cf. Barker (1988, 772-773) and Spivey and Stoddart (1990, 18) for an assertion of the same problems in association with Etruria. The studies of Petit 1994a and 1994b admirably study these questions in Gaul.

[5]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 298.

[6]Curti 2001, 21-22. The 3rd century B.C. is the key moment of transition from Pre-Roman to Roman patterns of domination. It is also the point at which many accounts of the prehistoric populations of Italy find their end point. Thus this crucial century is described by two different academic traditions in the absence of the contextualizing benefit of a diachronic perspective.

[7]Curti 2001, 21-22.

deal with the complex issues surrounding the interpretation of Roman historical and archaeological sources. The result is that patterns of discontinuity have been stressed, not because they existed across the board, but in part because of a lack of scholars available to synthesize the data in a way that is comprehensible to those in both fields.[8] Additionally, within Etruria the situation is compounded by the uneven coverage of research, heavily concentrated on the Southern Coastal region and the area surrounding the city of Veii. Because of this geographic concentration of research, many studies of the transition of the Etruscan landscape have focused on these regions while ignoring the remainder of Etruria. Even worse, some studies have used the patterns from these Southern segments of the landscape to generalize about the very different settlement schemes and history of Northern and Interior Etruria. Because of these various biases, archaeologists have been reluctant to write a synthetic account of the development of the interactions between rural and urban communities for the whole of Etruria during the period across the chronological divide marked by the Roman conquest. A synthetic regional account examining geographic, ethnic, and politically determined differences in the organization of the rural territories of Etruscan city-states associated with their transition into functioning parts of the Roman Empire is badly wanted. Nevertheless, it is not enough merely to examine non-urban societal structures at the moment of transition from Etruscan independence to Roman hegemony. In order to understand the myriad differences seen in the lives of Romans living throughout the Etruscan landscape it is necessary to trace the development of such structures from the inception of the Pre-Roman Etruscan culture through the point of maturity of the Imperial system, reached under the Julio-Claudians.

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[8]Dyson 1991, 27.

In addition to lacking a degree of diachronicity, most previous studies on the transition to Roman rule have concentrated on segments of the landscape that show the greatest degree of disruption. Only in recent years have scholars begun to realize that, throughout much of the empire, continuity rather than disruption was the standard pattern.[9] In contrast to a number of previous studies, this analysis will approach the problem of changes in political hegemony by considering the full continuum of experience from landscapes that saw high degree of disruption to those that saw little or no change in their social structure and land-owning regimes. In addition to documenting such patterns of disruption and continuity associated with the Roman conquest, I will provide some suggestions as to the reasons for the heterogeneous nature of the patterns based on Etruscan and Roman social and economic conventions. A combination of data derived from survey archaeology and texts can be used to create local histories of specific landscapes that will, in turn, reveal economic, political, and social differences that may have produced regional variability in the interaction between Roman and native communities at the time of contact.[10]

The Village in Traditional Histories of Etruria

This study will use the site type of the secondary nucleated center or the "village community" as the interpretive window through which rural cultural change will be viewed, providing a long overdue analysis of this traditionally neglected segment of the settlement hierarchy. This emphasis is intentional and as a result will marginalize the

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[9] See Dyson (1971), Harris (1979), and Carandini (1985b) for analyses that stress discontinuity; Cp. Terrenato 1998a and 1998b; Frederiksen 1976, 347-350; Woolf 2001; 1998 for an emphasis on continuity.

[10] See Dyson (1979, 91) and Leuilliot (1977) for the efficacy of local history in answering larger scale socio-cultural questions.

admittedly important role of such site types as sanctuaries and necropoleis for illuminating the life-ways of rural Etruria. Such a methodology will serve to balance the urban, religious, and mortuary biases present in most studies of transition. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in landscapes where a Pre-Roman structure of urban sites existed, studies of cultural change have focused on the life of the urban communities themselves and their elite residents.[11] In turn, the importance of intermediate and rural segments of the landscape in formulating Roman imperial culture has been marginalized in the most highly urbanized landscapes of the Empire, especially in places such as Etruria and Magna Graecia.[12] As noted by Emmanuele Curti:

> "We are still in ignorance about the specific relationship between indigenous cities or settlements and their lands. These kinds of questions need to be addressed and can only be answered through careful and systematic recording of the archaeological evidence. The impact of Rome will only be adequately gauged when we have a clear understanding of the pre-Roman context."[13]

This may be a reflection of the difficulty presented in writing the history of the hinterland of the major cities of Pre-Roman Italy based on texts alone.[14] The only major exception to the dearth of information on rural landscapes in highly urbanized zones comes in the form of villa studies.[15] These structures, nowhere the dominant settlement type and clearly the most obvious and concrete manifestation of Roman power within the rural landscape, have received extensive attention, again at the expense of other forms of rural communities. It

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[11]van Dommelen 1993, 167-168. As will be discussed later, the reason for this emphasis may have a great deal to do with the inherent biases of the written record and the emphasis on urban as opposed to rural excavations.

[12]Cf. Stoddart (1990, 39) on marginalization of the Etruscan countryside in ancient and modern historical treatments.

[13]Curti 2001, 20.

[14]Curti 2001, 20.

[15]van Dommelen (1993, 167-170) describes the problems inherent in using the villa as the interpretive lens for the remainder to of the countryside. Excellent examples of this type of villa literature include: Cotton 1979; Cotton and Metraux 1985; Carandini 1985b; Giardina and Schiavone 1981.

must be admitted, however, that in some areas of the Roman Empire villages have been the focus of extensive study.[16] Unfortunately, the areas where villages have served as the focus of analyses are landscapes where the pre-conquest indigenous societies displayed a non-urban pattern of settlement.[17] The interaction between Roman conquerors and the inhabitants of villages in this type of non-urbanized society are far different from those that occurred in regions where village communities existed as part of a settlement mosaic that included cities.

Secondary nucleated settlements, especially when located in heavily urbanized areas, present an ideal site type for studying the varied ways in which Italy became Roman due to the shear variety of responses to the presence of this type of native community that were elicited during the process of incorporation. As a result, the diachronic development of nucleated secondary centers allows a unique opportunity to consider the motivations and mitigating factors involved in the Roman desire to alter social structures, economic production regimes, and local settlement patterns throughout the larger geographical region of Etruria. At the same time, examining these secondary nucleated settlements draws the focus onto issues of rural rather than urban integration of the economic and social structures of the countryside. Village communities stand at a midpoint between municipal urban society, and the isolated peasant society that occupied the rural land of the empire. Because of their middling status, village culture mimics a sufficient number of characteristics of the social interactions found in fully urban contexts to allow for an appropriate use of urban cultural norms as analogies for the processes in operation within the sites in question. At the same time, these secondary nucleated centers provide a direct connection to the

[16]The role of the village in integrating society has received extensive attention in areas such as Samnium and Liguria. Cf. Oakley 1995; Frederiksen 1976; Sereni 1971.

[17]Patterson 1997; Frederiksen 1976, 346.

relatively disconnected world of the countryside due to their close connection with the rural productive landscape, sometimes acting as subsidiary elements of control over schemes of agricultural production. Thus, we can learn a great deal about both Etruscan and Roman society by beginning to examine where these communities were located and the ways in which they functioned within the larger settlement pattern.

A very small number of studies have considered secondary centers in the Etruscan landscape.[18] In these accounts, however, either the dynamism of this type of site tends to be underestimated, or facile assumptions are made restricting changes at this level of the settlement hierarchy to the transition from Etruscan independence to Roman rule. Thus, it is often assumed that the cultures with which Rome came into contact in the last centuries of the first millennium were static entities without their own trajectories of long-term development. Such an approach fails to take into account the variety of vital functions performed by secondary centers in the Pre-Roman landscape, and ignores significant trends in the development and reorganization of this category of site during the six centuries that preceded the rise of Roman power in Etruria.[19] This study will attempt to correct this past imbalance by focusing on the long-term development of secondary centers in both the Pre-Roman and Roman eras in Etruria. At the same time, it is important to consider the crucial and justifiably better-studied period of transition in the context of these larger developments.

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[18]It is worth mentioning here two valuable sources for information on the extra-urban landscape of Italy that were too late for consultation in the body of this work: Patterson 2006 and Witcher 2006.

[19]Curti 2001, 20.

Setting the Parameters of Study: Terminological, Temporal, and Geographic Limits

       At this juncture, it becomes necessary to pause for a moment in order to define the geographic and temporal limits of this study in conjunction with setting up a working definition for the type of sites that will be considered. We must begin by defining what is meant when we employ the term "secondary nucleated center", or "village community", a task that is notoriously difficult. In fact, both ancient Romans and modern scholars have struggled to develop a consistent terminology for village communities, let alone a standard set of characteristics for operationalizing a definition in the archaeological record. As Martin Frederiksen notes in one of the best surveys of secondary centers written to date, even ancient authors were careless in the way in which they referred to these types of settlements, using terms as varied as *oppidum, forum, vicus, conciliabulum,* and *pagus.*[20] As a result, for the time being it is easier to provide a working definition of the village, one that can be refined later in terms of a site's position in the settlement hierarchy, rather than by a checklist of formal criteria.[21] Village communities occupied a secondary level of the settlement hierarchy behind cities, which stood clearly at the top of any evaluation of the Etruscan and Roman landscapes. Village communities represent smaller agglomerations of population that are at least as large as a gathering of several farmsteads arranged in a nucleated pattern. Several different functional types of site fall within this category, such as road stations, small urban centers dependent on larger cities, and rural collections of significant population. Perhaps the key unifying criteria among all of these various types is the fundamental administrative dependence of each of these sites on larger urban centers.[22]

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[20]Frederiksen 1976, 343.

[21]Questions of both a formal definition of the site type as well as ancient conceptions and terminology used to describe these communities will be discussed in chapter 2.

The life of secondary nucleated centers appears to extend, in some cases, from even before the first origins of the Etruscan cities and continues down to Late Antiquity and in some cases into the Middle Ages.[23] The research aims of this study, to evaluate continuity and change in the structures of life present in village communities before and after the Roman conquest do not necessitate the consideration of such a lengthy time span. In order to answer the relevant questions, it is necessary to understand the function of secondary nucleated centers in three distinct settlement hierarchies, the Pre-Roman pattern of developing and developed city-states, the pattern of the landscape in transition, and the Roman pattern. In absolute terms, this defines the period under consideration as dating from the Late Orientalizing period to the Early Imperial Period, roughly the 7th century B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D. During the course of this period, our study region, Etruria, made the transition from a landscape of fiercely independent city-states, into a relatively staunch supporter of the imperial order. This study will consider the sample of secondary centers that saw significant occupation in any time from the Orientalizing Period down to the 1st century A.D. This catalogue does not claim to be exhaustive for sites that saw their demise before the 4th century B.C., but does aim at complete coverage of all known village sites whose demise or foundation occurred in the centuries surrounding the conquest. The sample also attempts to be exhaustive concerning sites that survived the Roman transition.

As mentioned above, this study will be conducted within a set of geographical confines as well as the temporal ones delimited above. I intend to survey the development of this particular site type within the region of ancient Etruria, a section of central Italy

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[22] As a result of this criterion, these sites form a sort of grab-bag category and trends will need to be fleshed out for each individual type.

[23] Cambi 2004; Augenti and Terrenato 2001.

Figure 1. Physical Geography of Etruria (Adapted from Boatwright et al. 2004, Map 2.3).
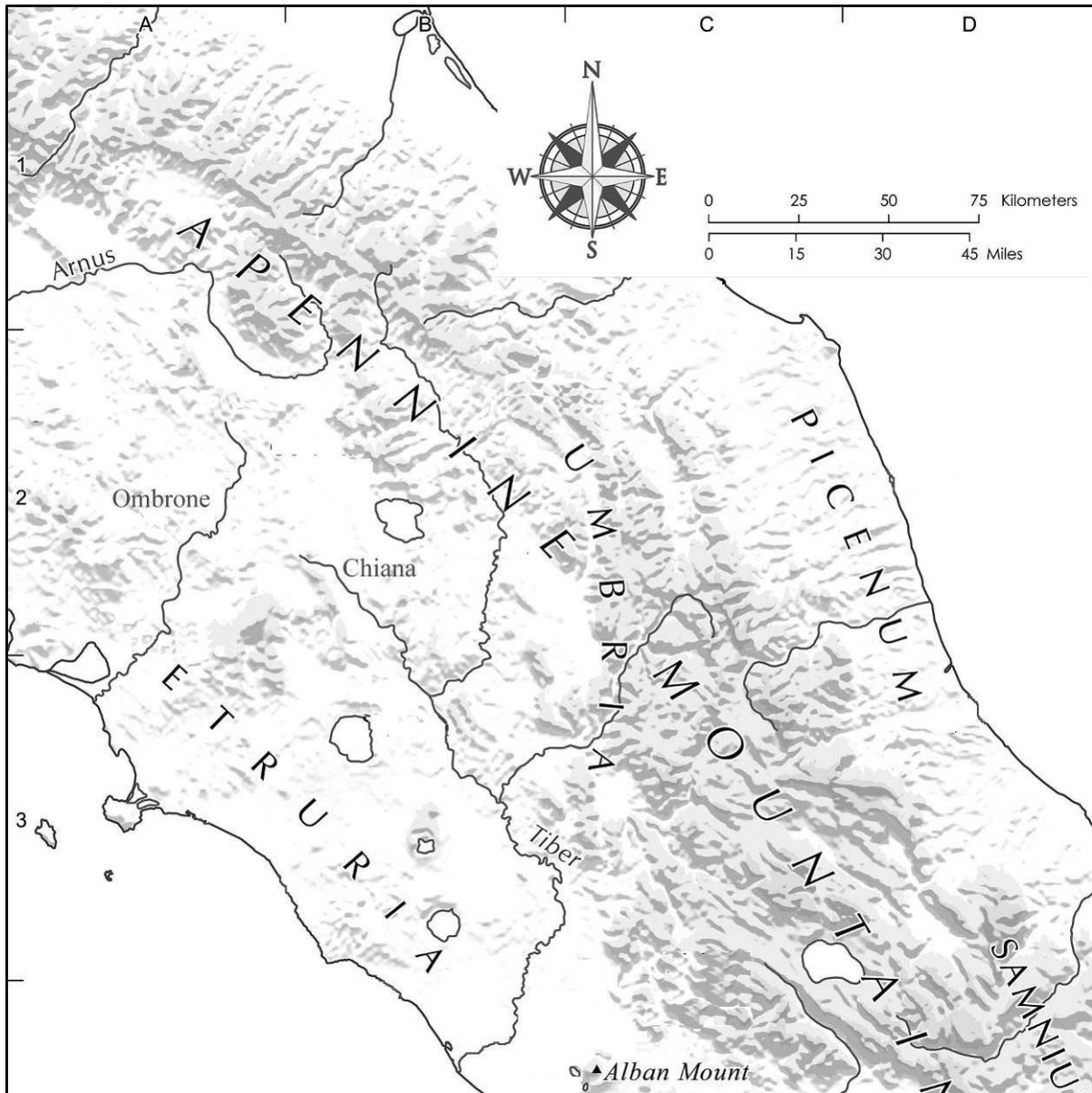
roughly bounded by the Tiber and Arno rivers (See Figure 1.).[24] The mountains separating the Tiber and Chiana Valleys from the Coastal plain divides the landscape into a pair of North-South corridors. In addition, the landscape is separated into two geological zones. Sandstone derived soils dominate the Northern segment of Etruria, the area to the North of the Ombrone, while volcanic soils characterize the Southern portion. **T**he choice of this

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[24]Strabo, *Geog.* 5.2.

study region is a function of the abundant evidence for rural settlements in conjunction with a plethora of written sources that make Etruria an ideal case study. The written sources, however, will serve as a guide for only a portion of the period in question as a segment of our chronological span occupies the realm of pre-history.[25] In many ways the notion of a dialogue between history and pre-history is an arbitrary distinction, since in a majority of cases the margins of society, rural areas in particular, are often a-textual even in a historic period, ignored by the texts that exist.[26] These segments of the landscape are occupied by what have come to be known as people without history.[27] This is not to imply that Etruria is a typical Roman region. In at least one respect, Etruria is unique. The Romans saw Etruria as special in terms of the impact that Etruscan cultural institutions had made on the social and political development of the Roman state. In addition, because Etruria was incorporated into the empire early in the expansion process, the region provides a model for Rome's expansion in its embryonic stages.

Making Rural History: An *Annales* Perspective

Past attempts at creating a model for cultural change and continuity associated with Roman expansion have been heavily based on textual sources and have traditionally ignored the contribution offered by the study of material culture. Perhaps this is a result of the heavy bias toward textual sources that has dominated modern analyses of Roman expansion in the Italian peninsula, since the extant texts are almost exclusive in their focus

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[25]See Spivey and Stoddart (1990, 13) for an explanation of the effects of the lack of textual evidence on Etruscan society on the historiographical tradition.

[26]Andrén 1998, 1-2; Vallat 1991a, 15; cf. Binford (1977, 18-19) for an example of this kind of disjunction between abundant source material and the silence of history on certain activities.

[27]Moreland 2001, 31; Wolf 1966, *passim*,

on urban life and the elite classes.[28] Even those texts that do purport to reveal the life of the countryside, such as a number of agricultural manuals, display a system of management for absentee elite owners residing in far off municipal settings.[29] These texts are often as much a representation of idealized social values as a reflection of viable agricultural practices.

It is possible that this bias in privileging textual information stems from the belief that data from archaeological excavations is too limited in nature to answer the large-scale questions associated with the major societal and spatial restructuring of the introduction of Roman domination to an area.[30] As Lewis Binford and Greg Johnson have suggested, however, many social and behavioral questions are best answered by considering cultural transformation at the regional level.[31] This realization has led to the creation of archaeological research designs that assume a regional scope, and as a result, allow archaeologists to participate in debates that were traditionally in the purview of document-based historians.[32] The completion and publication of the results of a number of large-scale systematic survey projects in Etruria since the 1950's have made such regional analyses possible (See Figure 2.).[33] At this juncture, neither can historians afford to ignore the data produced by these surveys, nor can archaeologists refrain from participating in this debate.[34]

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[28]Keay and Terrenato 2001, x-xi; Dyson 1990, 246-247; Garnsey 1998, 108.

[29]Garnsey and Wolf 1989, 153-155; Garnsey 1998, 108-109; Frederiksen 1970-1971, 333-338; 349-354.

[30]Dyson 1990, 248; Potter 1984, 236; Millett 1992, 1; Garnsey 1998, 110-111.

[31]Binford 1964, 426; Johnson 1977, 479; See also Trigger 1989, 310.

[32]Dyson 1990, 248.

[33]Dyson 1979, 93-95; 1990, 248-249. See Potter 1979; Perkins 1999; Carandini and Cambi 2002; Coccia and Mattingly 1992 and 1995; Barker and Symonds 1984; Barker et al. 1986; Rasmussen and Barker 1988; Moreland 1986; Stoddart 1981; and Terrenato and Saggin 1994 for descriptions of the major campaigns of fieldwalking in Central Italy.

[34]Potter 1984, 236; Millett 1992, 1; Garnsey 1998, 110-111.

Figure 2. Systematic Survey Projects in Etruria. (Adapted from Terrenato 1996, 219 Fig. 2).
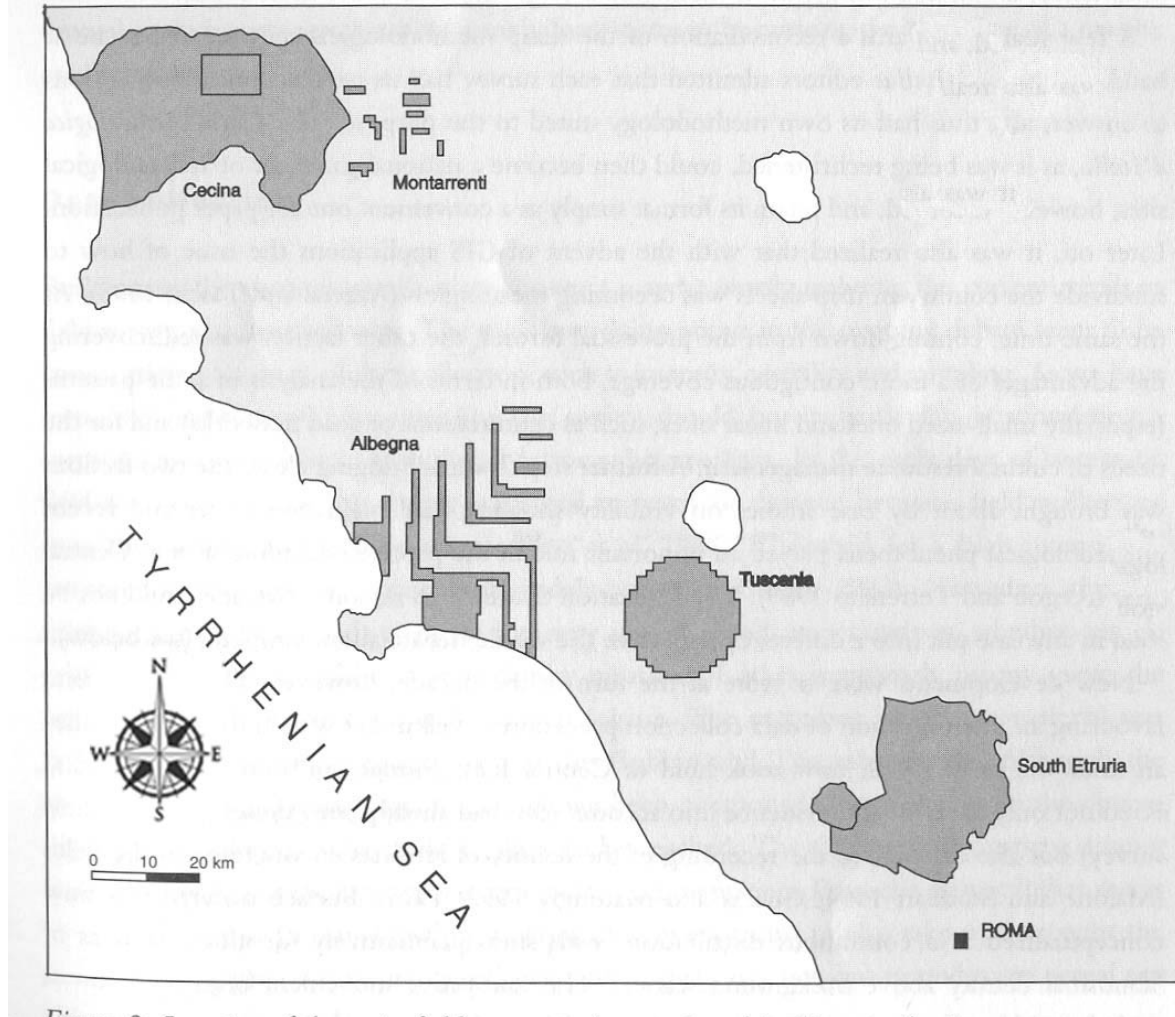
The use of archaeological data is not, however, a panacea for reconstructing the development of a Roman landscape in Etruria.   Those who have recently repudiated the use of textual sources as a counterbalance for their traditional overemphasis have pushed the debate too far in the opposite direction.[35]   As in any archaeological enquiry, the task is reconstructing past behavior based on materials encountered in the present.[36] The goal of this study is then, to rebuild the behavioral correlates of past society from a partial record,

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[35]Spivey and Stoddart (1990, 17) advocate just such an abandonment of all textual data in their reconstruction of the Etruscan culture. Cp. Vallat (2001, 104) for the dangers of this methodology.

[36]Binford 1983, 19-23.

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altered and mixed up by human and natural events and activities (including those of the archaeologist). In order to create such a full and balanced picture of the transformation of rural Etruria, it is necessary to employ a wide variety of sources and perspectives that, taken together, will strive to overcome the limitations of each other. Three types of evidence will provide the bulk of the data upon which our assumptions about past behavior must be constituted: 1) texts and inscriptions, 2) excavation, 3) archaeological survey.[37]

As a methodological background upon which to consider these changes in the Italian landscape, I intend to employ several characteristics of the historical model developed by the French *Annales S*chool under the leadership of Marc Bloch, Lucien Fabvre and Fernand Braudel. The main features of the *Annales* framework make it an ideal system to employ in attempting to answer the sort of questions about the long-term change of the Etruscan landscape posed in the sections above.[38] Traditional *Annales* histories focus on the study of processes and events occurring concurrently, but at different temporal rhythms. Braudel, in his monumental masterpiece on the Mediterranean and Phillip II, divides these rhythms into three independent scales. The first scale consists of events that occur over the course of millennia or centuries, and can be best described as the long-term forces of the environment on human action on the environment.[39] Braudel's second scale consists of enduring structures such as belief systems or *mentalités* that outlast a single generation, and according to Braudel, do not fall under the influence of individual action. Braudel's final level of historical time is the one upon which many analyses of traditional history (especially in the

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[37]The shortcomings of each of these types of documentation will be evaluated in a subsequent section of this chapter.

[38]Dyson 1979, 91. As early as 1979, Dyson advocated the use of the *Annales* methodology, but only in the 1990's did this type of study begin to gain momentum across the Mediterranean.

[39]The modern scholarly term for such a long term temporal rhythm is Cultural Ecology. See Crumley (1994) for an introduction to this type of analysis. The best recent synthesis of this type for the Mediterranean can be found in Horden and Purcell (2000).

philologically based discipline of Classical History) focus, the history of events, deeds, and great men.[40] The history I wish to build is one that focuses on these first two levels of generalization, historical trends that occur in the long and medium term.

As a discipline, archaeology is excellent at revealing the structures present at the longer temporal scales of medium and long duration.[41] Due to its chronological imprecision, archaeology has difficulty in revealing patterns at the level of the short term.[42] In other words, archaeologically derived data is good at displaying changes in large-scale patterns, but has more difficulty in determining causal relationships.[43] In order to combat this shortcoming, we will integrate the temporal scale of the short term by merging data from archaeology with a textually derived narrative. Because of this blend of methodologies, I hope to be able to expose the experience of marginal geographical regions and populations, as opposed to the elite narrative that is so common in current treatments of the subject.

I am not unaware of the criticism heaped upon the A*nnales* framework, both from within and outside the archaeological community. I do believe, however, that the harsh reaction to the framework is based on a number of misguided assumptions. Perhaps the most poignant criticism of the archaeological application of the *Annales* model centers on problems with operationalizing Braudel's time scales at the level of time recoverable in the archaeological record.[44] It is clear that in many cases even the most satisfactory

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[40]Braudel 1980, 3-4.

[41]Vallat 1991a, 10.

[42]Moreland 2001, 20

[43]Millett 1991, 170-171; See also the essays in the collections by Bintliff (1991c) and Knapp (1992) on the usefulness of the *Annales* perspective for organizing archaeological data.

[44] Smith 1992, 25-26, 28-31; Fletcher 1992, 37-39; Sherratt 1992, 138; Moreland 2001, 27.

archaeological chronologies fall out of the level of short-term history, creating a picture of person-less processes systematically dictating a deterministic march of events.[45] This criticism, although frequently raised by prehistoric archaeologists, is a non-factor for those archaeologists working in a historical period where documents can provide a refined daily narrative to counteract the agent-less perspectives of the medium and long term. Beyond issues of the Braudelian division of time, we must also consider the accusations of critics of the *Annales* framework that the system creates a deterministic view of historical events with the factors engaged in the longer time scales pre-determining the sequence of events in the shorter scales.[46] Perhaps even more than the historians, archaeologists have built new models for understanding the interaction of individual agency and the socially constructed nature of actions in the past decade.[47] Even so, the nature of the evidence for Etruria, with few village communities excavated in a way where individuals or households have been the focus, precludes us from fully identifying single agents in the archaeological record. Any analysis of villages in Etruria will by necessity have to remain at the level of the interests of social and economic classes within society.

Another explicit criticism of the *Annales* School is that histories produced in this tradition tend to be disjointed because of the dismembering of a synthetic history into constituent time scales. This problem too can be combated if we understand Braudel's temporal rhythms as sections of a natural *continuum* rather than the strictly employed artificial divisions of time dictated by the historian. John Bintliff has proposed that this

[45]Fletcher 1992, 39-42; Brumfiel 1992, 551-554; Moreland 2001, 27-28; 78.

[46]Fletcher's (1992) solution to the problem in the guise of constructing scalar hierarchies spells out an ingenious way around a purely deterministic framework, but his eventual conclusions are less than convincing as he reorganizes the Braudelian framework into something that is very different than its original appearance.

[47]Hodder and Hutson 2003, 79-90, 195-205; Cp. Giddens 1984, 174-193.

problem can be solved by having recourse to problem-oriented history that takes into consideration events and places them into their long- and medium-term contexts.[48] For us, this type of orientation is easily achievable if we conceive of our question as the long- and medium-term patterns that led to the diversity of lived experience in Roman Etruria.

It is perhaps not surprising that questions about social and belief systems in relation to their role in determining the locally specific nature of Roman expansion have produced a heated debate. As Christopher Hawkes pointed out in a seminal 1954 article, these are the very topics that archaeologists have the most difficulty in elucidating based on survey and excavation data.[49] The nature of the sources for our period, however, provides a convenient starting point and methodology that is not available in many other contexts. As Matthew Johnson and Anders Andrén have suggested, detecting social and belief systems archaeologically is dependent on developing convincing analogies between later material cultural regimes and archaeological data.[50] Beginning with Binford's field excursions in the 1950's, archaeologists have been drawn to the study of contemporary groups in order to build robust analogies for past behaviors, but recent critics have argued that analogies are only as valid as the similarity between the modern and archaeological cultures under consideration.[51] Texts, then, provide nearly contemporary and socially identical material for the construction of analogies, and as a result offer historical archaeologists a window into the mental realm of the communities they study that is unavailable to prehistoric

[48]Bintliff 1991b, 13-15.

[49]Hawkes 1954, 161-162; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 36-41; Renfrew 1982; Trigger 1989, 392-395.

[50]Andrén 1998, 131-134; Johnson 1999, 88; Morris 2000, 21-24.

[51]Binford 1983, 23-26 and 1962; Cf. Hodder and Hutson (2003, 193-194) and Schiffer (1995, 95-106) for a brief criticism of Binford's methodology.

archaeologists.[52]   It is for this reason that Binford has suggested that the additional

information provided by textual sources affords the archaeology of historical periods the

opportunity to occupy the forefront of the development and testing of new archaeological

theory.[53]   Because of the abundance of textual sources and excavation data in addition to

high quality information on settlement patterns derived from archaeological survey relating

to Etruria, the last few centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. make a perfect case study for

this type of methodology.

The Village in Etruria: An Evaluation of Sources

Textual references that describe rural Etruria, and especially Pre-Roman rural

Etruria, are frustratingly sparse.   As a result, we must turn to archaeological sources,

primarily in the form of data derived from topographic research and systematic field survey

projects.   Due to the archaeological nature of the bulk of this evidence, most of the traceable

developments in the landscape occur at the level of what Braudel termed conjuncture,

mentalités and the longue durée.[54]   As a result, throughout the main sections of this work

the narrative will be driven by long and medium term perspectives.   This type of history

stands at odds with the approach taken in traditional accounts of Etruscan society.[55]

Nevertheless, without the recourse to the yearly march of events that come along with

development of the Etruscan cities and the Roman conquest, that is the narrative of battles

and treaties, of armies, kings, and consuls, the structures of everyday life would be divorced

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[52]Andrén 1998, 131-134; Johnson 1999, 88; Morris 2000, 5-7.

[53]Binford 1977, 13-14; Morris 2000, 8.

[54]Braudel 1980, 27-34; *pace* Moreland 2001, 20-21.

[55]Cf. Cifani (2002) for an example of a study that integrates sources of evidence revealing trends at a number of different temporal levels.

from their political and temporal reality.[56] Just as artifacts tell us less about the societies to which they pertain in the absence of contextual information, a history built on long-term developments without a consideration of the "history of great men" fails to create a sufficiently rich description of the past, and as a result falls victim to the tyranny of the long term.[57] In order to address this problem it is necessary to lay out the political events of the period to create a fuller context for the development of the Etruscan landscape and culture from the period of urbanization through the process of cultural transformation that occurred in the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D.

It is by now a cliché to say that the history of Etruria is a history written by outsiders, but the fact of a lack of Etruscan textual narratives makes this caveat necessary. The history of the Etruscans has reached us through a number of intermediaries, at best neutral, and at worst biased against the social and political structures of ancient Etruria.

> "The almost complete lack of authentic historical sources prevents us from attempting the reconstruction, even along the broadest of outlines, of the political and military events affecting the various Etruscan cities and their relations one with another."[58]

Often the picture of Etruscan society is presented as a caricature of reality, with the Etruscans filling the programmatic need for a society that represents piracy or loose moral behavior.[59] Despite these drawbacks, a history of Etruria, albeit a history that reflects the

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[56]The failure to link the narrative of events that form the basis of traditional history to long and medium term trends is the major criticism of the *Annales* framework. Cf. Hexter 1972, 530-535. By separating out the narrative of the conquest into a separate section I expose myself to the same criticism. As Bintliff (1991b, 13-19) has pointed out, it is possible to escape this weakness by orienting my study firmly in the arena of problem based history. In addition, by anchoring excavation data to fixed chronological points it will be possible to unite narratives at different chronological resolutions.

[57]Alcock 1993, 8-9; Bintliff 1991b, 8-9. Although Cf. Moreland 2001, 20 and 27.

[58]Pallottino 1975, 93. cf. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 85 and Scullard 1967, 13.

[59]See Pallottino (1975, 82-83) for a list of ancient sources that show Etruscan seafarers as pirates.

view of outsiders can be written, at least for the Etruscan urban elite.[60] At the same time, the archaeological correlates of such a history can serve to provide a check on the assertions of ancient authors and reveal their particular placement within the intellectual and literary world of the ancient Mediterranean, a task that will be undertaken in part in the succeeding chapters.

What then, are the primary accounts of Etruria during the period under consideration? Ancient accounts of the region come in the form of historical narratives such as the texts of Polybius, Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and Dio Cassius, although these works focus on decidedly short-term time scales and urban political and social contexts. Unfortunately, most of these sources were written centuries after the events that they describe, by authors hostile to Etruscan society. Thus, they often reflect the attitudes of the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods rather than those of contemporary witnesses.[61] Outside of the march of events described by these historians, far less textual information is available on the countryside of Etruria. The agricultural treatises of Varro, Columella, and Cato can provide a window into the process of farming in the Roman countryside, albeit from an urban elite perspective. The authors of these accounts often recommended methods that made economic sense, but were impractical in real situations.[62] Additionally, such accounts describe production schemes in operation in only a proportion of the landscape even at the height of the "villa" culture of the late 1st century B.C. Even where they discuss phenomena found in Etruria, their descriptions are the construction of an elite

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[60]Stoddart 1990, 39-41.

[61]Stoddart 1990, 39-41; Frederiksen 1970-1971, 334-338; Finley 1986, 11.

[62]Frederiksen 1970-1971, 333-338; 349-354.

Roman mindset aimed at pedagogy rather than description of actual practice.[63] More useful

in revealing the interactions among local elites and dependent agriculturalists are the letters

of individuals like Pliny the Younger and his experience of running a landholding at

Tifernum Tiberinum, but these accounts again are decidedly one sided. In contrast, Roman

rural social networks can be reconstructed from the letters of individuals living at the same

time as the Roman landscape in Etruria was being formed. Cicero and Pliny are two

examples of urban aristocrats who took an active interest in rural politics and patronage. At

the same time, some of the architectural correlates of the elite presence in the countryside

can be elucidated through careful consideration of the architectural treatise of Vitruvius.

Yet, despite the biases mentioned above, for decades historians struggled to subject textual

data to the same source criticism that the wished to employ for archaeological data, insisting

that the written work held primacy over material culture.[64]

Fortunately, archaeology serves to augment these literary accounts, providing the

bulk of the information for the early period of urban and territorial development, and

allows the reconstruction of alternative narratives from those presented by elite accounts of

the region found in the textual sources. Despite the ubiquity of secondary centers in the

landscape, relatively few have received extensive excavation. Those excavated tend to be

sites that lay at the upper edge of the category approaching the maximum size for the site

type (twenty hectares), or sites that given some kind of independent municipal status under

the Roman legal reorganization following the incorporation of Etruria into the empire.[65]

Examples of extensively excavated and well-published sites include the following: Narce,

[63]Frederiksen 1970-1971, 333-338; 349-354.

[64]Finley 1986, 104.

[65]This has, in part, led to the underestimation of the importance of these types of sites and their substantial numbers across the landscape.

Tuscania, Norchia, Sovana, Ghiaccio Forte, Castro, Pyrgi, Graviscae, and Regae. Excavation of these sites, rare as it has been undertaken, has revealed significant details about the internal organization of secondary nucleated agglomerations, allowing for the creation of a functional typology of the various types of sites that occupy the middle of the landscape hierarchy.[66]

Only a small portion of the data on the landscape of non-urban Etruria comes from data derived from excavation. For the most useful body of information we must turn to a different source, archaeological survey. There is now a remarkably extensive coverage of archaeological survey for Etruria, both intensive and extensive, as well as a number of more general archaeological atlases.[67] These studies have begun to open up new avenues of inquiry into the social and cultural constructs of Roman and indigenous societies within Central Italy. The two broadest sources of information on settlement pattern data are the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* and Torelli's *Atlante dei Siti Archeologici della Toscana*.[68] Both sources provide an excellent starting point, but are less than ideal for the task. Issues of scale dictate that the maps of the *Barrington Atlas* focus on the largest sites in the landscape. As a result, the record of sites is heavily biased in favor of urban centers and the substantial remains of villas and road networks. Coverage of the secondary centers with which this study is concerned is uneven, and in many cases, the same issues of scale create a false impression of an empty countryside where there exist substantial archaeological remains.[69] Torelli's general atlas for the modern *Regione di Toscana* provides excellent

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[66]This type of typology based on functional and morphological characteristics of secondary centers will be attempted in a later section of this chapter.

[67]e.g. Talbert 2000 and Torelli 1992.

[68]Talbert 2000; Torelli 1992.

coverage of excavated sites and the recovery spots of chance and sporadic finds, but his

sample is the result of the chances of discovery rather than any scientific sampling method

making any extrapolation from the data included dangerous unless patterns can be

confirmed with data from systematic contexts.[70]   With both works, the identification of

secondary centers is difficult, since no distinction is made between habitation sites of

different sizes, with villages in many cases appearing the same as cities.   Both sources serve

as a starting point for filling out the landscape of secondary centers, and most importantly

are repositories of extensive bibliographies for such sites.   Unfortunately, they cannot be

used alone for the reconstruction of settlement pattern data.[71]   The editions of the *Carta*

Archeologica for Tuscany fall into the same category of evidence.   This collection of maps

provides systematic data on the whole of the region, but is again based on a non-systematic

sample.[72]

  In the past four decades archaeologists, beginning with the South Etruria Survey

project of the 1950's, have conducted a number of archaeological field walking surveys.

Projects of this kind have largely fallen into two categories that can be labeled as extensive

or intensive survey.   The former type tending to include large areas of exploration, surveyed

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[69]Alcock et al. 2001, 458-459.

[70]Millett (1991, 171) considers the ways in which data collected from previously known sites effects the overall impression of the landscape. He argues that non-systematic studies are still useful, especially when used to evaluate larger sites within the settlement hierarchy. Non-systematic collections of settlement data are biased in favor of large sites and thus may be of significant use if used to interpolate from data derived from systematic survey. See also Cambi and Fentress 1989, 74.

[71]This should not be seen as an indictment of either work, as providing a systematic unbiased sample of sites is not the goal of either collection.

[72]Terrenato 1996, 217-219. There is a divide in methodology among survey projects. This divide can be characterized as existing between intensive versus extensive surveys. Extensive surveys, aimed a covering a large area at a smaller scale of intensity have tended to be the work of Italian archaeologists, while British archaeologists and those working in the British tradition have tended to focus on smaller areas or to make sampling decisions in order to provide a more intensive type of survey. A number of other non-systematic surveys exist, such as Carandini 1985a, Enei 2001 and 1995. Bietti Sestieri (1992, 30) discusses the implications of the non systematic nature of these works on the development of a theory of change in the landscape.

topographically with a coarse-grained resolution, and aimed at detecting only the major features of the landscape.[73]   As a result of projects of this type, data is available for the Southern Coastal Region of Etruria, particularly the Tolfa hills dividing Tarquinia from Cerveteri and for the area surrounding the cities of Vetulonia, Pisa, Chiusi, and the interior of the territory of Vulci.[74]   In addition, archaeologists have explored the territories of a number of smaller sites, such as Tuscania, Blera, Castrum Novum, Orte, Sutri, Vicus Matrini, Bagnoregio, Ferento, and Bomarzo.

Intensive survey projects, in contrast, are those that have been conducted at a higher resolution aimed at the recovery of as many sites as possible regardless of their size and often have encompassed smaller regions of study.[75]   The other major qualification differentiating intensive and extensive techniques is that the first takes into account factors such as geomorphology, vegetation density, the spacing of field walkers, and the pace at which the study is conducted in order to provide archaeologists with tools to estimate the quantities of sites present in the total landscape on the basis of sampling and other statistical techniques. A series of major and minor projects with intensive methodology have been carried out in Etruria. These include the South Etruria Survey (encompassing the territory of the Etruscan city-state of Veii and much of the Faliscan and Capenate zones), the Albegna Valley Survey (of the coastal territory of Vulci), the Cecina Valley Survey (of the Southern portion of the territory of Volterra) and the Tuscania Survey (of the territory of a minor

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[73]Rendeli 1993, 51-54, Terrenato 1996, 217-218.

[74]Andreussi 1977; Baglione 1976; Colonna 1968; De Rossi 1968; De Rossi et al. 1968; Fedeli 1983; Gazzetti 1990; Gazzetti 1989; Gazzetti 1985; Gazzetti and Stanco 1990; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990; Gianfrotta 1972; Gianfrotta 1981; Melis and Serra 1968; Morselli 1980; Nardi 1980; Naso and Zifferero 1985; Quilici 1968; Quilici Gigli 1970; Rendeli 1985.

[75]Rendeli 1993, 56; Terrenato 1996, 219-221.

center on the border of Tarquinian territory).[76] It must be noted here, however, that the results of the South Etruria Survey must be treated as preliminary at this point due to the advances in the dating of Hellenistic pottery that has occurred since the initiation of the project.[77] The very real possibility exists that once this happens the development of the landscape of Veii will have a very different narrative than it does currently.

A number of projects have also employed a combination of extensive and intensive methodology, most notably the surveys conducted as part of the *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena,* and in the Pecora and Alma Valleys near modern Scarlino in the ancient territory of Vetulonia.[78] Because of this methodology, it is likely that the smallest sites in the survey area are significantly under-represented. Here the methodology is systematic, but not always conducted in an intensive fashion, leading to the possibility that the smallest sites in a given region may be underrepresented.[79] In addition, both projects were heavily biased in favor of recovering the medieval record and thus did not employ methods tailored specifically for the recovery of ancient sites.

The Integration of Text, Excavation, and Survey

As mentioned above, in order to construct a history of Etruria for the period in question it will be necessary to have recourse to a number of different sources of data

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[76]South Etruria: Duncan 1958; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957; Jones 1962; Jones 1963; Kahane 1977; Kahane et al. 1968; Ogilvie 1965; Potter 1979; Ward-Perkins 1957; Ward-Perkins and Kahane 1972. Albegna Valley/Ager Cosanus: Attolini et al. 1991; Attolini et al. 1983; Attolini et al. 1982; Cambi 1986; Cambi and Fentress 1989; Cambi and Fentress 1988; Carandini and Cambi 2002; Dyson 1981; Dyson 1978; Perkins 1999; Perkins 1991. Cecina: Regoli and Terrenato 2000; Terrenato and Saggin 1994. Tuscania: Barker and Rasmussen 1998; Rasmussen 1991; Rasmussen and Barker 1988.

[77]Patterson et al. 2004b

[78]Provincia di Siena: Bottarelli 2004; Cambi 1996; Campana 2001; Felici 2004; Valenti 1995;; Valenti 1999; Nardini 2001 Scarlino: Francovich and Azzari 1985.

[79]Millett (1991, 171) assesses the effects of this type of sampling strategy.

including texts, excavation and survey. Each of these types of information is not without their own drawbacks. It is necessary then to pause for a moment to consider the strengths and weaknesses of a narrative derived from each type of evidence as well to discuss the various methods available for minimizing the biases inherent therein. The goal then is to create a methodology wherein each type of evidence can be used as a corrective to the others in order to provide a balanced account of the rural history of Etruria.[80] As Moses Finley noted:

> "To begin with I believe it to be false to speak of the relationship between history and archaeology. At issue are not two qualitatively distinct disciplines but two kinds of evidence about the past, two kinds of historical evidence. There can be thus no question of the priority in general or of the superiority of one type of evidence over the other; it all depends in each case on the evidence available and the particular questions to be answered."

Thus far, the discussion about the limitations of textual evidence has remained largely practical, and the theoretical implications of the use of textual data have been ignored. It is time now to consider these issues more closely. Specifically, if the textual record is biased in the ways we have mentioned (toward urban and elite communities), how can it be brought to bear on the problems under consideration? In order to resolve this difficulty it is necessary to consider recent developments in a peripheral field normally ignored by classical archaeologists.[81] Archaeologists working in the field of historical archaeology have wrestled with this question and developed a well-considered response.[82] Textual data can be mined as a repository for social and behavioral analogy, but the use of text in this way creates a new set of problems, in that the application of textually-derived

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[80]Cifani 2002, 247.

[81]There has been little cross fertilization of ideas between the historical and classical archaeological communities. This is shocking, since both disciplines struggle with the same issues of the relationship between text and artifact.

[82]Andrén (1998, 1-8) enumerates the difficulties and advantages that the textual record can provide for the archaeologist.

analogies are only as powerful as the cultural links between the population discussed in the text and the archaeologically explored community.[83] In the case of ancient Roman society, the texts share a direct correlation in terms of the temporal and societal structures, although when we move farther back and consider Pre-Roman Etruria the analogies become weaker, and as a result, must be more thoroughly tested before adoption.[84] Even within the Roman temporal framework within Etruria, where texts do correspond more or less directly to the events that they are describing, there is the additional consideration that the texts were often not composed by the social group under consideration.[85] The inability of text-based historians to deal with these biases led to sharp criticism of regional studies among some historians.[86] In one of the admittedly more successful of these regional studies, Martin Frederiksen realized the shortcomings of his own analysis and suggested that a dialectic between the textual and archaeological record was a necessity, with each type of evidence used to supplement and correct the other.[87] The textual record, then, is not a straightforward key to the archaeological record, but must be scrutinized and considered before it can be used to interpret the material record and vice versa.[88]

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[83]Andrén 1998, 131-134, 156; Binford 1983, 21; Johnson 1999, 60-61.

[84]Morris 2000, 7.

[85]Vallat 2001, 103-104.

[86]Finley 1986, 61-66. Millar (1981, 63) believed that the extant historical texts from the Roman tradition were unable to provide a convincing view of the countryside. As a result, he adopted the novel suggestion of examining the ancient novel for details that could augment the historical narrative. The dialectic method proposed here works toward a similar expansion of the available data as a way to explore segments of the landscape not documented in the written sources.

[87]Frederiksen (1970-1971) was only just beginning to see the eventual promise of field survey for unlocking the workings of the Italian countryside at the time of this article. See also Binford (1977, 13-14;); Morris (2000, 8). See Patterson (1987) for an archaeological analysis that is used to test and reinterpret textual information.

[88]Vallat 2001, 104.

Yet, the excavation record itself contains a number of biases. Perhaps the most significant bias is one that is shared with the textual data on the transition from native to Roman hegemony. Archaeologists have overwhelmingly concentrated their efforts on urban spaces and elite graves at the expense of structures in the countryside. Even problem-oriented excavations, largely undertaken in the Northern provinces of the empire and tailored to provide answers to questions about the cultural implications of the Roman conquest, suffer from this neglect. As Hingley notes, this trend began with Haverfield's disinterest in rural culture, and has continued to influence the choice of sites excavated, especially in Britain, as archaeologists believed for decades that the most important social developments could be found in urban contexts alone.[89] The countryside was imagined as a place that would follow the same developmental pattern as urban communities if it was ever exposed to the same civilizing influences.[90] The problem is magnified within the Italian peninsula, and particularly within Etruria, where only recently have archaeologists begun to concentrate significant resources toward settlement archaeology and away from the traditional focus on *necropoleis* and burial assemblages of the elite. Fortunately, in recent years, archaeologists have begun to overcome this bias, in part through the excavation of rural sites, and in part through the initiation of a number of large and small-scale archaeological surveys.

The urban and elite bias of textual and excavated sources for the Mediterranean can be further balanced by the rural focus of many survey projects carried out in central Italy over the past four decades. As discussed above, the evidence for patterns of rural and urban settlement within Roman and Pre-Roman Etruria is abundant. Because this

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[89]Hingley 2000, 149-152.

[90]Hingley, 2000, 149-152; Haverfield 1915, 22.

reconstruction will focus heavily on data provided by a number of excellent archaeological surveys (both systematic and unsystematic), it is necessary to engage in a critical analysis of survey methodology in general and the techniques that specific survey projects have employed. This analysis will allow us to understand the ramifications that research design can have on the conclusions that scholars can safely draw from the data. The issues involved concern both the integration of survey data with textual and excavated sources as well as working out a framework for an intelligent use of multiple surveys, often with different goals and methodologies to create an intelligent and valid narrative.

Without doubt, settlement pattern data from survey has revolutionized studies of regional landscapes; many of the early attempts to use such data however, were fairly naïve and did not realize the sensitivity of survey data to concerns of sampling and visibility.[91] Recent historical reconstructions derived from survey data have shown a far greater degree of sophistication as an archaeological equivalent of "source criticism" has been developed.[92] These considerations lead us in the direction of some of the general sampling issues involved in archaeological field survey, specifically, the relationship of the target population to the sampled population as represented in a surface scatter.[93] There is even some debate whether the target population consists of all of the original sites in a region, or those whose artifacts are included in the plow zone.[94] A related question is whether material in a surface

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[91]Millett 1992, 3.

[92]Alcock 1993 49-53; Millett 1991, 169. Millett notes that such a source criticism began to be worked out for excavated material with the pioneering study of Schiffer (1987). Survey archaeology must continue to develop similar techniques if it is to figure heavily in rewriting the history of the landscape.

[93]Orton 2000, 57.

[94]Orton (2000, 41-51, 57-58) notes that there is considerable debate as to whether the target population is all of the artefacts in the plowzone, or those contained in subsurface features. In both cases the sampling fraction is discouragingly low. Both Ammerman (1985) and Odell and Cowan (1987) suggest that the portion of artefacts within the plowzone that are visible on the surface at any given time is about 5% of the total.

scatter is representative of the archaeological remains below. Because of these difficulties, early surveyors in Etruria were hesitant to draw conclusions about the type or function of the sites identified by surface scatters.[95] In some early field surveys, researchers avoided the issue of altogether, failing to make any type of interpretation as to the type of site represented by a surface scatter, an issue that we will discuss in detail later.

As we have already discussed above, the abundant nature of the survey record for Etruria is marked by the difficulty that the fieldwork has tended to proceed in two directions, toward small-scale intensive surveys and toward large-scale extensive surveys.[96] For the discussion of the whole settlement system, a methodology that solves many of the problems generated by a lack of standardization in terminology, surveys of the intensive kind are greatly preferred because of their ability to make statements about the original population of sites at every level of the settlement hierarchy, including the smallest farmsteads.[97] Yet to restrict ourselves to this pool of data would be to leave a significant portion of the Etruscan landscape completely out of the discussion. Fortunately, such a drastic solution is not necessary.[98] In the case of village settlements, occupying the middle of the settlement hierarchy, the type of intensive methodology that allows archaeologists to compensate for factors of visibility and preservation is not as critical as it is with respect to sites at the lower end such as farmsteads.[99] In fact, the remains of secondary centers are

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[95]Perkins 1991, 61.

[96]Terrenato 1996, 217-221.

[97]van Dommelen (1993, 170-171) strongly advocates this methodology as the best way to come to terms with the often varied categorizations found in data geared toward analyzing local questions. See Vallat (1991a, 12) for a discussion of attempts to analyze just one portion of the settlement hierarchy in isolation. See the work of Alcock (1993; 1989a; 1989b) on the Roman province of Achaea for a very successful rural narrative driven almost exclusively by data from systematic survey projects.

[98]Terrenato 2004, 36.

often prominent features of the landscape with many known since antiquity, a substantial

proportion of which have been continuously occupied since Roman time.[100] As a result,

spatial data for the relationship between secondary centers and their primate urban

communities can be gleaned from extensive survey projects with equal success to that

revealed from their systematic counterparts. As Van Dommelen notes:

> "Although lacking the lower end of the site hierarchy reduces a plot of site categories
> to a mere distribution of major sites, it still is informative, as these sites in particular
> play a central part in the area's settlement system."[101]

Conversely, the data derived from intensive survey projects must serve as the basis for the

reconstruction of any patterns of interaction between secondary centers and the isolated

farmsteads and villas that filled the gaps in the Etruscan and Roman landscapes.[102] The

nature of the Etruscan data forces us to look at the upper level of the settlement hierarchy in

a broad view and to fill in the details of the lower orders in very specific landscapes where

there is adequate survey coverage. Such a methodology is dangerous in its own right,

however.[103] Time after time new surveys have shown the shear variety of different ways of

organizing the rural landscape, making it dangerous to apply the generalizations from one

region to another even within the same ethnic enclave. Any statements about the lower

level of the settlement hierarchy in areas without systematic survey projects must be at best

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[99]Millett 1991, 171.

[100]Judson and Hemphill (1981, 199) asserted that by the end of the 1970's all of the sites of this size had been discovered in Southern Etruria. The Albegna Valley Survey project provides a note of caution, as a number of previously unknown villages were recovered through the employment of systematic methodology. Thus, we can assume that in areas where there has been substantial survey coverage of an extensive sort that many, but not all of the sites from the middle of the settlement hierarchy have been recovered.

[101]van Dommelen 1993, 178.

[102]Spivey and Stoddart (1990, 56) argue that not much can be done with village communities and smaller settlements in areas without intensive archaeological survey. There assertion is only partially correct, as village communities are often known in areas that have not seen survey projects.

[103]See Ward-Perkins (1972 and 1970) for an example of the way in which evidence from the South Etruria Survey was used to incorrectly make assertions about the landscape of Southern Coastal Etruria.

an educated conjecture that will need to be modified in the face of additional survey data.[104]

Thus, it will not be possible to compare the results of these surveys directly against each other.[105] It is possible, however, to examine these surveys for the presence of regional trends. For example, it may be acceptable to describe an Etruria-wide downturn in settlement depicted by the data from multiple surveys, but not to judge any intra-regional quantitative patterns across multiple surveys.[106] It is possible to collate narratives, but not to collate the numbers associated with them.[107] In other words a statement that a decline in settlement in one region was greater than that in another may be an invalid claim because of the different bases on which the data is drawn.[108] As Susan Alcock and John Cherry have recognized, these factors include:

> "…how sites have been defined; the relationship between on- and off-site data; the intensity of search procedures; the representativeness of the sample; the relative confidence with which material can be dated in different regions; the differing lengths of chronological phases, which may affect the likelihood that sites were in use contemporaneously; the degree of comparability between chronological schemes employed by different projects; the extent to which environmental changes may have differentially affected site visibility and obtrusiveness in different regions at different times; and so on."[109]

For nearly three decades since the initial phases of the South Etruria survey, archaeologists in the Italian Peninsula have been working out the correlation between various types of artifact scatters and the nature of the sites that they represent. There is little

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[104]Cp. Cambi and Fentress (1989, 74) for an excellent example of such a study. In contrast, cp. Potter (1984, 236). As the South Etruria Survey later realized, there were significant problems in making regional generalizations about the solutions over locally specific problems. Survey data itself is not the answer to creating an effective evaluation of the rural landscape. Survey can clearly be used to write both good and bad histories.

[105]Alcock and Cherry 2004, *passim*; Terrenato 1996, 221-224; Millett 1992, 1.

[106]Alcock and Cherry 2004, 5.

[107]Terrenato 2004.

[108]Vallat 1991a, 10-11.

[109]Alcock and Cherry 2004, 5.

agreement among the major surveys as to the specific characteristics of scatters in terms of their correlation with site types known from excavation. As a result, it is necessary to adopt a standard definition for ourselves that allows for the reinterpretation of some of the unsorted data of early surveys, and the modification of the labeling of some sites in others.[110] It is apparent from the survey data that those surveys designed to look for secondary centers such as villages were the ones that found them in abundance, while those without such a category of site included in their definitions overemphasize the transition away from a native landscape. In the following chapters, we will work out just such an operational definition by which we can recognize a village community based on a surface scatter.   In addition, although survey evidence can reveal patterns of settlement across the landscape it cannot tell us the social status or relationships between those occupying the various levels of the hierarchy, be they tenancy, free-holding, or some other arrangement.[111] Despite these difficulties, survey data is incredibly valuable because it gives us our only opportunity to look at larger patterns in the landscape, but archaeologists must always keep in mind that the evidence is passive and static, becoming useful only through the interpretive lens of the observer.[112] As a result, data derived from archaeological survey are merely estimates that must be interpreted based on the known biases in methodology, and refined through a comparison of survey and excavation data.

For now, we must consider another problem with field survey that has aided in perpetuating the popular belief that the Roman conquest represented a sharp and abrupt

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[110]In the following chapter we will attempt to formulate an operational definition of secondary level sites in greater detail.

[111]Garnsey 1998, 110-112; van Dommelen 1993, 174; Foxhall 1990, 97.

[112]Millett 1991.

transformation of the Italian landscape. Several biases inherent in the methodology of survey archaeology have served to skew archaeologists' perceptions of this transition. Two factors are at play here. The first is that the quantity of material found in a surface scatter is inversely proportional to the depth of the archaeological layer.[113] The second is that periods of occupation that produced quantitatively smaller cultural assemblages tend to be statistically underrepresented in surface scatters.[114] These methodological concerns carry heavy implications for the period of the Roman conquest. They suggest that the number and extent of the Pre-Roman sites documented by field survey has been underestimated. Perhaps more importantly these studies suggest that sites that show continuity across the transition from native to Roman hegemony will be doubly affected by these biases. Sites that produce only Roman scatters may indeed have earlier phases of occupation not represented in the surface scatter because they are separated from the surface by the intervening Roman layers. Even if material from earlier sites is incorporated into the plow soil, the portion of the scatter on the surface may not incorporate material from the often-perishable structures of Pre-Roman peoples.[115] Thus, archaeologists have traditionally overestimated the number of sites dating to chronologically Roman periods without native predecessors, giving a false image of a disjunction in the settlement pattern. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable. Evidence from excavated sites with far greater

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[113]Tolstoy and Fish 1975, 100-102. In the original study of Tolstoy and Fish the implications of such a discovery were not fully worked out since their site was a single period occupation settlement and had few areas with deep stratified deposits. For Tolstoy and Fish, this discovery led them to suggest that there were implications for the discovery of sites and an estimate of demographics on the basis of sherd assemblages.

[114]Millett 1985, 31.

[115]See Millett (1985, 33) for a general description of the problem. Cf. also Ammerman (1985) and Odell and Cowen (1987) who suggest that only a relatively small proportion of the artifacts from a given site appear at any one time. As a result, periods with lower degrees of richness in terms of diagnostic ceramics will be systematically underrepresented.

chronological precision and more representative techniques can be used to temper this underestimation.

Despite the difficulties presented by the types of evidence, several recent works have shown that it is possible to produce a successfully hybridized account of the Italian landscape based on textual, excavation and survey data.[116] This study will attempt to follow in the footsteps of these previous analyses on a larger scale, both in geographic and chronological terms. The key to successfully achieving this result is to view data from survey as the inherently biased record that it is, rather than to assume that even in the case of the most systematic of projects that it can be used as a statistically robust quantitative representation of the landscape.[117] That is to say that the use of survey data, like that of information derived from text and excavation has to be explored for its methodological biases before it can be employed as an element in constructing a synthetic history of the landscape. I believe that it will be possible to build a thick description of the processes of change that did or did not take place in the Etruscan landscape by re-evaluating the survey data collected over the past forty years in combination with a number of excavated case studies. This should allow us to tie the specific history of a couple dozen chosen sites into larger regional trends, creating a balanced history of the rural landscape of Etruria. Once we have overcome these methodological challenges, it will be possible to begin to examine the long and short-term trends in the development of the rural landscape of Etruscan and Roman Etruria. In addition, we should be able to make some assertions about the

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[116]Cifani (2002) and Rendeli (1993) have been the most successful at producing this kind of integrated narrative over a long time span and for isolated geographic regions. Millett (1991) is another example of successful integration, this time on a greater scale.

[117]Terrenato 2004, 47.

underlying social, geographic, and economic factors that create a variety of responses to the arrival of Roman domination.

The View from Etruria and the View from Rome

The traditional view of the landscape of Etruscan and Roman Etruria is one of dramatic discontinuity of the settlement hierarchy concomitant with Roman expansion.[118] In recent years, however, this view has begun to change, as archaeologists and historians alike have begun to recognize a surprising degree of local continuity.[119] Along with this revolution in the understanding of the way that Roman expansion differentially affected native landscapes has come a second revolution questioning the long held beliefs in the organization of production and labor in the Roman countryside. No longer do the majority of scholars see the slave mode of production on large absentee owned *latifundia* as the dominant organizational scheme for the productive landscape of Roman Etruria.[120] Instead, it is possible now to envision a mixed economy consisting of both free and slave producers, *latifundia* and smallholdings, owners and tenants.[121] As Peter van Dommelen has stated:

> "…the presupposed dominance of the villa system or the slave mode of production in Roman agrarian organization must be rejected; small farms and large estates must no longer be regarded as two different types of agrarian organisation that might coexist and even be interdependent but yet remain distinct and separate. Instead, rural settlement should be treated as one continuous settlement system made up of several elements."[122]

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[118]Carandini 1985a; Harris 1971.

[119]Terrenato 1998a and 1998b.

[120]Garnsey 1998, 108-111; van Dommelen 1993 167-170.

[121]Garnsey 1998, 108-111.

[122]van Dommelen 1993, 170.

This revolution has not extended as far as a reconsideration of the middle level of the settlement hierarchy, and as a result, we are still left with many questions about exactly what type of settlements the rural workforce inhabited. It is also unclear to what degree land tenure and residence patterns of rural dwelling peasants were a holdover of Etruscan inspired preferences. In other words how successful were secondary settlements in maintaining not simply existence, but also their previous social organization. For that matter, we are still in the dark about exactly what political and social landscape of village communities looked like in both Etruscan and Roman times. Creating a diachronic description of life in these communities will be one of the most important tasks of this study. In addition, this study will seek to determine what new roles secondary nucleated settlements assumed under Roman control. Nevertheless, before any of these questions can be answered, it is necessary to clarify the nature of the process by which the Etruscan landscape became politically and culturally Roman over the course of the last few centuries B.C. Only once we are able to envision the dialectic relationship between indigenous Etruscan and conquering Roman, will we be able to unravel the causal relationships leading to highly variable degrees of change and conservatism in the Roman landscape and material culture of Etruria.

Becoming Roman: A Negotiated Synthesis of Culture

In order to accomplish this text based narratives of cultural change common for describing the history of the Italian peninsula must be tempered with archaeological data of the sort employed by archaeologists who have focused on the Western provinces. These archaeologists have tended to employ a series of new theoretical perspectives to describe the

process of material change accompanying the Roman conquest.[123] Following decades of reflection about the basis of modern notions concerning the relationship between imperialism and cultural change, these scholars have laid out a new agenda for the study of Romanization. Ideas of cultural change built on teleological notions of progress have been expelled from the discourse. These old systems suggested that natives adopted Roman cultural traits because they represented civilized alternatives to traditional life-ways. New studies suggest that we focus on narratives that give agency to conquered peoples, such as enlightened self-advantage or the discrepant experience of natives. The most significant change in the new accounts of the transition to a Roman landscape is the recognition of continuity as a positive adaptive response. This contrasts with past views judging continuity to be a symbol of intentional native opposition to assimilation.

Particularly important has been the work of Martin Millett and Greg Woolf, whose notions of cultural change build on a framework of elite cultural transformation first laid out by P.A. Brunt.[124] Nicola Terrenato has complemented this model by suggesting a system of negotiated incorporation.[125] Millett's synthesis has been forcefully criticized in recent years because of his self-acknowledged dependence on the work of Haverfield, but his own notions of Romanization emphasize a new and more nuanced conception of cultural change based on a two-way process of acculturation.[126] Woolf and Terrenato's work, although based on very similar notions of cultural change, has attracted fewer critics.

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[123]Terrenato 2001a.

[124]Brunt 1976; Millett 1990a; Millett 1990b; Woolf 1998; Woolf 1996-1997.

[125]Terrenato 1998b.

[126]Millett 1990a, 1-2; 1990b, 36-37; See Slofstra (1983) and Claessen (1983, 211-212) for a discussion of Romanization placed in terms of the larger acculturation debate. See Webster (2001, 213-214) and Hingley (2005, 41-42; 2000, 142-143) for a criticism of Millett on the basis that his argument on the one hand follows that of

Woolf takes explicit pains to draw out the interaction of native and Roman cultures in creating a new synthesis. He notes that the process of becoming Roman is more than just adopting a set of "Roman" values, since those values were themselves in a constant state of flux.[127]

> "The possibility to which I am pointing…is the emergence from the second BC onwards of a sort of Italic *koine* of luxury consumer goods; one in which the central Roman elite doubtless play their part, but to which the emergent local elites of many Italian cities contribute enthusiastically."[128]

In a review of Millett's *Romanization of Britain*, Phillip Freeman argues along the same lines. In fact, it may have been the very flexibility of what it meant to be Roman that allowed Rome to incorporate populations so effectively.[129] The concept of Romanization then, serves to identify a variety of cultural responses to imperialism, some of which resulted in the eager adoption of specifically Roman cultural traits. This was not, however, always the case. Each act of adoption or resistance of a cultural trait that stemmed from its associations with Roman imperialism reformulated Roman culture itself.[130]

> "Becoming Roman was not a matter of acquiring a ready-made cultural package, then, so much as joining the insiders' debate about what that package did or ought to consist of at that particular time."[131]

This cultural package was as much the result of circumstances forced upon Rome by a number of disparate pre-Roman cultures due to her needs as the imperial mistress of the Mediterranean basin, as it was a result of the extension of the old *mos maiorum* to the

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Haverfield in structure, and on the other hand represents a continuation of the tradition of the nativist school. In both cases I believe that their criticisms are significantly overstated.

[127]Woolf 1998, 7.

[128]Wallace-Hadrill 2000, 311.

[129]Hingley 2005, 50.

[130]Freeman 1993, 443. In this review, Freeman asserts that this is one of the problems of Millett's framework. The problem is largely solved by Woolf's refinements of Millett's model.

[131]Woolf 1998, 11.

provinces.[132] Interaction on a cultural level existed as a tension between the local and the

global, as each local culture engaged in an intricate dance with the version of Roman global

culture with which it came into contact, only to leave the larger global culture different than

it had been before.[133] It was the construction of each individual local culture that

determined the nature of the interaction between native and Roman at each level of

society.[134] Nicola Terrenato has suggested that a more accurate model of the "Roman"

landscape is a heterogeneous bricolage of varied cultural responses.[135] As John Williams

suggests:

> "The detailed archaeology of a region may suggest that what we call Romanization
> was an untidy, regional process of negotiated change with variable consequences in
> the world of material culture, rather than the rigid application and adoption of a
> single Roman matrix."[136]

There was no pre-programmed set of responses for the interaction between native and

Roman communities.[137]   Nor was there any prescribed trajectory for incorporated

communities.[138] They differed according to the specific circumstances of each individual

reaction.[139] In addition to a significant number of possible native responses to Roman rule,

we should not forget that Roman policy itself was inconsistent. Sometimes it was lasses-

faire, sometimes imperialist. Nor should we assume that every development that occurred

in a region in the decades that surrounded the transition to Roman rule was the direct result

[132]Freeman 1993, 443; Woolf 1998, 301.

[133]Terrenato 2001a, 3; Gosden 2004, 106.

[134]Hingley 2005, 48, 53; Woolf 1996-1997, 342-344; 2001, 173.

[135]Terrenato 1998a, 24-25.

[136]Williams 2001, 95.

[137]Vallat 2001, 104.

[138]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271.

[139]Williams 2001, 97.

of Roman intervention.[140]   There were centralized decisions such as those involving colonization, urbanization and road building, but much of what continued to happen in the territory of native communities was the result of purely native actions.[141] In other words, the cultural and political implications of the Roman conquest need to be posited in flexible and locally nuanced ways.[142] This realization takes us beyond the dualistic opposition between Roman and native present in many previous works.[143] It also allows us to cast off the notion that native culture was a static construct and not a dynamic and changing element in the equation of cultural change. In many ways, the Pre-Roman history of the culture of a region is instrumental in identifying causal links in the eventual synthesis of culture worked out under Roman rule.

Millett has drawn out some of the factors that led to the creation of Roman imperial culture. He argues that the native contribution to Roman culture was balanced by an imported Roman elite culture that accompanied the incorporation of native elites into Roman power structures.[144] The lack of administrative structures for managing local affairs necessitated that Rome use native elites to maintain control of provincial landscapes. This need was largely a function of the state of communications and the scale of the bureaucracy that would have been needed for Rome to manage her empire directly, through the dispersal of Italian elites in governmental offices.[145] Roman imperial masters needed local aristocrats to invest in a Roman set of values in order for their system of local government to

[140]Williams 2001, 95.

[141]Williams 2001, 95-96.

[142]Williams 2001, 98.

[143]Woolf 1996-1997, 341. Woolf accuses even Millett's model of falling victim to this dichotomy.

[144]Millett 1990a, 7. Hingley 2005, 42 cites this as the most significant advance of Millett's work.

[145]Scullard 1980 235-236; Garnsey and Saller 1987, 32-34.

function. Because of the need for efficient administration at the local level, class differences were far more important than those of ethnicity were.[146] Consequently, an elite Roman cultural package was continually evolving at home and in the provinces, as new native elite populations left their stamp on the *mos maiorum.*

Millett has laid out the most attractive model for this process. He sees a continual transformation of both Roman and native elite culture due to a synchronization of local elite mores with those of their conquerors. In turn, it was local aristocracies' willingness to adopt the outward trappings of *romanitas* that created a socially-reinforcing symbolic system. This system demonstrated the links between native elites and the Roman power structures that created a newly codified means of providing local legitimacy.[147] Roman incorporation did not mean an automatic reorganization of society from the top down. Local aristocrats were stripped of their power to make independent foreign policy, but in exchange received pro-elite backing that stabilized their own local social positions, and were offered access to an abundance of new status affirming symbols.[148] Such backing was necessary due to the precarious position of the elite atop a substantially divided social structure split between aristocratic masters and a semi-servile population.[149] This type of social order was particularly strongly developed in Northern Etruria. Woolf and Terrenato note that in this system the adoption of Roman symbols created an additional guarantee for native aristocracies from above by the Roman desire for stability, while at the same time traditional

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[146]Woolf 1996-1997, 341, 347; Terrenato 2005, 68-69.

[147]Millett 1990b, 37-38; Cp. Harris 1965a, 291 and Brunt 1976, 163**.**

[148]Terrenato 2005, 65-66; Hingley 2005, 49-51.

[149]Harris 1965a, 291.

native social constructs actively supported indigenous elites from below.[150]   As Benelli suggests:

> "…there can be a Romanization of politics without political Romanization, in which direct interventions are limited to particular crises or the establishment of patronage relationships."[151]

 As Cornell notes, the Romans repeatedly intervened in the affairs of allies in order to support aristocratic interests during the course of the Republic.

> "On several occasions the Romans intervened with military force to defend local aristocracies against popular insurrections, for example at Arretium in 302 BC (Livy 10.3-5), in Lucania in 296 (Livy 10.18.8) and at Volsinii in 264 (Zonaras 8.7.4-8). In return they received the active co-operation of the ruling classes of the allied states, an arrangement that ensured their continuing loyalty even in times of crisis. It was especially effective in regions where deep social divisions existed, as in Northern Etruria, where archaic forms of dependence and clientage appear to have survived well into the Roman period."[152]

Likewise, as Terrenato argues, the decision for elites to participate in a new Roman system may have been the result of an attempt to access new patronage networks that could radically influence the terms of incorporation of native communities into the Roman Empire.[153] Elite adoption of Roman traits, practices, and material goods was an active and considered process driven by the desire of local elites to display the material correlates of their new Roman backed basis of legitimacy.[154]

Millett argues that these traits passed down the social hierarchy largely on the basis class emulation, wherein members of lower orders of society Romanized by parroting the

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[150]Woolf 1996-1997, 346; Terrenato 1998b, 109-110; 2001a, 4. Harris (1985, 153) hints at this possibility, on the basis of events at Volsinii in the 3rd century.

[151]Benelli 2001, 7.

[152]Cornell 1995, 366-367.

[153]Terrenato 1998b, 106-109; but cf. Harris (1965a, 291), who argues convincingly for the presence of negotiated *foedera* between the Etruscan cities and Rome from the 3rd century. Pallottino (1991, 149) hinted at the possibility of an elite hand in the preservation of local structures of culture and social structure in his 1968 Jerome Lectures.

[154]Millett 1990a, 7. cf. Hingley 2005, 42; Woolf 1996-1997, 346.

new behavior of native elites who became plugged into the Roman hierarchy of power.[155] Romanization was "a result of accidents of social and power structures rather than deliberate actions."[156] Unfortunately, Millett does not spell out the mechanisms by which elites exercised their newly restructured influence.[157] As a result, we are left with little explanation of the structures that elites used in fostering networks of local cultural and political cohesion across class boundaries.[158] Building on Millett's framework, C. R. Whittaker has even suggested that the Romanization of non-elites was achieved at second-hand, by osmosis through the filter of the native elite.[159] This lack of articulation on non-elite Romanization plunges the discussion back into a teleological framework that Millett is able to escape with reference to native <u>elites</u> by creating a model that allows them active agency.[160] He also glosses over potential differences in the reasons that non-elites chose or failed to adopt Roman material culture and mores, thus leading us to assume that the economically and geographically isolated didn't Romanize simply because they were poor and lived outside the urban sphere of activity.[161] At this level, such a framework implies that Roman culture carried with it its own irresistible attractions to all classes of society, and that a geographic and environmental determinism mandated the adoption of Roman.[162] If

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[155]Millett 1990b, 38; Millett 1990a, 123-126.

[156]Millett 1990b, 38.

[157]Freeman 1993, 441.

[158]Webster (2001, 215-216), Hingley (2005, 42-44), and Freeman (1993, 443) see this fault of the developed concept of Romanization as the primary legacy of the Haverfield model.

[159]Whittaker 1997, 149; 155.; MacMullen 2000, 134-137.

[160]Hingley 2005, 43-44; Alcock 2001, 228-229; A similar lack of non-elite agency was assumed by Service (1975, 300-303) when considering similar questions surrounding the growth of Classical Maya polities.

[161]Freeman 1993, 441; Hingley 2000, 142-143. Clearly this was the situation in some, but not all cases.

[162]Hingley 2005, 44.

Millett's model is allowed to stand, we must address this problem by spelling out the reasons why individuals at all levels of the social spectrum made the choices that they did with respect to adopting Roman material goods and cultural traits.

With respect to this issue, Woolf would seem to come to our rescue. Woolf is less content to assume that the adoption of Roman cultural traits was merely an elite phenomenon, and stresses that incorporation into the Roman Empire had lasting effects on the material culture of elites and commoners alike.[163] For Woolf, becoming Roman as a member of the non-elite is the process of the creation of a completely new consumer culture linked to the Mediterranean economy as a whole. He is careful, however, to assert that the presence of "Roman" goods in non-elite contexts does not necessarily imply that these items were used in particularly Roman ways.[164] Webster has taken up Woolf's notion in her alternative theory of cultural change documented under the aegis of Creolization.[165] Both of these formulations spell out the problems inherent in building a model for understanding non-elite and non-urban cultural change, but neither model has wider applicability because of their descriptive rather than explanatory nature.[166] They lack any description of the factors that influenced natives' choice to adopt, ignore, or create new versions of imperial elements of culture. The framework of Terrenato, arguing that in some cases responses to Roman rule (including conservatism) may be the result of elite negotiations with Rome to enforce the *status quo*, offers a more nuanced vision of the role of the elite, but at the same

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[163]Woolf 1998, 18-19.

[164]Woolf 1998, 14-15; Freeman 1993, 444-445; Hingley 2005, 45.

[165]Webster 2001, 218-219. This formulation of the argument goes too far as Webster appears to abandon the term Romanization despite the fact that her view of cultural change under the name of Creolization very nearly matches the framework proposed by Woolf and suggested by Mattingly as discrepant experience.

[166]Terrenato 2005, 70. In addition, the Creolization framework applied by Webster (1996) fundamentally misunderstands the role of ethnicity in ancient imperialism.

time ignores non-elite agency.[167] In order to surmount this difficulty, we must consider any reaction to Roman rule in the context of Roman and native power relations, and the nature of the political economy of native elite and non-elite social identities.

A synthesis of the concept of cultural transformation built largely on the work by Millett, Woolf, and Terrenato will serve as a starting point for this study. Although the framework for the cultural implications of the Roman conquest that these authors have assembled is the most convincing to date, it is neither complete in its treatment of all segments of the landscape, nor specifically tailored for the unique problems presented by the Italian peninsula. In short, before studying the cultural change in the rural landscape of Etruria, we must further clarify the circumstances in which the "Roman" culture exported to Italy was formed. In addition, we must provide a fuller explanatory model of the causal factors behind both elite and non-elite adoption of Roman goods and patterns of behavior. In the next section, we will attempt to address the first of these concerns, while the following sections will take up the burden of building a theory of cultural transformation that will allow for an analysis of the rural sites with which this study will be concerned.

Sanctions, Rewards, and Promotion: A New Model of Cultural Transformation

Although this study will largely focus on the transformation of rural village communities in the Middle and Late Republic, it is necessary to pause for a moment in order to examine in brief the larger mechanisms of cultural dispersion that were operating in our time period. This will draw us into the world of urban culture and institutions as we build a model for the propagation of new Roman cultural assemblages and traits. This study will evaluate the degree to which such mechanisms operated in rural areas of society. This will

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[167]James 2001, 202; Alcock 2001, 228-229.

also involve the exploration of elite patterns of cultural transformation despite the fact that some of the material considered in the case studies selected for this work comes from decidedly non-elite contexts. A number of institutions that featured in the life of urban aristocrats, however, provide the necessary link to see the process expand beyond this social class and urban sphere.

Previous frameworks that have sought to provide a description of the process have failed in two ways. First, they have been elucidated in a vacuum with respect to the power relations involved in the transmission of cultural traits amongst elite populations inside and outside of the empire.[168] The same statement holds true when we consider the transfer of seemingly elite values and cultural traits into rural peasant populations. This brings us to the second flaw in recent syntheses. As noted above, many of the frameworks that have attempted to explore the mechanisms of cultural change at the grass roots level have descended into an argument based on an emulative diffusion from top to bottom in Roman society.[169] In this type of evaluation, the rural poor became Roman because their social superiors desired it, but the authors provide no solid explanation as to why the peasantry would comply. Accounts that have considered this question have left us with a relatively weak and flat description of the process, and have neglected the social practices that served to integrate elite urban society with the population of the rural peasantry.

Let us reconsider the mechanisms of cultural transformation and synthesis in light of the power relationships and institutions present in the social structure of the Roman world. In evaluating the facets of Roman social power relationships, I will largely follow the work

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[168]Hingley 2005, 45-46; e.g. Bénabou 1976, Webster 2001.

[169]Whittaker 1997, 155; MacMullen 2000, 134-137.

of Jonathan Haas.[170] Haas defines power as the ability of one party to get another party to do something they normally would not do as a result of the use or threat of sanctions.[171] If we unpack this definition of power, it is possible to use it to highlight the ways that Roman social structure transmitted and replicated a package of Roman cultural traits throughout society from inside to outside, and from top to bottom. First, let us spell out the ways in which newly incorporated individuals could participate in the society of the Roman Empire. It is clear that as soon as Rome began to expand her influence in the Italian peninsula it began to encounter new cultures and to have to develop a strategy for the incorporation of powerful locals into Roman networks of power. The political realities of the limitations of Roman labor and the need to govern acquired territory indirectly made this a necessity.[172] The Roman strategy for this incorporation was unique in the ancient world. Rather than limiting access to power for those newly incorporated, the Romans allowed for a great deal of self-determination amongst conquered peoples. In addition, Rome provided access to the central network of her political power through the institution of patronage to allied and incorporated peoples.[173] Conquering generals and prominent ex-governors served as immediate patrons who provided access to resources that could only be secured by Roman power.[174] Once a territory was incorporated into the Roman Empire, Roman elites controlled the power bases within society.[175] They also had the ability to enforce sanctions

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[170]Although others have worked out more extensive or up to date definitions of power, Haas offers the only theoretical model geared toward interpreting material culture.

[171]Haas 1982, 157.

[172]Garnsey and Saller 1987, 32-34.

[173]Braund 1989, 138-143.

[174]Wallace-Hadrill 1989b, 74-76; Braund 1989, 138-143.

upon native populations, largely in the form of either rewarding positive cultural changes

with added ideological and military reinforcement of the existing social order, or by

isolating elites and towns from favorable status within the empire. In such an analysis of

this process, scholars rarely include any consideration of the options of newly incorporated

elites, and the process by which they reached decisions regarding whether or not to adopt

the material and social elements of Roman culture.[176] Clearly, newly incorporated elites

faced a decision as to whether to resist the Roman transitions about to take place in their

society, or to participate in the fashioning of those changes. Maximum social utility would

have driven the decisions of most elite, urging that they adopt a course of action that

reflected the most advantageous response to new social conditions.[177] A number of elites

saw the utility of plugging into Roman social networks. Others clearly did not. The mistake

often made by scholars evaluating this decision is to see a failure to participate in the new

political and cultural realities created by conquest as an automatic resistance to Roman rule.

In making such an assumption we fail to appreciate the subtle workings of pre-Roman elite

networks of power, and in the process remove individual agency from native elites. Only in

rare cases should we view the failure of native elites to participate in a new Roman system

as a suicidal, if well intentioned, attempt to make themselves irrelevant to the new social

structure.[178] It is far more likely that notions of faction or internal class considerations were

the driving factor behind such decisions, causing native elites to believe that failure to

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[175]Earle 1997, 6-10. Power bases could be manipulated in a number of ways to apply pressure upon those at the bottom end of the power hierarchy.

[176]Service (1975, 298-299) argues that the impetus toward more complex forms of integration is the perceived benefit of being inside the structure as opposed to outside of it. In his own formulation, he is concerned with only protection from the specter of outside sources of violence, but the arguments may be equally applied to more efficient management of environmental resources or increased access to power structures or luxury goods.

[177]Kantner 1996, 44-52; See also Service 1975, 298-299.

[178]See Dyson (1971) for a more nuanced analysis of the factors involved in large scale native rebellion.

engage in the new Roman system was to their political advantage.[179] These elites must have believed that the solution that provided the best chances of maintaining or advancing their current status was to risk the imposition of sanctions. That is, they believed that the cost of compliance outweighed the cost of non-compliance.[180]

If one were to leave, the picture as presented above, it would be liable to the criticism that even if native elites are allowed agency, it presents the cultural and social situation as a pair of binary options. Elites are forced to choose Roman culture or to maintain their own native culture. Such a division fails to recognize the uniqueness of the Roman system of incorporation. Part of the attractiveness of choosing to participate in the Roman political and social process was the ability of newly incorporated aristocrats to become part of the sanction-making class. Buying into the Roman cultural system allowed native elites to begin to have input as to exactly how that system should operate and what its cultural manifestations should be. This process of allowing what amounted to self rule to native elites, as long as it was in accordance with Roman principles, served to create the mechanisms by which what it meant to be Roman was radically transformed in the course of the last centuries of the Republic. Roman social structures, such as the creation of the decurional class, and the advancement of local notables into the equestrian and (although more rarely) senatorial orders, served to secure the position of these individuals within their own communities and allowed them to continue to occupy the highest positions within local power networks. Their participation in the administration of local areas under Roman supervision allowed these elites the opportunity for political advancement within the empire at large. Local elite seizure of the new possibilities for extra-local power led to a

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[179]Cf. Brumfiel (1992) for a more complete explanation of the role of class and faction in cultural change and resistance.

[180]Haas 1982, 167-169.

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situation where local variants of Italic and Hellenic culture could have profound effects on the definition of Roman cultural norms.

A Framework for Rural Cultural Transformation: Material Culture

The maintenance and reinforcement of local networks and structures of power also provided a means for the transfer of Roman material and social culture to non-urban and non-elite groups within incorporated populations. Recent scholarship has developed a very sophisticated notion of the processes by which urban spaces transformed because of increasing contact with Rome, but as we discussed earlier, the mechanisms for the extension of Roman culture among marginal communities and social groups has been largely ignored. Those authors who have considered the transformation of the rural landscape have approached the debate from the issue of the creation of villa landscapes, a point to which we will return because of the difficulties involved in these analyses. Few studies have attempted a diachronic evaluation of the deeper structures present in linking the countryside with the urban spaces of the Italian peninsula. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most fruitful discussion of the issues and populations involved have been elucidated by individuals working on the Roman economy and the structures of peasant society.[181] By following the scholarly narrative built up in these fields in combination with the data collected for this study, we will be able to discover the mechanisms for rural and non-elite cultural change following incorporation of native communities into the Roman Empire. If we are to gain a better understanding of the processes involved, it is essential that we begin to tie marginal segments of the landscape into our analyses of cultural change. Clearly one issue of great concern for interpreting the nature of the transformation of the Etruscan

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[181]Eg. Garnsey 1998; Garnsey and Woolf 1989.

countryside in the centuries after the Roman conquest, or lack thereof, is the degree of connectivity between rural populations and the wealthy urban elites who very quickly took up or maintained positions of power in the administration of territory. The role of the villa in the rural economy, the function of urban spaces as central marketplaces for goods, information, and fashions, and relationships of rural patronage and tenancy are all key factors for understanding the relationship between villages and urban centers. In addition, a number of questions remain about the nature of the Roman, and for that matter pre-Roman, countryside. We know very little, for instance, about the ways in which small farms and villages interacted with the primary urban centers in their vicinity, and the way in which these links were altered by the Roman incorporation or reorganization of territory. If we do not accept the traditional view of the power and influence of villas in the Roman landscape, we have very little understanding of the systematic patterns of interaction present in the countryside.[182] A fundamental question remains as to the degree to which the countryside of Central Italy was fully transformed in the wake of Roman incorporation. It is unclear whether the countryside was an integral part of the dialogue that created the composite Italian culture of the 1st century BC and AD, or whether it was ignored as unessential.

Another important question to ask is, to what degree did the material correlates of Roman culture filter down into the lower levels of the settlement hierarchy? Did elites residing in village communities engage in the same kinds of status competition and munificence as those in fully urban spaces? What symbols of power, and types of social organization are present in these settlements, both before and after their transition to

[182]Terrenato 1998b. The view of the Catonian villa as a force for the dissemination of Roman cultural goods and practices into the countryside has been seriously challenged in the past decade. The traditional model of the large slave run villa supplanting a peasant work force can no longer be held to represent the majority of cases.

participation in a Roman landscape?   The answers to these questions, as well as a quantification of the degree to which each of the areas of connectivity changed with the Roman conquest is one of the primary goals of this study.   Let us then formulate an idea as to exactly how such structures may have left traces in the archaeological record and how we can best interpret them.   In the process, I will spell out the research agenda for this study.

The main problem in evaluating rural transformation is linking changes in material culture to the deeper structures of life.   As we have mentioned, one direct link between material culture and social structure is the connectivity of sites to the greater Mediterranean World, especially in its Roman incarnation.   We must be careful, however, not to assume that the absence of Roman goods at a site automatically implies a failure of the community to Romanize.[183]   We must leave open the possibility that a failure to adopt Roman goods at a consumer level is a result of an adaptation to essentially local conditions.   Thus, we must look for the social and physical structures that lead towards conservatism.   It is as important to understand patterns of continuity as a response to Roman rule as it is for patterns of change.   When we look at the Etruscan landscape, we can see both responses.   At one end of the spectrum, we see full cultural integration when native groups begin not only to use, but also to produce and design "Roman" style goods for consumption by other "Romans."[184] Change is seemingly easy to recognize and explain.   The temptation is to describe the introduction of new building techniques and ceramic finewares, the adoption of new agricultural and industrial production schemes as related to a new Roman reality characterized by a material spirit of internationalism.   Such an assumption does not take

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[183]Hingley 2005, 91-93.

[184]Hingley 2005, 99-101.

into account the equally powerful forces of novelty, scarcity, emulation, and opportunity that would have been unleashed by increasing contacts with the Mediterranean world.

At the other end of the spectrum, where societal structures as manifested in consumer culture and settlement patterns maintained a remarkable resemblance to Archaic Period norms, we are left with a more difficult task. These instances are far more complex to explain. We must seek to describe the conditions that led to continuity from both sides of the equation, Roman and Etruscan. There must have been some degree of social utility in maintaining a degree of rural continuity for the Romans, as well as for the Etruscans involved in the process. It is the goal of this study to document these mechanisms and to explore what factors of ethnicity, geography, social structure, infrastructure, and economics led to the patterns manifested in the survey and excavation data.

A New History of Etruria

Nearly thirty years ago, Stephen Dyson noted a number of the biases discussed above in the historical record and urged historians working on the Ancient Mediterranean to rewrite the history of the region fundamentally based on the evidence for rural settlement patterns offered by the new techniques of archaeological survey.[185] As Moses Finley noted in 1986:

> "The happy days are gone when historians of antiquity (whether Near Eastern or Graeco-Roman) could relegate archaeology to a minor ancillary activity that produced picturesque information about private life and art with which to dress up the 'real' history derived from written evidence."[186]

In the past three decades, few accepted Dyson's challenge to employ survey evidence to write history that went beyond accounts focusing on the tradition of great men and battles,

[185]Dyson 1979.

[186]Finley 1986, 7.

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and thus illuminating the lives of non-elite members of society. Even through a number of

field survey projects have been completed since the late 1970's, the data derived from them

has rarely been exploited to its potential.[187] The state of affairs is particularly bleak with

reference to Central Italy. Although the area has seen extensive survey coverage, no

synthetic analysis of landscape patterns has been written. As a result, although we

understand the political situation that surrounded the rise of the Etruscan city-states and the

growth of the Roman Empire, we do not know how political processes affected rural

landscapes and village communities outside the urban sphere. It is my intention to write

the history of Etruria that Dyson envisioned. I intend to examine changes that occurred in

the Etruscan landscape associated with the formation of the Etruscan city-states and their

incorporation into the Roman Empire. Employing a diachronic perspective to a broad

geographical region will facilitate the study of long and medium term changes in social and

economic structures underpinning the political events of the first millennium B.C. This

study will combine abundant archaeological survey data with the newly refined theory of

Romanization discussed above to build a description of the process of change in rural life-

ways in elite and peasant communities outside of urban centers. I intend to do this by

applying the system of *Annales* archaeology, a methodology for linking long and short-term

events into a single historical narrative based on archaeological and environmental data. I

intend to supplement this data with a series of detailed case studies based on the history of

excavated sites. These case studies provide a greater level of detail in refining processes

revealed by the survey data. In addition to providing a detailed view of the transition to

Roman rule, these sites provide a wealth of information about patterns of material

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[187]A small number of recent works have managed to transform the history of a few Mediterranean landscapes. See especially Alcock 1989a; Alcock 1989b; Alcock 1993; Bintliff 1991a; Bintliff et al. 2002; Dyson 2003.

consumption in Roman Etruria that cannot be gleaned from survey alone. These case studies will allow us to trace internal developments in consumer culture, patterns of ranking and stratification, and changes in agricultural and craft production. Textual and archaeological data will be subjected to a dialectic analysis in order to describe the events of the period in question.

In constructing this narrative, we will begin by laying out the textual and archaeological correlates of the village community, developing a way to recognize these structures from the various sources available. We will then proceed to conduct an analysis of the long-term history of this type of site from its inception to the height of the empire at the end of the 1st century A.D. Once this description is complete, we will move to a more focused level of detail, examining various regional landscapes within Etruria individually highlighting patterns of similarity and dissimilarity within and between regions. We will then conclude by looking at the social and economic position of secondary centers within the context of the larger system of settlement of which they comprise so key an element. Having completed the tasks it will be left to revisit our two farmers from the opening to this chapter in order to make some statements concerning the underlying reasons that two individuals separated by such a small geographic space experienced Roman rule in such a different way.

CHAPTER 2.
DEFINING ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN SETTLEMENT SYSTEMS

Many previous studies of the long-term transformation of the Etruscan landscape

have centered on fully urban communities. This focus is not inevitable, and a great deal of

information does exist concerning sites occupying the lower end of the settlement hierarchy,

in both Pre-Roman and Roman Etruria. As Guido Mansuelli notes:

> "In this connection, it may be that insufficient attention has been paid to historiographical evidence. This often refers to secondary centres within a territory, using names such as *vici, pagi,* or *castella*, and provides a quantity of information which, though limited to period of contact with the Romans, may indicate the continuation of an earlier situation. It is, after all, natural that a fairly large territory should be organized with a series of secondary centres of inferior rank (in historical times) to the city, and whose function is denoted by the terms above."[1]

Despite the clear references to various types of sites listed above, a wealth of problems

hampers the ability of archaeologists to identify various types of secondary centers on the

ground, and to connect these sites with their textual correlates. Some sites occupying the

middle level of the settlement hierarchy are easy to identify based on excavated remains, or

from extant circuits of defensive walling, but it is far more difficult to identify the

terminology Romans or Etruscans would have applied to such sites. It is also especially

difficult to synchronize the juridical distinctions found among secondary centers with the

remains as they exist on the ground, even in the context of a well-excavated site.

Complicating the situation further is the relative scarcity of well-excavated secondary

centers. The vast majority of secondary centers, and especially the small ones occupying the

bottom of the settlement hierarchy, have been identified as mere surface scatters recovered

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[1]Mansuelli 1979, 367.

through archaeological survey. What is necessary then, is a framework for identifying these sites in the survey record, itself not a straightforward proposition. In addition, there must be a method for linking the sites found in the archaeological record (from both excavation and survey) with the categorical designations revealed by the relevant textual sources.

The ability to trace the long and short-term trends affecting transformation of secondary nucleated centers is directly dependent on our ability to recognize these sites in both the textual and archaeological record. This is the task of understanding both how the ancient residents of Etruria saw these centers and the roles that survey and excavation have played in recovering and interpreting their remains. Considering these factors, we will begin to build a picture of the development of the landscape in Etruria with special reference to village communities. Once we have adopted a set of characteristics that serve as markers of secondary nucleated centers, it will be possible to look for a degree of internal differentiation within the category. These internal divisions will aid us in creating a typology of secondary centers. This process must begin by creating a definition for the secondary center that incorporates both the ancient terminology, and provides a list of correlates that allow such sites to be recognized from surface scatters recovered in archaeological survey. Any attempt at achieving this kind of a strict correlation will be preliminary and may only apply to a limited number of sites of all the known examples. Further conclusions will necessarily be extrapolations beyond the available data. Any workable definition should take into account the fact that the juridical status, and thus the Latin terminology for various sites may not correspond to functional types recognizable on the ground. At best, such distinctions of status must be reconstructed by analogy from those sites whose designation is known from the extant textual references. In addition, in order to reveal differences within the category of secondary centers, it is necessary to begin

to divide secondary centers into functional types from which separate geographic and diachronic trajectories can be built.[2]

<u>Defining Sites in the Landscape of Etruria</u>

The basic unit of organization for the Pre-Roman landscape of Etruria was the independent city-state. In the period immediately preceding the conquest of Etruria (Late 5th century B.C.), there existed somewhere in the range of a dozen of these units including places such as Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, Volsinii, Roselle, Vetulonia, Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Populonia, Volterra, Arezzo, and Fiesole (See Figure 3). Each of these city-states was fiercely independent, and only linked with its counterparts by ties of common culture, language, and inter-marriage. Traditional accounts of the region mention a league of twelve cities whose participants bound themselves together based on participation in a common religious cult whose central shrine was located in the territory of Volsinii at the unidentified *Fanum Voltumnae* (See Figure 3.). This league served almost exclusively religious purposes and had little, if any, political importance. The cities themselves were characterized by the occupation of large and well-defended positions in the landscape (as large as 250 hectares in some cases). Etruscan cities were also characterized, beginning in the late 6th century B.C. by monumental buildings associated with central poliadic cults. The city then was a community of worshipers as much as a body of residents. The Etruscan city was also defined by the major necropoleis that surrounded them, exceeding all other site types in their wealth and extent.

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[2]Woolf (1993b, 224-226) notes a similar problem associated with the failure to recognize significant functional differences among sites traditionally grouped under the heading of *oppida* in the Western Provinces.

Figure 3. Cities of Etruria (Adapted from Boatwright et al. 2004, Map 1.3).

Each of the city-states was comprised of a major urban center (*ΜΗΘΛΥΜ*) that
functioned as the administrative hub of the polity, and a rural hinterland (*ΣΠΥΡΑ*) that
served as the local resource base for the city providing food and raw materials for

manufacture.   Often, a series of secondary minor centers (*TYϴINA*) functioning as

dependent villages under the jurisdiction of the main urban community populated the rural

hinterland of the city-states.[3]   These villages housed dependent lines of the aristocratic

gentes found in the major urban center, as well as providing an alternative structure of

administration that allowed for an efficient exploitation of the rural hinterland of the polity.

Below these secondary centers, a number of dispersed farmsteads, both large and small,

occupied the countryside beginning in the Late Archaic Period.   This arrangement, wherein

an urban community oversaw the rural territory in its immediate vicinity, was largely

retained after the Roman conquest of Etruria.   Under the Romans, these units were no longer

independent city-states, but rather were self-governing parts of the administrative structure of

the Roman Empire.   Cities still governed the activities taking place in their hinterland, but the

major difference was that they were now restricted from formulating any independent foreign

policy.   Instead, these territorial units were politically beholden to Rome as a consequence of

individual bilateral treaties of alliance.   In some cases, the Romans confiscated major

sections of territory formerly associated with the major Etruscan city-states and incorporated

them into the territory of new Roman colonial foundations.   In other cases, the Romans

negotiated a limited autonomy with residents of previously dependent secondary centers.   In

these negotiations, some secondary centers acquired a substantial rural hinterland of their

own.

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[3]Bruni 1999, 248. The Etruscan terminology clearly divides the landscape into three portions centered on city, countryside, and subsidiary center all seen as a territorial unit. Not every city-state shared this identical organization. Veii appears to have systematically repressed the development of subsidiary centers within its territory preferring to govern a dispersed pattern of landholding from the moment of the polity's inception.

Past Attempts at Classification

In order to understand the development of this landscape and the ways in which it transformed over time in detail, we must first define the types of sites that qualified in each of the categories elicited in the descriptions above: urban center, secondary center, and farmstead. This process is complicated by the addition of a diachronic dimension in which we will consider the development of the landscape across the Pre-Roman and Roman divide in Etruria. In nearly every area of Etruria this transition was accompanied, or preceded by, the creation of new functional categories of site types. Thus, any site definition parameters that we develop must be rooted in a chronological frame.

Past attempts to delineate the nature of the settlement system of Roman and indigenous landscapes can be classified in three major categories: functional, morphological, and legal. Any consideration of the landscape must then address these three types of typology, and the efficacy of each. The problem lies in the often-overlapping nature of such categories, and the fluidity with which the defining characteristics of a site could change over time. The situation is further complicated by the fact that although the legal classification of a site type can be ascertained by a straightforward consideration of the literary evidence, sites that received similar Roman legal designations often did not share the same morphological and functional characteristics. With the latter types of site definitions, those based on morphological or functional characteristics, the classification of sites is more objective, based on sets of common criteria related to the internal features of sites or their location within the larger landscape.[4] Yet even these supposedly objective methods of categorization fall victim to the very nature of the archaeological record.

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[4]With these types of categorizations we lose valuable information on the ways that Romans and Etruscans saw these sites.

Etruscan and Roman sites rarely reflect any text-defined set of criteria because of a variety of external factors and post-depositional processes. The real landscape is not populated by sites readily broken into categories, but instead is comprised of a wide spectrum of possibilities in terms of constituent elements.[5] At best, it is possible to lay out some of the salient features of each of the different types of sites and to recognize that any number of sites will contain some of the characteristics contained in multiple categories.

In addition to being part of a spectrum of functional types, sites within the Etruscan landscape are part of a continuum that ranges from the smallest temporary shack to the largest city. The problem of defining sites based on their size is particularly difficult at the bottom range of the settlement scale where archaeologists are forced to differentiate between small, medium, and large-scale isolated farmsteads. Often these are given names such as farms, *fattorie*, and villas respectively (or their Latin equivalents). The middle category is particularly troublesome with the *fattoria* type only recently becoming part of the standard definitions employed by regional surveys.[6] As a result, debates about the density and chronology of villas within the landscape have, at times, been the result of terminological differences rather than substantive issues. The issue is just as pernicious at the higher end of the settlement hierarchy, with the definition between cities and minor centers notably fuzzy. The ebb and flow of population in and out of sites, and the promotion and destruction of sites as a consequence of the larger political narrative of various regions compounds these problems.[7] Many sites resist definitive assignment into

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[5]Fontaine (1997) and Giovannini (1985) in the two best previous analyses of Etruscan secondary settlements, failed to provide any type of internal division among the very different sorts of sites that occupied the landscape. Zifferero (1995, 338-340) follows the same type of organization.

[6]Cifani 2002, 249.

ready-made categories because their characteristics changed substantially over time as they grew or negotiated a new status at the time of conquest.

A multiplicity of site types occupied the middle level of the settlement hierarchy, many of which were similar in size and in their internal features. Nevertheless, these sites played very different roles within the larger territory to which they pertain. If we were to categorize sites solely based on their size, sites serving as port communities for larger cities would be grouped alongside local agricultural hubs and heavily fortified military outposts of the castellum type. Because of these considerations, it is necessary to explore first, the Roman and Etruscan terminological definitions of various settlement types in order to gain a picture of the juridical divisions of the landscape. With that task completed, we can move on to consider sites in terms of their functional and morphological characteristics. The following discussion will attempt to employ this process, and to produce a workable division of the landscape into meaningful categories. No matter how clearly such categories are defined, they will be useless if it is not possible to operationalize the definitions in ways that allow archaeologists to recognize such sites from remains on or below the ground. The final section of this chapter will attempt to provide this type of operationalized definition.

Ancient Conceptions of Civic Status

The Romans developed a series of legal categories for recognizing independent primary centers within the landscape. These categories included the designations of *municipium*, *colonia*, and *praefectura*. The term *municipium* could be attached to any community that was not beholden to another urban center in terms of taxes or

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[7]A number of sites along the route of the Roman *Via Clodia* show this problem. Sites such as Tuscania and Norchia were clearly dependent centers under the influence of Tarquinia or Vulci, but became major independent hubs of population under the Roman Empire. These sites will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. Colonization also presents a problem for the categorization of a number of sites. Saturnia for example was clearly an Etruscan minor center, but became a *praefectura* and then a *colonia* in its later Roman incarnations.

administration.[8] Such communities had a relatively favored status with respect to Rome.

This status was usually associated with a formerly independent native community that had

entered into an alliance (*foedera*) with Rome, on either favorable or unfavorable terms

(*aequum* or *inaequum*).   Such alliances, often purchased by the partition and concession of a

portion of the hinterland of a city, confirmed the autonomy of the community over its

remaining territory.[9] In contrast, a *colonia* designated a community founded or re-founded

under a charter issued by the authorities from Rome.[10] Such communities could be planned

from the ground up as *ex novo* creations, or could be merely additions of new population to

long occupied sites.[11]   In the former case, a significant reorganization of the landscape

accompanied the planning of the community.   Often the colonial officials repartitioned the

countryside into rectangular sections, a process called centuriation, and parceled them out

to the new inhabitants.[12]   It appears that early on, sites with colonial status were the most

favored, although this designation would become less desirable than municipal status

beginning in the 1st century A.D. A third designation, that of *praefectura*, also existed as a

label for an independent community.   Only a few communities carried this type of

designation, but all of them were important secondary centers tied to major Etruscan cities

before the Roman conquest (e.g. Saturnia, Statonia, perhaps Forum Clodii and Forum

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[8]Salmon 1970, 17; Harris 2000, 330-331. Obviously, this independence did not extend to the obligations of Etruscan communities to the city of Rome.

[9]Harris 1965a; Harris 1971, 101-113.

[10]Cf. CIL 2.1964 Malaca was promoted to Latin Status at the same time that it was issued a municipal charter.

[11]Salmon 1970, 13-14.

[12]Salmon 1970, 20-22. This type of reorganization is best seen in the landscape around the colony of Cosa founded in 273 B.C. and reinforced with new inhabitants in 197 B.C. The colony was placed on land confiscated from the Etruscan city of Vulci and there was a substantial reorganization of the countryside surrounding the colony. See Brown (1980, 8-10) and Rathbone (1981, 15-22) for the best discussions of this reorganization.

Aurelii).[13]　This status was a designation that recognized the new independence of the communities from their former city-state, but did not go so far as to designate them as having colonial or municipal status.[14]　Nevertheless, these sites administered large portions of the Etruscan landscape in the centuries following the conquest, although under the direct control of Roman officials.[15]

Urban Identity in the Etruscan and Roman World

As a number of authors have noted in recent years, a clear division in the site hierarchy of Pre-Roman Etruria exists between the sites at the top range of the scale and those of a second tier.　The larger sites are the same ones that the literary sources clearly describe as major Etruscan urban communities.[16]　Sites in this category include the cities of Veii, Volsinii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia, Volterra, Pisa, Fiesole, Arezzo, Chiusi, Cortona, and Perugia.[17]　At the very bottom of this group hovers a pair of sites, Roselle at forty-one hectares, and Falerii Veteres at twenty-eight hectares.　As Judson and Hemphill have suggested, the limited size of Falerii Veteres can be ascribed to the fact that the site was not a true primate center for the *Ager Faliscus*.[18]　This small size for Falerii Veteres is closer to the area occupied by most communities at the second level of the settlement hierarchy.　Nevertheless, the fairly substantial distance between the site of Falerii

[13]Carandini 1985a, 53-56; 132-142; Harris 1971, 96.　It is not clear what type of site the two *fora* mentioned above were in the pre-Roman period.　Saturnia and Statonia were important secondary centers associated with Vulci and Volsinii respectively.

[14]Harris 1971. 96.

[15]Harris 1971, 151-152.

[16]The vast majority of these sites are the ones described as participating in the cult of the federal shrine at the *fanum Voltumnae*, or as being part of the Claudian monument of the Etruscan cities.

[17]Doganella, a site founded as a colony of Vulci in the late 6th century B.C. represents an exception to this pattern of conjunction between literary and archaeological data.

[18]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 195-199.

Veteres and it's nearest fully urban neighbors, coupled with the well-articulated social development of the residents of the site, tend to push it into the category of urban sites rather than secondary settlements.[19] The political independence of Falerii also argues in favor of urban classification. The small size of Etruscan Roselle is most likely the result of the site's retarded initial growth because of the proximity of Vetulonia.[20]

With the Roman conquest, the picture became more complicated, as some Etruscan cities became *municipia foederata* with little or no change to their territorial structure. Others saw substantial reorganizations of their hinterland. The confiscation of territory accompanied this reconfiguration, as well as the severing of ties between primate and secondary communities within the hinterland. The residents of some of the secondary centers within these territories negotiated promotions to civic status under the new Roman configuration, while at the same time a number of completely new communities were founded as colonies, especially in the Southern Coastal region.[21] The result was a more complicated arrangement in which the landscape fragmented into a series of smaller hinterlands associated with an increasing number of primate centers. In many cases, the colonial foundations, not to mention the secondary centers involved in the process of promotion, were far below the clear size threshold represented by the Etruscan cities. Yet

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[19]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200. See Patterson (1997, 1) for the necessary social aspects needed for definition as an urban community.

[20]The late growth of Roselle coupled with its position along a major node of communication at the edge of Vetulonian territory suggests that the site may have originated as a dependent center of the former community only to assert its independence beginning in the final decades of the 7th century B.C. The concomitant loss of the most prime agricultural land within its hinterland may have been a contributing factor to the demise of Vetulonia.

[21]In Northern Etruria colonial foundations were sparse and late. Only two are known before the period of the Social War. The colonies at Luni and Lucca were both founded in an attempt to stabilize the territory of Pisa, not from any internal distress, but from the incursions of Gallic and Ligurian tribesmen.

they shared the same independent ability to manage their own hinterlands that had characterized the administrative organization of these sites.

Definition of urban communities within the transitional period of the Republic is exceptionally difficult due to the lack of articulated internal infrastructure of many city sites before the Augustan Age. The hallmarks of civic culture during the Imperial Period, theatres, bath complexes, organized *fora* with *curia* and *comitia* were developed only with the 3rd century B.C. or later. Size then must function as the primary determinant among sites in classifying settlements as urban centers, sites that would have likely carried the Roman designation of *municipia* and *colonia.* Size alone does not have to be the deciding factor in labeling communities as urban. Several features of urban communities did develop as nearly universal requirements by the Republican Period. Cities nearly all had extensive fortifications by the 4th century B.C. Cities also were usually characterized by the presence of a significant architectural focus, a poliadic cult. Etruscan cities also possessed a significant aristocratic presence as defined by conspicuous consumption of goods and labor in the construction of burial monuments and the deposition of grave gifts along side the dead. Less visible archaeologically are concerns of juridical independence that define cities. Cities usually had some form of popular or aristocratic decision-making council and a functional administrative independence

Ancient Conceptions of the Village: *Vici, Pagi,* and *Castella*

Notwithstanding the definitional problems encountered above in relation to the categorization of the sites occupying the upper portion of the settlement hierarchy, greater difficulties occur when archaeologists attempt to classify sites in the secondary position in the settlement hierarchy, the level of small dependent towns and villages. Creating a

definition for the Etruscan and Roman "village" is fraught with difficulty for a number of reasons. First, this type of site receives scarce coverage in the surviving ancient literature on Etruria, or even on the Italian Peninsula as a whole, for that matter. Such sites have also not been the focus of traditional antiquarian research, and have only begun to come into focus in the past few decades as the sheer bulk of their volume has begun to become apparent due to the discovery of hundreds of additional sites by archaeological survey.

It would be perhaps simpler to provide an operational definition of this type of site based on the characteristics of surface scatters by which archaeologists have identified these sites, but such a definition would be an *etic* category derived from modern conceptions of the urban and rural landscape of Etruria. No doubt, such a definition will be necessary if we are to employ the abundant data of archaeological survey in our own consideration of the development of the type. Nevertheless, it is also instructive to examine the sites of the settlement hierarchy in terms of their Latin terminology because such a definition affords the opportunity to examine an *emic* conception based on Roman, and as far as recoverable, Etruscan thinking. The goal then is to produce a definition that will create a workable category of sites that will reflect a type recognized by the Romans themselves. These *emic* types can be compared to differences in site morphology and function in order to tease out patterns and inconsistencies in the Roman conceptions of community status.

Part of the difficulty in defining the characteristics that constitute a village community within the Etruscan and Roman world is the ambiguous terminology that both ancient and modern authors have employed when referencing this type of site. We have only the sparse evidence for the terminology the Etruscans themselves would have employed for secondary nucleated centers. We do know the word used for village communities (*TYΘINA*), but know nothing of any distinctions made in the type. Etruscan

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texts rarely reference even urban communities, and virtually ignore secondary settlements. As a result, we must fall back on Roman conceptions of the Etruscan settlement system.[22]

The Romans, as well as modern scholars, have often employed a number of different terms when describing sites of the village type throughout the empire, including but not limited to *oppidum, castellum, forum, vicus, statio* and *pagus*. If we are able to sort out some working definitions for each of these terms, it will be possible to use the textual sources that do describe communities labeled under them to reconstruct some of the basic features of their social and economic structure.

The term *oppidum* is most frequently applied to major nucleated agglomerations of population. Use of the term *oppidum* assumes a significant infrastructure, and usually a circuit of defensive walls.[23] Despite the modern tendency to associate the *oppidum* with native settlements, the text of the *Lex Rubria* clearly demonstrates that this site type was seen as a general category under which individual constitutional forms of major first order sites were placed, such as *municipium, colonia*, and *praefectura*.[24] As we have already discussed, a number of sites occupied a level below the category of municipal communities. Roman texts often refer to these sites using the terms *castellum*, *forum*, and *vicus*. The *castellum* was synonymous with a naturally or artificially fortified native settlement usually located on a hilltop. A residential character, defensive location, and administrative association with a larger city define the *castellum*.[25] Another category of site stood in direct contrast with the native *castellum*. Sites designated as *fora*, implied that a given secondary center was founded

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[22]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.37.1. The evidence for major Etruscan cities comes from the list of the twelve cities that made up the Etruscan federal League centered on the Shrine of Voltumna.

[23]Frederiksen 1976, 341-343.

[24]CIL I(2) 592; Frederiksen (1976, 343) discusses the terminology employed by the *Lex Rubria*. See also Smith (2002, 4) for a similar definition of the *oppidum*.

[25]Mansuelli 1979, 367; Smith 2002, 5, 7-8.

or governed by a Roman magistrate.[26] Many of the communities designated as *fora* were closely associated with the Roman road structure in a pattern analogous to the *statio*.[27] *Fora* were larger and more formalized versions of the *statio*.[28] *Stationes* were marked by their proximity to a Roman road, and in fact were normally located at the junction between at least two roads.   These communities were largely comprised of the necessities for provisioning travelers and providing access to markets for local produce.   The status of these communities with respect to Rome, and the major and minor centers nearby is unclear, but *stationes* do not appear to have governed substantial hinterlands independently.

Also important for our purposes is another pair of terms used to describe rural settlement, *vicus* and *pagus.*   These two terms are frequently confused in the modern literature.[29] Often scholars employ both to refer to village sites, but their Latinate usage implies a sharp distinction between the two terms.   The term *pagus* implies a territorial division rather than delimiting a specific type of site.[30] Some of the confusion comes in that often a single *vicus* dominates a *pagus* as its only nucleated center, thus functioning as a central place for the larger territory.[31] In some situations, however, it is clear that a number of *vici* all occupy the same *pagus* territory, while in others a *pagus* may be completely devoid of *vici*.[32] The best description of the *vicus* comes from the text of the 2nd century A.D. lexicographer Festus.

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[26]Frederiksen 1976, 343.

[27]Dyson 1992, 126. Unfortunately, none of the major Etruscan *fora* have received extensive excavation.

[28]Dyson 1992, 126-127.

[29]Patterson 1997, 1-2; Frederiksen 1976, 343.

[30]Frederiksen 1976, 343-344.

[31]Garnsey 1998, 113; Patterson 1997, 2.

> *"VICI …cipiunt ex agris, qui ibi villas non habent ut Marsi aut Peligni. Sed ex vicis partim habent rempublicam et ius dicitur, partim nihil eorum et tamen ibi nundinae aguntur negoti gerendi causa, et magistri vici, item magistri pagi quotannis fiunt."*

> *Vici* [occupy?] rural areas where villas do not exist, as among the Marsi or Peligni. Some *vici* have a government and laws are issued, some of them have none of this, but nevertheless there are markets for engaging in commerce and they elect yearly *magistri vici* and also *magistri pagi*….[33]

The *vicus,* then, is a nucleated agglomeration of population that does not have municipal status, although it may have a significant social structure and community infrastructure.[34] The Romans saw such sites as the administrative and economic hub of the surrounding territory. They appear to have had their own classes of elected magistrates who were able, in turn, to make dedications and undertake local initiatives.[35] In some cases *vici* served as competitors to their urban neighbors.[36] A number even managed to parley this rivalry into a promotion to municipal status, a phenomenon that we will examine in detail later.[37] The primary defining characteristic of these communities was their non-defensible nature. The majority of these towns can be classed as agro-towns, although even ancient authors sometimes applied this designation to sites modern authors would place firmly under the designation of *castella*.

These Roman definitions reveal the nature of the settlements the Romans saw as secondary nucleated centers. Sites designated as *fora, castella, stationes* and *vici* appear to fall into this category of sub-municipal communities. Nevertheless, there is some degree of overlap in the terminology, even as applied by ancient authors, and it would be exceedingly

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[32]Patterson 1997, 1-2; Garnsey 1998, 113; Dyson 1992, 126.

[33]Festus, *De Verborum Significatu* 562.

[34]Dyson 1992, 125-127; Patterson 1997, 2.

[35]Patterson 1997, 2-3.

[36] Garnsey 1998, 113; Patterson 1997, 6-7.

[37]Frederiksen 1976, 348.

difficult to categorize the known sites according to these definitions. This is not to say that the Roman terminology does not reveal important information about certain sites, but rather that it is dangerous to apply such ancient conceptions of sites rigidly in the face of the inconsistent usage of the Romans. Despite the fact that we are now able to reconstruct the terminology that the Romans employed for these sites, we are left with a number of difficulties in terms of separating out these sites in the archaeological record, whether based on excavated remains or the recovery of surface scatters through archaeological survey. Of primary concern is our ability to create a list of material correlates for the types mentioned above. So far, the characteristics that Romans used to describe secondary centers (e.g. fortifications, magistrates, markets) show a high degree of overlap with sites that are fully urban, making the differentiation between secondary and primary nucleated centers difficult. The main characteristic of secondary centers of any juridical status appears to be their subservience to a primate center in the collection and management of financial and labor resources.[38]

All of these political and social definitions of what constitutes the nature of an urban site may seem impossible to reconstruct based on the archaeological or textual record, but in reality, many of the characteristics are operationalized fairly easily. From an archaeological perspective, we can look for the civic structures associated with the administration of a city. The presence of a *curia* or *comitium* is likely a disqualifying attribute, since they imply some form of self-government reserved for sites at the top end of the settlement hierarchy. But even a village can have some of the structures associated with urban amenities such as baths, an aqueduct, or fortifications (especially in later periods..[39]

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[38] Garnsey and Saller 1987, 29. See also Patterson (1997, 1) for the social correlates of an urban community.

Presumably, a village community would not possess the whole package of urban amenities. This is precisely the situation seen in a number of village communities in Roman Gaul. Here, sites in the middle of the hierarchy did possess features such as street-grids, *fora*, luxurious private residences replete with mosaics and bath facilities, and theatres, but rarely were sites endowed with all of them, at least by the time of the Late Republic.[40]

A Functional Categorization of Secondary Centers

Up to this point, the major problem in defining the elements of the settlement hierarchy has resided in the disconnection between administrative and morphological or functional categories, but there is perhaps a more pressing problem at hand. Sites at the middle of the settlement hierarchy fulfilled a number of different functions within the landscape of the cities in whose territory they were situated. Roman juridical or formal vocabulary did not always reflect these functional differences. Thus, a typology differentiating sites according to their role in the settlement hierarchy adds an additional level of detail to the patterns of complexity in the landscape during both the Roman and Etruscan periods.

Even using the clues provided by contemporary textual sources, we are left with a loosely organized set of characteristics to classify a number of diverse types of sites under the heading of villages. It is necessary then, to move beyond the characteristics that we have discussed above, and to begin to form a typology of secondary centers on the basis of differences in their archaeological footprint. It will be possible to differentiate some of these centers from the composition of surface scatters obtained by archaeological survey, while

[39]Woolf 1998, 129; Hingley 1989, 25-26; Millett 1990a, 144-145.

[40]Woolf 1998, 129-130.

others will only be able to be differentiated when more detailed local excavation data can be obtained. Part of the difficulty will come in providing strict points of demarcation between various categories, as the sites form a continuum of types. Thus, the borders between categories may be fluid.

The Minor Center

The first category of sites that we will consider in our survey of secondary centers are a group of minor regional centers that served as central places in the landscape. They were often the size of small cities (seven to fifteen hectares) and in some cases have been classed as such by modern scholars. Nevertheless, these sites were dependent politically and economically on the major cities within Etruria at some point in their existence.[41] This type of site was often located at a distance of fifteen to twenty kilometers from the major cities surrounding them, ensuring a substantial hinterland.[42] These sites often had major circuits of fortification walls and served as defensive outposts. Nearly the full package of urban amenities and extensive Etruscan necropoleis usually characterize such sites. These centers were almost always surrounded with substantial fortification walls or occupied well-defended positions in the landscape. Often temples dating to the Etruscan period figured prominently in the urban fabric of the Pre-Roman site. In some cases, these sites served as hubs of communication, controlling routes of fluvial transportation.[43] Many such sites came into existence in the 7th century B.C., after the territories of the larger cities

[41]Whittaker 1990, 115. In the Western Provinces such sites are normally called *vici* and represent the category of sites just below fully urban communities.

[42]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 55. Cp. Woolf (1998, 130) for a similar arrangement in Gaul.

[43]Within Gaul, sites that can be considered as minor centers were nearly all located along major Roman roadways and were ideally situated to control trade. Woolf 1998, 130.

**Figure 4. Cities and Minor Centers in Etruria
(Adapted from Boatwright et al. 2004, Map 1.3).**

became more rigidly defined. Residents of these communities often patterned the environs

of the sites using the same spatial and social rules for the placement and organization of

suburban and rural settlements and necropoleis as the primate center to which they

pertained.[44]   These sites were possessed of their own aristocracies, in some cases minor

branches of the major political players in the governing cities in whose territories these sites

existed.[45]   Such sites served as major redistributive hubs in the economic networks of their

region, while at the same time they provided rural residents direct access to networks of

urban patronage. In their particulars, these sites are merely the most successful and largest

of the category of fortified defensive outposts classified as *castella.* The largest group of such

sites occupies the corridor that would eventually develop into the *Via Clodia*. These sites

appear to have enjoyed a fairly independent existence throughout the Orientalizing Period

only to be fully drawn into the orbit of the major Etruscan city-states during the Late

Archaic Period, or with the urban concentration of the 5th century B.C. These sites saw a

significant *floruit* in the centuries after the incorporation of Etruria into the Roman Empire.

This is perhaps because these minor centers represented a powerful alternative for the

Romans to dealing with larger Etruscan cities, since the aristocracies contained in these

minor centers were only loosely tied to the major city-states of Etruria.   Thus, we see a

number of minor nodal centers promoted to municipal or colonial status under Roman

management and a subsequent increase in population and prosperity.   Sites such as

Norchia, Tuscania, Sovana, and Castro fall into this category. At least twenty-six of the total

sample of village communities (approx. 5%) fall into this category.

Castella

A second category of sites that fall into our consideration of secondary centers is a

group of settlements variously referred to in the archaeological literature as *castella* or

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[44]Rendeli 1993; Zifferero 1995; Zifferero 1991.

[45]Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983, Sgubini Moretti 1991; Colonna 1978; Colonna di Paolo and Colonna 1978.

oppida. I will employ the former term for this type of settlement given the difficulties with the interpretation of the term *oppida* as presented above. These sites have the defining characteristic of occupying the heights of naturally defensible mountains and plateaus, and were smaller than the minor regional centers discussed in the preceding paragraph. They usually occupied between one-half and ten hectares.[46] Many were located at the edges of the territories of urban centers along major routes of communication. They appear to have been more frequent in the landscapes of Northern Etruria rather than in the South. *Castellum* sites were often located in tandem with minor necropoleis that served as the burial place of the most affluent residents of such communities. Often these sites consisted of a naturally fortified hilltop *arx* that served as a place of refuge for a dependent population that lived nearby outside the walls. Many of the *castellum* sites shared origins in the 7th century B.C. with the intensification of settlement in the larger cities in Etruria, and in some ways may have represented an antithetical power structure to the cities. Like, the minor regional centers discussed above, *castella* were often characterized by extensive religious activity in the form of votive depositions and the construction of shrines and temples as early as the late 7th century B.C. This phenomenon has led to the classification of a number of *castella* especially in Northeastern Etruria (particularly in the territories of Arezzo, Cortona, and Perugia) as sanctuaries rather than settlements.[47] Nevertheless, a high percentage of the *castella*, whose primary function was cultic in nature, also served as residential hubs. Many of these residential communities existed beyond the hilltops occupied by monumental structures. A number of these sites ended in the 6th century B.C

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[46]The site types are clearly related and form a continuum that is largely distinguishable on the basis of size. Both categories are characterized by their occupation of highly defensible locations and/or fortification walls.   Both site types are also normally associated with major necropoleis.

[47]Riva and Stoddart 1996. Such a classification fails to take into account evidence for residential structures intertwined with the shrines that were the primary focus of these communities.

when the Etruscan cities solidified their control over the countryside within their territory. These sites were often replaced by new settlements clearly beholden to the major urban communities responsible for the destruction of their predecessors. Another group of these sites seems to have adapted to a symbiotic relationship with the larger cities and survived into the Hellenistic period.

Often ten to twenty kilometers separated sites of the *castellum* type from each other and their major urban neighbors. In their clearly dependent role within the Etruscan settlement hierarchy, many of these sites functioned as protective outposts defining and reinforcing the borders of the Etruscan city-states. In addition, the location of the majority of the sites of this type, well away from the primary communities of the area, suggests that they may have played an important role in directing the agricultural exploitation of the landscape at distances that were not easily manageable from the major cities. These sites functioned then as satellite outposts for the gathering of raw materials and agricultural surplus. Several were hubs for craft production and supplied large sections of the rural landscape with goods unavailable at the household level. Many of the sites remained unfortified until the 4th century B.C. Etruscan wall building boom, although the inhabitants some *castella* constructed walls earlier. Other communities remained un-walled even after the Roman conquest.[48] Despite the differences in the dates of wall construction, these sites were uniformly situated in naturally defensible spots. The coming of the Romans appears to have been the most traumatic event in the history of these types of communities. The decades surrounding the Roman conquest of various regions of Etruria saw the majority of these sites go into disuse, although a not insubstantial number continued into the 1st century

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[48]Becker 2002, 91.

A.D., especially in Northern Etruria.[49] In the South, where there was a significantly higher density of the sites of the minor center type, those communities were favored over the *castellum* in the Roman organization of the landscape. Sites of the *castellum* type include, Poggio Buco, La Piana, Poggio Colla, Cencelle, Fontanile di Vacchareccia and Grotta Colonna. *Castella* make up approximately twenty-seven percent of the total village sites within Etruria.

Agro-Towns

Yet another category of secondary centers within the Etruscan settlement hierarchy is a group of sites described as agro-towns. This type of site has a very broad chronological range. The first sites of this type occurred with the consolidation of territory by the major city-states during the Archaic Period. A number of these sites, however, can be found throughout the Hellenistic and Imperial Periods. New sites of this type originated in almost every period under consideration. Although they comprised a substantial portion of the sites in any given period, this type of site was never as abundant as those sites of the *castellum* category. The main characteristic of these settlements is a location in relatively indefensible position, usually in plains or valley bottoms, but some examples were located on the initial hills bordering fertile but damp river alluvium. The great majority of these sites were naturally unfortified and lacked man-made fortification walls. They were often similar in size to sites of the *castellum* type (one half to ten hectares), although most occupied the lower end of the range. Such sites were usually located in close proximity to a primary urban center with which they had close ties, often a mere five to seven kilometers away,

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[49]Perhaps this lack of success in the transition to a new Roman landscape was due to the imposing nature of these sites as defensive structures.

although a few large examples occupied the border regions between Etruscan city-states where they managed the cultivation of large and fertile hinterlands. Like the *castellum*, the function of these sites was clearly to manage agricultural activity, and to secure surplus in areas that commuter farmers deemed too far from the main urban community for effective exploitation.[50] It is likely that the un-walled nature of these sites was a direct result of their close proximity to major urban communities, whose population may have seen the presence of a *castellum* so near by as a threat. It is not surprising that in their Roman incarnation these sites often existed at the margins of centuriated territory, and may have provided an alternative marketing system to that of the villas and cities. The largest of these communities provided auxiliary markets and services for the surrounding settlements.[51] These sites were also highly effective in exploiting environments of the so-called marginal type, such as the swampy coastline or the forest margin.[52] In addition, such sites must often have provided the seasonal labor force necessary to run the Roman system of villa agriculture. A number of these agro-towns existed along the southern edge of the territory of Vulci, outside the centuriated landscape surrounding the colony of Cosa, and in the immediate vicinity of Cerveteri and Tarquinia. Despite the traditional impression of Etruria as a landscape characterized by small fortified centers, agro towns make up nearly thirty percent of the total sample of village communities within Etruria.

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[50]The major difference in the site types is the lack of a defensive function for the Agro-Town.

[51]Dyson 1992, 126.

[52]Horden and Purcell 2000, 178-182.

Ports

Major port communities dotted the Tyrrhenian littoral. These sites provided access to the sea for the major Etruscan urban communities (usually located a few kilometers from the sea) and represented the most visible type of secondary center in the landscape of Etruria. Nevertheless, the arrangement of the port system appears to have crystallized at the end of the 7th century B.C., when a number of smaller sites went into disuse, and the Etruscans built a series of major ports of the region at places such as Pyrgi, Graviscae, Regae, Orbetello, Talamone, *Portus Pisanus,* and San Piero a Grado.[53] The relative frequency with which major port facilities littered the seashore is a reflection of the nature of Etruscan and for that matter Mediterranean trade based primarily on cabotage.[54] A variation of this type exists in the case of the cities of inland Etruria, where sites such as Castellonchio and Florence served as major river ports for Volsinii and Fiesole respectively. Evidence from Pyrgi and Graviscae shows intense ties between the urban communities and their port facilities. Almost from the initial decades of the port at Pyrgi, the residents of the area constructed a major road linking the site with Cerveteri. This avenue was not only a major conduit of traffic, but led to the intensification of settlement and agriculture along the route.[55] Analogous findings at other port communities confirm that these effects were typical.[56] A number of these port settlements saw an increasing degree of urbanization and expansion, with a number of them growing as large as ten hectares in size by the end of the

[53]Cristofani 1983, 36.

[54]Bruni 1998, 177-179; Horden and Purcell 2000, 140-142.

[55]Colonna 1968, 82-87; Enei 1995, 68.

[56]Cristofani 1983, 36.

6th century B.C.[57]   This type of dependent community was often highly monumentalized, including a multiplicity of temples and an abundance of inscriptional evidence, sometimes bilingual in nature.   Dedications tend to suggest that the deities worshipped in these port communities were highly syncretized blend of Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan cults.[58]   This should not be surprising, given that such communities served as the international face of the Etruscan cities to which they were attached.   The majority of the Etruscan ports survived down to the period of the Roman conquest, and in an abundance of cases, it was these sites and their surrounding territories that were confiscated from the cities of Southern Etruria and incorporated into the Roman state.   A number of Etruscan port communities were re-founded as Roman colonies during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., while a new network was created through the deduction of larger colonial settlements such as the one at Cosa.   These new communities, comprised in most cases of Roman citizens, must have acted as a strong counterbalance to the formerly independent elite that dominated trade networks throughout the Pre-Roman Period.

Road Stations: *Stationes*

Another type of site that we will consider in our review of secondary centers is the road station or *statio*. This type of site is characterized by its proximity to the Roman road network.   The vast majority of these sites were located at intersections between major Roman roads, a situation that would determine both the layout of several of these communities, as well as the nature of the buildings contained therein.   Often the sites had a number of the municipal structures associated with proper cities, but not the complete

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[57]Cristofani 1983, 36.

[58]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56; Gras 2000, 105-106.

Figure 5. Etruscan Cities and Roman Road Network
(Adapted from Boatwright et al. 2004, Map 1.3).

array. Some sites contained baths and sanctuaries, while others had a forum, market, or

aristocratic dwellings with mosaics; some even contained residences of the villa type. The

architectural amenities connected with such sites suggest that their main functions were

twofold. First, they provided waypoints for travelers, and second they allowed for the convenient marketing of rural products by supplying market space with ideal access to the system of transportation. As a result, such sites tended to spread out in a ribbon-like fashion along the roadway. As stated above, many of the sites were located at the junctions between major Roman highways, but others were located at major river crossings or at sanctuaries located along the road course.[59] Due to this increased degree of access to Roman networks of exchange, it is not surprising that such sites displayed luxuries associated with Roman life including abundant examples of mosaic floors and elite ceramics. The majority of sites of this type saw their origins during the late 2nd or early 1st centuries B.C., nearly a century after the creation of the road network. The major period of growth of this type of site was the 1st century A.D.[60] This type of site was usually a Roman *ex novo* creation, although some were located along the side of roads that made their way through decidedly un-Roman territory. In many cases, road stations fulfilled the earlier functions of distribution and marketing that farming agro-towns and *castella* had formerly executed. These communities provided a direct link to Rome, as well as creating a specifically Roman presence in the countryside. Road stations make up about six percent of the total number of village communities in Etruria, although they represent a far more significant proportion of the total number of sites during the Roman period.

Villa Settlements

The last category of secondary center under discussion is the most difficult to define for a number of reasons, some of which have been discussed in the previous chapter, and

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[59]Potter 1979, 117.

[60]Potter 1979, 117-120.

others of which that will occupy our current argument. This final category of site consists of

a series of non-elite residential structures located in close proximity to a major villa. Despite

much heated debate about the origin of the villa in recent years, one aspect of this

discussion has been left largely unconsidered. In a number of cases, villas either occupied

the same spot as an earlier community (like those described above as agro-towns) or were

constructed within communities that continued in existence alongside the new villas. The

most interesting detail about the development of such sites is that these villas represent not

the replacement of the traditional power structures within rural communities, but rather a

new symbolic system that served to reinforce and codify pre-existing relationships between

rural elites and clients. The villa then represented a link with the outside Roman world and

acted as a filter of goods, ideas, and activities within the community. Unfortunately, the

relationship between the inhabitants of such settlements and the villa-owning aristocrats is

unclear. It is nearly impossible to know whether such settlements represented ties of

tenancy, patronage, or even sharecropping, but recent analyses of the villa system are

beginning to unravel a more sophisticated picture of the variability of interactions between

rural populations and villas.[61] The mere presence of villas within the landscape tells us

almost nothing in the absence of information about the nature of the social and productive

arrangements of the villa with the surrounding settlement.[62]

At this juncture, it is necessary to pause for a moment in order to address the

absence of a number of sites from the categories mentioned above. Places such as

Acquarossa, Marsiliana d'Albegna, and Murlo have been conspicuously and intentionally

ignored in the creation of the typology of secondary centers. This omission is a result of my

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[61]van Dommelen 1993, 179-183. These problems will be discussed at length in a later chapter.

[62]Foxhall 1990, 97; van Dommelen 1993, 183-184.

belief that these sites do not represent secondary centers, but rather a series of sites that are better described as failed states. All of these sites were on their way to achieving the full status of major Etruscan city-states until some historical circumstance (such as the development and expansion of a more powerful neighbor) precluded the conclusion of this process.[63] Since such sites do not play a major part in the eventual formation of the Roman landscape, they will be left out of this analysis.

Defining and Operationalizing the Village

How then can we recognize these secondary centers from the textual, excavation, and survey records? The classification of the subsurface remains of sites uncovered by archaeological survey has been a particularly thorny problem in the past, with some practitioners failing even to attempt such categorization. The most extreme example is the almost nihilistic attitude of Jones, who appears to classify nearly every scatter as a farmhouse regardless of periods represented, or material contained in the scatter:

> "The great majority of the sites described in this survey survive only as a scatter of sherds and building debris on the ground. Most of them were small farmhouses and, though one can often make an estimate of their approximate size from the debris, it is impossible, save in a few instances, to determine what form of building or type of ground plan is represented."[64]

The situation has improved drastically with the completion and publication of a number of large-scale survey projects, and archaeologists have finally placed an emphasis on correlating surface scatters and site types in meaningful ways. Equally frustrating is the tendency of some survey projects to fail to publish the criteria on which they have

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[63]Spivy and Stoddart 1990, 54.

[64]Jones 1962, 126.

proceeded to categorize the surface data.[65] Also, there is no standard Etruria-wide terminology for sites occupying the central portion of the settlement hierarchy making it necessary to re-evaluate the work of individual survey projects in order to apply the correct label to the sites under consideration.[66]

Clearly, size is one important factor in identifying these types of sites, but Patterson has argued, I believe correctly, that a village community cannot be identified based on its size alone, especially in the Roman period when juridical distinctions may disqualify sites of the requisite size.[67] Secondary centers must be defined because of status as well as size. It is also necessary to evaluate villages as part of the context of the whole landscape system, rather than in isolation.[68] There is also a historical dimension to any working definition, as the status of a site must be evaluated over time, throughout the period of its existence.[69] Although the precise status of many Pre-Roman communities is not known directly, it is possible to make some inferences about the nature of these sites based on their interactions with Rome at the time of incorporation. One particular example that would disqualify a site from village status would be the presence of local magistrates with whom Rome could negotiate a treaty. A textual correlate to this would be the presence of a treaty or of a defined *ager* associated with a site, such as the *Ager Campanus*. The site should present some evidence of differentiation of function, such as the presence of craft areas in addition to

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[65]E.g. Campana 2001.

[66]Vallat 1991a, 11-13.

[67]Patterson 1997, 1. Secondary centers in the Roman period must meet the requirements of size (from hectare to twenty hectares), but cannot have colonial or municipal status.

[68]Johnson 1977, 495.

[69]Cases where sites change juridical status over time are particularly interesting and are able to reveal patterns in the social and political interactions of both Roman and Etruscans involved in the process of incorporation.

living space.[70] In addition, the site may or may not exhibit internal ranking. Evidence of the

degree of ranking present in the domestic architecture and material assemblages of a site is a

key factor in determining the extent of an aristocratic population at a given site.[71] We

should also, in some cases, be able to define a village because of its position within the

landscape hierarchy of a given region. A village should clearly represent a nucleated

portion of the landscape, but should not be the dominant center.[72] Using the techniques of

spatial analysis, we should be able to flush out relationships of dependence.[73] In the Roman

administrative structure, the city and not the village functions as the administrative central

place.[74] To simplify this argument, we can assert that cities, rather than villages, occupied a

dominant position in the landscape of Central Italy. Villages should show a relationship of

dependence on the cities within the Roman landscape. Villages may have figured as

economic hubs, however, acting as the local marketplaces for rural territories.[75]

In any definition, site size will have to play the largest role due to the types of

information that can be gleaned from the source of the bulk of the information for this

study: field survey.[76] As we have already seen the majority of fully urban communities

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[70]Millett 1990a, 145. Of course evidence of spatial differentiation is not always recoverable from surface scatters, the method by which a number of the secondary centers within this study have been identified. The other characteristics mentioned above will have to suffice in this situation.

[71]Cf. Woolf (1998, 129) for an example of the types of elite goods found on secondary centers within the Gallic provinces.

[72]Millett 1990a, 181, 205-207.

[73]Cf. Hodder and Orton (1976) for a general introduction.

[74]Garnsey and Saller 1987, 28-29; Millett 1990a, 149; Hingley 1989, 28. Hingley would link the administrative and economic functions of the village. I believe that we should separate the two functions as they may serve to form internal divisions within our sample on the basis of connectivity to local road and tax systems. Millett 1990a, 145. Millett also explores the relationship of roads to the development of villages, a point to which we shall return in subsequent chapters.

[75]Hingley 1989, 27-29; Millett 1990a, 143-145.

Figure 6. Rank Size Distribution of Etruscan Sites.

Rank Size Distribution of Village Communities in Etruria
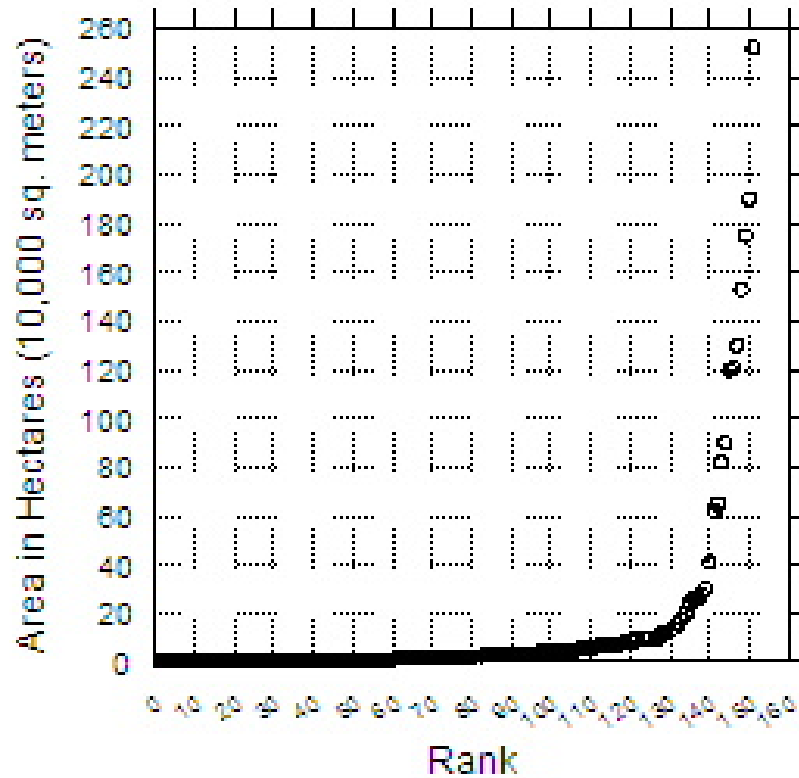
within Etruria occupied sites greater than forty hectares in size. Below this level, Judson

and Hemphill noted a substantial gap between forty and twenty hectares with few sites

occupying this size category (See Figure 6.).[77] The sites comprising the sample for this study

reflect a similar arrangement during the Pre-Roman Period. There is, however, a significant

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[76]van Dommelen (1993, 171) suggests that size is the most effective method of identifying site types in the survey record, but also suggests that wealth of the material culture contained therein is also important. The use of this as a defining characteristic will be considered later. Cp. Perkins (1999, 61) and Vallat (1991a, 12) who warn of using size alone as the determining criterion for the classification of site types.

[77]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 199. These authors suggested that this gap was indeed an actual phenomenon as opposed to an artifact of the data brought about by an incomplete survey record. Their argument was based on the notion that few if any sites of a size as significant as twenty to forty hectares could have possibly escaped

Rank Size Distribution of Village Communities in Etruria

increase in the frequency of sites that occupy less than five and a half hectares. This

sparseness becomes apparent when the data is plotted with the largest sites removed from

the data set (See Figure 7.). As a result, I have decided to class sites six hectares or larger as

minor centers rather than the other designations listed above. At the other end of the scale,

there is a great deal of overlap between small villages and large farmsteads (*fattorie*) with

examples of the latter category reaching as much as one hectare in size. In this situation, it is

necessary not only to evaluate the size of the structures involved, but also to consider the

notice even in the absence of systematic field survey. Over the course of the last twenty five years their assertion
has largely been borne out.

patterning of sherds or architecture within the sites concerned. The presence of a perimeter wall and/or a clear indication that the structures present were comprised of several buildings rather than a single complex suggests that even a site as small as ½ hectare may be a small village. We are then looking for a nucleated site of a size larger than that of an individual farmstead or with some type of patterning on the ground to suggest the presence of multiple habitations. Perkins suggests a minimum artifact scatter size of more than 4000m² for the minimum size of a village, and Hingley would suggest that these centers can have grown to encompass up to ten hectares of land. Several examples from Etruria, however, encompass up to twenty hectares within their walls, not to speak of an extended hinterland.[78] At the same time, the spacing between sites of this type can be a tool for distinguishing secondary centers from large farmsteads. The vast majority of secondary centers are located at least two kilometers from their nearest neighbors while large farmsteads are usually grouped in closer proximity to neighboring properties. These sites also normally appear at significant distances from urban communities.[79] At the same time, spatial issues can also prevent such sites from being recognized as individual units. The following excerpt from the Rieti Survey exemplifies the problem at hand.

> "In a few cases groups of several small sites occur in close proximity to each other (for example, 14, 16, 18, 135). It is possible that further work may allow us to identify some of these as larger farms (or even villas) comprising a number of separate buildings, but the transfer of a few sites from a smaller category to a larger will not affect the overall profile greatly."[80]

Perhaps these considerations were not important for the questions considered by the surveyors, but they are clearly poignant for anyone interested in examining village

[78]Perkins 1999, 21-22; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 59. The efficacy of this definition will be evaluated in the next section, but here it serves as a basis from which to begin our considerations. Hingley 1989, 28.

[79]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200.

[80]Coccia and Mattingly 1992, 245-246.

communities, especially those arranged along the lines of the category of the agro-town. Some allowance must be made then for a site comprised of several nearby, but not contiguous surface scatters. In our sample, sites comprised of at least four independent structures, or whose area as estimated by individual surface scatters occupied one hectare, will qualify as agro-towns. The distance separating these scatters of structures must be minimal, on the order of a couple of hundred meters. Allowing for such a definition does present the problem that, even in larger sites, a villa with a series of outbuildings may look very similar to a cluster of farmsteads in a rural village.

In the case of a number of surveys, the absence of villages as a defined category compounded the problem so that the editors automatically grouped any examples of this kind of structure under the villa heading.[81] Even in the Albegna Valley/Ager Cosanus survey, preconceived notions about the relative wealth of site types are present as one of the defining characteristics of the village. The archaeologists who have edited the material assumed to be devoid of complex architecture or decorative elaboration.[82] Recent research from the Cecina Valley Survey has shown that village communities are capable of having both complex architecture and sumptuous decorative elements. An even more splendid example is a site from the Biferno Valley in Samnium (possibly the site of ancient Uscosium), a village whose remains contained fragments of marble and mosaics.[83] In addition, it is clear that this definition recognizes sites of both the argo-town and *castellum* type as a single category, since the criteria of the Albegna Valley/Ager Cosanus survey

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[81]Patterson (1997, 6) notes the outline of the problem involved, village communities do not always have similar wealth levels when compared to each other.

[82]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 56-59; Cp. Felici (2004, 62) for a similar definition of the villa site.

[83]Patterson 1997, 6.

allow for complex architecture in the case of port communities and insist upon it for road stations.[84]

Because of the considerations above, it will never be possible to identify all of the village communities present in the landscape of Etruria. Instead, it will have to be sufficient to locate as many examples as are able to be identified securely, and to progress with our analysis based on the patterns revealed by these sites. We will begin this analysis by looking at the long-term development of the categories of sites identified in this chapter as they developed within the Pre-Roman and Roman landscape.

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[84]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 59.

CHAPTER 3.
SOUTHERN COASTAL ETRURIA:
CERVETERI, TARQUINIA, VULCI

The best-known region of Etruria consists of the South, encompassing the territory of three coastal cities: Cerveteri, Tarquinia and Vulci.[1] Archaeologists have undertaken a number of systematic and non-systematic survey projects within this region, making it the most well covered landscape within Etruria. At the same time, the region is the most abundantly mentioned in the extant ancient texts as well. As a result, the historical and cultural landscape of Southern Coastal Etruria stands out in greater relief than any other landscape that will be included in this study.

This evidence is most abundant for the territory of Vulci. Here, a pair of surveys (*Ager Cosanus / Albegna Valley Survey*) conducted by American and Italo-British teams has explored a large section of the territory of the Etruscan city. The methodology of this survey was systematic, and although there were initial difficulties in integrating the data from the two projects, the final synthesis provides an excellent window into a large portion of the territory.[2] These investigations have been furthered by the excavation of the colony of Cosa located on the coastal strip, and of a number of villa sites from the interior.[3] The inland portion of the territory of Vulci, around the ancient site of Castro, has also been the subject

[1]Attolini et al. 1991, 143.

[2]See the difference in interpretation of the same landscape in the studies of Dyson (1978; 1981) and Celuzza and Regoli (1982).

[3]Dyson 2003, 40-41. The coupling of the survey with the excavation of the major villa site at Settefinestre has led to an overemphasis on the transition of the landscape to one characterized by slave-run *latifundia*. Although the literature for the survey has taken a corrective slant in recent years, it is still necessary to bear this in mind when examining the data for the development of the Post-Social War landscape.

of an archaeological survey, albeit on a smaller scale.[4] This investigation was coupled with the excavation of a number of sites and necropoleis in the region.

Coverage of the territories of Tarquinia and Cerveteri is less even and less extensive. Small-scale systematic surveys have been undertaken in areas along the coastal strip including the zone surrounding the Roman colonies of Alsium and Pyrgi, in the Tolfa-Allumiere Hills separating the territories of the two cities, and in the interior around the minor secondary center of Tuscania.[5] The data from the last of these surveys (The Tuscania Survey) is excellent for the Etruscan Period, but the frustrating lack of publication of the full results make it difficult to use for the Roman period. Even in the case of the Etruscan Period, the incomplete nature of the publication forces us to take the directors of the study at their word for the description of trends occurring in the landscape, since there is no provision for engaging directly with the site data. The whole region of Southern Coastal Etruria has also been the subject of a number of non-systematic topographic studies that have documented sections of the region.[6] Also of great help is a major synthetic work on the Romanization of the region.[7]

As discussed earlier, I will attempt to build a narrative of the long-term trajectories that accompanied the processes of territorial formation and then incorporation into the Roman Empire with special attention to the role played by secondary centers. The data derived from the systematic archaeological surveys will take pride of place in this analysis. Data from the less systematic projects will serve to supplement the picture gleaned from

[4]Rendeli 1985; Gazzetti 1985.

[5]Coccia et al. 1985; Gazzetti 1989; Naso and Zifferero 1985.

[6]Carandini 1985b; Colonna 1977; Corsi and Pocobelli 1993; Corsi 1998; Gianfrotta 1981; Perego 2001; Perego 2005a; Quilici Gigli 1970; Quilici Gigli 1976.

[7]Dyson 2003, 40-41.

these major surveys. This data will be considered when it concerns sites at the upper end of the settlement hierarchy. It will play a major part in helping to identify the major secondary centers of the region, but not in determining the relationships between these centers and smaller settlements less likely to be identified from non-systematic work.

<u>The Orientalizing and Archaic Periods</u>

The sites of all of the future city-states in Southern Coastal Etruria show evidence of Villanovan occupation, and the cities appear to have come together through the process of *coalescentium* sometime during the late 9th or 8th centuries B.C.[8] This process was accompanied by an evacuation of many sites in the countryside, particularly those that were most closely situated to the sites of the urban centers.[9] The urban centers only began to expand out into their respective hinterlands and create defined territories with the last decades of the 8th century B.C., however.[10] This process would take nearly two centuries to be complete, and would result in the development of an Archaic landscape that showed a great deal of coherence across Southern Coastal Etruria. This Archaic landscape was comprised of a number of disparate local patterns of settlement that were the direct result of environmental, as well as social factors at work in each sub-region of the zone. The goal of this section is to spell out both the overarching trends seen in the landscape, as well as elements of local variation and the factors that underpinned them.

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[8] Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70; Leighton 2004, 38-48; Iaia 2001, 3-5; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 7-8.

[9] Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 21.

[10] Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 21.

The Early Organization of Vulci

Vulci's first step in consolidating its territory was the reduplication of central places at a distance from the urban center proper.[11] With the end of the 8th century B.C. and into the 7th century B.C., a number of secondary centers sharing a number of organizational and functional characteristics arose in the *Ager Vulcentis*. These centers include the sites at Pescia Romana along the Chiarone, Mont'Aùto, Castro, Sovana, Pitigliano, and Poggio Buco, Ghiaccio Forte, Orbetello, and Talamone (See Figure 8).[12] With the end of the 7th century B.C., the era of expansion of secondary nucleated centers appears to have ended. Only at the very margins of Vulcian territory, at Rofalco, did a true village-sized entity develop during the 6th century B.C.[13] From this point forward, sites of different types lower in the settlement hierarchy filled out the landscape. All of these centers are between 5 and 10 hectares in size and are located in highly defensible places where they can control access to one or more of the major waterways through the territory of Vulci.[14] The exceptions to this statement are the centers of Orbetello and Talamone, which controlled access to the Tyrrhenian. Each of these sites ranged from between ten and twenty kilometers distance from the urban center at Vulci. Despite their defensive situation, all of these sites were placed in order to exploit the rich and fertile riverine plains at their base, as well as the nearby resources of the forest.[15] Because of this arrangement, the *Ager Vulcentis* could be exploited agriculturally from a series of secondary central places based on *castella* with less

[11]Rendeli 1993, 165.

[12]Colonna 1977. 198; Cristofani 1981a, 36; Perkins 1999.

[13]Rendeli 1993, 214.

[14]Cristofani 1981a, 36; Rendeli 1993, 168.

[15]Rendeli 1993, 168-171.

Figure 8. The Territory of Vulci in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods
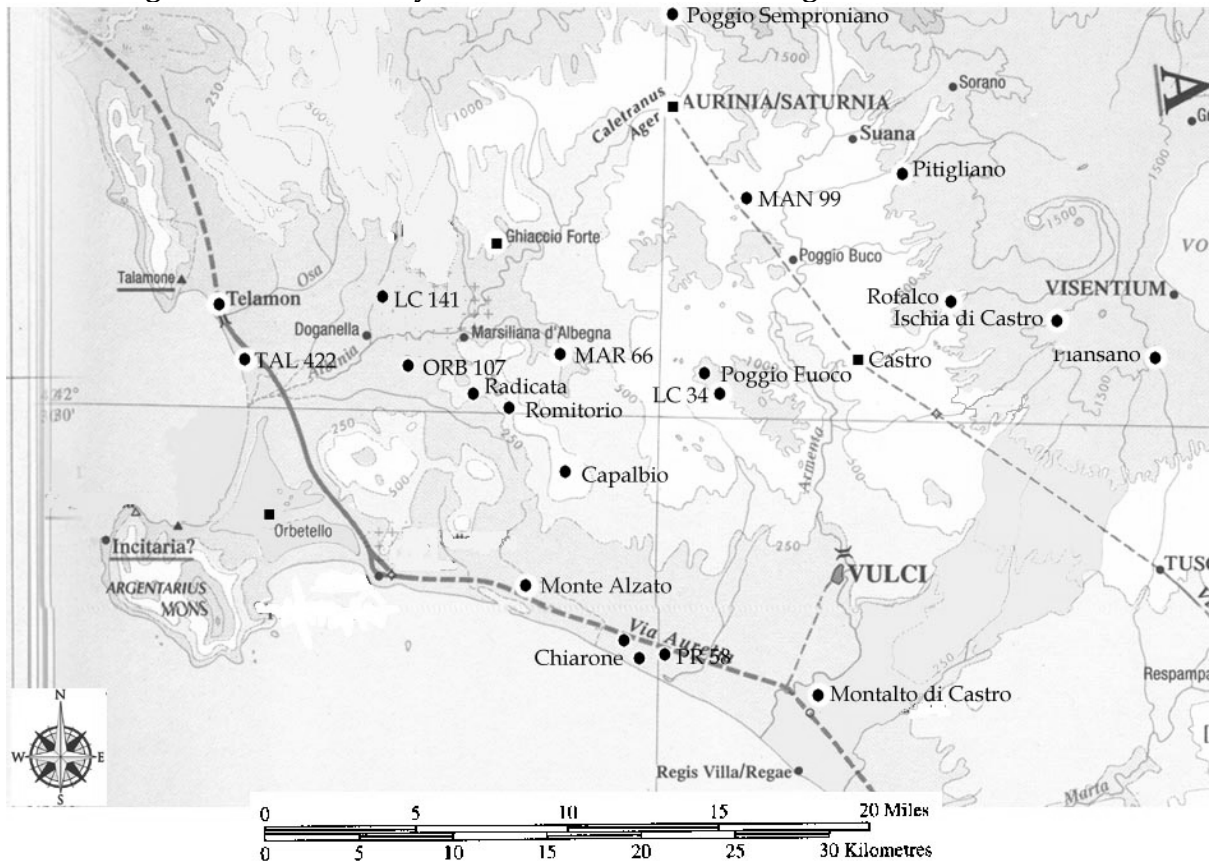
than a day's travel between them.[16] This arrangement created a series of non-overlapping

cachement zones.   This expansion of Vulcian territory had two functions, first of all it

increased the amount of land that could be feasibly farmed, as well as creating a series of

waypoints that served to link Vulci with the interior and Tiberine Etruria.[17] It is important

to note, however, that the majority of the production and distribution of elite goods was still

controlled by Vulci itself and funneled to the dependent aristocratic classes of the minor

centers who remained tied to the city by their need for status-reinforcing goods.[18] At Vulci,

mortuary data suggests that already by the beginning of the Orientalizing Period, there was

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[16]Rendeli 1993, 173.

[17]Rendeli 1993, 171-173.

[18]Rendeli 1993, 175.

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a strong elite class at the apex of society. The greater degree of wealth displayed in urban necropoleis suggests that rural communities were developing an increasing dependence on the wealthy urban center even at this early date.[19] All of the centers would eventually be enhanced by man made fortifications that supplemented their strong natural position.[20] Finally, all of these sites copied the organization of Vulci in creating a separation between the cities of the living and the dead. Each minor center was closely linked with a major necropolis rather than exhibiting a dispersed burial pattern with graves scattered in individual fields.[21]

In all of these centers of the interior, the second half of the 7th century B.C. was marked by a concentration on the monumentalization of civic infrastructure projects, particularly in the form of the construction and formalization of roadways and in the creation of drainage and water storage systems.[22] The late 6th century B.C. saw a filling-in of the landscape around these minor centers, as a number of small necropoleis began to occupy the land at the margins of the territories of the secondary centers. Presumably, these sites were connected with small settlements that concentrated their efforts on exploiting the resources of these regions.[23] The developments sketched in broad outline above can be studied in detail by examining the results of the major survey projects that have covered the region. At this level of detail, it will become apparent that although the broad trends sketched above hold true, they were overlaid on a number of local and regional variations.

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[19]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70.

[20]Cristofani 1981a, 36.

[21]Rendeli 1985, 63-64; Rendeli 1993, 171.

[22]Rendeli 1993, 181-183.

[23]Rendeli 1993, 185-186.

The *Ager Cosanus / Albegna Valley Survey* project has identified three varied settlement patterns present across the landscape roughly corresponding to geomorphological differences in the territory, and the settlement around the interior center at Castro represents a fourth type of pattern.[24] The first of these three zones covered in the *Ager Cosanus / Albegna Valley Survey* is the coastal plain South of the city of Vulci. The second is the lower Albegna Valley, and the third the upper valley.[25] It is possible to sketch out some general trends of the ways in which each of these zones were occupied in the Archaic Period. These patterns will serve to highlight the individual nature of the ways in which settlement was organized across the landscape.

In the coastal zone, destined later to become the heart of the *Ager Cosanus*, the main type of settlement was that of the small-nucleated village located directly on the coast. Such sites were approximately a half hectare in extension.[26] These villages often saw their origins in the Villanovan period and would continue in importance down to the Roman period.[27] They were most likely controlled by local agricultural elites who comprised the burial population for the necropoleis associated with the nucleated settlements.[28] In this region, the landscape was filled out with a sparsely settled countryside occupied by small farmsteads.[29] Villages are situated in some cases as close as one kilometer apart, and did not have large territories for the exploitation of agricultural resources. This pattern suggests a village-based elite dominating the smaller settlement structures of the area, and controlling

[24]Attolini et al. 1982; Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

[25]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69; Perkins 1991, 135.

[26]Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

[27]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

[28]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70.

[29]Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

the distribution of surplus through capillary dependence networks.[30] Clearly, the standard

view of villages as central places dominating a larger catchment zone as predicted by the

Thyssen or Von Thünen models does not hold up here, and instead we see a dendritic mode

of distribution organized by powerful gentilicial and client networks that allowed village

elites to draw in resources from the countryside.[31] These capillary patronage networks were

dominated by the elites in Vulci who formed the top of the chain of social and productive

organization exercised over depressed branches of the gentilicial structure and their rural

familia.[32] This increased organization may have been necessary to manage the resources of

the region through employing organized labor schemes such as those necessary to maintain

the system of *cuniculi* found in the area.[33]   In addition, the hilly area to the North was not as

densely settled, but may have served as a natural resource base for the communities of the

coast.[34] It is also likely that the coastal villages compensated for their lack of an immediate

agricultural hinterland by exploiting the resources of the sea (including waterfowl, fish, and

salt), and engaging to some extent in networks of Mediterranean trade.[35]

In the lower Albegna Valley, a different mode of settlement was present. During the

Orientalizing period, the countryside appears to have been dominated by a pair of

necropoleis at Marsiliana and Magliano, where an elite class continued to bury throughout

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[30]Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

[31]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69; Perkins 1991, 139; Torelli 1984, 71-79; See Smith (1978a, 34-36) for a description of this kind of organization.

[32]Perkins 1991, 139; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70-71.

[33]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 90.

[34]Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70, 90.

[35]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69, 90. It is probable that this settlement system was frozen at the village level due to the nearby presence of the major city of Vulci. See also Horden and Purcell (2000, 186-197) for the potential exploitation of marine resources in the Mediterranean environment.

the Archaic and Classical Periods.[36] In contrast to the pattern seen in the coastal and upland zones, these major necropoleis were not attached to any nucleated center, but represented isolated sites.[37] The organization of the Orientalizing Period landscape was based on ties to this burial center in the presence of a largely dispersed pattern of settlement. This settlement pattern may have been headed by a site of the *palazzo* type at Uliveto di Banditella, and under the control of a single powerful family.[38]

With the introduction of the Archaic Period, a new pattern came to the forefront in the lower valley, as the major Etruscan site at Doganella came to dominate the landscape. Now, the settlement hierarchy of the lower valley was characterized by the presence of a single urban center, perhaps on the model of a city-state.[39] Doganella only began to possess all of the criteria of a city beginning in the early 6th century B.C., although the site may have been an Orientalizing Period village before its promotion to full urban status. By the 5th century B.C. the site possessed a street grid and city wall encompassing two and a half square kilometers. Despite the large size of the community, the associated necropoleis do not display evidence of the materialization of status and wealth among an urban aristocracy, perhaps due to a dependent status with regard to the city of Vulci.[40] The

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[36]Cristofani 1981a, 33-34; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 71-76.

[37]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 72-75. The traditional assertions that the sites were associated with urban centers on the basis of their wealth and Livy's mention of an *Ager Caletranus* found in Minto (1925 and 1935), Dyson (1978, 258), and even the preliminary findings of the *Ager Cosanus / Albegna Valley Survey* (Attolini et al. 1982, 377) are now largely discounted. The territorial organization is rather seen as following that found throughout much of Samnium where a rural *pagus* exists in the absence of a nucleated settlement. Such territorial organizations have been referred to elsewhere as *ethnos*-states rather than city-states. *Pace* Cristofani 1981a, 38 and Colonna 1977. See Frederiksen (1976, 343-345) Oakley (1995) and Patterson (1997, 3-5) for similar situations in Campania.

[38]Perkins 1991, 139; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 72. It is likely not a coincidence that the center sees its destruction just before the rise of Doganella. The events may be connected and the city may have been founded by the Vulcintes in an attempt to fill the power vacuum left by the destruction of Uliveto di Banditella.

[39]Perkins 1991, 139; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 72.

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formation of the major urban center at Doganella was a decisive factor in the development

of the rural landscape. In the immediate vicinity of the city, the number of small rural

farmsteads saw a significant decline in the decades following the foundation of the city.[41]

This is presumably due to the preference for urban residence and commuter farming which

was occasioned by the formation of the new urban community. Nevertheless, outside of the

immediate surroundings of Doganella, the number of dispersed farmsteads remained high,

as much of the territory distant from the city was exploited by rural smallholders.[42]

Doganella also dominated the productive resources of its hinterland, controlling the

production of wine amphorae, and metalworking.[43] The distribution of wine *amphora*

suggests that Doganella exercised a strong degree of control over the agricultural surplus

within the region.[44] The city was ideally situated to control the surplus of the lower valley,

perhaps in conjunction with the three minor centers of the area at Orbetello, Ghiaccio Forte,

and Talamonaccio, all founded slightly earlier than Doganella.[45] The political relationship

among the four sites is unclear, but there may have been a strong degree of cooperation

among the populations. Ghiaccio Forte dominated the access point between the upper and

lower Albegna Valley, perhaps extending the ability of Doganella to control the productive

resources and trade of the valley.[46] The landscape around Ghiaccio Forte appears to have

followed a similar pattern to that of Doganella, where a dearth of small farmsteads is to be

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[40]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 77; Attolini et al. 1991, 143.

[41]Attolini et al. 1991, 141. Attolini et al. 1982, 369.

[42]Perkins 1991, 141; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 77.

[43]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 92.

[44]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 77.

[45]Perkins 1991, 141; Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 35; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 78.

[46]Firmati 2002, 63; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 78; Attolini et al. 1991, 144.

found in the immediate vicinity of the primary center.   At a distance, there was a proliferation of dispersed rural habitations.[47]   Talamonaccio, situated at the mouth of the Osa River, served as the port of Doganella.[48]   Orbetello controlled the rich resources of the lagoon.

Outside of the area of the survey, further to the South along the coast toward Tarquinia, recent topographic work has shown a very similar organization of the landscape to that found in the Lower Albegna Valley in the Archaic Period.   The landscape was dominated by a major *castellum* located a few kilometers inland at Montalto di Castro beginning in the 8th century B.C.   The site was located six and a half kilometers from Vulci and occupied 3.6 hectares.[49]   This site was coupled with the major port of Vulci, Regae, located at the mouth of the Fiora.   Here, in the Archaic Period, the landscape would be filled out with a number of small farmsteads in the same pattern as seen around Pyrgi and Graviscae.[50]   A similar organization can be found along the Arrone where an inland *castellum* at Mandrione was re-founded on a Bronze Age site.[51]   A number of new agro-towns were added to this regime in the Archaic Period including Pian di Spille, Marina Velca and Casale Grotte.[52]

The valley of the Radicata existed as a transitional zone where settlement patterns socially and politically mirrored the lines of both its coastal and inland neighbors.   There were a high number of elite burials here, but the necropoleis were not located in direct

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[47]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

[48]Talamone likely filled the same role of a major port as Graviscae and Pyrgi would for Tarquinia and Cerveteri.

[49]Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 21.

[50]Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 30; De Rossi 1968.

[51]Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 26.

[52]Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 31.

connection with any of the nucleated centers of the region. Instead, the landscape was dominated by a number of small fortified inland centers (*castella*) protecting key points within the Radicata Valley. These sites include Poggio Pietricci, Monteti, Capalbio, and Poggio Poggione.[53] It is not surprising that this group of fortified centers was located in a series of strategic positions that would have been able to dominate routes of access and communication between the coastal plain and the lower Albegna Valley.[54] Nevertheless, no major central place came to dominate the region, and we can imagine a productive structure based on the control of small sections of territory around each center. The area was likely dominated by the class of elites that buried their dead in the major necropoleis of the region.

The area around the settlement of Castro, along with the Upper Albegna Valley, provides the most detail as to the nature of the development of the interior landscape. We will first examine the organization of the landscape around the *castellum* at Castro, and then turn our attention to the organization of the Upper Albegna Valley. Castro, the interior site whose territory is best known, sits atop a triangular plateau with two naturally defensible edges. This site, along with Poggio Buco, dominated the main routes of communication across the territory of Vulci.[55] The site is flanked by a series of cemeteries.[56] A number of small sites were clustered along a roadway that appears to have connected Castro to Tuscania and Vulci. These sites were all without necropoleis and presumably employed the

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[53]Attolini et al. 1982, 368; Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 35; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 71.

[54]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 71. Although the researchers of the *Ager Cosanus / Albegna Valley Survey* have not argued along these lines, it is possible to assume that these sites may, in fact, represent the border of the territories of Doganella and Vulci. This would suggest a far more confrontational model between the two centers, but should at least be mentioned as a possibility due to the weakness of the argument that assumes that Doganella was a colony of Vulci.

[55]Colonna 1977, 202.

[56]Rendeli 1993, 63.

cemeteries at Castro due to their proximity to the minor center.[57] Only a very few of the

sites along this route were large enough to be considered villages, although these were the

ones that managed to survive into the Roman period.[58] To the East of Castro, a number of

small and medium-sized farms were located on the routes to the interior. These sites appear

to have had a far greater afterlife than those to the South, as most survived throughout the

Classical Period.[59] To the North, at the edge of the Selva di Lamone, a major defensive site

appears to have existed as a bulwark against the cities of the interior, and as a mechanism of

control over the margin of the territory of Vulci.[60] This process of expansion into the lands

at the edge of Vulcian territory would see a final push with the foundation of Rofalco, a

village community that developed during the 6th century B.C.[61]

It is clear that the region surrounding the settlement at Castro saw a marked

expansion of small sites, presumably farmsteads, beginning in the second half of the 6th

century B.C.[62] These sites reached approximately half of a hectare in size, and can be

considered along the lines of the category of *fattoria* typical of this period.[63] Some of these

sites were located on easily defensible tufa plateaus, just as the larger secondary nucleated

centers, yet these sites did not ever fill up the space, remaining at the level of a major

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[57]Rendeli 1985, 267.

[58]Rendeli 1985, 267.

[59]Rendeli 1985, 268.

[60]Rendeli 1985, 269.

[61]Rendeli 1993, 214.

[62]Rendeli 1985, 269; Rendeli 1993, 191. This expansion of dispersed rural farmsteads and minor villages appears to be about a half century later than the arrangements that crystallized in the region of the Lower Albegna Valley.

[63]Rendeli 1993, 193; 201-202.

farmstead rather than a village.[64] The social and economic standing of the residents of this

type of site cannot yet be determined with any accuracy. The only exception to this rule

appears to be a community that arose on Poggio Cericotto early in the 6th century B.C. that

grew to a size of one hectare. This site would never reach the same size as its earlier

predecessors (5-10 hectares), but appears to have dominated a capillary settlement system

consisting of a number of small farms and *fattorie* scattered at a distance of approximately

one kilometer from each other. Overall, the larger sites of the area were spaced with the

larger examples about a kilometer apart, and the smaller ones just a hundred or so meters

apart. A similar organization of settlement may have existed along the ridge of Monte

Marano as well, but the site is less well known. This suggests that there was a differential

wealth rate among the owners of these structures. The arrangement of this zone may have

functioned in a manner very similar to that seen in the coastal region, with the larger sites

gathering in surplus that was channeled to Castro and thence on to Vulci.[65]   Rendeli

suggests that this organization is fostered by the introduction of intensive regimes of poly-

culture including the production of wine and olive oil. It is telling that in exactly these areas

to the North and east of Vulci, which were most fruitful for this type of production, the

number of settlements was at its most dense.[66]

The Upper Albegna Valley presents yet a fourth pattern of organization. Although

there is burial evidence as early as the 7th century B.C., it appears that the site of Saturnia did

not develop as a habitation until the 5th century B.C.[67] Before the foundation of this minor

[64]Rendeli 1993, 191.

[65]Rendeli 1993, 194.

[66]Rendeli 1993, 208.

[67]Perkins 1991, 141-142; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 78.

center, the landscape was governed on the basis of a number of small villages, many of them open sites. The best examples of this type of site are the agro-town located at Grinzano and the *castellum* at Poggio Semproniano. These villages were located to the north of the eventual site of Saturnia.[68] There were also an abundant number of dispersed farmsteads beginning in the Archaic Period. The organization of the burial landscape mimics that of the settlement system. There are no large centralized necropoleis, but rather small burial groupings associated with individual sites.[69] This type of organization is similar to the one found in the region around Castro, and may reflect similar social organization. Once the minor center at Semproniano was founded, however, many of the agro-towns disappeared, suggesting that power began to be accumulated by the residents of the major site of the area.[70]

Based on the survey data for the territory of Vulci, it is possible to make a number of conclusions about the organization of the hinterland of the city. There was a boom in the number of secondary centers beginning in the late 8th century B.C. and continuing throughout the 7th century B.C. These centers provided an opportunity for Vulci to exploit significantly greater portions of its hinterland than was possible based on commuter farming from the urban center alone. The survey data suggests that strong nucleated systems grew up around the communities at Doganella and Castro. It is likely that similar nucleated systems can be expected in the hinterlands of other major Vulcian secondary centers such as Norchia and Sovana.[71] Beginning in the 6th century B.C. there was yet a

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[68]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 78.

[69]Perkins 1991, 142; Attolini et al. 1982, 368.

[70]Perkins 1991, 142.

[71]Colonna 1977, 199-200.

further expansion of settlement in the form of dispersed farmsteads. The secondary centers

within the landscape served as central-places for these farmsteads, and it is important to

note that there was often a dearth in the number of such sites in the immediate vicinity of

the nucleated communities. At the edges of a number of these systems, a series of small

agro-towns and large *fattorie* developed as dominant sites. At the same time, major portions

of the *Ager Vulcentis* remained organized on other bases. Several portions of the landscape

continued to lack major central places. These areas must have been only loosely connected

with the major productive regimes within the territory. While this development of the

interior of the territory of Vulci was occurring, there was also a significant rise in the status

and number of communities at the Eastern edge of the zone. These centers, such as Sovana

and Norchia, likely existed in a state of semi-independence throughout the Orientalizing

Period, and if the analogy with Tarquinian and Caeretian territory is correct, only began to

be dominated with the beginning of the Archaic Period.[72]

The Early Growth of Tarquinia

In the territory of Tarquinia, by the 8th century B.C. the urban center was already

functioning as a central place for the region. The minor villages that had existed on the

nearby hills had all disappeared, and the landscape was witness to an explosion of sites that

would define the territory of the new city, as well as exploit its agricultural resources.[73]

Although the entire territory within the hinterland appears to have witnessed some degree

of this expansion throughout the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., there was a clear concentration of

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[72]Colonna 1977, 206-207.

[73]Perego 2005a, 211.

sites, both small habitations and burials in the immediate vicinity of the city (within 7km).[74]

This phenomenon can be coupled with the construction of a number of major *tumuli* that

served to advertise urban and gentilicial control over the landscape.[75] These *tumuli* were all

located on major routes of communication at regularly spaced intervals from the city.[76] At

the same time, these *tumuli* appear to have been independent structures not associated with

any nucleated habitation, but instead acted as markers in the landscape.

During this period, the landscape did begin to fill up with a number of secondary

centers as well, many of which were positioned in strategic locations for the exploitation of

fertile agricultural zones located at a distance from the urban center. Sites of this nature can

be identified at Fontanile dell'Olmo, Grottelle, and Cavone, and possibly also in association

with the necropoleis of San Nicola, Vallicelle, and Posto dei Piccioni.[77] In contrast, the

arrangement of the coastal zone had not solidified yet in the 7th century B.C. Until the

development of the major *êntrepot* of Graviscae around 600 B.C., the landscape remained in

a degree of flux, although a series of smaller sites positioned along the coast may have filled

this role.[78] A trio of sites from this period was located along the coastal strip: Saline, Torre

Valdaliga and La Mattonara.[79] These sites functioned as early *emporia* for the main center at

Tarquinia, and although some were short lived, they represent the beginnings of a series of

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[74]Perego 2005a, 214. The exception to this trend appears to be the area between the Mignone and the Tolfa hills, but as Perego notes this is most likely due to issues of visibility and the concentration of the archaeological work within the region, factors that cannot be compensated for outside of the framework of a systematic survey.

[75]Riva and Stoddart 1996, 98.

[76]Zifferero 1991, 125; Rendeli 1993, 234-237; Perego 2005a, 216.

[77]Perego 2005a, 218; Perego 2001, 19.

[78]Cristofani 1983, 36; Perego 2005a, 218-219.

[79]Melis and Serra 1968, 92-93; Rendeli 1993, 238; Perego 2001, 17-18; Perego 2005a, 219.

coastal ports, which would culminate in the foundation of Graviscae.[80] On both frontiers, along the Arrone to the North with the territory of Vulci, and along the Mignone to the South with Cerveteri, a number of small *castella* arose in the 7th century B.C.[81] Like the agricultural villages in the immediate vicinity of Tarquinia; these outposts also were paired with major necropoleis.[82] Such defensible residential communities created a series of well-protected enclaves of territory at a great distance from Tarquinia that could be farmed while the residents took advantage of the safety of collective residence. Perhaps more importantly, these sites were sited in ideal locations to control the major riverine routes of communication between the coast and the interior, thus facilitating and monitoring trade in imported elite goods and the movement of agricultural surplus. Those sites located on the southern edge of Tarquinian territory, such as Monte Rovello, Monte S. Angelo, Buffalareccia, Cencelle, and Poggio Camposicuro, were auspiciously sited to participate in the control of metal resources in the Monti della Tolfa, while Luni controlled access to the interior by way of the Mignone Valley (See Figure 9).[83] The frontier with Vulci was much less important during this period, and saw fewer sites. At the Eastern edge of Tarquinian territory, a number of minor centers were coming to dominate the interior zone at places such as Tuscania, San Giuliano, San Giovenale, Axia and Visentium.

As seen in some areas of the *Ager Vulcentis*, the Archaic Period saw the growth of small rural farmsteads, often only identifiable by their associated necropoleis. These sites were situated with an eye toward the exploitation of the agricultural and pastoral resources

[80]Perego 2001, 18.

[81]Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 31; Perego 2001, 19; Perego 2005a, 219-220. These *castella* include the sites of Lestra d'Asti which replaced the earlier outpost at Fosso Due Ponte, Monte Rovello, Monte Sant'Angelo Cencelle, and Luni.

[82]Perego 2001, 19.

[83]Rendeli 1993, 238-240; Bonghi Jovino 2005, 46; Zifferero 1995, 344-345.

Figure 9. The Territory of Tarquinia in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43)
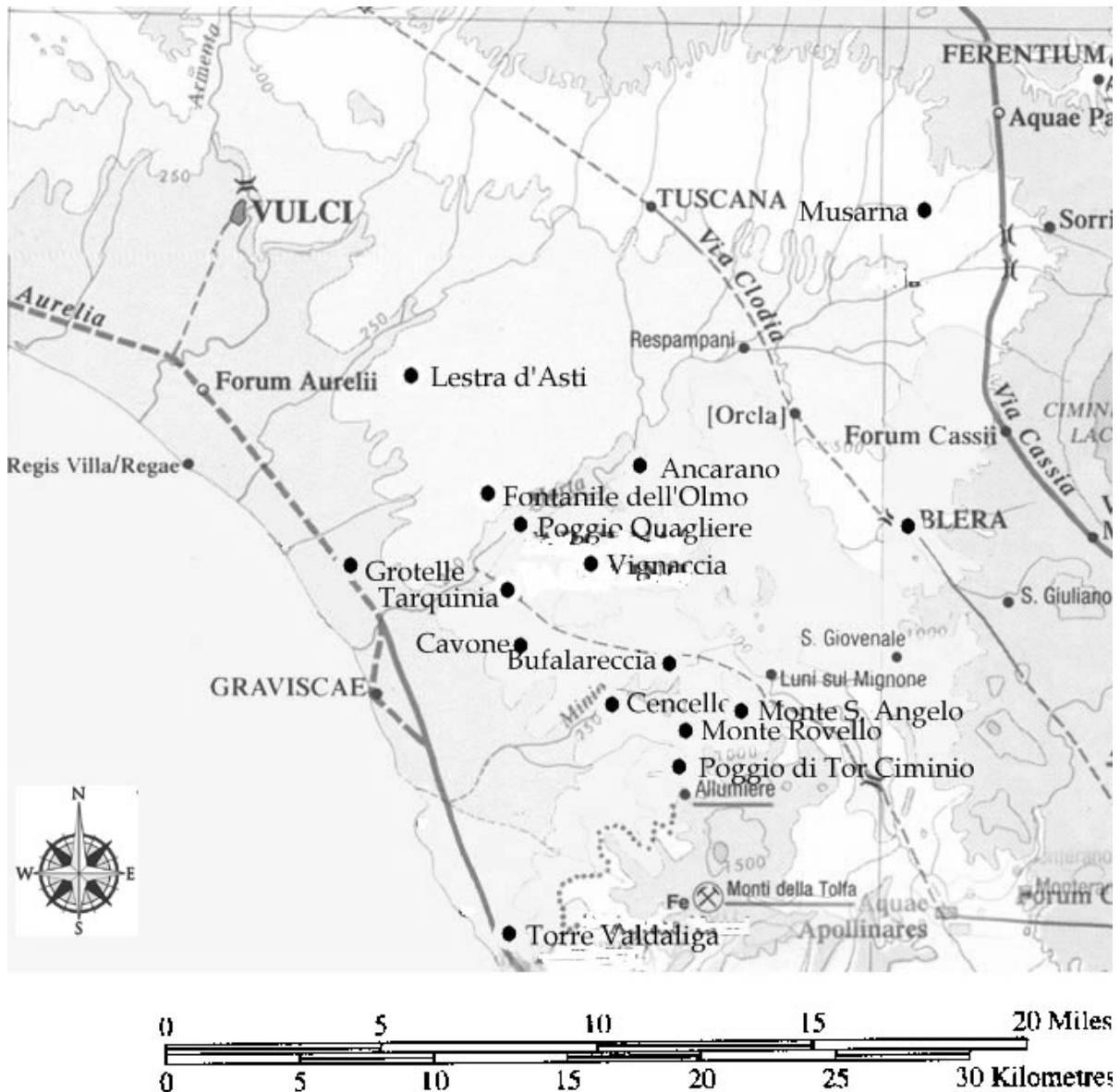
of Tarquinian territory.[84]   Farmstead sites were developing throughout the territory,

consisting of a small residence coupled with local necropoleis, perhaps acting as symbols of

ownership or usufruct over portions of land farmed from the major urban centers. This

expansion was modest; nearly 80% of the sites occupied during the period saw earlier

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[84]Perego 2005a, 222.

habitation.[85]   There was a marked concentration of burial activity and settlement within the

urban center proper. For the first time during the 6th century B.C., the Marta appears to

have become a major route of communication between the coast and the interior.[86] Along

with the creation of this route came the flowering of Poggio Ancarano dominating access to

the upper Marta valley.[87] At the same, time agricultural production in the area to the north

of Tarquinia was dramatically increased because of the new settlements that arose at places

such as Poggio Quagliere, and Vignaccia. Most of the major open sites of previous centuries

in the interior of Tarquinian territory remained in use. These sites appear to have been

expanding quasi-urban communities with their own necropoleis. Graviscae arose as the

major port for the territory, a position it would hold until the Roman reorganization of the

region.[88] The port appears to have become a major hub for the export of grain from the

Tarquinian countryside.[89] Concomitant with the growth of Graviscae, the other port sites

within the region appear to have declined in importance. There was a continued boom in

settlement along the Tolfa hills, where a number of villages and *castella* were able to

dominate the major routes of inland communication. To the already defined series of

castella, the 6th century B.C. saw the addition of a pair of small sites at Monte Pietroso and

Saracinesca along the Tolfa frontier, and Poggio di Tor Ciminia along the Eastern territorial

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[85]Perego 2005a, 223. In fact, as many as 45% of the sites of the Archaic Period would continue into the Late Republican era.

[86]Bonghi Jovino 2005, 46; Perego 2001, 18-19; Perego 2005a, 222-224.

[87]Perego 2005a, 222.

[88]Perego 2005a, 224; Perego 2001, fig. 12.

[89]Bonghi Jovino 2005, 52. There is a notable lack of amphora sherds from the territory of Tarquinia, which suggests that wine and olive production did not play as large a role in the agricultural scheme of Tarquinia as in her neighbor to the South.

fascia.[90] A number of small sites began to flourish behind the protective line of *castella* and exploited the Mignone basin.[91] It is unclear at this stage whether these sites, which existed in the Tolfa hills equidistant from both Cerveteri and Tarquinia, were truly part of the system of either city's territory.[92] To this group of sites we can add La Castellina, considered by modern authors as part of the sphere of both cities.[93] Poggio Castelsecco appears to have played a similar role.[94] These well-fortified sites were in a position to provide a function of protection to either city, and may very well have maintained a large degree of independence because of this fact. Sites along this border must have had a significant role in brokering and protecting the position of the line between the sphere of influence of both cities.[95] In lieu of a permanent urbanized central place for the sites of the region, the role of organization appears to have been occupied by a number of border sanctuaries that arose in the area such as Punta della Vipera.[96]

The only systematically surveyed portion of Tarquinian territory is the zone to the East along its border with Volsinii where a minor center at Tuscania dominated the countryside. The data from this survey serves as a counterbalance to the narrative seen in the portions of Tarquinian territory closer to the city. The site of Tuscania itself was a typical Etruscan minor center. Its acropolis (Colle San Pietro) measures eight and a half

[90]Perego 2005a, 225.

[91]Perego 2005a, 129.

[92]Rendeli 1993, 240-241; Zifferero 1995, 337.; Riva and Stoddart 1996, 102.

[93]Rendeli (1993, 241) considers the site as part of the territory of Tarquinia, while Perego (2001 and 2005) ignores the site, presumably as part of Cerveteri's sphere of influence. Toti (1990, 152-155 and 161-162) and Bonghi Jovino (2005, 46) consider the site as the border outpost of Cerveteri.

[94]Zifferero 2005, 265.

[95]Becker 2002, 89-91.

[96]Rendeli 1993, 245.

hectares.[97] Tuscania is located approximately fifteen kilometers from the major coastal centers of Vulci and Tarquinia.[98] Despite its location between the two major cities, burial evidence suggests that the center was part of the Tarquinian sphere of influence.[99] The site of Tuscania appears to have undergone a boom in wealth and population at the end of the 8th century B.C. Already in this early phase, the graves associated with the site were receiving imports from the wider Mediterranean world, showing the strong links between this community and the coastal center of Tarquinia.[100] Tuscania also appears to have followed the pattern of development of Tarquinia in marking the limits of her immediate hinterland by the construction of a series of elite *tumuli*.[101] In conjunction with these large *tumuli,* a number of smaller necropoleis appear to have been paired with a scattered regime of farmsteads and *fattorie* beginning in the Archaic Period.[102] The limits of this territory appear to have focused on the Marta valley, with settlements on both banks of the river.[103]

Although the site had been founded earlier, Tuscania first came under the political domination of Tarquinia during the late 6th century B.C. as the latter was attempting to extend its sphere of influence towards the East and the border of the neighboring city-state of Volsinii. The increased attention paid to this region at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. was accompanied with the expansion in the number of rural sites and in the minor

[97]Barker 1988, 774.

[98]Barker 1988, 775-776.

[99]Barker 1988, 776.

[100]Rendeli 1993, 250.

[101]Riva and Stoddart 1996, 102; Rendeli 1993, 253.

[102]Rendeli 1993, 255-256.

[103]Rendeli 1993, 255.

center located at Tuscania itself.[104] This was due to the increased use of the main routes of communication that connected Volsinii with Tarquinia proper, routes over which Tuscania exerted a degree of control.[105]

The landscape around Tuscania filled up in the early Etruscan Period, with an abundance of sites producing *bucchero*. This was the largest single increase in settlement until the 20th century.[106] Isolated farmsteads existed as close as one kilometer from the South walls of Tuscania, but there appears to have been a gap in settlement of about two kilometers in the other directions, most likely as an artifact of limited visibility in the modern suburbs of the town.[107] To the North, the landscape was characterized by a number of sites of the *fattoria* type, in the range between one quarter and one-half of a hectare. These sites were spaced on even intervals with smaller farmsteads filling in the gaps.[108] A few selected sites have yielded surface scatters in excess of half of a hectare. These sites may represent subsidiary nucleated centers, but it is difficult to tell based on the preliminary data. The territory immediately to the East of Tuscania was dominated by a major necropolis delimited by a possible cult place at its border.[109] Few sites were found immediately to the east of the Marta, an area with a high degree of Republican settlement.[110] Instead, the majority of the sites to the East occurred at a distance of approximately four kilometers from Tuscania along a series of drainage basins that emptied into the Marta. A

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[104]Perego 2001, 19-20.

[105]Perego 2005a, 224; Rendeli 1993, 247.

[106]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 38.

[107]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 38.

[108]Rendeli 1993, 263.

[109]Rendeli 1993, 266.

[110]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 38.

series of larger sites (bigger than half of a hectare), most likely small agro-towns, existed at the edges of the survey area beginning at a distance of approximately seven kilometers from the quasi-urban center, perhaps delimiting an official boundary.[111] Overall, the separation of the land from Tuscania by the Marta appears to have depressed the development of an extensive settlement pattern to the East of the river.[112]

There was almost no burial activity in the area immediately to the South of Tuscania. Instead, small farmsteads, directly dependent on the city were situated in the first few kilometers along the West bank of the Marta.[113]   The largest quantity of Archaic sites is found to the south of the city on the plateau a few kilometers from Tuscania.[114] Here a number of fairly large sites, most likely agricultural villages, dominated the landscape. Throughout this area, there was a decided preference for locations in the river plain, where land was the most fertile and access was easiest to water.[115] There is a clear diminution of site numbers after six to seven kilometers from Tuscania, suggesting that this was the maximum limit of control of the center.[116] This may be also related to the course of the Marta, which takes a turn here making the zone within the survey's transect less ideal for cultivation than the other grid squares due to decreased access to water transport and decreased fertility of the soil. Sites began to occur again at the eight to ten kilometer distance, presumably in relation to other minor centers such as Castel d'Asso, or Musarna.[117]

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[111]Rendeli 1993, 267.

[112]Rendeli 1993, 267-269.

[113]Rendeli 1993, 227-271.

[114]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 38.

[115]Rendeli 1993, 272.

[116]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 38.

The largest of these sites was an agro-town located at Piano della Selva over three hectares in extent. This site was surrounded by a number of smaller sites and appears to have been an organizing focal point in the landscape.[118] Visibility concerns prevent a discussion of the Western transect of the survey, but a few characteristics of the settlement can be mentioned. Here again, small farmstead sites clustered along the major waterways that cross the survey transect.[119]

Despite the flourishing nature of the Archaic Period landscape, there were substantial gaps in the settlement of Tarquinian territory. The largest of these gaps occupied the space between the land dominated by Tarquinia proper and rural hinterlands of the secondary centers that existed at a distance from the city. This gap appears universally across the landscape between Tarquinia and the *castella* set up at a distance as a bulwark against the bordering towns of Vulci and Cerveteri, as well as with the major interior centers such as Tuscania, Castel d'Asso and Musarna. If this is not a function of site visibility rather than a true absence of occupation, then a different production regime must have been in place for this zone. Perhaps the area was exploited under a regime of intense pasturage or was employed as a silvacultural reserve.

The broad pattern of expansion in the territory of Tarquinia was similar to the one already documented for Vulci. At the end of the 8th century B.C., the landscape began to be filled with a number of secondary centers. The majority of these sites were founded in areas well away from the urban center, often at the edges of the territory. Such sites served as protective bulwarks guarding the borders of the city-state. Around the major urban center

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[117]Rasmussen 1991, 110, 112.

[118]Rendeli 1993, 274-275.

[119]Rendeli 1993, 278.

itself, there was an intense cultivation of the land based on commuter agriculture, although the period was also characterized by a number of small settlements coupled with wealthy burials as elite markers on the productive landscape. Large segments of this territory must have been exploited under the control of these major elite *gentes.* If the survey data from Tuscania can be extended to the other secondary centers within the region, it appears that this arrangement was largely replicated at this level of the settlement hierarchy. Dispersed farmsteads became abundant with the introduction of the Archaic Period at a distance of a few kilometers from secondary centers. At a distance in the range of seven to ten kilometers, a number of small agro-towns came to exploit the margins between minor centers and *castella*. In addition, there was a proliferation of coastal settlements during the Orientalizing Period, followed by a contraction once the major port at Graviscae was founded in the Archaic Period and the arrangement of the harbor was formalized.

Cerveteri and its Early Development

Like Vulci and Tarquinia, Cerveteri also saw a boom in social and political organization, which was materialized extensively beginning in the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C. These social changes were concomitant with an extensive reworking of the rural landscape beginning in the second half of the 8th century B.C. The Orientalizing and Archaic Periods saw the development of all of the major suburban necropoleis surrounding the city, creating a ring of unsettled land around the urban center.[120] At the same time as in the territory of Tarquinia, wealthy families constructed a number of major *tumuli* along the major routes of communication across the Caeretian landscape, most likely as symbols of

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[120]Rendeli 1993, 290-292; Riva and Stoddart 1996, 96; Zifferero 2005, 261.

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aristocratic control over trade and agricultural resources.[121] These *tumuli* also functioned as

markers of the limits of the hinterland directly exploited by the commuting urban

residents.[122] The swelling aristocratic class at Cerveteri was already taking advantage of the

city's position of control over the main route from the Tolfa region up to the Lago di Vico by

the Orientalizing Period. Control over the trade in raw metals conducted along this route

coupled with its location, (the southern-most of the emergent Etruscan cities) made

Cerveteri the ideal node of communication for traders from Phoenicia and the Aegean

seeking raw metals.[123] This exchange led to the increasing importation of luxury goods from

the East used to reinforce the elite status of the aristocratic families within Cerveteri.[124]

Coupled with this booming trade was the consequent development of craft activity,

including metalworking and ceramic production, in the urban center proper.[125] It is

important to note, however, that the colonization that characterized the Caeretian landscape

occurred in the Tolfa region during the 7th century B.C., rather than during the 8th century

B.C. A sparse "pioneer" exploration of the region, associated with the development of a

number of independent communities that would eventually be absorbed into the Caeretian

territorial network characterized the early period.[126]

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[121]Zifferero 1991, 114-117; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 25; Rendeli 1993, 292-297; Bonghi Jovino 2005, 46. Most authors assume that a direct correlation can be made between the presence of monumental *tumuli* and the presence of archaeologically undetectable aristocratic residences in the countryside. Such a one to one correspondence is dangerous given the lack of remains of a single elite residence associated with an Orientalizing period *tumulus*. It is far safer to see the burial monuments as markers of territorial possession rather than assuming a rural residential nucleus accompanied the structures. This would also discount the possibility that these fields, often within 4km of the city, were not worked by urban residents, something that remains an open question.

[122]Riva and Stoddart 1996, 96.

[123]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 11.

[124]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 15.

[125]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 11.

During the 8th century B.C., a number of communities, such as San Giovenale and Monterano at the edges of the Tolfa hills, were growing into burgeoning minor centers (See Figure 10).[127] In many cases, including those of the sites just mentioned, rural residents in communities at lower levels of the settlement hierarchy replicated the pattern of centrifugal burial monuments marking the edge of the territory of Cerveteri. These centers were often located so that the ring of burial structures at the edges of each nearly touched.[128] These centers maintained a degree of political autonomy due to their position along the major axes of trade between the interior and coast. Throughout the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods, these communities followed their own pattern of development, consisting of the creation of small farms in the immediate vicinity of the proto-urban centers along with the creation of larger sites at a distance from the community.[129]

The same period saw a new intensity in agricultural production within Caeretian territory, as large sections of land that had formerly been devoted to pasturage were converted to schemes of intensive agriculture based on grain, oil, and wine crops.[130] In a similar pattern to that which is found in the *Ager Veientanus*, the immediate hinterland of the city was extensively colonized beginning in the Late 7th century B.C., after a drastic downturn seen in the 8th century B.C.[131] Most of the new sites were small farms engaged in

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[126]Zifferero 1995, 337; Rendeli 1993, 299. Until the late 7th century B.C. many of these interior centers show a diversity of influences in their material culture patterns. Beyond this point there is a heavy Cerveteritan presence as presumably the proto-urban communities were drawn into the orbit of the larger city-state.

[127]Coccia et al. 1985, 522.

[128]Zifferero 1991, 116-118; Rendeli 1993, 305-307; Riva and Stoddart 1996, 99-101.

[129]Rendeli 1993, 353-354.

[130]Zifferero 1990, 66; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 12-13; Rendeli 1993, 311.

[131]Coccia et al. 1985, 522.

Figure 10. The Territory of Caere in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43)
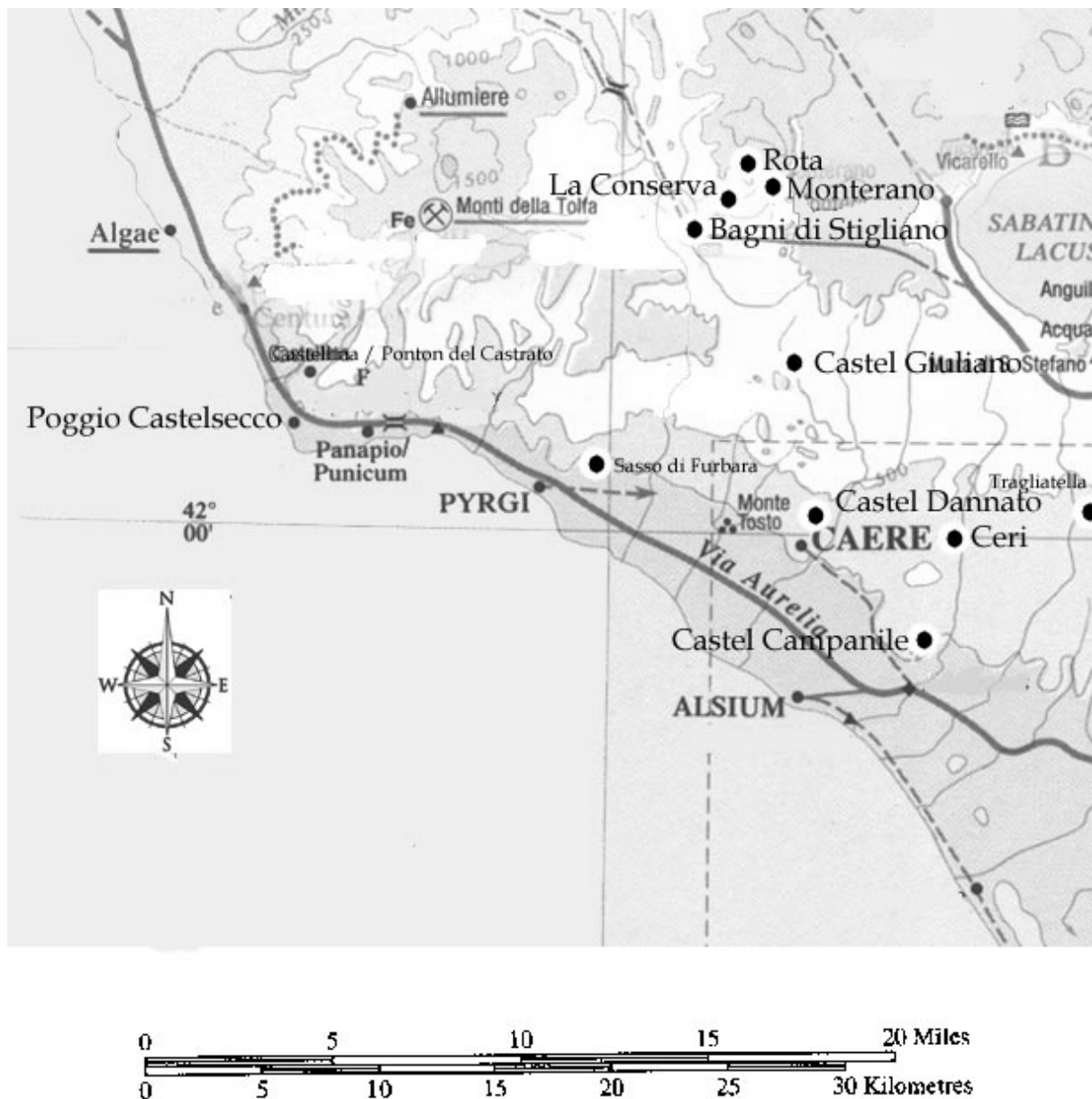
the newly augmented agricultural scheme.[132] These structures were heavily concentrated in

the most fertile portions of the landscape, and were often spaced at very close intervals

indicating the existence of numerous smallholdings.[133] Often these small farms were

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[132]Enei 1992, 76.

associated with a few burials located close to the structures themselves.[134] This process of colonization of the hinterland would continue well into the 5th century B.C.[135] Yet even at the greatest extent of Archaic period exploitation, major portions of the landscape remained largely uninhabited and uncultivated.[136]

Like the other centers of South Etruria, Cerveteri underwent a series of dramatic social changes beginning in the late Orientalizing period (late 7th century B.C.) and continuing throughout the Archaic Period. The introduction of smaller and less expensive tomb types came at a time when the civic center saw an increased level of monumentalization. Both trends were concomitant with a transition to tyrannical rule in the 6th century B.C.[137] In addition to the marked growth of a system of settlements located to exploit and protect the resources of the Tolfa region, the 6th century B.C. saw the rise of large undefended agro-towns within a five-kilometer radius of Cerveteri itself, at places such as Boietto and Ponte del Lupo.[138] These sites occupied between a half and one hectare of land, and most likely functioned in the same fashion as agro-towns located further afield.[139] Presumably, their proximity to the urban center necessitated the choice of indefensible sites in order to ease the nerves of the urban dwelling Caeretians. The Archaic Period saw a radical transformation in the organization of the landowning regime in the immediate environs of the city. Many of the aristocratic *tumuli* that had functioned as

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[133]Zifferero 2005, 260; Enei 1992, 76; Enei 1995, 68.

[134]Zifferero 2005, 260.

[135]Enei 1995, 68.

[136]Enei 1995, 68.

[137]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 30-32.

[138]Zifferero 2005, 260-261; Enei 1992, 76.

[139]Enei 1992, 76.

markers of elite possession of portions of the rural landscape saw the construction of sanctuaries in their immediate vicinity. To the same period can be dated the road linking Cerveteri with Pyrgi.[140] Both types of project are clearly civic undertakings, and can be seen as an index of the growing power of the civic infrastructure and private concerns at the expense of communal aristocratic and clan ownership and exploitation of the land.[141]

Within the territory of Cerveteri, outside the ring of small open settlements that facilitated agricultural production in environs of the city, a number of additional secondary settlements arose as outposts of Caeretian control in order to control the collection and redistribution of agricultural surplus.[142] These sites were often found in close association with the major watercourses of the region, which appear to have played a substantial role in the exploitation of the area. Such sites include Pian Curiano, La Conserva, Pian dei Santi, Pian Cisterna, Ceri, Castel Campanile and Tragliatella among others.[143] These sites were all located at a substantial distance from Cerveteri atop naturally defensible plateaus and were associated with major necropoleis, suggesting the presence of stable communities.[144] The wealth of the burials, coupled with the types of objects included, suggest that these centers acted as subsidiary nuclei in the larger territorial scheme, providing access to goods and

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[140]Colonna 1968.

[141]Rendeli 1993, 357-358.

[142]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 33; Zifferero 2005, 264-265.

[143]Zifferero 1990, 62; 65-66; Rendeli 1993, 320. As Enei (1995, 70) notes the major sites at Ceri and Castel Campanile have not yielded archaeological remains of a settlement of the Etruscan period. Nearby necropoleis and the construction technique of the fortification walls would suggest that the sites were indeed occupied during the period in question, but no excavated deposits confirm this assumption. The sites do, however, control access to the major center at Cerveteri and would have been assets in the territorial system of the larger site. Zifferero (2001, 259 n.8) disagrees and believes that Rocca di Ceri was indeed occupied as early as the Archaic Period.

[144]Rendeli 1993, 318-319.

services not available at the household level.[145] The development of these centers was part

of the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. expansion of settlement along the Mignone, the

northern border of Caeretian territory with that of Tarquinia.[146] In this area, to the North of

Pyrgi, the major sites of the region were organized on the lines of a series of villages of

primarily agricultural nature.[147] The presence of water, and access to the major routes of

communication through the region connecting the coast with the Tolfa and Allumiere

districts, all played important parts in the location of such settlements.[148] The most

prominent sites in this pattern continued to be the village at La Castellina and the new

settlement at Ponton del Castrato.[149] The former site shows evidence of burial activity from

the 7th centuries B.C., while the later only saw substantial burial activity from the 6th century

B.C. Although these sites clearly functioned as a bulwark defending the border of the *Ager*

Caeretanus with Tarquinia, it should be noted that they were usually located in places where

they could dominate the main routes of communication through the territory as well.[150]

This group of sites shows a remarkable differentiation in the way in which the

communities and their necropoleis were linked. At Pian di Stigliano, two loci of settlement

activity located on the slopes of a large hill were surrounded by a number of necropoleis.

The primary territory of exploitation was the large plain that stretched out to the Southeast.

The necropoleis avoided this territory, being located at the edge of the agricultural zone.[151]

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[145]Zifferero 1990, 67-68.

[146]Naso and Zifferero 1985, 239-247; Coccia et al. 1985, 520-524..

[147]Gianfrotta 1972, 16.

[148]Gianfrotta 1972, 13-16; Toti 1990, 152-155; 161-162; Bonghi Jovino 2005, 46.

[149]Gianfrotta 1981, 407; Gianfrotta 1972, 16.

[150]Zifferero 1990, 67.

In contrast, the small agro-town of Poggio S. Pietro was organized in direct connection with a necropolis. Both shared the plateau of the site. The agricultural land surrounded both.[152] A third arrangement can be discerned at the already mentioned sites of the Pian della Conserva (La Conserva, Curiano, and Pian dei Santi) where a central necropolis occupied the plateau and is surrounded by the settlements.[153] In all three cases, these villages controlled a widely dispersed landscape of farmsteads that must have been dependent on the organization of the villages.

The Archaic Period expansion of the main civic locus led to the impoverishment and destruction of a number of secondary centers at the edges of the territory of Cerveteri. It is no coincidence that both Blera and San Giuliano saw significant downturns in wealth during the 6th century B.C., as Cerveteri began to replace formerly independent secondary centers within her territory with a new series of *castella* firmly under her control. The major restructuring of the community at San Giovenale dates to this period as well.[154] While Cerveteri was reorganizing the interior of her territory, the settlement of the coastal fascia saw a dramatic increase in population. The Archaic period saw the rise of all of the major ports within the area including Alsium, Punicum, and Pyrgi.[155] By the 7th century B.C., Pyrgi was a thriving urban community measuring at least ten hectares and there was a substantial paved road connecting the site with Cerveteri itself.[156] The region along this road shows some of the heaviest development of any place within the *Ager Caeretanus*, as a

[151]Naso and Zifferero 1985, 239-242.

[152]Naso and Zifferero 1985, 245.

[153]Rendeli 1993, 342-346; Naso and Zifferero 1985, 246.

[154]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 33.

[155]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 34; Enei 1992, 76-77; Cristofani 1983, 36.

[156]Cristofani 1983, 36.

proliferation of estates and small farms began to take advantage of access to this major link between market centers.[157] Although evidence for the 5th century is sparse, La Castellina was a quasi-urban community by the 4th century B.C. boasting even a fortification wall. This type of monumentalization of a regime of fortifications may represent the intensification of the need for protection at the edges of Caeretian and Tarquinian territory along the coast.[158] Despite the development of these port communities, Flavio Enei's research has shown that large sections of the littoral remained unoccupied and covered with natural forest vegetation, even in the Archaic Period.[159] In addition, the pattern of necropoleis within the territory of Cerveteri suggests that the future course of the *Via Aurelia* was already functioning as the major route of coastal communication throughout the region linking the track-ways that penetrated the major river valleys of the interior.[160] Several other major routes were also developed at this stage, giving Cerveteri access to the Mediterranean by linking the city with destinations such as Alsium and Pyrgi.[161]

The overall development of the landscape of Orientalizing and Archaic Period Cerveteri was similar to the patterns uncovered for the territories of Vulci and Tarquinia. The landscape was largely managed in a series of zones. Urban agriculturalists dominated the area nearest the city, while a series of defensive sites that controlled the major lines of communication protected and exploited the territory at the borders of Caeretian territory. Like in the territory of Tarquinia, there was an Orientalizing Period proliferation of coastal sites. The detailed evidence for the region to the West of the city, as revealed by the survey

[157]Cristofani 1983, 36; Rendeli 1993, 312-314.

[158]Gianfrotta 1972, 18.

[159]Enei 1995, 68.

[160]Enei 1992, 78; Enei 1995, 70; Nastasi 1990, 182-185.

[161]Enei 1992, 70.

data of Enei, suggests that there was an additional element of the landscape. A number of large agro-towns at grew up at a distance of seven to ten kilometers from the main urban center. It is possible that this pattern is unique to Cerveteri, but the absence of systematic survey in the immediate hinterland of the other Southern Coastal cities suggests that these types of sites may have been a feature of the landscape. In the absence of systematic survey, however, this can only be a conjecture.

Trends in the Orientalizing and Archaic Landscape

Within coastal Etruria, the interaction between the major urban centers and the countryside was characterized by a series of different models. Fortified secondary centers (*castella*) were located mostly at a distance of at least fifteen kilometers from the urban sites and functioned as garrison posts for defining and defending the boundaries of the larger community. The largest zone of such fortified sites, the string of minor centers along the Eastern edge of the territory of the Southern Coastal cities, was located at an even greater distance from the urban centers. All of these fortified minor centers surely played a major role in the redistribution of surplus produced in the countryside and in providing craft goods and services not found at lower levels of the settlement hierarchy. A number of agro-towns grew up at closer confines to the major urban centers. Such sites, located in close proximity to their dominant cities, were almost all unfortified and served merely as satellite proxies for cultivating fertile soil at a distance too far from the city to be farmed economically and safely by daily commuters. The coast became littered with a number of sites that opened up the Mediterranean to the agricultural produce and metal resources of Etruria. This development would set the stage for the further concentration of urban power that was to take place in the succeeding two centuries. Along with the political

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circumstances of the 5th century B.C., we will for the first time see major divergences in the nature of the territories of the major Etruscan cities of the Southern Coastal region.

The Classical Decline at Vulci

The 5th and 4th centuries B.C. were of a different character than the preceding Archaic Period. Instead of a steady growth in rural population, the region saw a fundamental downturn in the number of rural settlements, and a reorganization of the countryside at the expense of the primary urban communities.[162] Colonna has suggested plausibly that this downturn was concomitant with a restructuring of rural production and land ownership regimes that would continue into the mid-4th century B.C.[163] The same period saw a marked expansion in the major urban centers of Southern Coastal Etruria as they were, for the first time, provided with monumental temples, fortification walls, and other markers of civic infrastructure.

Again, the best data for the transformation of these centuries come from the systematic work in the *Ager Vulcentis.* Within the territory of Vulci, there was a marked reduction in settlement over the course of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., but it is clear that the long-term changes in population structure occurring during this period differentially affected certain site types and geographic areas.[164] The 5th century B.C. saw little alteration of the Archaic Period coastal pattern of settlement. The zone continued to remain organized by closely situated coastal agro-towns that relied on dendritic networks of patronage for

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[162]Cristofani 1981a, 38.

[163]Colonna 1990, 14-16; Cristofani (1981a, 38) suggests that the downturn in wealth at the secondary centers within Southern Coastal Etruria began with the end of the 6th century B.C. and preceded the economic crisis of the 5th century B.C. brought on by the defeat at Cumae in 474 B.C.

[164]Attolini et al. 1982, 368-369; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

support of their populations.[165] At the end of the 4th century B.C., however, nearly all of the

agro-towns along the coast were abandoned, while dispersed farmsteads in the zone appear

to have possessed a greater degree of continuity (See Figure 11).[166] This type of alteration of

the settlement hierarchy suggests that traditional networks of patronage and dependency

were fracturing, perhaps under the pressure of the urban elite classes at Vulci, who were

increasingly taking over the roles of rurally-based elites. This pattern of contraction of the

upper levels of the settlement system appears to have been limited to the southern-most

portions of the coast. To the North, the Radicata Valley remained organized on the basis of

a number of small *castella*. [167]

In the Lower Albegna Valley, Doganella continued to dominate the landscape as the

major urban center of the region. The 5th century B.C. was marked by an increase in the

number of rural sites surrounding Doganella, followed by a decline in the 4th century B.C.,

as residence rules altered again to favor commuter farming by residents living within the

city walls.[168] Despite the apparent continuity of the settlement landscape throughout the 5th

century B.C., the burial landscape changed drastically, as the necropoleis at Marsiliana and

Magliano (two centers of symbolic importance due to their use by the elite of the region

since the Iron Age) went into disuse. This discontinuity was due to the increasing

domination of the rural landscape by Doganella.[169] At the same time that Doganella was

expanding her hold over the rural landscape, she appears to have been losing her grip on

the economy of the region. The production of wine amphorae saw a substantial decline

[165]Perkins 1999, 34-35; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

[166]Attolini et al 1982, 373.

[167]Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 37; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

[168]Attolini et al. 1991, 142-143; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79;

[169]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

**Figure 11. The Territory of Vulci in the 5th Century B.C.
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).**
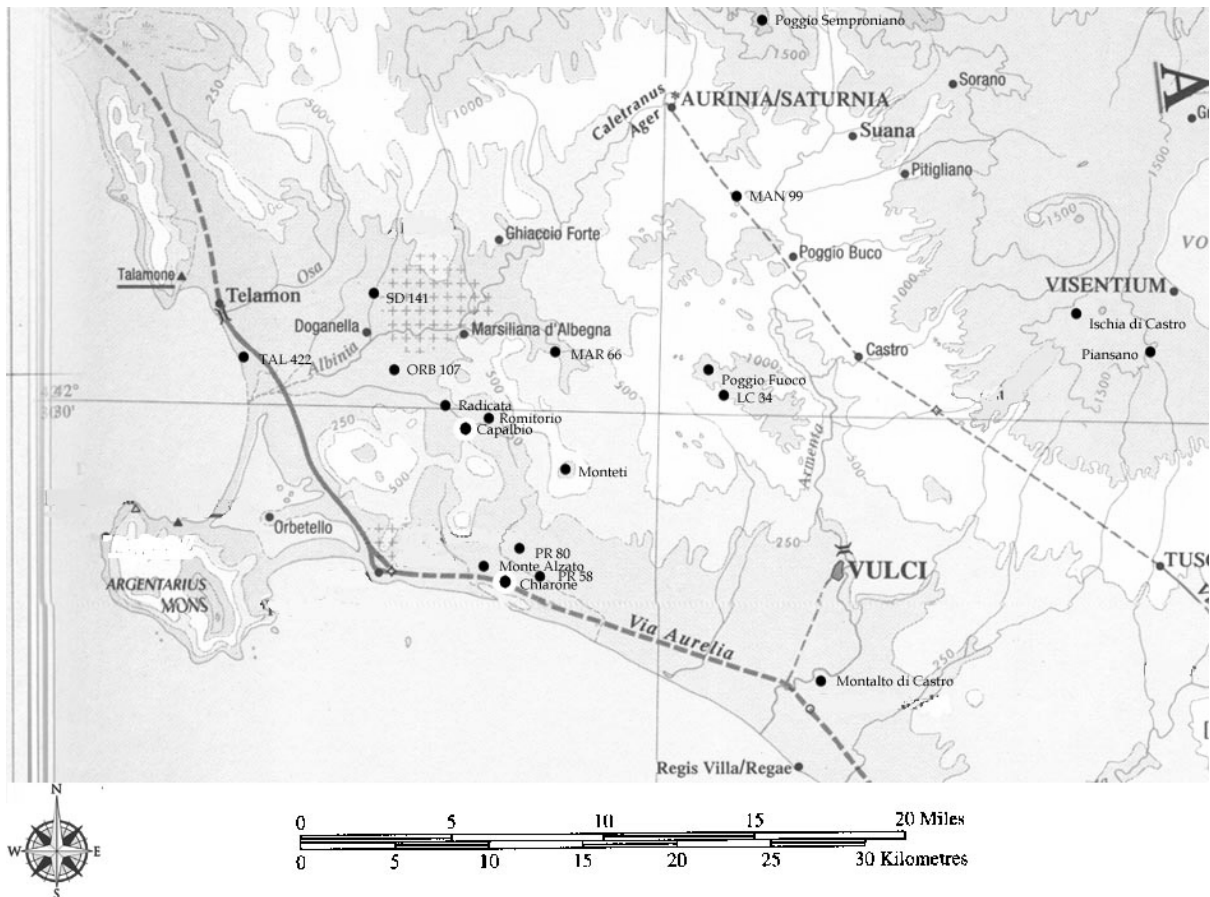
during the Classical period due to increasing competition from abroad and the loss of

Etruscan dominance over the Tyrrhenian Sea.[170]   The loss of long-distance markets,

however, may have been supplemented by an increased reliance on cultivation and

marketing of other foodstuffs more locally.[171]   Although little is known about the 5th and 4th

century B.C. phases of the sites of Orbetello and Talamone situated near the Monte

Argentario peninsula, their necropoleis show a striking degree of wealth, continuity, and

contact with the larger Mediterranean world.[172]   The end of the 4th century B.C. even saw the

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[170]Attolini et al. 1991, 144.

[171]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 82.

construction of the fortification wall at Orbetello.[173] The density of contact with the outside

world found in the remains of these two sites is only matched at Vulci itself, and suggests an

expansion of the richest segments of society into port communities concomitant with a

greater degree of independence for these types of sites.[174] Little is known about the

immediate hinterlands of Orbetello and Talamone, but the evidence that exists indicates

continuity throughout the Classical Period.[175] At the crossroads between the upper and

lower valleys, Ghiaccio Forte saw an expansion of its role as a dominant center in the

landscape. The site flourished during the Classical Period and began to exercise a great deal

of control over its immediate hinterland. In fact, the hills surrounding the site were almost

completely abandoned during this period, suggesting that Ghiaccio Forte had completed the

process of gathering the rural population into a single nucleated site.[176] Ghiaccio Forte

appears to have begun to dominate craft activity as well, controlling metalworking within

the region.[177]

This period of urban and semi-urban dominance over rural social and settlement

networks also saw the construction of defensive walls at all of the sites within the upper

levels of the settlement hierarchy.[178] Such projects, when undertaken in the case of minor

centers such as Ghiaccio Forte, Talamone, Sovana and Orbetello, suggest that major urban

centers either had grown more comfortable with the presence of these centers, or were

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[172]Attolini et al. 1982, 369; Cristofani 1981, 34.

[173]Cristofani 1981, 34.

[174]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79-82.

[175]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79.

[176]Dyson 1978, 258; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 86.

[177]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 92.

[178]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 86.

quickly losing control over them.[179]   The most plausible explanation for this series of construction projects posits that the defensive walls were a direct result of a concentration of power in the hands of a new upper class residing in the minor centers and *castella* of the region at the expense of traditional city-based elites with strong rural ties. The phenomenon of building fortifications was not limited to the territory of Vulci, but also can be seen throughout Etruria. Likewise, Vulci was not alone in seeing the fortification of a number of minor centers within its territory. A similar pattern took place in the Northern portion of the territory of Tarquinia.[180]

The upper valley of the Albegna River underwent the most dramatic change of any of the landscapes within the territory of Vulci during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. due to the formation of the urban center at Saturnia. In a similar fashion to what we have already seen in the hinterlands of Doganella and then Ghiaccio Forte, the landscape around the site of Saturnia saw a drastic decrease in the number of settlements at the time that the minor center was formed.[181] To the North of Saturnia, however, a settlement pattern based on the previously prevailing system of villages continued to exist at the margins of the control of the nucleated site.[182] In contrast, in the interior many of the major secondary centers of the region were all going into disuse. Occupation was discontinued at both Castro and Poggio Buco, as Vulci asserted its authority over the control of this zone. In addition, many of the small farmsteads that had filled out this landscape disappeared. Only the sites of larger proportions, village-sized and organized on the lines of agro-towns, continued to exploit the

[179]Firmati 2002, 63.

[180]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 86.

[181]Carandini and Cambi. 2002, 86.

[182]Attolini et al. 1991, 144; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 86.

landscape in this section of Vulcian territory.[183] This suggests a period of instability wherein the residents of isolated rural farmsteads were seeking the protection of larger agglomerations. This flight into the agro-towns of the area counterbalanced the absence of the *castella* at Castro and Poggio Buco as central places organizing this landscape.   The trends seen in this area appear to be the opposite of those seen in the Albegna Valley and rather reflect the changes seen in the southern-most portion of the coastal region.

The Crisis in the Territories of Tarquinia and Cerveteri

Unlike the territories of many of the other Etruscan city-states, the 5th century B.C. in the region around Tarquinia was marked by a continuation of the Archaic pattern rather than the decline in rural and secondary settlement seen elsewhere. Instead, the major changes in the landscape would come with the dawn of the Hellenistic period in the 4th century B.C. Within the heart of Tarquinian territory, only Fontanile dell'Olmo and Vignaccia continued to be occupied at the end of the 4th century B.C., suggesting that Tarquinia had begun to exploit a greater portion of the landscape directly from the urban center rather than on the basis of dependent villages.[184] Throughout the 4th century B.C., however, the port of Graviscae continued to flourish and expand in its role as Tarquinia's main connection to the remainder of the Mediterranean world.[185] The system of *castella* that had come to protect and dominate the Southern frontier along the Tolfa hills was massively depopulated. Only one of the heavily fortified centers of the Archaic Period survived the

[183]Rendeli 1985, 268-269.

[184]Perego 2001, 20.

[185]It is interesting to note that the expansion of this site occurs during the 5th century B.C. when the traditional crisis over Tyrrhenian markets was at its height. This is an indication of the exaggerated nature of the effects of the loss of the naval battle at Cumae.

turmoil of the 5th century B.C., Monte Rovello. Nevertheless, a new site was added at

Poggio Nebbia.[186] In contrast, new settlements were started in the region at the Northern

edge of the Tarquinian territory along the Argento, perhaps as an alternative area for the

settlement of communities that refused to enter into the Tarquinian state. This pattern of

settlement is highly reminiscent of the organization of the landscape to the North of

Saturnia in the territory of Vulci.[187]

    In the interior, there was a marked degree of continuity and even possibly

expansion. Many of the Archaic Period sites discovered in the Tuscania survey also yielded

vernice nera ceramics characteristic of the Hellenistic Period.[188] The Hellenistic Period marks

a great expansion in wealth and population in communities along the interior such as Castel

d'Asso, Musarna, and Norchia, all of which appear to have made the transition to important

roles in the rise of the Tarquinian state (See Figure 12). This represented a resurgence of the

sites that had been the losers in the preceding 6th century B.C.

    The decline in fortunes evidenced by the series of reverses suffered by the cities of

Southern Coastal Etruria in the last years of the 6th century B.C. and the beginning of the 5th

century B.C. had a profound influence on the alteration of the landscape of the following

two centuries.[189] A high degree of social instability characterized the era, as a growing

middle class began to compete for resources and power with the old aristocratic set.[190]

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[186]Perego 2005a, 231.

[187]Perego 2001, 20.

[188]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271. It is possible that there was a gap in the occupation of these sites in the 5th century B.C., but the continued occupation on periods on both sides of this century suggest that the absence of ceramics from this date is a function of the lower visibility of 5th century B.C. wares.

[189]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 43-46. These events include the loss of Etruscan hegemony over the Tyrhennian Sea, the expulsion of the Etruscan monarchy at Rome and the unification of Latium as a regional power for the first time and the dominance of Southern trade routes with Campania by the Volsci.

Figure 12. The Territory of Tarquinia in the Classical Period
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43)
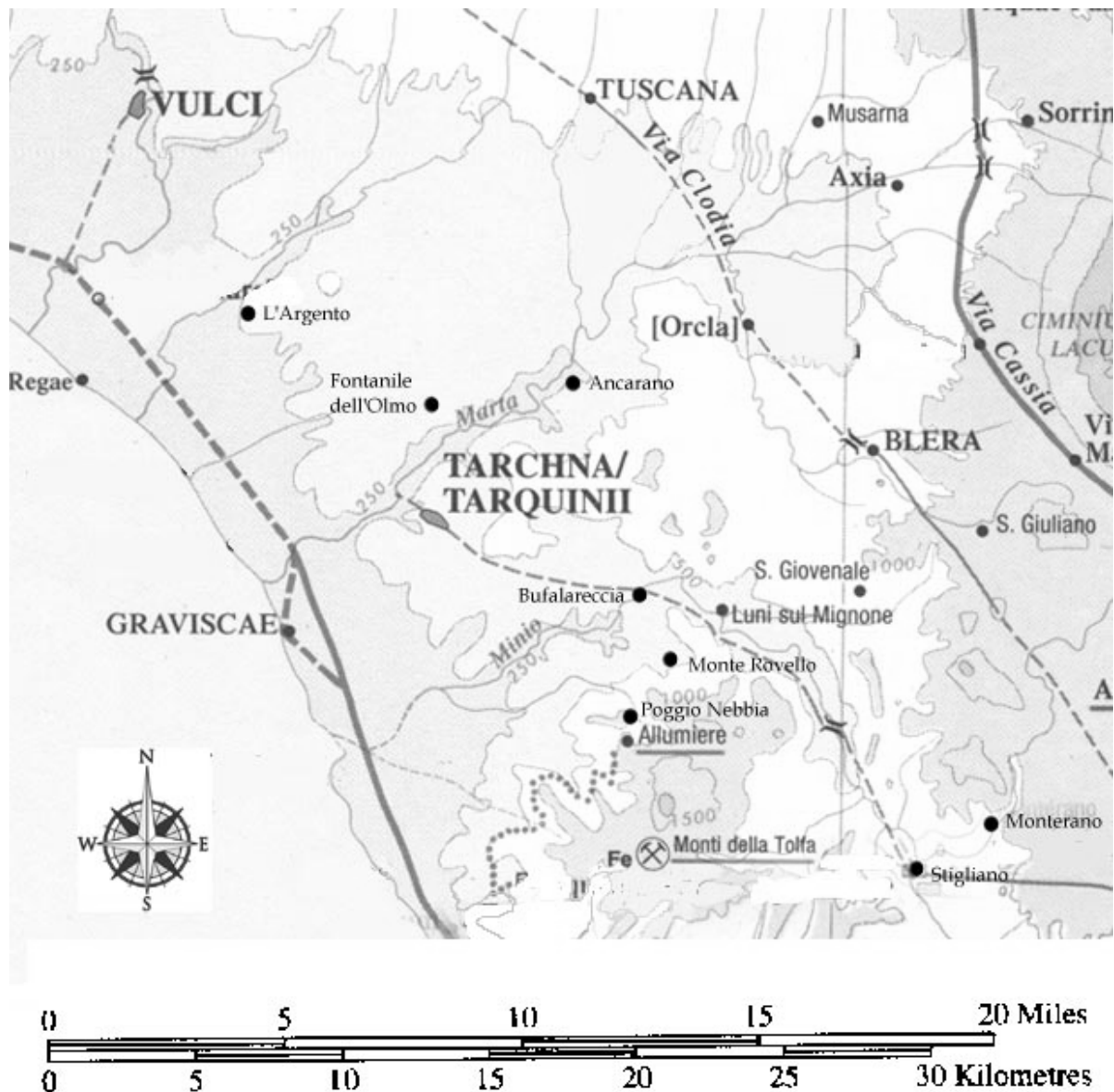
Evidence from burials in the region suggests that Cerveteri and the satellite communities within her influence were isolated from the Mediterranean economy, as homegrown products began to replace those from overseas as prestige goods.[191] With the loss of control

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[190]Colonna 1990, 17-18.

[191]Rendeli 1993, 366-367.

over Mediterranean markets and the shockwaves sent by the destruction of Veii in the early 4th century B.C., the Caeretians began to forge ever more intense ties with the growing power of Rome.

Along with this reduction of economic vitality came an extensive depopulation of the remaining tracts of the countryside at the level of both minor centers and individual farmsteads.[192] Despite the contraction of rural settlement, scholars have often exaggerated the extent of the reorganization of the *Ager Caeretanus*. It is important to note that the system of necropoleis and the major routes of communication nearly all survived the downturn of the 5th century B.C. At the same time, a number of major secondary centers at the edge of Caeretian territory were drawn into the orbit of Tarquinia as shown by the presence of Tarquinian families in inscriptions from places like Blera, San Giovenale, and San Giuliano (See Figure 13). In contrast, those sites that remained firmly within the Caeretian sphere of influence appear to have recovered in the 4th century B.C. due to the reassertion of traditional links of patronage and regimes of production.[193] As a whole, the territory of the city-state of Cerveteri most likely shrunk at the expense of that of Tarquinia, which began to encroach farther and farther into the Tolfa hills. In response to the shrinking nature of her territory, Cerveteri appears to have responded by creating a series of new *castella* to replace the ones lost. In the face of this internal and external pressure, with the exception of a brief participation in a Tarquinian led anti-Roman expedition during the middle of the century, the Caeretians actively pursued a pro-Roman policy.[194] This policy

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[192]Enei 1992, 78; Zifferero 1990, 68-70.

[193]Colonna 1990, 12-13; Zifferero 1990, 70; Zifferero 1995, 344-345; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 50.

[194]Mansuelli 1988, 41.

Figure 13. The Territory of Caere in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43)
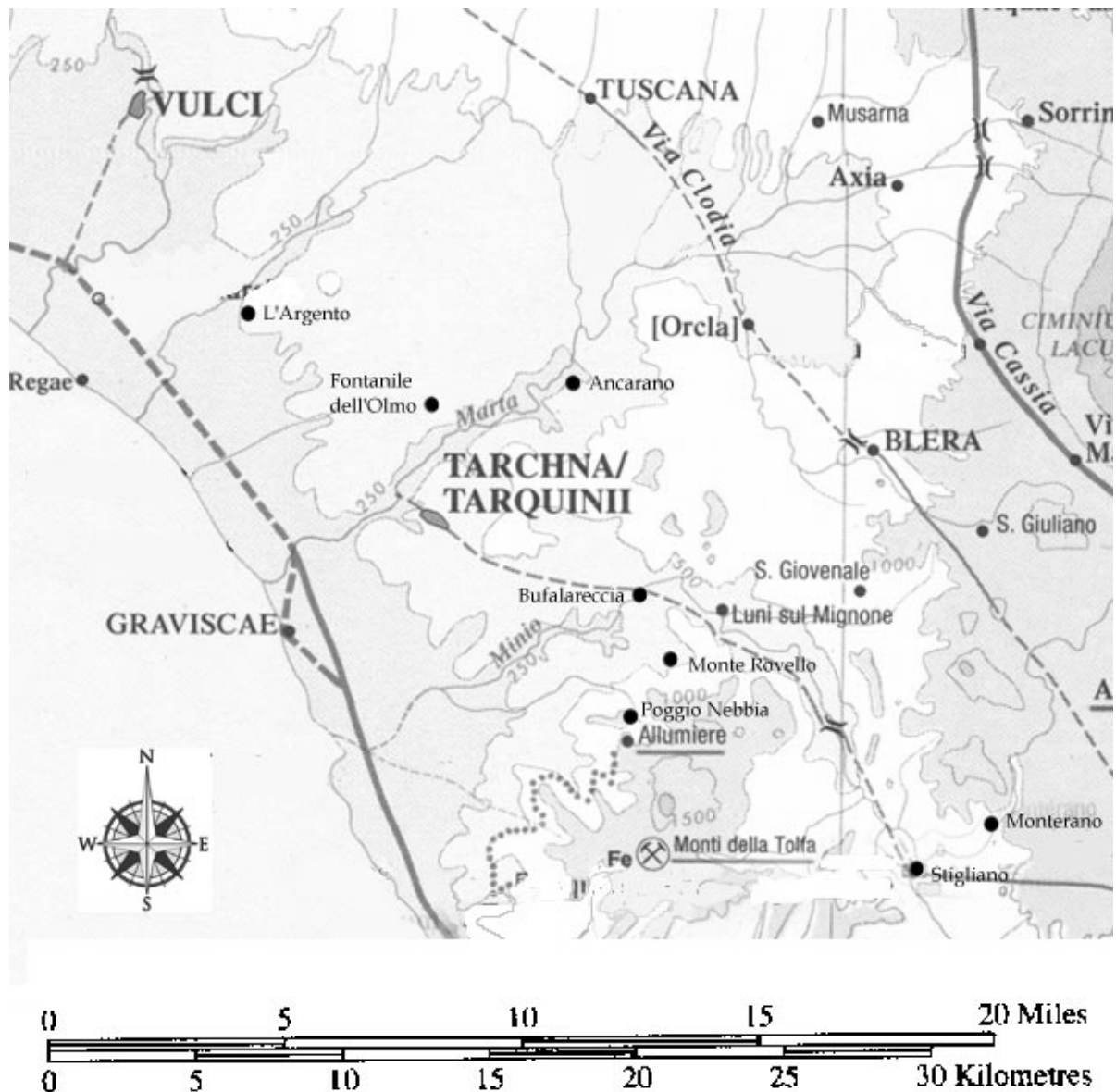
would ultimately lead to an economic boom during the last decades of the 4th century B.C.[195]

Throughout the period the major port of Cerveteri, located at Pyrgi, appears to have

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[195]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 50-51; Gazzetti and Stanco 1990 107.

flourished under the difficult conditions imposed by the instability in Etruria and on the Tyrrhenian Sea.[196]

Throughout Southern Coastal Etruria, the traditional crisis of the 5th century B.C. was felt the hardest in the territory of Cerveteri. There was a major retraction in dispersed rural settlement, as well as the loss of a number of *castella* that fell under the domination of Tarquinia. In contrast, the major period of retraction of rural settlement in the territories of Vulci and Tarquinia appears to have come during the 4th century B.C. at the same time as the major social changes that issued in the Hellenistic Period. The 5th century B.C. was characterized by a loss of rural settlement here, but largely in areas in the immediate vicinity of the *castella* and minor centers that were now asserting their own influence over larger portions of the landscape. A few of these sites did go into disuse during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., but these sites were the ones that occupied territories closest to the major cities. Overall, the period was one of limited retraction as major urban communities and secondary centers built up regimes of increasing dominance over control of the landscape.

The Roman Conquest and its Aftermath: 3rd and 2nd Centuries B.C.

With the late 4th century B.C., the major conflict that would decide the fate of the Etruscan cities became a reality. Throughout the Hellenistic or Roman Republican Period, the landscape of Etruria underwent a major reorganization. As we have noted already, the incorporation of natives and native communities into the Roman Empire was a not monolithic process, but rather there was a great deal of variability in the degree of continuity from pre-Roman patterns throughout the former territories of even individual Etruscan city-states. This variety appears to be based on a number of factors including the

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[196]Enei 1995, 71.

historical circumstances of incorporation, the available resource base, and the willingness of

natives and Romans to participate together in a new system. Nevertheless, this period was

one that experienced a high degree of external pressure and major dislocations within

Coastal Etruria. Vulci and Cerveteri appear to have lost at least 50% of their territory as a

result of an anti-Roman alliance with Tarquinia and Volsinii.[197] As a consequence of the

need to reorganize this new territory, Rome founded a number of coastal colonies including

Fregenae, Alsium, Pyrgi, Graviscae, and Cosa throughout the course of the 3rd and early 2nd

centuries B.C.[198] Some of these were located on totally new sites, while the *deductio* of

colonies at others represented the fracture of traditional ties between Etruscan cities and

their former port facilities.[199] In addition, the Romans gained control of the region around

Saturnia, which they governed as a *praefectura*.[200] The creation of a pair of *fora* located in the

territories of Cerveteri and Vulci allowed for the major Roman roads of the region to be built

on land that was either directly controlled by Rome or was in the hands of communities that

were friendly to it.[201] The earliest of these coastal roads, the *Via Aurelia* built in 241 B.C.,

connected the new coastal colonies, while the Clodia, built in the 2nd century B.C., linked a

series of minor centers located along the lacustrine region dividing the territories of the

Southern Coastal cities from those of Veii and Volsinii. The alteration of the landscape was

not limited to the coastal plain, however, as inland regions also saw dynamic shifts in

organization.

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[197]Harris 1971, 45-47; Corsi 1998, 227.

[198]Enei 1992, 78; Mansuelli 1988, 31-33.

[199]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 265.

[200]Munzi 2001, 43. Traditional identifications of the sites of Statonia with Poggio Buco or Castro have made the assumption that even more land was taken away from Vulci, but the new identification of the site as belonging to the *Ager Volsiniensis* makes it clear that the area of the Upper Tafone and Arrone rivers were left to Vulci.

[201]Munzi 2001, 43-46.

The Creation of the Roman Colonial Landscape in the *Ager Vulcentis*

At the time of conquest within the territory of Vulci, the indigenous centers at Doganella, Ghiaccio Forte, and Saturnia, were destroyed, while Orbetello and Talamone were sent into a period of depression.[202] As a replacement for these destroyed native loci of population, the Romans founded the colony of Cosa on the Vulcian coast. Due to the results of the excavations of the American Academy, and the recent surveys conducted by Wesleyan University and Università di Roma, La Sapienza (undertaken in conjunction with the excavation of the major villa at Settefinestre) this is the most well known of the new Roman maritime colonies that dotted the coast beginning in the 3rd century B.C. The colony of Cosa was founded a few years after the confiscation of the coastal territory of Vulci.[203] From the initial foundation numbers, it is clear that a far greater number of colonists were enrolled at Cosa than the city walls were able to encompass, suggesting that an intense regime of rural settlement did exist in conjunction with the major development of the new urban community.[204] Traces of the scheme of centuriation associated with the *deductio* of the colony are abundant, and suggest that the land occupied by the settlers stretched across nearly 25% of the former territory of Vulci.[205] Within the area occupied by the colonial settlers, there is a high degree of discontinuity between the pre- and post-conquest landscapes. It should be noted, however, that there is a dearth of evidence for sites of the 3rd century B.C. Apparently, the sites occupied by the first colonists either were obliterated by later construction, or were constructed in materials that were more perishable than their

[202]Perkins 1999, 37-38; Attolini et al. 1991, 144.

[203]Mansuelli 1988, 48; Dyson 1978, 258; Dyson 1981, 270.

[204]Dyson 1978, 258-259; Attolini et al. 1982, 370.

[205]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 121-123.

successors.[206]   Only a very small proportion of previously occupied sites in the vicinity of

Cosa show any continued occupation after the turmoil associated with the final defeat of

Vulci. In addition, the epigraphic record of the colony shows very few Etruscan names.[207]

The effects of the creation of the colony at Cosa were felt even outside its centuriated

landscape. The area immediately to the north of the colony, between the Albegna and Elsa

Rivers, saw both a high degree of site continuity and a number of foundations *ex novo,*

suggesting that a number of natives may have been forcibly relocated to this area in the

wake of the creation of the new colony.[208]

Most of the coastal villages and the minor center of Orbetello show evidence of

destruction at the time of the conquest, although Orbetello appears to have been resurrected

in the course of the 2nd century B.C. as a minor village. Talamone served as a focus of

population in the wake of the destruction of Orbetello.[209]   The city of Doganella, located

within the territory of the future colony of Heba, was also destroyed at the time of the

Roman conquest. In the hinterland of Doganella, there was limited continuity with the Pre-

Roman pattern of settlement.[210]   The sites at Ghiaccio Forte and Saturnia were destroyed

during this period as well.[211]   In the region near the site of Saturnia (a flourishing native

community destined to become a Roman colony) the period between the conquest and the

formation of the colony was characterized by a disjunction of the traditional Etruscan

pattern of settlement in the area immediately surrounding the site. This disjunction may

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[206]Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 37-38.

[207]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 108-109; 193.

[208]Attolini et al. 1991, 144; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109.

[209]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 122.

[210]Dyson 1981, 270; Perkins 1999, 37-38; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109.

[211]Firmati 2002, 64-65; Dyson 1978, 258; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109.

have accompanied the establishment of a replacement for Saturnia that was designated a *praefectura*. Near Ghiaccio Forte, there was a strong hiatus in the presence of rural sites before the foundation of the colony at Heba, which would reinvigorate this section of the landscape (See Figure 14).

Throughout the 3rd century B.C., two areas did see high degrees of continuity, and even a great deal of expansion of presumably native settlement. The first was the area around the port of Talamone, and the second was the area to the north of the future colony of Saturnia. In contrast to the area immediately surrounding the pre-Roman site of Saturnia, the area to the North, approximately seven kilometers distant from the future colony, saw a remarkable degree of continuity of settlement and even expansion. Here, the Etruscan settlement scheme continued to be anchored on a major *castellum* at Poggio Semproniano. This pattern remained in existence even after the *deductio* of the colony at Saturnia.[212] The stability of this landscape may be related to the apparent *floruit* of the minor center at Sovana, a site that was part of a group of minor centers situated along the corridor of the future *Via Clodia*. All of these sites had opposed Vulci in the conflict with Rome, and secured a greater degree of independence, perhaps even being granted a formal *foedus*.[213] The 3rd century B.C. also saw the initial occupation of a number of villages at the Eastern edge of the *Ager Vulcentis,* perhaps as the native community tried to escape from the new order imposed by the colonial foundations along the coast, and the destruction seen in the immediate interior at places like Saturnia and Ghiaccio Forte.[214]

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[212]Perkins 1999, 38-39; Attolini et al. 1991, 144, 151; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109-110.

[213]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 110; Munzi 2001, 43; Colonna 1974.

[214]Perkins 1999, 38-39.

**Figure 14. The Territory of Vulci in the Hellenistic Period
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43)**
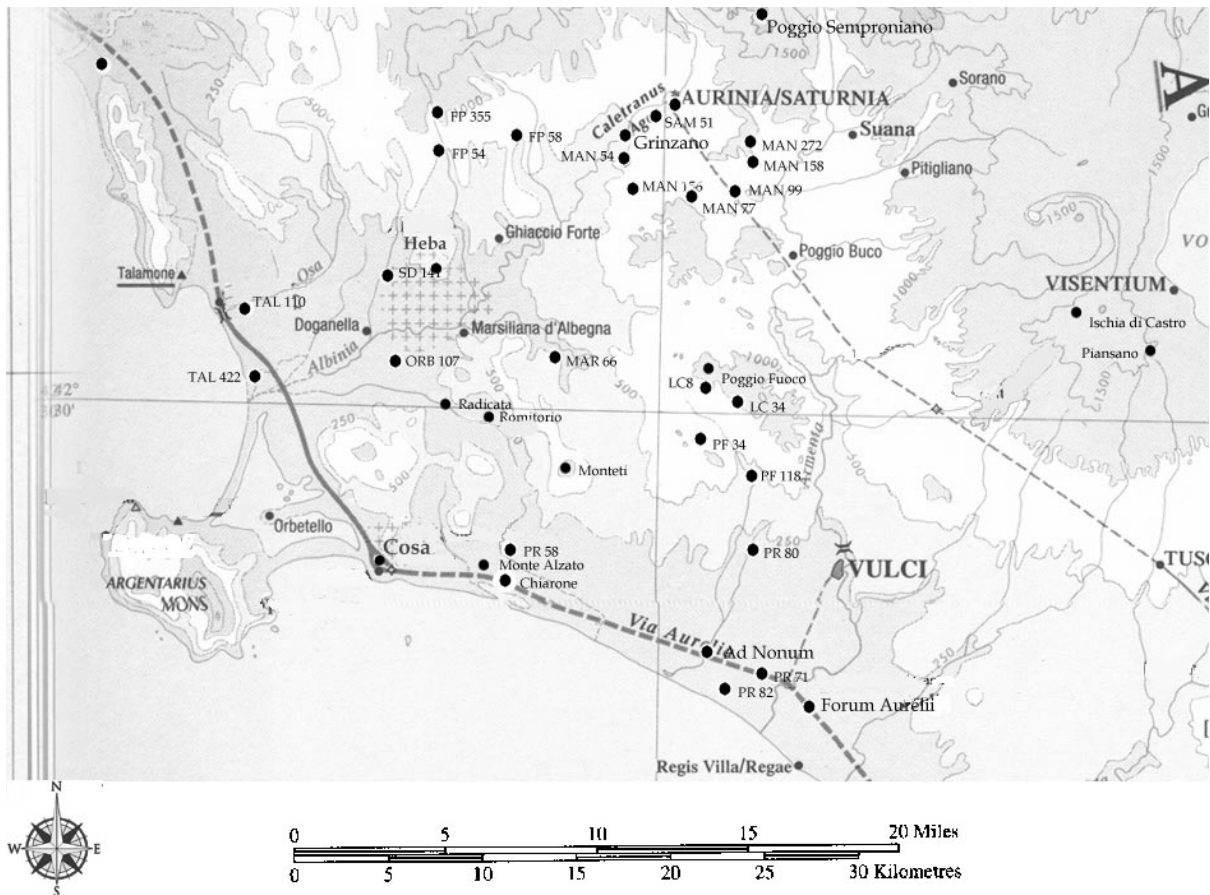
Beginning in the 2nd century B.C. the Roman occupation of the landscape took on a different aspect. This second phase of Roman intervention within the *Ager Vulcentis* appears to have been of a far more inclusive and conciliatory nature. The foundation of colonies at Heba and Saturnia included Etruscans who remained in the region, many of whom would form the upper classes of these new settlements. A new recruitment of citizens at Cosa appears to have followed the same pattern in order to make up the citizen roles in the wake of the 2nd Punic War. In the 2nd century B.C., these colonies were characterized by a settlement pattern wherein few isolated rural settlements could be found in the immediate vicinity of the urban centers. At a brief distance from these sites, a number of isolated

farmhouses were located. Even further from the colonies at the margins of the centuriated

landscapes, occasionally minor settlements of the village type arose to facilitate production.

The small farm was the most prevalent form of exploitation of the land throughout the 3rd

and 2nd centuries B.C., with villas only beginning to take hold in the final decades of the 2nd

century B.C.[215] Overall, the 2nd century B.C. did witness the loss of small sites at the expense

of larger ones, but only in very limited regions.[216] Villas often arose atop the remains of

earlier smaller residential structures and were located in areas at an intermediate distance

from the colonies. These structures were usually located very near to the major roadways of

the region and in the most fertile landscapes.[217] Villas were not the only settlement type that

saw expansion during the 2nd century B.C., however. A number of new villages also arose

as alternative foci for productive activity. These sites were located in productive zones that

were marginal because of their distance or lack of communication with urban centers.

Overall, both villas and village communities were the winners in the transition, growing up

alongside the new colonial foundations.[218] Attolini suggests that this marks a turning point

away from the final vestiges of pre-Roman structures of power.[219] Although this assertion

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[215]Recent research on the origins of the villa suggests that the traditional 2nd century B.C. date for their origin may be too early. The largest expansion of this type of productive facility clearly comes in the period following the Social and Civil Wars at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., and the extent to which these structures occupied the landscape in earlier periods is debatable. This is especially the case when villas are detected by field survey as earlier sherds may belong not to the villas proper, but rather to smaller structures or even agro-towns that occupied the site in earlier periods. Nevertheless, the data from certain portions of the *Ager Cosanus* does suggest that a number of these structures existed in the region beginning in the last decades of the 2nd century B.C. Further research on the chronology of these sites may necessitate a re-evaluation of this argument.

[216]Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 41. In the region composing the survey of Celuzza and Regoli as many as 90% of small farmsteads went into disuse during the late 2nd century B.C. It is telling that the greatest region of decrease is in the area of the Valle d'Oro, one of the most fertile portions of the landscape and the zone most conducive to large scale villa economies.

[217]Cambi and Fentress 1988, 172-177.

[218] Perkins 1999, 57.

[219]Attolini et al. 1982, 370.

bears out in the settlement pattern built around the Roman colony at Cosa and especially along the coastal littoral, it fails to recognize the alternative village structures set up at the edges of colonial territories such as the areas to the East and North of Saturnia.

The effect of the repopulation of the landscape on the persistence of native pre-Roman patterns of settlement is directly tied to the historical circumstances in which the colonies were placed, as well as the location of the colonies. The colony at Cosa was planted as part of the Roman strategy associated with divorcing the coastal plain from the territory of the preceding Etruscan cities. As a result, there was a high degree of discontinuity since the native population was removed from the region and the majority of the citizens enrolled in the colony immigrated from Rome or her allied communities. In contrast, the colonies at Heba and the revitalized landscape around the re-founded native community at Saturnia included a number of natives in their citizenry and thus showed a far higher degree of cultural continuity through the 2nd century B.C.[220]

Cerveteri: Confiscation and *Civitas Sine Suffragio*

The patterns revealed by the extensive survey data from the *Ager Vulcentis* can be traced in less detail for the other cities of Southern Coastal Etruria. Despite the unusually friendly relationship between Cerveteri and Rome throughout the first half of the 4th century, the southern-most of the Etruscan cities followed a similar trajectory as that seen in her northern neighbors during the process of incorporation. After the defeat of the Gallo-Etruscan coalition at Vadimon, Cerveteri suffered with the remainder of South Etruria in initial decades of the 3rd century B.C. when Cerveteri lost its favorable hold on economic

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[220]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 112.

dominance over the region.[221] By 273 B.C., Cerveteri appears to have lost its autonomy,

receiving the status of a *praefectura* with *civitas sine suffragio,* a settlement reached at the

cost of half of her territory.[222] Along with the reduction of the city of Cerveteri to the status

of a Roman dependency came the destruction of a series of major sites within the *Ager*

Caeretanus, La Castellina, Ponton del Castrato, Poggio Castelsecco and Pyrgi (See Figure

15).[223] Cerveteri, like its northern neighbors, lost control of its coastal territory, as well as a

large section of its interior land (destined to become the future Forum Clodii).[224] The coastal

zone, however, was the most heavily altered by the confiscation of territory following

incorporation. The Romans planted colonies at Castrum Novum, Pyrgi, Alsium, and

Fregenae in the *Ager Caeretanus*.[225] The new colony at Pyrgi followed an apparent

destruction in the early 3rd century B.C. The new site was located adjacent to the Etruscan

community, and there is little evidence for the continued use of the major sanctuaries within

the old section of the site.[226] These sanctuaries, whose function was to negotiate a common

sacred landscape between the Etruscan population and external visitors, had ceased to exist

as a necessary element of the new coastal settlement regime. The colony at Castrum Novum

was most likely a replacement for the nearby community at La Castellina.[227] The foundation

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[221]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 107.

[222]Festus 233 M.

[223]Mansuelli 1988, 33; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 51; Maffei 1990, 164. In the next century the area around La Castellina would be the site of a number of flourishing small farms and a few *villae rusticae*.

[224]Gazzetti 1990, 101.

[225]Enei 1995, 72; Stanco 1990, 111. Although Fregenae was not located on Cerveteritan territory *per se* it functioned in the same manner as the other coastal foundations and acted as a garrison against Etruscan uprisings as well as providing a bulwark against Carthaginian attack.

[226]Cristofani 1983, 121-122.

[227]Gianfrotta 1972, 18; Maffei 1990, 164.

**Figure 15. The Territory of Caere in the Hellenistic Period
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).**
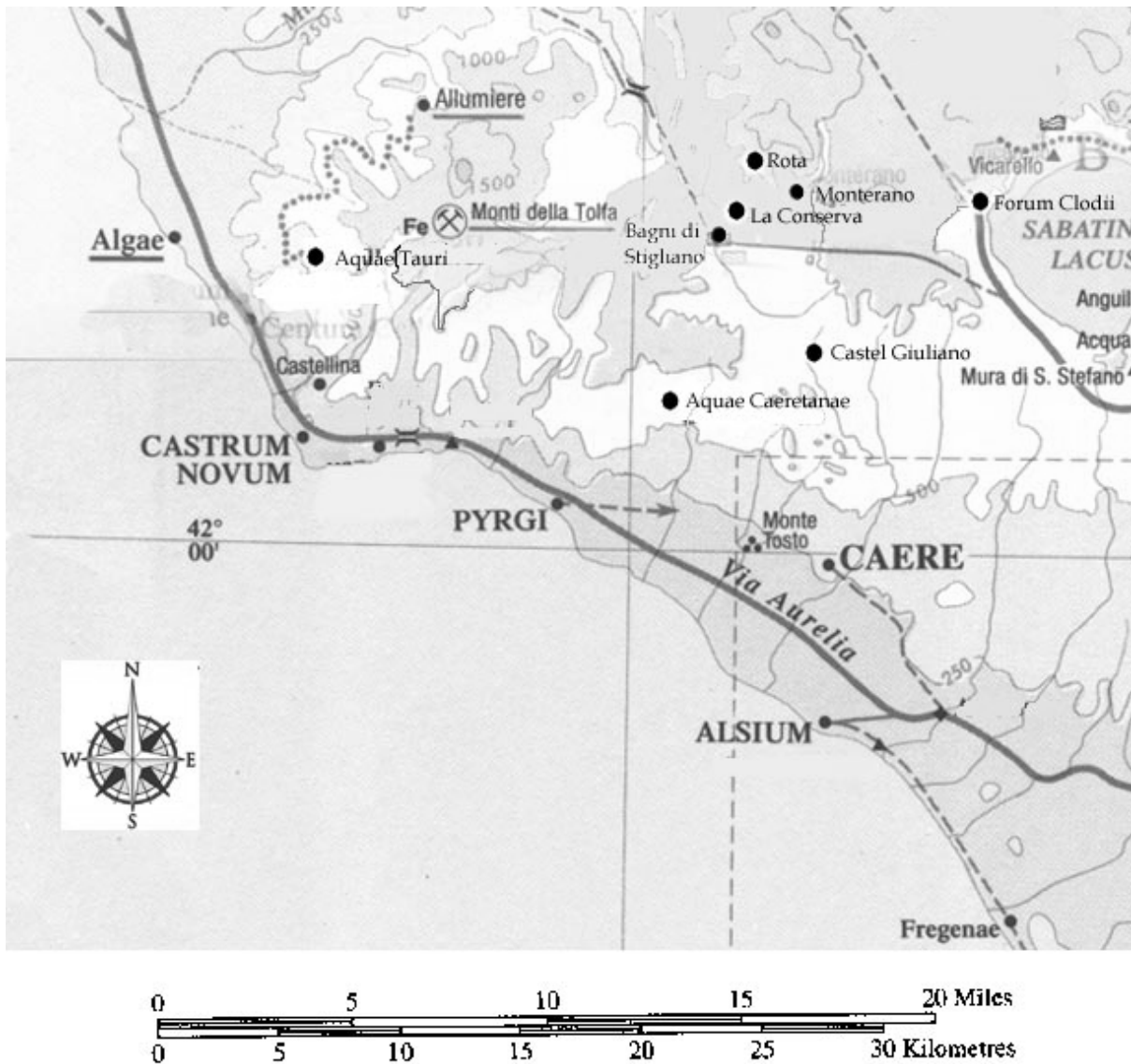
of these colonies ensured Roman control of access to Mediterranean trade for the region

around Cerveteri while at the same time placing the most important ports connected with the

Etruscan city under the authority of pro-Roman magistrates.[228] This loss of control over her

port facilities echoed the dearth of ceramic production found in the city during the

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[228]Mansuelli 1988, 31; Enei 1995, 72; Stanco 1990, 110-111.

Republican period.[229] The agricultural nature of the goods provided by the city for Scipio's

expedition against Carthage reflected the shift in the economy of Cerveteri.[230] By the middle

of the 3rd century B.C., Cerveteri was no longer driving the economic growth within the

territory. Instead, the new Roman colonies were the dominant loci of production and

distribution within the *Ager Caeretanus.[231]* The best data for this area in the 3rd and 2nd

centuries B.C. comes from the region around Alsium, where there appears to have been a far

less profound disruption of pre-Roman patterns of cultivation than seen around Cosa. In

fact, there is almost no trace of any centuriation of the landscape associated with either the

colony at Alsium or that of Pyrgi.[232] This area must have been assigned to locals and

Romans on an *ad viritim* basis. This type of continuity is surprising given the major patterns

of disruption found elsewhere in Coastal Etruria.[233] Here small farmsteads continued to

dominate the territory of the coastal strip in the territory of Cerveteri down to the end of the

2nd century B.C.[234] Almost all of the most fertile areas around the new colonies remained

under this type of production throughout the period.[235] Major zones of expansion were

located in the territory to the southeast of Alsium, and in the territory inland from Castrum

Novum.[236] The only major departure from this pattern was the introduction of a number of

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[229]Maffei 1990, 53.

[230]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.45.

[231]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 107.

[232]Enei 1995, 73.

[233]Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 41.

[234]Maffei 1990, 167; *contra* Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 41.

[235]Enei 1992, 78.

[236]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 106. Enei 1995, 73; Enei 1992, 80. Even this expansion of cultivated land did not erase the large portions of the countryside that continued to be used for pasturage. This is borne out by Cerveteri's provision of wood and food to Scipio for his invasion of Carthage.

wealthy maritime villas that dominated key locations along the coast, the first of which came into existence at the end of the 2nd century B.C.[237] Many of these villas were located near Castrum Novum. Especially in the 2nd century B.C., the majority of these sites could barely be called villas, lacking the luxuries of the *pars urbana*.[238]

The pattern of continuity found in the coastal region appears to have held in the immediate vicinity of Cerveteri as well. Here, a high degree of continuity in the occupation of sites can be traced across the early centuries of incorporation.[239] There was indeed an expansion in the amount of land cultivated, but the main organization of that exploitation remained the same.[240] The small farmhouse, represented by a surface scatter of approximately one to six hundred square meters was the standard unit of population, although a number of these sites were clearly under the governance of links of traditional patronage schemes.[241] The interior of the *Ager Caeretanus* along the frontier with Tarquinia appears also to have maintained a high degree of continuity through the first half of the 3rd century B.C. with a heavy concentration of settlement near the hilltop center located at Monterano.[242] It is also important to note that a number of Roman sites within the region saw their origins already by the middle of the 3rd century B.C.[243]

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[237]Enei 1995, 73; Enei 1992, 80.

[238]Gianfrotta 1972, 19. The definition of a villa here is unclear and many sites that would qualify under the ambiguous definition provided could also be considered small farms.

[239]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 55.

[240]Enei 1992, 78; Enei 1995, 73.

[241]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 55; Enei 1995, 73.

[242]Gazzetti 1990, 101; Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 105-106.

[243]Coccia et al 1985, 525.

With the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. and the formalization of the Roman road network, a second major zone of Roman control was created in the interior along the route of the *Via Clodia*.[244] Here a site called *Forum Clodii* was founded as the center of a larger territory governed based on a *praefectura*.[245] The sites of Monterano and Rota continued to play important roles in the landscape, although both of these sites may have fallen under the influence of Forum Clodii.[246] The *Via Clodia* along with the *Via Aurelia* had become the major axes of settlement during this period. Few Republican sites of significant size can be found between the lines of the two roads.[247] Another site within the territory of Castrum Novum at a junction in the road network was founded at *Aquae Tauri* during the late 3rd century B.C.[248] Despite the major reorganization of the landscape associated with the division of the *Ager Caeretanus* into smaller subunits directly controlled by Roman citizens (as in the case of the coastal colonies and Forum Clodii), the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. represented a period of expansion rather than retraction of rural settlement.[249] The majority of the Pre-Roman farmsteads in the region continued to be productive, and there was even an expansion of their numbers due to a significant increase in the amount of land under cultivation. Although the Romans had taken a large amount of the territory of Cerveteri as part of the settlement that ended hostilities, it appears that the native residents of this territory enjoyed a favorable experience of Roman rule after the initial shockwaves of the

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[244]Stanco 1990, 111. The date of the foundation of Forum Clodii may be the same as that of the colonial foundation at Saturnia (183 B.C.) since this was the terminal point of the road.

[245]Gazzetti 1990, 101; Stanco 1990, 111.

[246]Coccia et al. 1985, 525.

[247]Coccia et al. 1985, 525.

[248]Stanco 1990, 112; Maffei 1990, 169. Although this site may have fallen more properly into the territory of Tarquinia, to which a road was built during the last centuries B.C.

[249]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 107.

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conquest.   The major alterations within the landscape were more a result of the reorganization of the communication network, dated primarily to the 2nd century B.C., than an intentionally reworked Roman model of settlement imposed in the immediate aftermath of the conquest.

The Incorporation of Tarquinia

Evidence for the effects of incorporation on the landscape is poorest in relation to the territory of Tarquinia, where the only systematic data comes from the area around the settlement at Tuscania on the border of the area of Tarquinian dominance. After a significant disruption of the settlement pattern during the 4th century B.C., the Hellenistic Period at Tarquinia was also one of reorganization of the landscape, just as was the case in the territories of its neighbors. As a whole, the territory of Tarquinia was largely depopulated. The immediate hinterland of the city became devoid of subsidiary rural settlement, with finds of necropoleis dominating the archaeological record.[250]   As in previous periods, these necropoleis were most likely used as continued indicators of aristocratic dominance over rights of usufruct in the suburban landscape.   In contrast, the primarily agricultural settlements at Fontanile dell'Olmo and L'Argento continued to function throughout the Roman period as agro-towns (See Figure 16).[251] Throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., Graviscae continued to dominate the coastal strip, and would eventually become a Roman colony in 181 B.C., although the new Roman community would not be founded on the same ground as its Etruscan predecessor.[252] Sporadic remains at other points along the coast

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[250]Perego 2005a, 228.

[251]Perego 2005a, 230.

**Figure 16. The Territory of Tarquinia in the Hellenistic Period
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).**
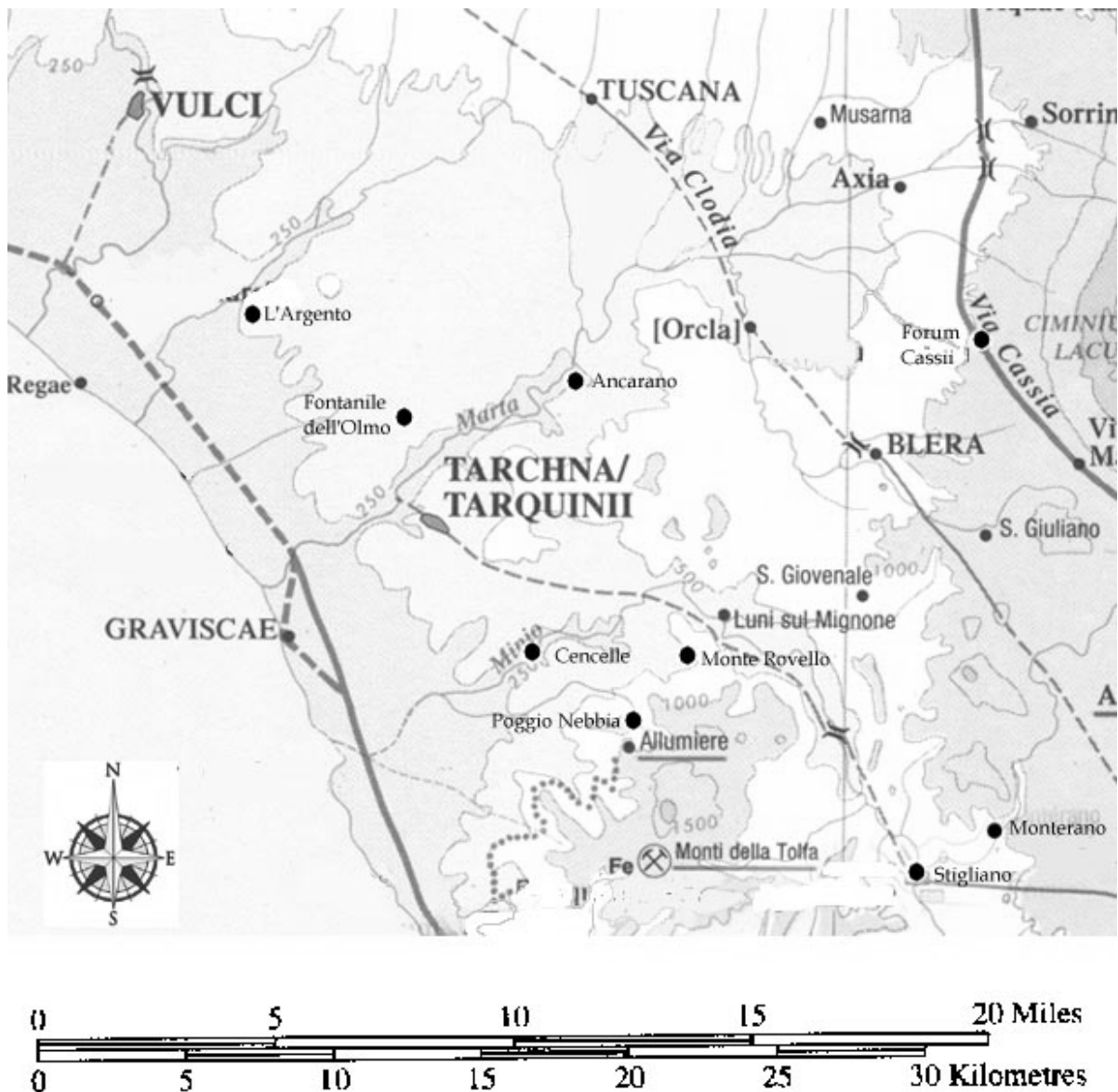
suggest that although Graviscae was by and large the major port of the region, a number of

other very small-scale operations existed as well.[253] The area, which was dominated by a

significant expansion in the number of rural sites in the 4th century B.C., saw an almost total

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[252]Mansuelli 1988, 35; Cristofani 1983, 123-124.

[253]Perego 2005a, 228. The site at Torre Valdaglia may have continued into this period as well, but the evidence is
not clear.

collapse of the Pre-Roman system. Of the nearly thirty-eight farms of the Hellenistic Period, only two survived to the end of the Republic.[254] Instead, a series of new farms would be founded along the lines of the *Via Aurelia*.[255]

In contrast to the dearth of information present for the landscape around Tarquinia, the Tuscania Project provides a window into the development of a minor center that existed at the border of Tarquinian territory. Here in the territory of this minor center, the trends seen in the majority of Tarquinian territory are absent. As opposed to the apparent discontinuity seen in the landscape surrounding Tarquinia, there was a remarkable continuity in rural settlement throughout the Republican Period, with a great majority of farms producing *bucchero* also yielding *vernice nera*.[256] The boom in settlement throughout the territory of Tuscania seems to have come in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., right when Coastal South Etruria was seeing its lowest point. Perhaps this was due to the inclusion of Tuscania into the Roman road network along the Via Clodia.[257] Tuscania and Blera were able to divorce themselves from the control of Tarquinia and begin to dominate their own landscape. In these centuries, the areas to the East, West, and North of the city began to match the density of rural settlement only found to the South in the Archaic Period.[258] The 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. also produced the richest aristocratic tombs at both Tuscania and Norchia.[259]

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[254]Corsi 1998, 232.

[255]Corsi 1998, 235-238.

[256]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271.

[257]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271; Rasmussen 1991, 39.

[258]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 39.

[259]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271; Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 39; Rasmussen 1991, 114.

Overall, the period of transition between the Pre-Roman and Roman landscapes in Southern Coastal Etruria was marked by significantly divergent experiences. The coastal regions appear to have been the most heavily affected by the conquest, although not all suffered equally. The relatively unchanged landscape that surrounded the colonies of Castrum Novum and Alsium in the territory of Cerveteri contrasted sharply with the high degree of disruption seen in the region surrounding the new colony at Cosa. There also appears to have been a chronological dimension to the likelihood that native structures of organization of the landscape would continue across the Etruscan-Roman divide. Those landscapes that were colonized later, such as the ones surrounding the colonies at Heba, Saturnia, Alsium, and Pyrgi tended to incorporate a high number of natives, and allowed for the continued use of farmsteads that had been in occupation from previous periods. At the same time, a number of areas saw expansions in settlement, as natives sought to escape the new Roman system and set up communities based on the presence of old secondary centers which had escaped the destruction of the conquest. In addition, a number of communities of the interior appear to have successfully navigated the crisis and managed to work their way into the Roman system. These communities enjoyed a period of major expansion throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.

The Late Republic and Early Empire: 1st Century B.C. and 1st Century A.D.

The last decades of the Republic and the first century of the Empire were witness to the largest reorganization of Italy seen since the process of urbanization took place at the beginning of the Iron Age. The crystallization of the Roman road system and the introduction of large-scale villa agriculture were certainly major transformations. Such an assertion, however, ignores the high degree of continuity that can be found in the Late

Republican landscapes of several Etruscan cities, where patterns of smallholding can be traced often from the 7th century B.C. It will be instructive then to consider the landscape in terms of areas that either did change significantly, or remained largely static. A number of underlying characteristics of the landscapes involved were the deciding factors in this transformation. Overall, the communities that had been given some sort of Roman status in the immediate aftermath of the conquest continued to flourish in the Late Republican and Imperial Periods. Yet, considerable portions of the Etruscan landscape saw an expansion in settlement because of farmers trying to get away from the chaos of the Roman system in its Late Republican incarnation.

Romans and Etruscans in the Territory of Vulci

Within the former territory of the city of Vulci, the last century B.C. and the first century A.D. were marked by major changes. As in previous periods, neither the pace of these changes nor their substance were by any means uniform throughout the region. As we have seen already, the territory of Vulci had been broken into a number of smaller units such as the colonies founded at Cosa, Heba, and Saturnia during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[260] The area around the new urban center at Cosa had seen the greatest disruption of Etruscan patterns, while those in the vicinity of the two later colonies represented a higher degree of continuity. In fact, the landscape to the north of Saturnia continued along an almost unchanged pattern of Etruscan growth (See Figure 17). A high degree of continuity from the Pre-Roman pattern was also observed in the vicinity of Talamone.

Two events at the beginning of the 1st century B.C. shook the settlement hierarchy of the coastal zone violently, and led to repercussions throughout the interior. Talamone, which

[260]Cambi and Fentress 1989, 81.

Figure 17. Village Communities in the Territory of Vulci during the Late Republic and Early Empire (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).
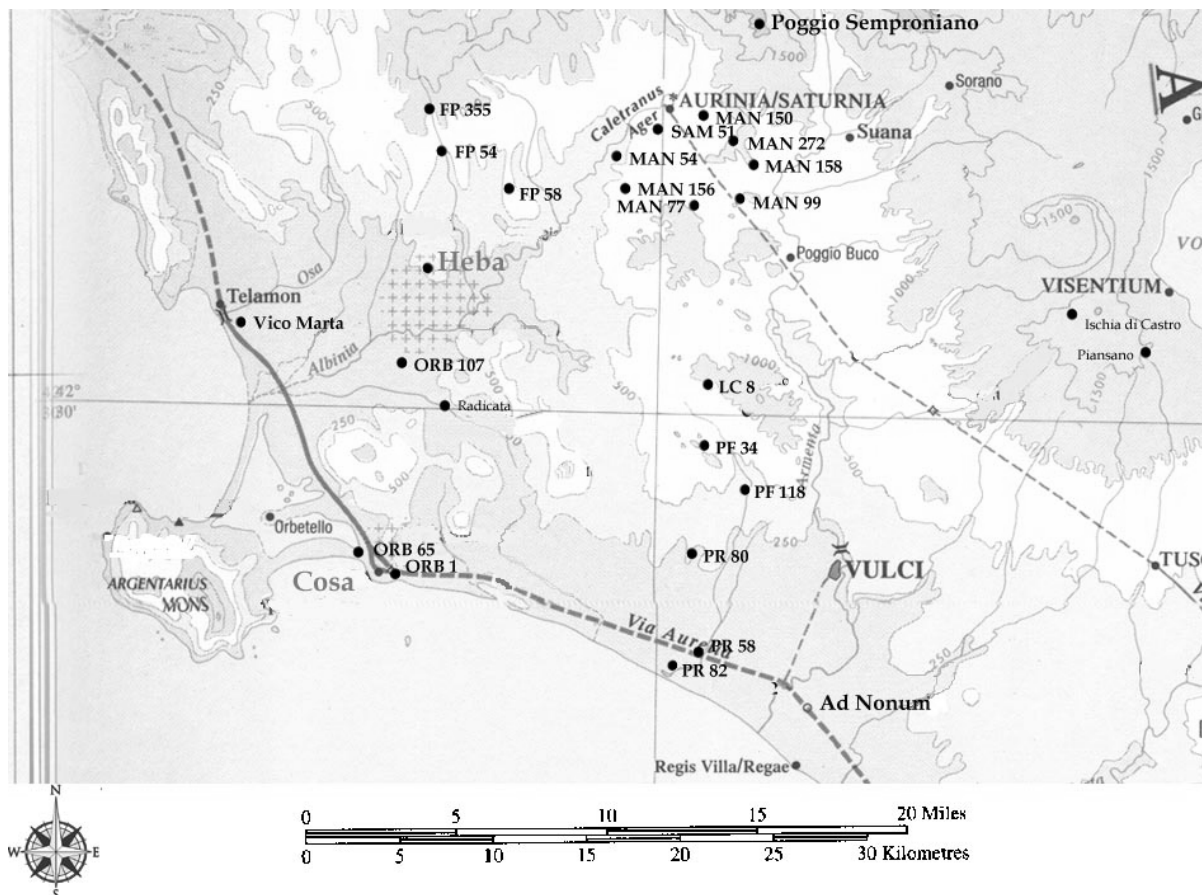
had served as the rallying point for the Marian troops, was destroyed upon the return of Sulla from Africa.[261] Within a few years, Cosa too would suffer a massive depopulation.[262] Of interest is the apparent discontinuity between the evidence for occupation at Cosa, where there is a dearth of material after 70 B.C., and the countryside, where a vital and flourishing landscape existed at least into the 2nd century A.D. albeit on a reduced scale in terms of absolute numbers.[263] Although the colony of Cosa would be rebuilt, it would never again be

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[261]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 180. This is the traditional explanation for the destruction of Talamone, but recently Bruno et al. (1980) have suggested that this community, like Cosa fell victim to an attack of pirates in the first decades of the 1st century B.C.

[262]Brown 1980, 74.

[263]Dyson 1981, 272.

the thriving urban community seen in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[264] Instead, the colonies

of Heba and Saturnia would take over the place of prominence that the urban center of Cosa

had held. This represented a reversion to Pre-Roman pattern of strong inland centers. Heba

in particular saw an influx of new settlement and the monumentalization of its public

spaces. Saturnia, likewise, was the focus of an expanded population while its forum was

improved with a travertine pavement.[265]

On the whole, there was a minor retraction in rural settlement numbers within the

Ager Vulcentis during the Late Republic and Early Empire. Despite this trend of decline in

the absolute number of settlements, the overall population probably did not decrease since

the small sites were being replaced by larger villas.[266] Nevertheless, a number of regions did

see an intensification of rural productive regimes. The first of these was the Valle d'Oro

where a number of massive slave run villas appear to have displaced the earlier settlements

of small farmers.[267] Overall, the largest population of villas continued to be found in close

proximity to the main Roman roads of the zone, presumably due to the need for cheap

transport of surplus products.[268] These sites were linked into an economy geared for export

in which the villas, roads, and ports of the region constituted the backbone of the mercantile

system.[269] Despite the growth of the villa system, only three true *latifundia* can be identified

within the region during the period in question.[270] In terms of structural remains, the largest

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[264]Brown 1980, 74.

[265]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 123-124.

[266]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 181.

[267]Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 45-46.

[268]Cambi and Fentress 1989, 81; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 191.

[269]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 191.

villas were located on the coast in the area immediately surrounding the colony of Cosa, and can be classed as *villae maritimae* rather than *latifundia*.[271] Even in the territory of Cosa, middle and small level farms seem to have flourished even into the 2nd century A.D.[272] It is also interesting to note that already with the end of the 1st century A.D. a number of villas had begun to fail, presaging the eventual crisis in the management of the landscape to come.[273]

In contrast, the areas to the North of Heba and Saturnia saw an increase in the very sites that were disappearing from the Valle d'Oro. At Heba, a number of new farmsteads and agro-towns were founded on vacant land located outside the original zone of centuriation. This was some of the most marginal land in the region.[274] In addition, these sites were of a smaller size than those that had come to dominate the *Ager Cosanus*, suggesting that smallholding was the primary mode of land ownership.[275] Carandini and Cambi have suggested that the increase in the territory of Heba was largely due to *viritane* assignations of land to the veterans of Caesar.[276] Another possibility exists, however. These new plots of land are just as likely the possessions of the farmers who had formerly occupied the lands of the Valle d'Oro and the immediate territory of Cosa, landscapes now dominated by other forms of cultivation. The region to the North of Saturnia, which was focused on a major village site located at Poggio Semproniano, underwent a similar

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[270]Dyson 1978, 260.

[271]Dyson 1981, 272.

[272]Dyson 1981, 272.

[273]Attolini et al. 1991; Attolini et al. 1982, 371; and Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 45-46.

[274]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 181.

[275]Dyson 1981, 273.

[276]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 181.

expansion of small farmsteads into the most marginal portions of the landscape.[277] It is important to note that although the population of small farms was expanding, few villas of any size were to be found in this region.[278] The marginal location of the new sites suggests not the assignation of territory to victorious soldiers, but of a population trading the fertile river valley and coastal zones susceptible to ravaging by pirates for the safety of inland hills and mountains. The epigraphic record of both sites, and especially that of Saturnia, suggests that Etruscan families dominated the population as a whole, as well as comprising a majority of the upper classes. A number of Etruscan families were involved in the euergetism that led to improvements in the civic infrastructure of the colony.[279]

Although the period of the late Republic and the Early Empire saw an increase in the number of villas across the landscape, it is important not to fall into the trap of overestimating their importance or the numbers of the slaves who clearly formed a large portion of their workforce. As Rathbone has noted, even Cato suggested that a large free population in close proximity to a villa was necessary for the profitable exploitation of a harvest.[280] It is not surprising then that we see villas, farmsteads, and villages forming productive patterns in the landscape of the Roman *Ager Vulcentis.* In the case of a number of areas, such as on the periphery of the colonial territory to the North of Heba and Saturnia, villages were often surrounded by a ring of small farmsteads.[281] These villages were evidently functioning as central places for the distribution of goods and services that were not able to be produced at the household level. In the few areas where villas exist at the

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[277]Dyson 1981, 273-274; Cambi and Fentress 1989, 81; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 182.

[278]Attolini et al. 1982, 377.

[279]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 193.

[280]Rathbone 1981; Cambi and Fentress 1989, 82.

[281]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 192.

margins of the territories of larger urban entities, they often were situated in close proximity

with village structures.[282] These villages were a source of local labor employed at harvest

time as well as places for the local distribution of surplus.[283]

Villages also continued to thrive along the previous Etruscan pattern in the Early

Imperial landscape along between the Tafone and Chiarone rivers. This continuity of the

native pattern of exploitation coupled with the absence of centuriation suggests that this

zone was not co-opted into the territory of one of the new Roman foundations, but may

have remained directly dependent on Vulci. The lack of change may also be due to the

environmental conditions of the area, which favor small scale grain production over that of

extensive poly-culture, such as that employed by the villas.[284] The organization of locally

geared small-scale agricultural production forms a second hierarchy of sites engaged in the

distribution of surplus. Instead of focusing on the major villas of the regions and access to

roadways and transport by sea, this local agricultural configuration consisted of small

farmsteads linked by village communities, and at the top of the hierarchy the major

municipia of the region.[285]

Cerveteri and Its Roman Landscape

A different picture emerges from the landscape of the city of Cerveteri. As with most

of the cities of South Etruria (in contrast with Northern Etruria), there appears to have been

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[282]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 192.

[283]Cambi and Fentress 1989, 82.

[284]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 192.

[285]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 191.

little consequence from the troubles of the civil war between Marius and Sulla.[286] A boom in the building of opulent maritime villas owned by such powerful Romans as Pompey, Caesar, and Sulla, was coupled with a late 1st century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. boom in the region immediately surrounding the ancient city of Cerveteri, and the port at Alsium.[287] In fact, all of the major villas within the now reduced hinterland of Cerveteri were situated within two hundred meters of the road.[288] Most often, these villas were located on outcroppings of tufa rather than in the valley bottoms, contradicting patterns seen elsewhere.[289]   The wealthiest of the villas existed along the coast, with those examples from the interior showing a marked reduction in size and luxurious design in comparison to their maritime counterparts.[290] Without regard to their location, coastal or interior, villas appear to have dominated only the most fruitful tracts of land in a similar pattern seen to that found in the *Ager Vulcentis*.[291] A number of these coastal villas appear to have been engaged in the large-scale production of *terra cotta* industrial products such as tiles, and *dolia*.[292] The presence of large quantities of storage vessels suggest that viticulture and extensive grain production also dominated the landscape of the villas, a supposition supported also by the textual references to the area.[293] This expansion of settlement led to the highest density recorded before the modern era.[294] As

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[286]Gazzetti 1990, 103.

[287]Enei 1992, 80.

[288]Enei 1992, 80-81.

[289]Enei 1992, 82.

[290]Enei 1992, 80.

[291]Enei 1992, 82.

[292]Enei 1995, 75.

[293]Merlino and MIrenda 1990, 56; Enei 1995, 75. cf. Martial, *Epigramata* 13.124; Columella, *De Re Rustica* 3.9.6.

Figure 18. Villages and Cities in the Roman Period Territory of Cerveteri (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).
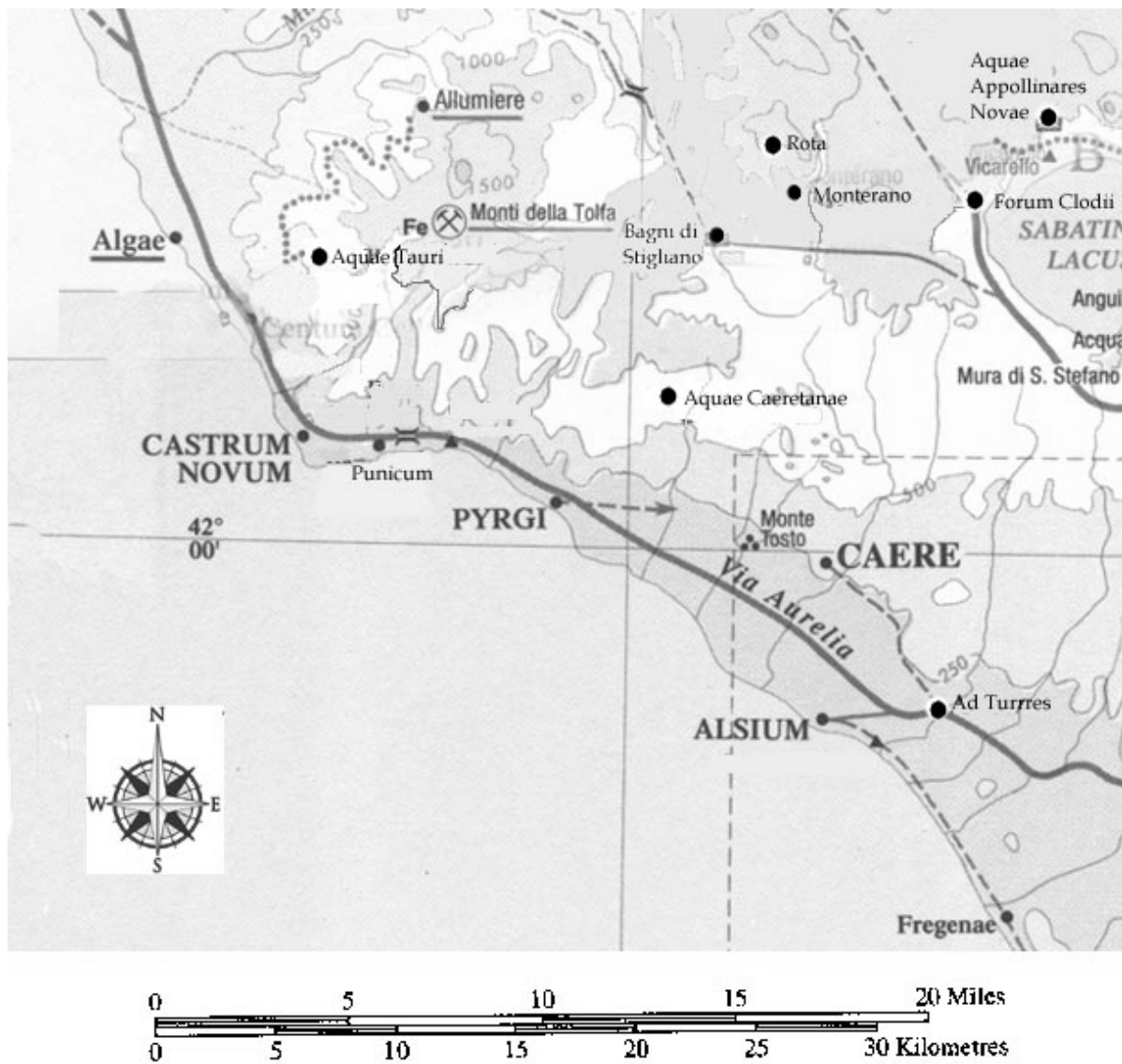
found in the preceding Hellenistic / Middle Republican Period, sites of both great and small dimensions had begun to be closely associated with the capillary road network that spread throughout the countryside to connect the region with the *Via Aurelia* and *Clodia* (See Figure 18).[295] In much the same way that the major consular roads had transformed the landscape

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[294]Enei 1995, 74.

of the former territory of Veii, that of Cerveteri was also now drawn to the newly formalized lines of communication. The landscape saw a great variety of site types during the period, from the massive villas of the wealthy to innumerable small farms and a pair of villages located at *Aquae Caeretanae* and at *Ad Turres*.[296] Both sites were functioning as hubs in the landscape for collecting and distributing the agricultural surplus. Recent excavations at *Aquae Caeretanae* have revealed that the site consisted of a cluster of a number of wealthy villas and their dependent farmsteads, suggesting that villas and villages were not exclusive categories.[297] At the same time, the *praefectura* of *Forum Clodii* continued to flourish as the major interior center within Caeretian territory.[298] Likewise, a new community created in the area to the North of *Castrum Novum* at *Aquae Tauri* became a major node of agricultural exploitation.[299] There was a re-foundation of Castrum Novum under the triumvirs or during the Augustan period.[300] In the last decades of the 1st century B.C., perhaps because of the re-foundation of the colony, the number of luxury coastal villas in the region soared. The colony itself was enhanced during the 1st century A.D. with the construction of an aqueduct. Throughout the Late Republic and Early Imperial Periods, the trend was toward the expansion of sites identified with the new Roman colonies and foundations linked into the Roman road network. These sites began to assume the importance of the old urban and quasi-urban communities of the Etruscan landscape. Cerveteri was in decline by the 1st century B.C., and to the same period can be dated the abandonment of Monterano, which

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[295]Enei 1992, 80.

[296]Enei 1992, 80.

[297]Cosentino 1990.

[298]Gazzetti 1990, 103.

[299]Gazzetti 1990, 103.

[300]Gianfrotta 1972, 19-21.

had played a major role in controlling the use of the interior of Cerveteri's territory. Forum Clodii clearly replaced the latter community.[301]   Notwithstanding the boom in rural settlement within the territory of Cerveteri, it is important to note that the urban community itself was undergoing a program of revitalization under the policies of Augustus. Unfortunately, this program was to fail and Cerveteri to become a backwater within the Imperial scheme of Etruria.

Despite the growth of a number of villas, Enei's campaigns of survey have determined that just fewer than 10% of the sites present in the Early Imperial Period had a life span of almost a millennium, showing an incredible degree of continuity.[302] Along these lines, smaller isolated farmsteads continued to dominate in absolute numbers in this area, however, with an almost even scattering across the landscape.[303] Enei suggests that these smaller residences were subsidiary structures contained within the jurisdiction of the larger villa centers of the region.[304] In fact, each villa structure appears to have had two or three of these smaller structures in its immediate vicinity.[305] This suggests that free labor, perhaps provided by tenants of small plots of land, was here too an important part of the regime of agricultural exploitation.   During the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods, the landscape of Cerveteri was turned into one in which great portions of the land were exploited by large landowners even in some cases in blocks of territory that can be justifiably called *latifundia*. Such a mode of exploitation makes sense given the proximity of

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[301]Gazzetti 1990, 103.

[302]Enei 1995, 75.

[303]Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 56; Enei 1992, 81.

[304]Enei 1992, 81.

[305]Enei 1995, 76.

the *Ager Caeretanus* to Rome, and thus the increased desirability of the land.[306] Yet, even this intense cash crop economy was dependent upon many of the pre-Roman elements of the landscape.

   This analysis fails to account for those settlements not located in close proximity to villas. The more marginal zones of the interior, associated with these smaller settlements appear to have been dedicated to stock raising, although it is also a possibility that grain production along the organization of the coastal region of the Chiarone and Tafone basin in the *Ager Vulcentis* may have provided a viable alternative means of life.[307] Even at its height of density, it is important to note that large portions of the landscape remained uncultivated. Such areas included the roughest of the mountainous territory, as well as the coastal swamp between Palidoro and Ladispoli.[308] In the immediate hinterland of Cerveteri, this picture of a flourishing rural landscape would continue throughout the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. in contrast to the *Ager Vulcentis*, where already by the Flavian period signs of a crisis in rural ownership were present.[309] The territory of Tolfa, on the border with Tarquinia, shows a high degree of transition during this period, with a number of sites falling into disuse while a number of new ones were born. The majority of sites falling into disuse are those located in the valley bottoms, while the growth within the region appears to have occurred on the hill-slopes and plateaus in a development contrary to what is expected for a "Roman" landscape.[310]

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[306]Similar patterns can be found in the *Ager Veientanus*. Cp. Cambi 2004, 89-93.

[307]Enei 1995, 75; cf. Carandini and Cambi 2002, 192.

[308]Enei 1995, 76.

[309]Enei 1992, 82; Enei 1995, 76. cf. Attolini et al. 1991; Attolini et al. 1982, 371; and Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 45-46.

[310]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 108.

<u>Roman Tarquinia</u>

There is little information on the nature of the Roman territory of Tarquinia. During the last century of the Republic and the first of the Empire, the port at Graviscae continued to flourish in Roman hands. In addition, a second colony may have been added to the landscape in the region of the Tolfa hills, as evidenced by the regular division of some portions of the landscape.[311] There is some debate as to the date of this colony, but the most likely era appears to be that of the Gracchan land reforms.[312] Because of this *deductio*, a number of small farms were placed throughout the region.[313] These farms formed part of an unstable landscape, as a great many sites died and were replaced throughout the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D.[314] Despite the seeming unrest in the landscape, the population of this district appears to have held steady, with some regions like that around Cencelle showing slight increases, although this center itself was waning in importance as a regional hub at the expense of *Aquae Tauri* (See Figure 19).[315] This instability may be due to the failure and replacement of farms of a number of small holders who had received grants under land resettlement plans of the Late Republic. Along the coast, the Roman colony of Graviscae continued to dominate the landscape, and the 1st century B.C. saw a boom in the construction of villas in this region. The center of gravity of the territory shifted with the conquest towards the coast, where the *Via Aurelia* now played a dominant role. A significant number of *stationes* arose along the

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[311]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 40.29.1-2; Coccia et al. 1985, 526; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990, 450.

[312]Mansuelli 1988, 35-36; Gazzetti 1990, 103.

[313]Coccia et al. 1985, 526.

[314]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 108.

[315]Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 108; Stanco 1990, 112.

Figure 19. Village Communities in the Territory of Tarquinia in the Late Republic and Early Empire (Adapted from Barrington Atlas Maps 42 and 43).
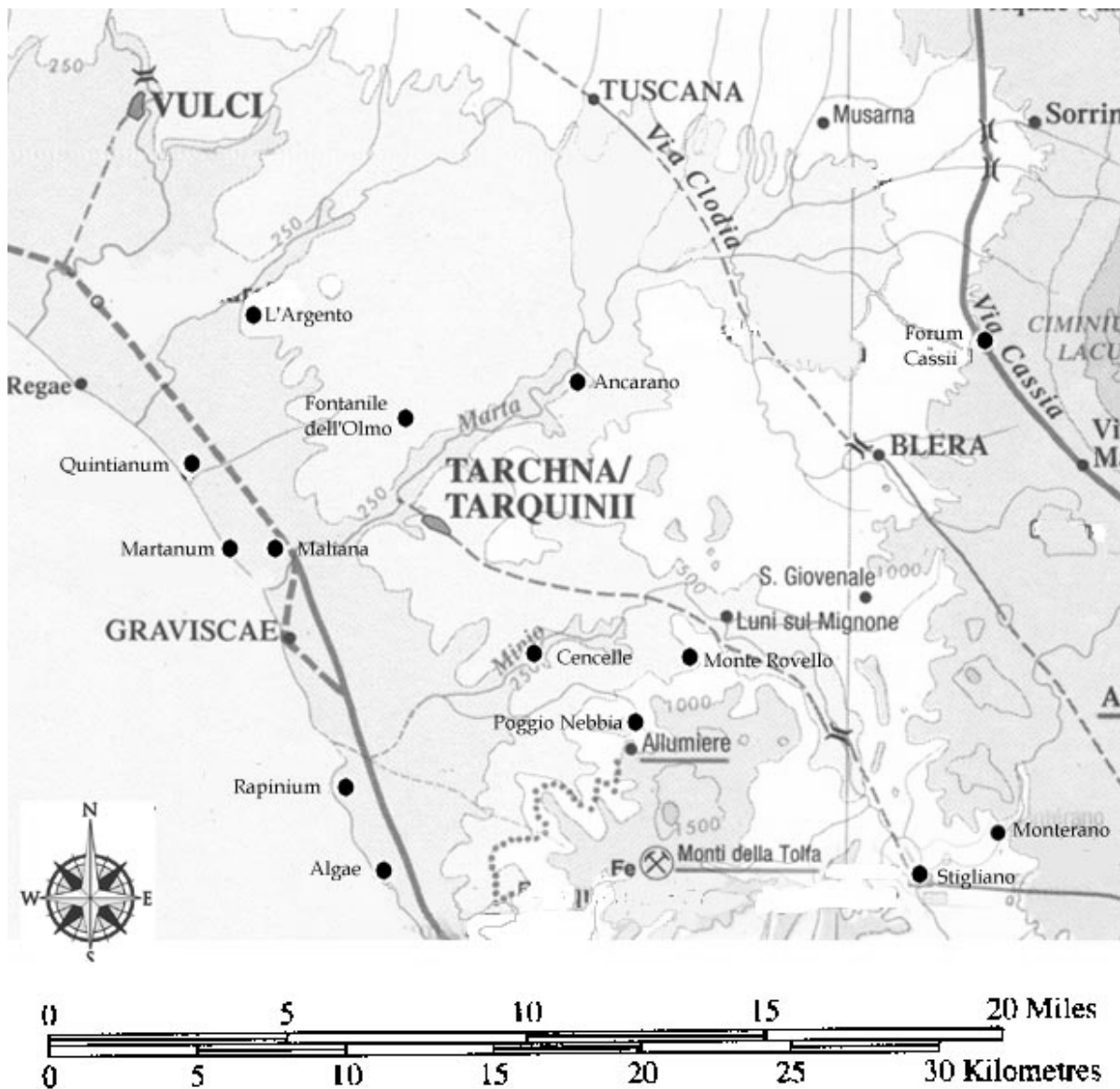
road during the 1st century B.C.[316]   The same period marked the largest increase in the number of farmsteads up to that point as the agricultural exploitation of the region was booming.   Despite the confiscation of its coastal territory, the city itself appears to have continued to control a substantial territory inland.

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[316]De Rossi 1968.

Again, the Tuscania survey provides a window into the trends developing in this area during the Roman period. There is little evidence for any expansion of the villa system in the evidence from Tuscania, as the land remained in the hands of smallholders throughout the early empire.[317] Likewise, the sites in the Roman period appear to be spread more evenly across the countryside and were less related to the nucleated centers.[318] It is not surprising that the evidence of off-site activity such as manuring reaches a peak in the imperial period at the same time that the main centers within the survey area (Tuscania and Norchia) were shrinking in size.[319]

Throughout the period of the Late Republic and the Early Empire, two trends were occurring side by side. First, there was a shift toward secondary centers with access to the new Roman road network. This transition was occurring at the expense of a number of *castella* that had dominated the landscape since the Orientalizing Period. Smallholders were losing out to the system of villa agriculture and large tracts of land were falling into the hands of single proprietors. Yet, this trend was not occurring everywhere, or with the kind of exclusivity often ascribed to the villa system. There was an expansion in small farms and in agro-towns, especially in areas that fell outside of the jurisdiction of Roman colonial schemes. Here those disaffected with the Roman system could engage in an alternative form of rural organization. Despite the growth of rural settlement throughout the period, the old Etruscan cities of the Southern Coastal region were declining. Augustan attempts at reinvigorating these communities would ultimately fail, and the process of decline that had begun with the conquest would be completed by the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

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[317]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271-272; Rasmussen 1991, 112.

[318]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 39.

[319]Rasmussen and Barker 1988, 33, 39; Rasmussen 1991, 112-113.

CHAPTER 4.
SOUTHERN TIBERINE ETRURIA

Southern Tiberine Etruria, encompassing the territory of the Etruscan city-states of Veii and Volsinii along with the ethnic enclaves of the Faliscans and Capenates, will serve as the second region from which we will try to draw out a number of patterns in the transformation of the landscape. The organization of the settlement hierarchy of this region consists of a number of different local patterns. As a result, the chapter will be broken into two major parts, in each of which two of these patterns will be considered. The first of these sections will include the territory of Veii along with the *Ager Capenas*, due to their similar conquest histories. The second section will discuss the patterns found in the territory of the city-state of Volsinii and also the landscape of the Faliscan zone. These latter regions were linked not by their pre-Roman history, but instead by their similar experience of Roman power.

Like the Southern Coastal region, much topographic work has been done on the landscape of Southern Tiberine Etruria. This countryside, so near to Rome, was the object of some of the earliest studies of the Roman rural landscape. These studies began with the pioneering work of Thomas Ashby, and have continued with the South Etruria Survey, a program directed by the British School at Rome aimed at the exploration of the Roman Campagna.[1] The South Etruria Survey was groundbreaking in its application of new techniques that were being employed in other regions of the world to begin to look at the

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[1]Ashby 1929.

countryside of Italy as a synthetic unit worthy of consideration.[2] The teams of the British

School, walking the fields to the North of Rome in the decades following the Second World

War, discovered an incredible number of sites dating to the Etruscan and Roman Periods in

this landscape, and added immeasurably to the knowledge of the region. In recent years,

however, the methodology of this survey has come under a degree of attack. This is largely

the result of the development of a new and sophisticated body of theory that has evolved in

the field of archaeological survey.[3] Although the procedures employed in the South Etruria

Survey do not reflect today's methodologies, the data collected is still a valuable window in

to the region around the Etruscan city of Veii.

It is important to make the caveat that when the South Etruria Survey was

conducted, the dating of black glaze ceramics (*vernice nera*) was in its infancy. As a result,

the dating of many of the sites of the Hellenistic Period is more imprecise than what is

useful for the reconstruction of a rural narrative connected with the historical events of the

period.[4] An attempt to rectify these chronological difficulties is currently underway, and a

major program of restudy is underway under the heading of The Tiber Valley Project, again

run by the British School at Rome. The publication of the volume *Bridging the Tiber* in 2004

is a first step in this re-evaluation and an important re-dating of the ceramics appeared in

the same year.[5] Once this program of restudy is complete, there is a danger that many of the

traditional assumptions about the development of the region will change radically based on

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[2]Dyson 2003, 36-39.

[3]Critics of the South Etruria Survey often fail to realize that without this monumental project the ability of Classical Archaeologists to participate in the dialogues about survey would have been curtailed. In addition, the refinement of methodology that accompanied the project led to many of the advances that are now taken for granted in the world of field survey.

[4]Patterson et al 2004a, 11-12; Patterson et al. (2004b) represents a hopeful first step in this direction.

[5]Patterson et al. 2004a; Patterson et al. 2004b.

new dating for old sites. Nevertheless, I believe that it is better to make the attempt here rather than to abandon the exercise as futile.

In contrast to the landscape of the Lower Tiber Valley, the territory of Volsinii has been rather understudied. The basis for evaluating the territory rests largely on the non-systematic work of Giovanni Colonna, while the region around the Lago di Bolsena has been interpreted by a group associated with the Museo Territoriale del Lago di Bolsena.[6] There is almost no data on the development of the lower end of the settlement hierarchy for this region, and as a result the trends of transformation will need to be studied at the level of the city and secondary center with little reference to the way in which they interacted with the unknown number of farmsteads and *fattorie* which surely dotted the landscape.

The Lower Tiber Valley: Veii, Sutri, Nepi, and the *Ager Capenas*

The first Etruscan city to encounter the expanding orbit of Rome was Veii. Due to its unique pattern of pre-Roman organization, and its early conflict and incorporation into the Roman system, the city must be considered apart from either the other cities of inland Etruria, or the major centers of the coast such as Tarquinia, Cerveteri, and Vulci, which only came under the political domination of Rome in the 3rd century B.C. Instead, Veii may be profitably considered in the same group of sites as two late Etruscan foundations at Sutri and Nepi and one separate ethnic grouping, the Capenates. The areas all came under Roman domination during the same period as the larger metropolis. A comparison between the afterlife of Veii and these other areas will help to shed light on Roman policies of incorporation and native responses to the Roman presence in Southern Tiberine Etruria.

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[6]Colonna 1999; Colonna 1985; Colonna 1973; Tamburini et al. 1992a and b.

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Veii itself, along with the remainder of the inland territory to the South of the Ciminian forest shares a common history in terms of its incorporation into the Roman network of power. Veii, the only major ethnically Etruscan city of the region was abandoned by her Etruscan counterparts from Coastal and Northern Inland Etruria, ostensibly because of her form of government.[7] As a result, Veii was left to play out her struggle with Rome in conjunction with the two small ethnic enclaves of the Faliscans and Capenates.[8] The residents of the *Ager Faliscus* were more successful in resisting Roman rule for a time, and will thus be considered in the second half of the chapter along side the city of Volsinii. In contrast, the trajectory of the *Ager Capenas* closely followed that of the territory of Veii and thus provides an instructive foil for the Etruscan city.

Veii and the *Ager Capenas* Before Rome

The origins of Veii share a similar trajectory with the other Etruscan cities of the South. The plateau of the future city was the site of a number of individual Villanovan villages, each with their own burial ground.[9] During the course of the 8th century B.C., the whole of the plateau appears to have come together as a unified settlement.[10] Even beginning at this early period, the *Ager Veientanus* was characterized by a complete lack of other nucleated settlements.[11] Elites within the city at Veii appear to have employed *tumuli* and

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[7]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.17.

[8]Jones 1962, 123.

[9]Patterson et al. 2004a, 14-15; Potter 1979, 64-65.

[10]Carafa 2004, 46-47; Torelli 1984, 111; Potter 1979, 65.

[11]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200; Potter 1979, 72; Kahane et al. 1968, 69-71. Ward-Perkins (1970, 293) suggests that this arrangement is due to the Iron Age prehistory of Veii which contrasts significantly with that of the *Ager Capenas.* The chronological basis for this discussion has largely been eroded since the argument was put

Figure 20. The Territory of Veii and the Ager Capenas in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (Adapted from Potter 1979, 73 fig. 21).
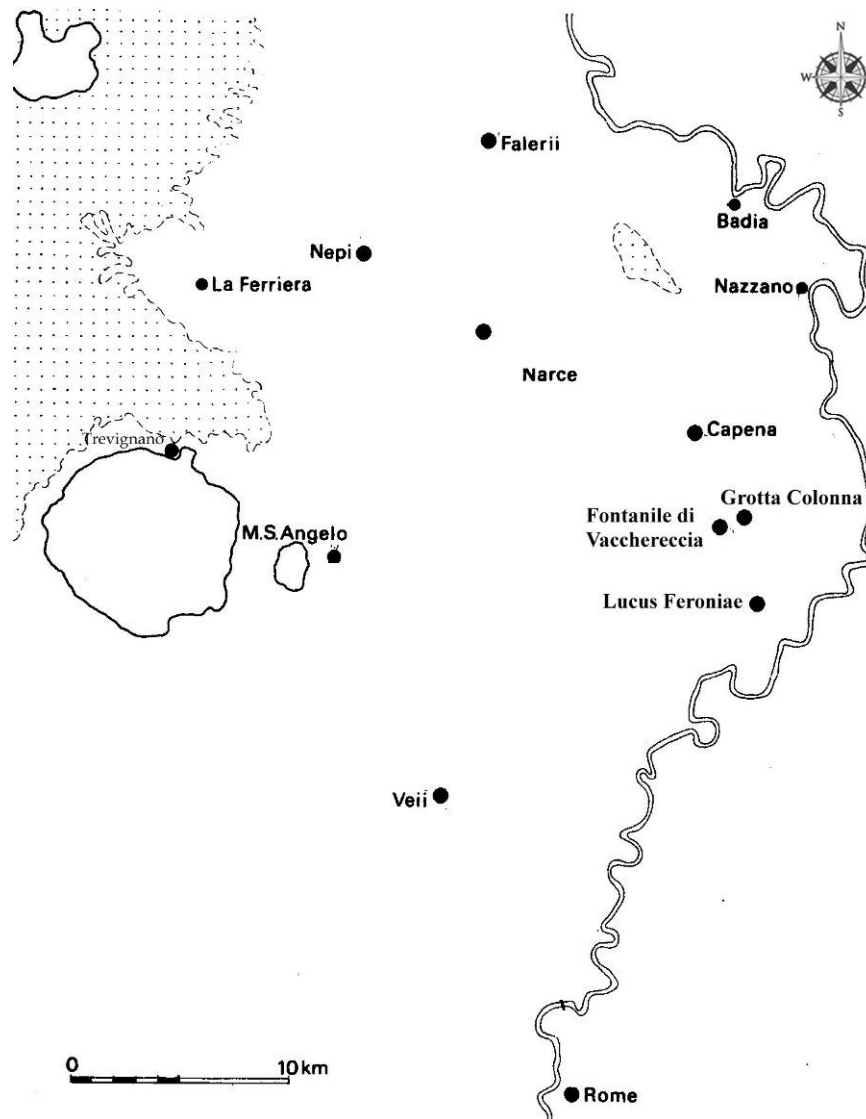
other burial monuments as alternative means of maintaining direct ties with the outlying portions of the *Ager Veientanus* rather than fostering dependent lineages in subsidiary centers located at a distance from the main settlement.[12] The only possible exception to this

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forward, and it is clear that there was Iron and even Bronze age habitation of the *Ager Faliscus,* if not the *Ager Capenas* itself.

pattern is the settlement located on Monte Sant'Angelo, but the territory of Veii did not extend as far as the Baccano crater at this early date.[13] Although there appears to be a significant dearth of secondary settlements within the *Ager Veientanus*, an argument could be made that, in a political sense, the sites of Faliscan and Capenate origin served as proxies for Veian policy.

The cities and territories of Sutri and Nepi appear to have followed the trajectory of Veii rather than that of the *Ager Capenas.* Nepi grew up during the course of the Orientalizing period, while Sutri was only founded later.[14] The earliest secondary center to grow up within the territory of Sutri was an agro-town at La Ferriera. This site was situated on a small but indefensible hilltop to the North and West of the future site of Sutri.[15] In both cases, these settlements were the only major agglomerations of population present throughout the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods. This suggests that like Veii, they had succeeded in maintaining control over their hinterland without needing to resort to the foundation of other secondary centers to increase their agricultural reach. It is also possible that in the densely packed settlement system of Southern Tiberine Etruria there was no room for these sites to found a series of subsidiary centers of their own without coming into contact with the territory of another site.

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[12]Potter 1979, 78-79; Cp. Carafa (2004, 47-48) however, who sees an organization in South Etruria of at least a three tiered settlement hierarchy as early as the 8th century B.C. in the *Ager Veientanus*. Without the reinterpreted evidence of the South Etruria Survey this assertion seems to extend beyond what the currently published data comfortably allow. The scheme proposed by Carafa does appear to fit well with the territory of Cerveteri and Tarquinia as argued by Brocato (2000 467-468) and Zifferero (1991).

[13]Potter 1979, 63. The settlement at Monte Sant'Angelo disappears sometime during the 6th century B.C. before the dominance of Veii extended into this area. The residents were probably absorbed by nearby Veii and Sutri.

[14]Potter 1979, 73.

[15]Duncan (1958, 92) refers to this settlement in passing but misdates the terminus of the site to the 8th century B.C. See also Potter 1979, 74; 89.

A second type of organization appears to have dominated the landscape of the *Ager Capenas.* The main center within the region, Capena, shows its first occupation during the course of the 8th century B.C., but a number of other secondary centers existed within the territory.[16] The settlement at Capena itself was only a few hectares large throughout the Orientalizing Period.[17] Even at this early period, minor centers and *castella* were present at Nazzano (the future *civitas Sepernatum)*, Badia, Fontanile di Vacchareccia, Grotta Colonna, and the sanctuary site at Lucus Feroniae.[18] All of these sites, with the exception of Lucus Feroniae, were located in highly defensible positions at the ends of spurs of elevated land overlooking the surrounding countryside.[19] The settlements at Nazzano, Badia, and Lucus Feroniae controlled a series of important Tiber crossings and dictated the flow of trade across the river, a role they would continue to hold well into the Roman period.[20]

Veii was firmly in control of a greatly expanding rural population by the beginning of the 7th century B.C., earlier than any of the other Etruscan city-states.[21] This trend of rural growth is echoed on both sides of the Tiber.[22] Veii's role as a central place seems to be confirmed by the fact that the density of open farmsteads increased in frequency close to the city, suggesting a relationship of dependence.[23] Throughout the entirety of Southern Tiberine Etruria, both the rural and urban population continued to expand from the late 7th

[16]Keay et al. 2006, 110.

[17]Keay et al. 2006, 110.

[18]Jones 1962, 119; Jones 1963, 127-128; Potter 1979, 75-76. No Villanovan material has been recovered from the *Ager Capenas* and it appears that Capena did not follow the same pattern of *coalescentium* as Veii.

[19]Jones 1962, 127; Potter 1979, 76.

[20]Jones 1962, 127; Cambi 2004, 77-78.

[21]Potter 1979, 72.

[22]Carafa 2004, 49.

[23]Potter 1979, 72.

century B.C. until the beginning of the 5th century B.C. This expansion was coupled with the introduction and popularization of a new settlement type, the *fattoria,* or large-scale farm, coming to represent the highest order of rural settlement.[24] Colonna has suggested that such a development of a new settlement type must be associated with profound social changes. He proposes that the popularization of rural settlement at the expense of smaller nucleated centers indicates a steadily decreasing degree of elite and urban control over the means of agricultural production at the expense of a new class of well to do rural residents.[25] At the same time, the inhabitants of the *Ager Veientanus* created an extensive rural infrastructure in the form of a series of major roads stretching across the countryside, perhaps facilitating the use of the city as a place for the distribution and sale of surplus agricultural goods.[26] These roads served to link Veii to the major coastal centers, and with access to the wider Mediterranean where prestige items could be acquired.[27] In addition, the inhabitants of the countryside brought a great deal of formerly marginal land under cultivation through extensive drainage schemes that employed *cuniculi,* a series of tunnels channeled in the tufaceous bedrock in order to drain the waterlogged portions of the landscape.[28]

The 5th century B.C. saw the first direct confrontation between Veii and Rome as the two rival metropoleis struggled to control the vital Tiber crossing at Fidenae. At some time during the course of the 5th century B.C., the residents of Veii constructed an impressive

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[24]Carafa 2004, 50-51.

[25]Colonna 1990, 15-17; Carafa 2004, 53.

[26]Potter 1979, 79-84.

[27]Potter 1979, 81.

[28]Potter 1979, 84-86.

defensive circuit of masonry.[29] During the same period, a large village was founded at Sutri in previously unoccupied but highly defensible locations to the North of Veii and to the West of the Faliscan territory. This new site replaced a number of agro-towns such as Monte S. Angelo, Trevignano, and La Ferriera, which were located on the border of Veian and Faliscan territory.[30] Given the context of its foundation in this period of instability, it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Sutri constructed a circuit of defensive walls at nearly the same date as at Veii.[31] Walls were added in the same period at all of the major sites within the region as well, with major projects at Capena, Fontanile di Vacchareccia, and Nepi (See Figure 21).[32] A number of authors have ascribed the construction of the system of walls at Veii to the influence of pressure resulting from Rome's desires to control access to the Tiber Valley.[33] The fact that walls were constructed throughout Etruria during this period, as well as in the *Ager Faliscus*, suggests that rather than ascribing the construction of the circuit of walls at Veii to nervousness about a specifically Roman threat, we should imagine a generalized sense of heightened insecurity in the region.[34] In addition, this phenomenon of wall building in much of Etruria is the culmination of the century long process of urban concentration of power at the expense of the rural landscape. The wall was a symbol of the political and military power of major agglomerations of population.[35]

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[29]Ward-Perkins 1961, 32-39; Stefani 1922, 390-404; Potter 1979, 91.

[30]Duncan 1958, 92; Potter 1979, 89.

[31]Potter 1979, 89-90.

[32]Potter 1979, 90; See (Jones 1962, 140) for Capena.

[33]Cornell 1995, 202; Scullard 1967, 77.

[34]Potter 1979, 92.

[35]Potter 1984, 239. See Carafa (2004, 53-54) for 5th century B.C. boom in urban fortunes at the same time as crisis in rural landscape.

Figure 21. The Territory of Veii and the Ager Capenas in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. (after Potter 1979, 73 fig. 21).
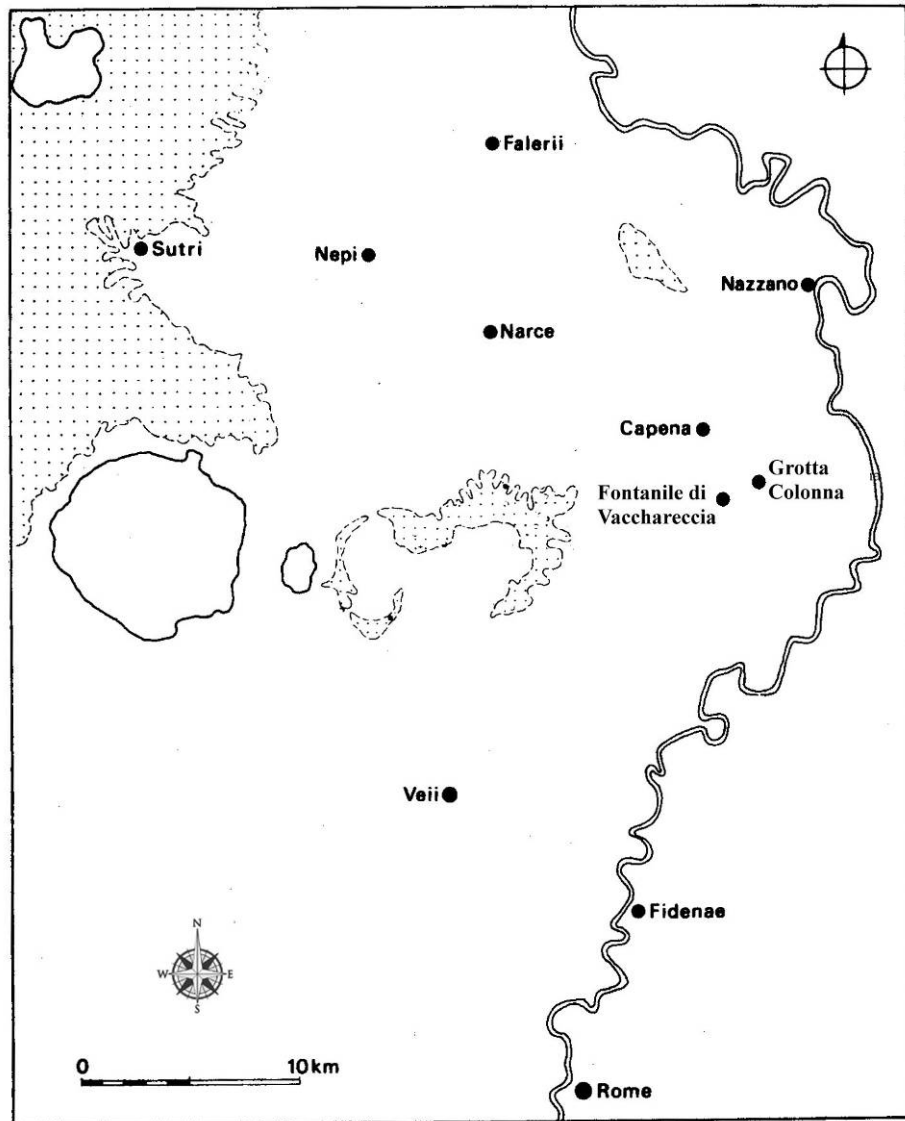
Despite the troubles with Rome, in the territory of Veii the 5th century B.C. was marked by an expansion in the number of sites occupying the rural landscape, a trend that conflicts with the depopulation seen in the rural landscape of Southern Coastal Etruria.[36] Although a number of sites appear to have been abandoned in this period, an equally high

[36]Carafa 2004, 54.

number of new sites were founded.[37]   This explosion of the rural population was

concomitant with a continued extension of cultivation into more marginal productive zones

and entailed a great deal of labor for the reclamation of land.[38] Many of the sites, however,

remained clustered to the East of the city. No secondary nucleated centers arose during this

period, indicating a continued strong centralizing tendency in the landscape.[39] Instead of a

proliferation of larger sites, the standard type of settlement remained the isolated farmstead,

strongly dependent on the markets and services afforded by the city of Veii. In contrast to

the area around the city of Veii, the landscape surrounding Sutri and Nepi followed another

line of development throughout the course of the 5th century B.C. The countryside around

Sutri was sparsely settled, and the historical sources persist in describing the landscape as

an impenetrable forest even down into the 3rd century B.C.[40] This suggests that the limited

agricultural land associated with the site was exploited by residents of the proto-urban

center.[41] There appears to have been a greater concentration of sites within the territory of

Nepi, but nearly all the small farmsteads cluster close to the main site, suggesting that there

was a residential preference for habitations close to the protection of Nepi's walls.[42] In the

Ager Capenas, settlement was also largely limited to the nucleated centers within the

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[37]Carafa 2004, 55-56.

[38]Potter 1979, 89.

[39] Potter 1979, 88, fig. 25.

[40]Duncan 1958, 92.

[41]Duncan 1958, 92. The absence of rural sites from this period is almost certainly overblown by Duncan's study and is at least partially a result of the survey methodology employed in this very early attempt to reconstruct the history of the countryside. It is likely that at least a few sites within the region were confused with off-site scatters due to their lower visibility in comparison with the material culture of Roman period sites.

[42]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 88; Potter 1979, 88 fig. 25; di Gennaro et al. (2002, 43-45) have largely confirmed the basic pattern of development for the territory of Nepet in its Etruscan and early Roman incarnation.

territory. In fact, very few isolated farmsteads occupied the countryside until at least the 4th century B.C.[43]

The development of the landscape in the Lower Tiber Valley followed a number of disparate trends during the period preceding the struggle with Rome. In the territory of Veii and the two smaller minor centers located at Sutri and Nepi, the landscape developed with a significant primacy on the major agglomerations of population. Unlike the patterns seen in Southern Coastal Etruria there was no proliferation of secondary centers in the landscapes surrounding any of these three communities. Instead, the landscape was populated with a number of small farmsteads. The majority of these farmsteads were located near to the major centers of the region, especially in the area around Sutri and Nepi. In addition, the region did not see a retraction in settlement of the type witnessed in some areas of Southern Coastal Etruria. A number of sites did go into disuse, but the landscape remained occupied by a high density of dispersed settlements. At the same time, the Pre-Roman Period was characterized by a completely different organization in the *Ager Capenas*. Here a pair of minor centers, Capena and Nazzano, dominated the landscape in the absence of a true urban community. The zone was also filled in by a number of *castella* under whose supervision the landscape was managed. There was little dispersed rural settlement in this area.

The Conquest and the Roman Landscape

The major political turning point in the landscape of the region was the conquest of the Veii by the Romans in 396 B.C. and Capena in 395 B.C. Shortly thereafter Sutri (383 B.C.)

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[43]Jones 1963, 129.

and Nepi (373 B.C.) were conquered and drawn into the orbit of Roman control as *colonia*.[44]

The consequences for the landscape were dramatic, as the population of Veii was at least partially dispersed into the surrounding countryside as part of an intentional Roman pattern of fostering a more intense regime of agricultural production.[45] In the case of Veii, however, discontinuity in the rural landscape is often overemphasized. Moreover, contrary to the assertions of Classical authors, even the urban center of Veii showed continued occupation throughout the Republican period, although drastically reduced in intensity in the centuries following the conquest.[46] Even after the Roman conquest, all of the sanctuaries in the town continued to be used.[47] Soon after the reduction of the area, the inhabitants of the region, presumably still containing a large proportion of native residents, were given Roman citizenship.[48] Even in the rural landscape of Veii, the city that suffered the most disruption during the conquest, there was an exceptional degree of continuity, as up to 66% of farms of the 5th century B.C. continued to be occupied during the 4th century B.C.[49] In addition to the pre-existing population, a number of new settlers began to exploit the territory of Veii beginning in the 4th century B.C.[50]

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[44]I follow the dates of Velleius Paterculus (1.14.2), but there is much controversy on the status of these sites in the first half of the 4th century B.C. Harris (1971, 43-44) provides the fullest discussion of the various problems with the historical sources for the region.

[45]Potter 1979, 93.

[46]Kahane et al. 1968; 145-146; Potter 1979, 93. See Propertius, *Elogia* 4.10.29-30 for a depiction of Veii as largely abandoned.

[47]Mansuelli 1988, 21-22; Ward-Perkins 1961, 54-55.

[48]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 6.4.4. Pallottino (1975, 127), Potter (1979, 94-95), Mansuelli (1988, 20), and Cornell (1995, 320) all see the event as resulting in the enfranchisement of a large portion of the native population. *pace* Harris 1971, 41-42. The degree of continuity of rural settlement in the *Ager Veientanus* clearly demonstrates that many of the pre-conquest residents remained in their homes after the conquest. Mansuelli (1988, 20) even suggests that Sutri, Nepet, and Capena may have come over to the Romans under a negotiated settlement rather than the sack of these sites.

[49]Kahane 1968, 145-146; Potter 1979, 94.

A similar pattern can be assumed to have operated within the landscape of Sutri and Nepi following the *deductio* of the colonies. The Roman policy of leniency can be seen in action even more clearly, as the pro-Roman native residents of Sutri and Nepi were enrolled into the *colonia*.[51] The landscape of the two colonies remained sparsely populated until the end of the 4th century B.C. when the new Roman settlement pattern began to emerge with the construction of a number of residences outside the city walls.[52] Harris suggests correctly that these towns must have been drawn into the orbit of Roman control as a bulwark against the Faliscans, who appear to have remained hostile to the Romans after concluding a treaty on highly unfavorable terms in the wake of the sack of Veii.[53] The pair of sites also served to create a new "Roman" focus within the landscape as an alternative to the Veii-centric pattern that had existed before. Whether the two sites had been dependents of Veii in the pre-conquest era, or part of the Faliscan zone as Harris argues, this represents a case of elevating members of formerly dependent communities to an independent status.[54] Just as they would do centuries later in Southern Coastal Etruria, Rome created a situation where the residents of the *coloniae* owed their promotion to Rome and depended on Rome for the maintenance and reinforcement of their new privileges. At the same time, Rome was able to reward elites who had made a choice to support the Roman advance at the expense of their

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[50]Potter 1979, 96. Any further comment on the development of the Veian landscape must await the republication of the data from the South Etruria survey with updated information on the chronology of black glaze pottery. Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 6.4.4 and 26.34.10) suggests that the grants of citizenship began in the 4th century B.C. and continued throughout the Republican period. Cp. Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 9.17.1. Torelli (1984, 217-218) suggests that 4th century B.C. votive representations of Aeneas and Anchises support the historical sources in their assertion that there was a plebian drive to resettle Veii and the *Ager Veientanus* in the wake of the Gallic sack of Rome.

[51]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 6.4.4; Mansuelli 1988, 20; Harris 1971, 41-42.

[52]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 88; Duncan 1958, 92.

[53]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 89; Harris 1971, 43-44.

[54]De Sanctis 1907, 149; Alföldy 1965, 396; Pallottino 1975, 114; Harris 1971, 43.

**Figure 22. The Territory of Veii and the Ager Capenas in the Hellenistic Period
(after Potter 1979, 97 fig. 27).**
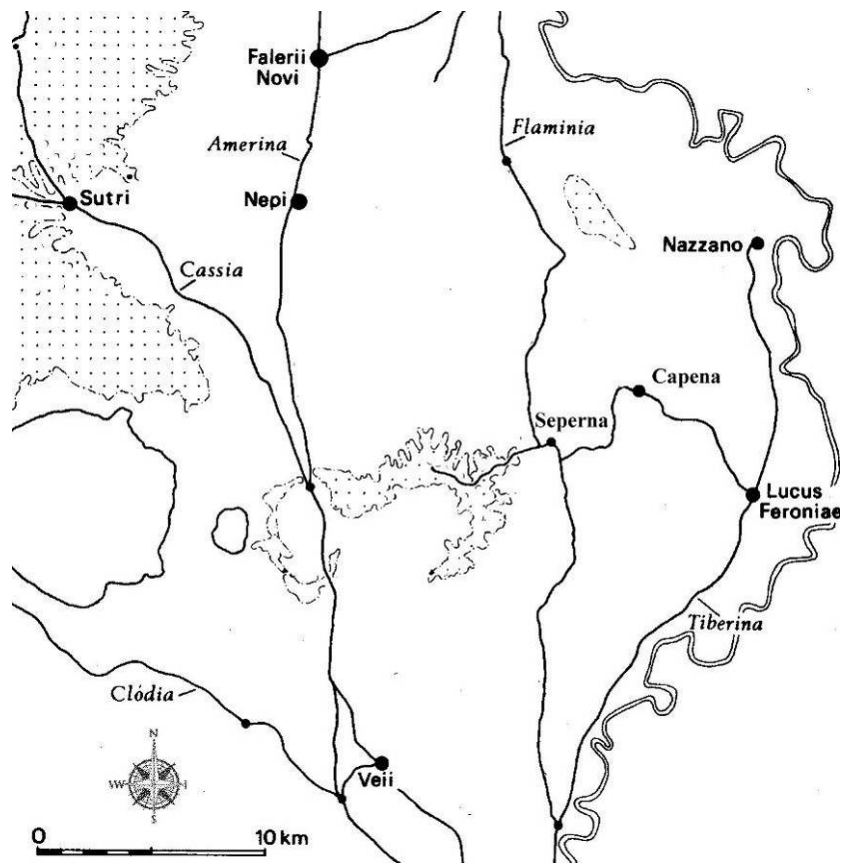
anti-Roman compatriots, while reinforcing the citizen body with new citizens loyal to the new imperial power. The result was the creation of an island of pro-Roman natives at the edge of a hostile and independent territory.

At Capena, it is clear that here the pro-Roman faction was also enfranchised as part of the peace agreement worked out in the wake of the city's conquest. The city was rewarded with municipal status and an increased degree of autonomy as early as 338 B.C.[55] After the award of this grant, the pattern of settlement in the countryside around Capena was augmented at the expense of the city itself, where the population dwindled over the

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[55]Harris 1971, 42.

next few centuries, preferring rural residence options.[56] The main urban center became an administrative rather than residential hub over the course of the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods growing to almost nine hectares in size by at least the 3rd century B.C..[57] Nevertheless, within the *Ager Capenas* a pair of communities occupying fortified hilltops (Capena itself, and Seperna) continued to represent the three major foci of population and power (See Figure 22). The first two of these communities may even have been granted some sort of official status within the Roman state. In addition, a number of other nucleated settlements continued to exist in the *Ager Capenas*, primarily along the organization of the *castellum.* There appears to have been little in the way of Roman colonization of the area in the immediate aftermath of the conquest, however. In fact, the 4th century B.C. is noteworthy for the lack of new rural sites founded, a direct contrast to the landscape of the *Ager Veientanus*.[58]

Road Building and Landscape Transformation

Notwithstanding the changes brought by the Roman conquest, the most dramatic reorganization of the landscape of Tiberine Etruria was the construction of a series of consular roads during the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[59] The construction of these roads served to confirm the new role of communities in the region, as well as allowing for the creation of an entirely new settlement scheme in competition with the one that existed before the area came under Roman control. A study of the construction of roads within

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[56]Jones 1962, 141-142; Jones 1963, 129.

[57]Keay et al. 2006, 110; Jones 1962, 141-142.

[58]Cambi 2004, 77.

[59]Kahane et al. 1968, 146.

Tiberine Etruria is an exercise in contrasts. Over the course of the centuries following the Roman conquest, the territories of Veii and Capena were marginalized by the decisions made by Roman road builders, while other sites such as Sutri and Nepi were drawn more prominently into the Roman orbit.[60] This pattern of preferring the minor centers of the region to the major communities would be echoed throughout South Etruria. All of the major consular roads that passed through the *Ager Veientanus*, such as the Cassia, Clodia, and Flaminia, avoided the city.[61] Capena suffered a similar fate, as the territory of the site was flanked by the Via Flaminia to the West and the *Via Tiberina* to the East. Capena's role as the focal point for the area had clearly been supplanted by Nazzano (*Civitas Sepernatum)* and by the expansion of the settlement at Lucus Feroniae, later to become a *colonia*. Both sites were located on the line of the Via Tiberina. In contrast, those sites that had seen promotion to colonial or municipal status in the decades after the fall of Veii served as nodal points in the new communication network. Sutri and Nepi were served by the *Via Cassia* and *Amerina* respectively, perhaps as part of a strategy to connect these islands of citizens with the markets and political activity of the capital.[62]

The major consular roads were supplemented by a series of lesser roads that served primarily to connect rural territories and minor centers to the major foci of the landscape, the Roman *coloniae*.[63] These roads allowed for the expansion of agriculture into areas of high fertility at a substantial distance from the cities and secondary centers. This was especially true for areas that had been neglected due to heavy forest coverage, most of

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[60]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 88-91; Potter 1984, 139; Potter 1979, 101-109; Ashby 1929.

[61]Potter 1979, 103-104; Mansuelli 1988, 22.

[62]Potter 1979, 103-104.

[63]Potter 1979, 105-106.

Figure 23. The Territory of Veii and the Ager Capenas in the Late Republic and Early Empire (after Potter 1979, 121 fig. 35).
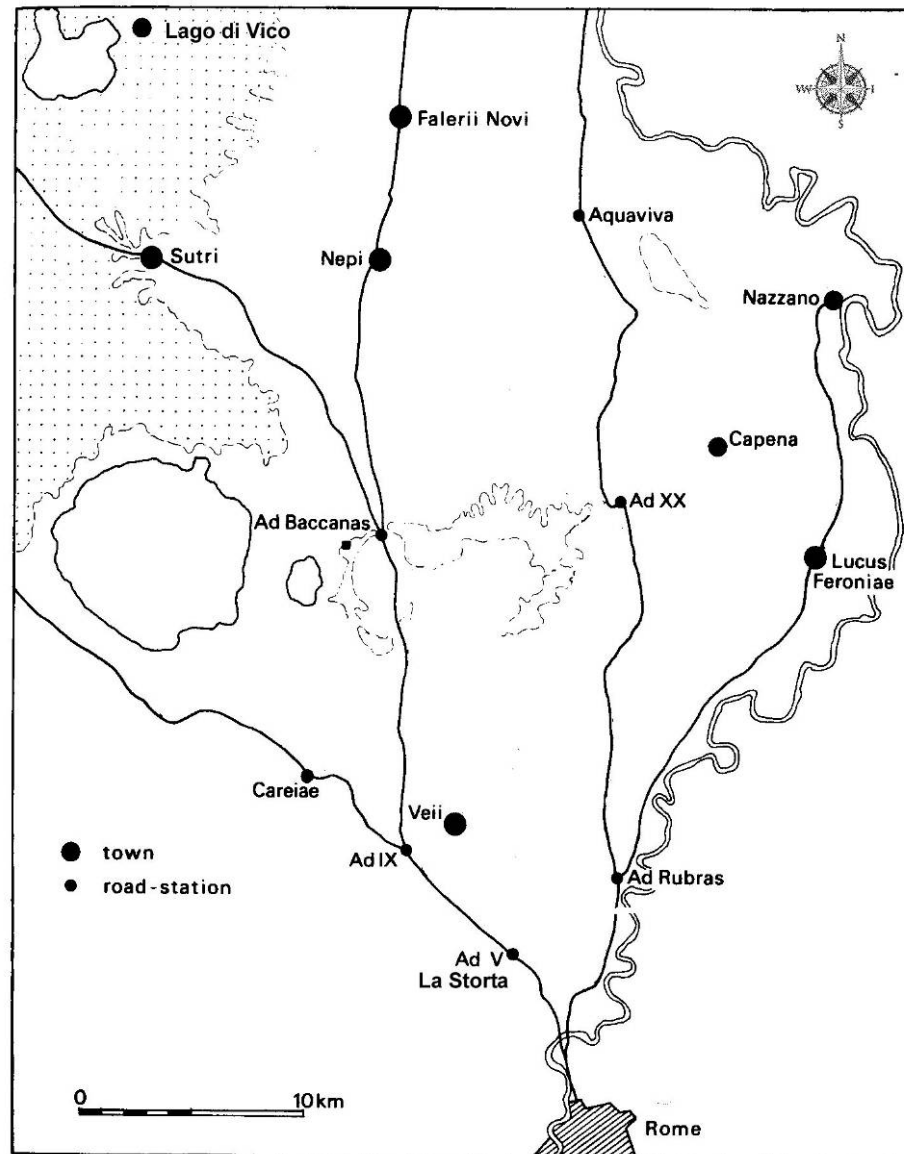
which would only be cleared with the expansion of settlement during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. One such example is a road that connected Sutri to the agro-town at Lago di Vico, greatly bolstering the agricultural productivity of the colony through the period of the late Republic (See Figure 23).[64] In the midst of the new world of the Roman road structure,

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[64]Duncan 1958, 93-95; Potter 1979, 105. Although it appears that some of the territory to the West of the city remained forested even in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.

the local track-ways which had served as the main routes of communication for the region throughout the Archaic period remained in existence, but had become secondary roads whose traffic was largely limited to local agricultural traffic.[65] Both Veii and Capena remained hubs in this local network of track-ways. This suggests that despite their lack of political importance, these sites continued to exercise a major economic role, eventually becoming a *municipia* under Augustus.[66] It is perhaps no coincidence that it is during this same period that we see expansion of small farms into even the most remote territory within the territory of Capena.[67]

In addition to the major cities and colonies of Tiberine Etruria, a series of smaller nucleated centers developed spontaneously, or were founded intentionally, at key junctions in the new consular road structures.[68] Examples of the first type include Ad Rubras, Ad Nonum and Ad Baccanas, while the latter are represented by Careiae, and La Storta.[69] Most of these centers were founded in the Republican period, but saw their *floruit* in the 1st through 3rd centuries A.D.[70] These centers often functioned as waypoints on the public routes of transit, providing access to markets for locals and provisions for travelers. Many of the sites were quasi-urban in nature, possessing bathing facilities and sanctuaries.[71] The construction of the Roman system of roads affected the organization of the rural landscape as well. The 2nd century B.C. saw a number of sites, usually small farmsteads, grow up

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[65]Potter 1979, 101.

[66]Potter 1979, 94; Mansuelli 1988, 20.

[67]Jones 1963, 130.

[68]Kahane et al. 1968; Potter 1979, 109.

[69]Mansuelli 1988, 22; Potter 1979, 109.

[70]Potter 1979, 119-120; Mansuelli 1988, 22.

[71]Potter 1979, 118-119.

along the corridors of the major roads.[72] The creation of these new centers associated with the consular road network was coupled with a revitalization of the older cities of Veii and Capena under the triumvirs and Augustus. These new programs enhanced both rural settlement and the urban infrastructure of the now declining communities. This period also saw the radical transformation of the site at Lucus Feroniae, which was, until the layout of the Via Tiberina, a major sanctuary with a small associated settlement. The site was monumentalized with an orthogonal street grid, and all the trappings of a major Roman city. This occurred as part of the Augustan program to resettle the veterans of the civil war close to Rome.[73] The monumentalization of infrastructure at Lucus Feroniae can be seen also in the building projects conducted at Sutri and Capena during the same period. Nepi appears to have also been declared a *municipium* during this period.[74] Likewise, Seperna (Nazzano) received a wall circuit during the Augustan period and inscriptions attest to the presence of *severi* and *decuriones*.[75] Interestingly, despite their early inclusion into the governmental framework of the Roman Empire, it was not until the 1st century B.C. when these sites took on all of the trappings of a Roman civic center. The *deductio* of the colony at Lucus Feroniae marked the beginning of a period of rapid rural expansion in the area that would culminate in the 1st century A.D.[76] This trend is echoed throughout Tiberine Etruria. Perhaps as a direct consequence of the new network of communications, the period following the creation of colonial foundations throughout Tiberine Etruria was followed by

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[72]Cambi 2004, 79.

[73]Jones 1962, 191-197; Mansuelli 1988, 26-27; Potter 1979, 113-114.

[74]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 89.

[75]Cambi 2004, 88.

[76]Jones 1963, 133.

an explosion of rural settlement.[77] This new settlement was not an overlay of a new pattern

of settlement, but instead an expansion of the existing trend toward rural intensification that

had prevailed since the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.[78] In fact, the promotion of many of

the older urban centers within the region to colonial or municipal status may have been an

effort to curtail this type of rural expansion at the expense of the traditional urban

infrastructure.[79]

After the traumatic changes in South Etruria that followed Roman political

incorporation, the old group of *castella* that had dominated the landscape during the

Etruscan Period saw a diverse history. Fontanile di Vacchareccia went out of use in the 2nd

century B.C. Grotta Colonna and Nazzano maintained control over their immediate

territory, while Badia and Rignano Flaminio appear to have lost this function. The most

successful of these communities were the ones that were the most isolated from the

territories of the pre-existing city-states of the region, a trend also seen to the North of the

Roman colony at Saturnia.[80] Many of these sites, occupying areas of marginal agricultural

potential, were drawn into an expanding regime of pasturage during the course of the 2nd

century B.C. As a whole, the *castellum* saw its lowest point in terms of numbers and of

power over the landscape in the last half of the 2nd century B.C. [81]

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[77]Kahane et al. 1968, 148.

[78]Kahane et al. 1968, 148-149.

[79]Kahane et al. 1968, 169.

[80]Cambi 2004, 79.

[81]Cambi 2004, 81-83.

<u>The Creation of the Augustan Landscape</u>

The depressed situation with respect to secondary centers found in the 2nd century B.C. contrasts with the situation that was to prevail in the Augustan period and into the 1st century A.D. Along side the renewal that took place at the major urban centers within the territory such as the grants of municipal or colonial status to Veii, Capena, Lucus Feroniae, and Seperna, a number of smaller villages again began to dominate the area of the *Ager Capenas*.[82] A number of these newly organized communities appear to have offered an alternative civic structure to individuals who were at the borders of the Roman social orders, as suggested by the heavy density of dedications and funerary inscriptions of freedmen (some imperial freedmen). At the same time, a number of the old Faliscan and Etruscan *gentes* from the region continued to be active as well.[83]

Along side the revitalization of *castella* and agro-towns in the *Ager Capenas* (most of them located in marginal areas), the 1st century B.C. saw the development of sites that can be classified as villas throughout the whole of the Lower Tiber Valley.[84] What is interesting is the high degree of association between the presence of villas and village settlements.[85] Villa sites reached their peak numbers during the Early Imperial Period, but often overlaid farms with pre-Roman and early Republican histories. In fact, even in this area so near to Rome, a "villa landscape" only developed with the initial decades of the 1st century B.C. This occurred at the same time that the major road stations in the region began to develop into

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[82]Cambi 2004, 88. These sites include Morlupo, Fiano-Civitella San Paolo, Riano, and Rignano Flamino.

[83]Cambi 2004, 87-88.

[84]Cambi 2004, 83.

[85]Cambi 2004, 83. Many of the villages from this period either contain a villa structure within the settlement or in close proximity. This holds true for both the *Ager Capenas* and the *Ager Faliscus.*

sites of major importance.[86] The development of both types in such close chronological proximity suggests that there was a total reorganization of the productive landscape. Road stations provided convenient markets for agricultural produce grown within the new villa economy and transported via Roman roads. The high density of villa sites in the *Ager Veientanus* is related to its proximity to the city of Rome, and the abundance of both water and land routes of communication.[87] This situation would have rendered this rural land highly profitable, and placed a premium on its use for agriculture.[88] In many of these villas, the residential wing was overshadowed by the productive facilities associated with the mass production of cash crops such as olives, grapes, and grain.[89]

In order to truly understand the transformation of Tiberine Etruria, we must consider the development of the new "villa landscape" in light of the whole of the settlement hierarchy. Even in the *Ager Veientanus*, structures that could be classed as villas make up only about 33% of the total number of rural sites.[90] Clearly, a great number of small farms survived throughout the Republican Period, and the landscape was clearly exploited by a majority of small holders alongside larger villa owners.[91] Even though the territory of Veii was close to Rome, it was by no means a landscape dominated by slave run *latifundia*.[92] The numbers are even more striking in the areas farther from the capital, such

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[86]Potter 1979, 123; Cambi 2004, 87.

[87]Patterson, J. 2004, 62-64.

[88]Potter 1979, 123.

[89]Potter 1979, 129-133; Martial *Epigramata* 1.103 implies that the wine from the *Ager Veientanus* was of the worst quality.

[90]Potter 1979, 123.

[91]Kahane et al 1968, 156-157; Potter 1979, 125.

[92]Potter 1979, 125.

as the region around Sutri, where as few as 13% of the sites for the Republican period qualify as villas.[93] The pattern is even clearer in the case of the *Ager Capenas* where the northern portion of the territory is nearly devoid of villas while the portions of the region closest to Rome are littered with villas including the impressive *latifundia cum ergastula* owned by the Volusii Saturnine. This differential pattern, dominated by small holdings and punctuated by larger estates, makes sense only when viewed in terms of the highly divided landscape of Tiberine Etruria, separated by numerous tributaries of the Tiber and by a series of hills that would have made the exploitation of huge tracts of land very difficult.[94] Only in the areas near to Rome, and with direct access to transportation, was the intensive type of agriculture employed in *latifundia* profitable enough to overcome the disadvantages of the dissected landscape of Tiberine Etruria.[95]

The proliferation of villas, the expansion of rural smallholders into even the most marginal of productive environments, and the creation and reinforcement of nodal points for the marketing and distribution of rural produce reached their apex in the 1st century A.D. in the *Ager Veientanus* and the area around Capena and Lucus Feroniae.[96] In contrast, rural settlement did not reach its peak in the area to the north around Sutri and Nepi until the 2nd century A.D.[97] The pressures that had led to the rapid development of an extensive system of cultivation in the *Ager Veientanus* led to an incredible degree of stability in the landscape, as the majority of Republican farms continued to remain in use throughout the

[93]Duncan 1958, 97; Potter 1979, 123.

[94]Potter 1979, 125.

[95]Cambi 2004, 89-93.

[96]Potter 1979, 133.

[97]Potter 1979, 133; Patterson, J. 2004, 67.

imperial period.[98] At a greater distance from the city, in the region around Sutri, as many as two thirds of all of the farms in the area went into disuse at the beginning of the first century only to be replaced by new sites.[99] This is most likely a result of the depopulation of Italy and renewed interest in colonization that followed the civil wars of the 1st century B.C.[100]

Summarizing the Roman Landscape of the Lower Tiber Valley

Throughout the course of the five centuries after the landscape of Tiberine Etruria came into the sphere of Roman control, the settlement hierarchy underwent a dramatic transformation. A number of the major foci of the region had slipped into obscurity, bypassed by the new Roman road network and revived only in the late 1st century B.C. Other previously marginal areas had been promoted and included in the Roman network of communications and a series of smaller agglomerations of population grew up along the new roads. A new type of site, the villa, came to play a major role in the rural economy of the region. Despite all of these markers of discontinuity, a number of traits of the landscape also exhibited a high degree of resilience. At the close of the 1st century B.C., many of the old Etruscan and Capenate centers were still in existence. In addition, the small farm was still the dominant type of rural settlement. Areas that had been characterized by a number of smaller secondary centers such as the *Ager Capenas* continued to be fragmented into territories of small centers, while the *Ager Veientanus* remained empty of major nucleated sites except at junctions in the new road system. Even in this landscape, subject to all of the pressures of the urban giant of Rome, change was balanced by continuity.

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[98]Duncan 1958, 95; Potter 1979, 133.

[99]Potter 1979, 133.

[100]Torelli, 1984, 274.

The landscapes of Volsinii (Orvieto) and the Faliscan territory, although they appear to border directly with each other, were separated by the dense Ciminian forest in antiquity. Despite this natural barrier, there was extensive exchange of goods and ideas across this corridor.[101]   Nevertheless, the two areas were occupied by different ethnic entities, the Faliscans occupying the *Ager Faliscus* while Volsinii was clearly an Etruscan city. The two territories developed along similar lines in the pre-Roman period, and were united by their common pattern of resistance to Roman rule and subsequent harsh treatment. Notwithstanding the differences in pre-Roman landscapes of both areas, the relocation of the inhabitants away from the main settlement of each territory, and the subsequent destabilization of the rural landscape, provide an element of commonality. Because of the traumatic reorganization of the landscape associated with the foundation of Bolsena and Falerii Novi, the two regions shared a similar trajectory after incorporation.

The *Ager Faliscus* in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods

Within the *Ager Faliscus*, the landscape was organized along the lines of the neighboring *Ager Capenas*, with a number of villages dominating smaller territories, rather than the domination of a single primate urban center.[102] Especially in the earliest stages of development of the *Ager Faliscus*, Falerii Veteres was not a dominant settlement, but existed as a *primus inter pares* with a number of smaller settlements, all of which managed portions

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[101]The barrier appears always to have been more of a significant impediment in the Roman rather than the Etruscan collective memory. Cf. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.36.1-8 for details surrounding the first Roman expedition to the North of the forest under Rullianus. In the event the passage was conducted with ease, and the Romans found a number of Etruscans crossing back and forth across the forest.

[102]Ward-Perkins (1970, 294) suggests that the reason for this pattern is tied to the lack of development of a Bronze and Iron Age settlement hierarchy. Later excavation and survey data have undermined the chronological basis of this assertion. No centralized authority had the time necessary to suppress the development of other nucleated centers before they became firmly entrenched in the landscape. Cf. Potter 1979, 75.

**Figure 24. The Ager Faliscus in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods
(Adapted from Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 68 fig. 1).**
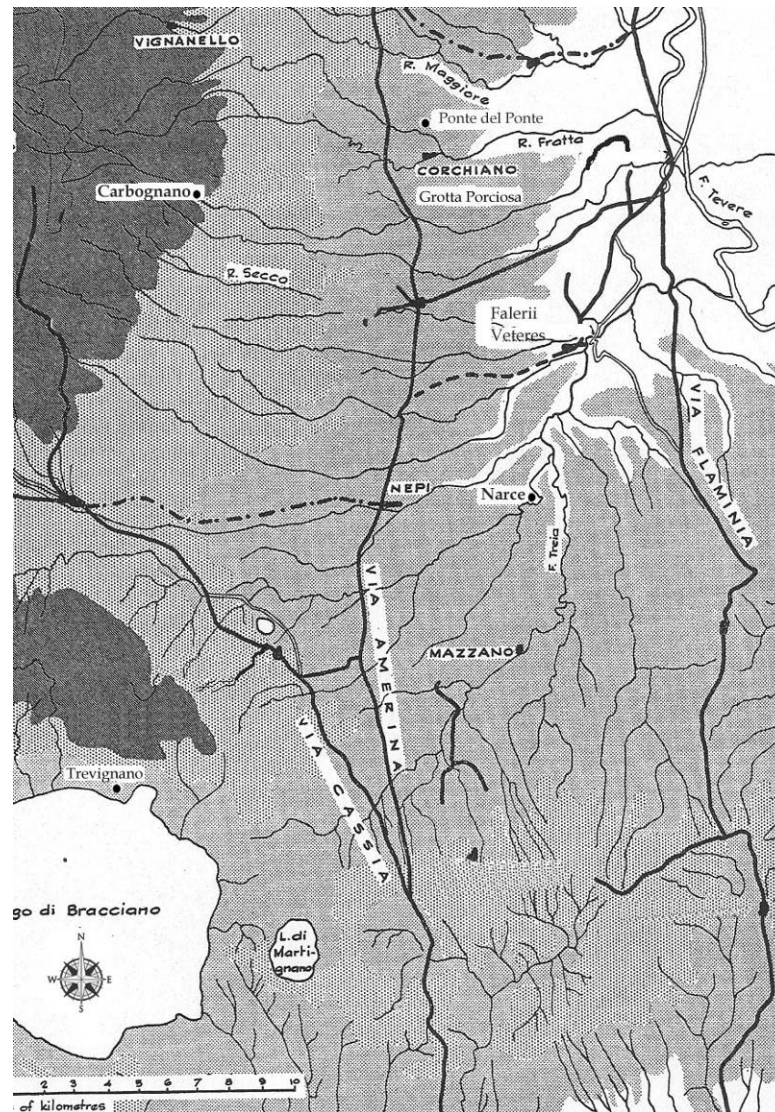
of the landscape. Falerii Veteres and Narce both show evidence of occupation prior to the

inception of the Orientalizing period, but there was an explosion of both population and

wealth at these sites in the 8th century B.C. (See Figure 24)[103]   At the same time that sites like

Falerii Veteres and Narce were consolidating their hold over the territory in their immediate

environs through the introduction of a number of rural open sites in the heart of the *Ager*

Faliscus, a series of new *castella* and agro-towns arose in previously unoccupied areas. These

[103]Potter 1976, 11; 21-23.

settlements included the *castella* at Corchiano, Grotta Porciosa, Ponte del Ponte, and Vignanello, and the agro-town at Trevignano, all of which arose during the 8th-7th centuries B.C.[104] All of these subsidiary centers were situated eight to ten kilometers from the minor centers at Narce and Falerii Veteres, giving an indication of the rough size of the territories of the given units of the settlement hierarchy.[105] From the 8th century B.C. until the 5th century B.C., the picture in the *Ager Faliscus* is one of unchecked expansion of rural settlement and increasingly extensive agricultural exploitation of the landscape.[106] The creation of these new communities was coupled with the development of a rudimentary system of communications that linked most of the major nuclei of population by means of a number of country tracks. Many of these new communities were located at hubs in this newly emergent system of roadways.[107]

The Early Development of Volsinii

Contrary to the assertions of Judson and Hemphill, the landscape of the territory of the ancient city of Volsinii far more closely resembles that of the city-states of the Coastal region, as well as the *Ager Faliscus*, rather than following the pattern of an isolated primary center found in the case of Veii.[108]   In the *Ager Volsinus*, although the city of Orvieto

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[104]Potter 1979, 73-74; Cf. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (1957, 115-116) for Corchiano.

[105]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200. This distance recurs throughout the landscape of Etruria and the Mediterranean. The possible reasons for this interval of spacing between settlements will be considered in the next chapter.

[106]Potter 1976, 25.

[107]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 115-118; 182-186. Corchiano provides a great example of one of these towns. The site was served by at least five ancient roads connecting the site with all of the major centers of population within its immediate vicinity.

[108]Ward-Perkins 1970, 294; *contra.* Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200.

(Volsinii) arose as a result of developments of the late Iron Age, the material correlates of a territory associated with the city could not be discerned until the 7th century B.C.[109] It is also the case that Volsinii did not begin to manifest a true urban character until the initial decades of the 6th century B.C. when there was a boom in both population and the creation of an aristocratic class.[110] Even after the development of a particularly Volsinian brand of material culture in the late Orientalizing period, it is still possible to see the heavy influence of many other Etruscan city-states in the material assemblages seen in the *Ager Volsinus*. As a result, at almost every major secondary center within the *Ager Volsinus* traces of a hybrid culture comprised of elements from various Etruscan cities, and even the Faliscan culture, can be traced down to the 5th century B.C.[111] The hybrid culture of the region was due to the role that Volsinii played as a hub in the communications network of ancient Etruria.[112] Not only was the territory an important midpoint between the Northern Etruscan cities in their trade with the communities of the Tiber, but all of the major land routes between the Southern coastal cities and the interior crossed Volsinii's land. In addition, the region was the major point of departure for engaging Umbria in trade.[113]

The major period of outward development of the landscape occurred during the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., as a number of *castella* were founded throughout the *Ager Volsinus*, but particularly in the region surrounding the Lago di Bolsena.[114] All of these

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[109]Bruschetti 2003, 339; Tamburini 1998a, 67; Steingräber 1983, 267; Colonna 1973, 62.

[110]Steingräber 1983, 266-267; Colonna 1985, 101-102, 110. Colonna has gone so far as to suggest that Volsinii was fully developed enough to exploit its territory until this period.

[111]Colonna 1973 *passim.*

[112]Steingräber 1983, 267.

[113]Bruschetti 2003, 341-343.

[114]Ward-Perkins 1970, 294.

secondary centers are located in easily defensible locations, usually on top of small to medium sized plateaus of tufa. In addition, all of the sites are found in close association with necropoleis containing elite graves, suggesting that the creation of this system of secondary centers was an attempt to control the territory through a capillary system of production. Such a system was based on elite control of sections of the landscape at too great a distance from the city to be productively overseen and taxed from Volsinii itself.[115] It is not surprising that the vast majority of the sites that arose in the Archaic period also occupied major nodal points in the network of communications, terrestrial or fluvial.[116] The Paglia River played a major role in this transportation scheme, linking much of the *Ager Volsinus* to the major trade route of the Tiber. In the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods, this river most likely marked the border between the territories of Volsinii and Chiusi to the North.[117] It appears that the land immediately to the North of the river, up to the Argento, was sparsely populated and functioned as a buffer zone between the two major city-states.[118] Instead of the pattern of defended hilltop sites found along the Southern and Western edges of the *Ager Volsinus*, the area appears to have been dominated by a number of aristocratic tomb groups and rural sanctuaries that served as symbols of elite dominance over the landscape.[119] The absence of major secondary centers at the Northern boundary of

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[115]Colonna 1985, 110; Bruschetti 2003, 334.

[116]Bruschetti 2003, 334.

[117]Paolucci 1999, 284. If, as it is likely, the Paglia does form the border of the territory of Volsinii. This would represent a territory to the North of Orvieto of 12km in extent. The significance of the spacing between major and minor centers of population for the political and economic control of Etruria will be discussed in the next chapter.

[118]Paolucci 1999, 283. Cp. Delpino 2000.

[119]Bruschetti 2003, 334-335; Paolucci 1999, 282.

Figure 25. The Territory of Volsinii in the Orientalizing and Archaic Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43).
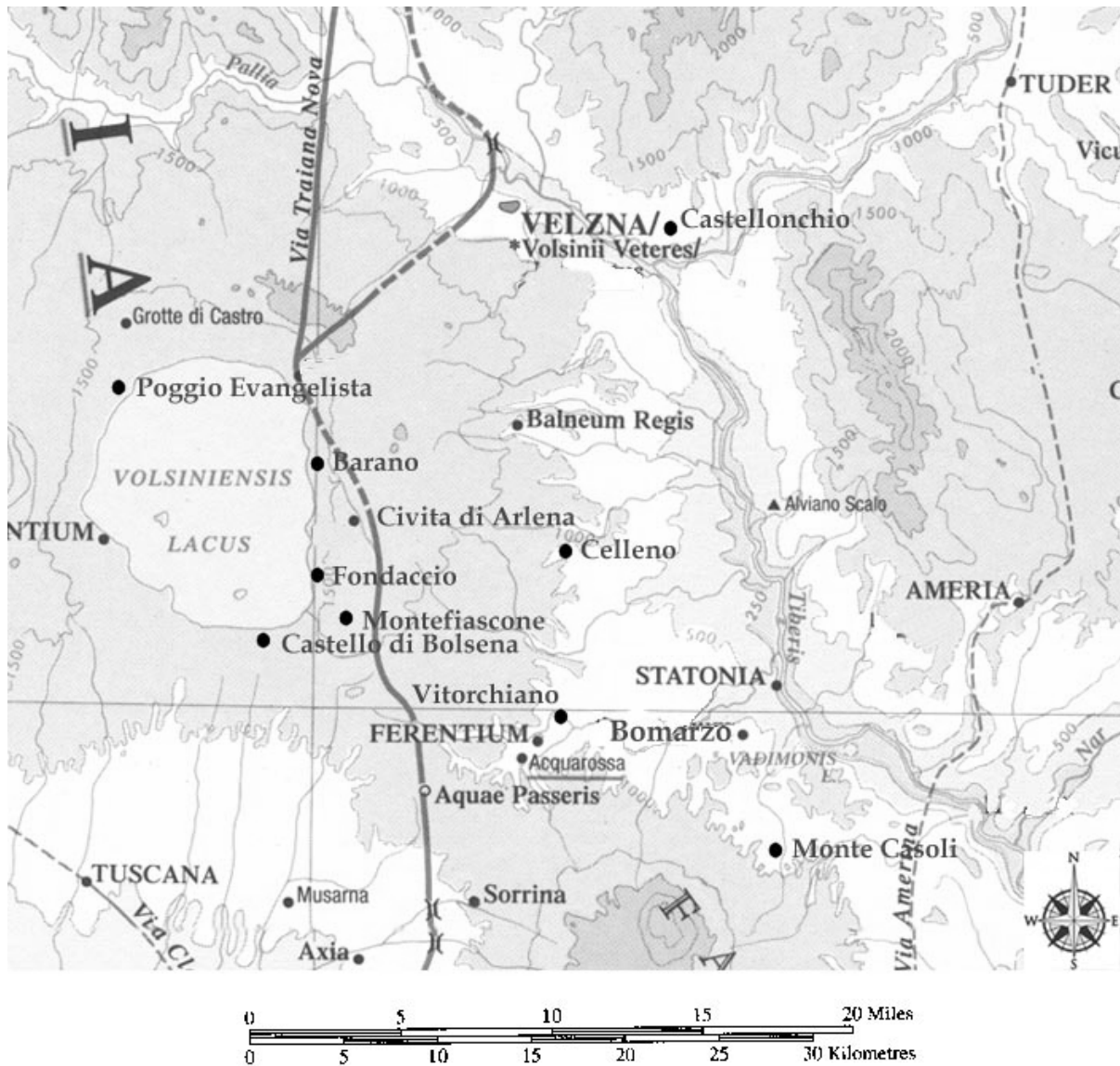
Volsinian territory may be a reflection of the close relationship that existed between Volsinii and Chiusi, embodied in the figure of Porsenna, said to have been king at both cities.[120]

A number of sites existed within Volsinian territory before the 7th century B.C., especially in the area to the South, along the Lago di Bolsena where the territories of Vulci,

[120]Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.140. As Colonna (1985, 119-120; 2000) notes, the importance of this reference has been undervalued. Clearly, the Archaic period was witness to a vast Chiusine confederacy that stretched across a large portion of Eastern Etruria.

Tarquinia, and Volsinii all abutted each other, but it appears that they were drawn into the sphere of influence of Volsinii at this date (See Figure 25).[121] Along with the previously existing sites, a number of new foundations were made in late 7th century B.C. along the shores of the Lago di Bolsena. These new foundations, such as Barano, Castello di Bolsena, Città d'Artena, Città di Grotte di Castro, and Monte Becco were welded into a system of minor settlements. All were located in easily defensible positions that served to exploit the resources of the Lago di Bolsena while at the same time providing a series of fortified outposts against the territories of Vulci and Tarquinia.[122] The beginning of the 6th century B.C. saw the continuation of the same pattern newly *castella* controlled by subsidiary groups of aristocrats.[123]   To the already extensive network of sites were added Fondaccio, Montefiascone, Monterado, and Poggio Evangelista.[124]

As part of the expansion of urban power, during the late 7th or early 6th century B.C. the major center at Acquarossa was destroyed to the benefit of its neighbor Ferento, which saw an incredible development in the following decades.[125] A similar phenomenon can be seen at the site of Visentium, located in a precarious position at the interstices of Vulcian, Tarquinian and Volsinian territory.[126] This site too suffered a period of severe decline beginning in the 7th century B.C., most likely in conjunction with the Volsinian assertion of control over her hinterland.   In examining Ferento and its neighbors along the route into the interior of the *Ager Volsinus,* it is important to note that the culture of these secondary

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[121]Tamburini 1998a, 68.

[122]Bruschetti 2003, 339-341; Tamburini 1998a; de Azevedo and Schmiedt 1974, 26.

[123]Colonna 1985, 110.

[124]Bruschetti 2003, 339-341; Tamburini 1998a; de Azevedo and Schmiedt 1974, 50-52.

[125]Colonna 1973, 50; Bruschetti 2003, 331.

[126]Tamburini 1998a, 90.

centers is even more cosmopolitan than the remainder of Volsinian territory. In fact, this region, comprised of the nucleated communities of Ferento, Celleno, Bomarzo and Bagnoregio, shows heavy influence from both the Etruscan states whose territory they bordered (Tarquinia, Vulci, Volsinii) and of the *Ager Faliscus*.[127] This is to be expected given their place along the major route into the *Ager Volsinus* from the Faliscan region to the South.[128] Ferento, Celleno and Bagnoregio all lay upon the route that connected Volsinii with the communities of the coast and the *Ager Faliscus*. All of these major routes formed a junction in the Viterbese to the South and West of Bolsena.[129] Bomarzo, in contrast, did not lie directly on either of the above-mentioned routes, but instead occupied an important position along one of the tributaries of the Tiber where the majority of the North and South trade within the region was conducted.[130]

In the vicinity of Bomarzo, the Archaic Period settlement took on an interesting pattern, wherein a series of fortified hilltops along the Vezza River (Monte Casoli, Pianmiano, and Pian della Colonna) appear to have exploited the environment of the Ciminian forest while protecting the Southern edge of Volsinian territory.[131] The sites are arranged in a similar fashion to the communities at Rota and Pian della Conserva in the territory of Cerveteri, with a series of hilltop settlements, all three to five hectares, dominating a shared territory in the absence of a major urban center. The material culture from these sites is dominated by Chiusine and Faliscan influences, as is to be expected given

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[127]Colonna 1973, 46-52.

[128]Colonna 1973, 49.

[129]Baglione 1976, 65.

[130]Baglione 1976, 65.

[131]Baglione 1976, 65-67; 69-70.

the place of the communities in the network of communications.[132] All of the sites of the southern portion of the *Ager Volsinus* followed a similar trajectory, seeing foundation dates between the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C. and continuing to flourish throughout the Archaic Period.[133] These sites were all organized on the pattern of the *castellum*, occupying well-elevated tufa mounds that provided a high degree of natural security. Colonna suggests that the hybrid nature of the material culture of these sites, coupled with the absence of conical *cippi* in the region, suggests that these sites were not under the direct control of Volsinii, but rather functioned as independent outposts exploiting a gap in the territorial scheme of the interior and coastal city-states.[134] These sites then would have functioned in the same manner as laid out for the region of the Tolfa hills where a similar arrangement occurred during the Archaic Period. Although this is possible, I believe that it fails to account for the series of destructions of peripheral communities that occurred during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. It would be surprising if individuals were willing to found new sites outside of the direct control of the major city-states when a high number of previously existing sites that had occupied this niche were either destroyed or falling into irrelevance. We should instead see sites like Celleno, Ferento, and Bagnoregio as city-state controlled replacements of independent communities with dependent ones.[135] It is worth noting that all of these sites lay along an ancient track that connected Orvieto with the South.[136] As we continue to examine the intense network of communications within the *Ager Volsinus*, one final site occupies a place of major importance. Castellonchio, a site that had been in

[132]Baglione 1976, 67-69.

[133]Colonna 1973, 51-53.

[134]Colonna 1973, 61-62.

[135]Mansuelli 1988, 63.

[136]de Azevedo and Schmiedt 1974, 24.

existence from the initial phases of the Iron Age (if not earlier), was located at the confluence of the Paglia and the Tiber.[137] This site was situated to control a major node in interregional trade between Chiusi and the cities of the South. The development of this kind of extensive network of secondary centers in the Archaic Period reflects the rise of a burgeoning aristocratic class both at Volsinii and throughout the territory of the city-state, yet the development is measured when compared with neighboring Chiusi and Vulci.[138]

<u>Preliminary Conclusions on the Early Development of Southern Inland Etruria</u>

Throughout the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods within Southern Inland Etruria, two distinct cultures developed on either side of the Ciminian Forest. To the North, the landscape of the territory of Volsinii would begin to be dominated by a number of secondary centers brought under the control of the main urban center beginning in the 7th century B.C. This process was accompanied by the destruction of a number of formerly independent communities such as Acquarossa and Visentium, and their replacement with new sites nearby. This pattern of control, based on a number of dependent *castella* dominating the landscape, would have facilitated the emergence of a secondary elite in these rural communities, and would have expanded the economic base of Volsinii beyond its immediate hinterland. At the same time, a similar arrangement based on semi-independent *castella* came to dominate the landscape of the *Ager Faliscus.* The landscape of the *Ager Faliscus* was densely occupied with *castella* spaced about ten kilometers apart. The main difference was that there was no city at the top of the settlement hierarchy of this region. Instead, Falerii Veteres must have functioned as a ceremonial and economic center,

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[137]Stopponi 1999, 47; Tamburini, 1998a, 68.

[138]Colonna 1985, 104-105.

with the majority of the political control over the region vested in the hands of the elite residing in the *castella.* This type of control may reflect a strong familial or tribal organization among the Faliscans that helped to prevent the formation of large centralized communities.

Consolidation and Reorientation: The 5th Century B.C. at Volsinii

The crisis of the 5th century B.C., so well documented in the centers of the Southern Coastal region, did not have as great an impact on the material culture of the *Ager Volsinus,* although the effects of the social processes at work did completely reshape the rural landscape.[139] The period saw the major point of connection for Volsinii change from Chiusi to the coastal centers of Vulci and Tarquinia. At the same time, a number of the major secondary nuclei of the Archaic period fell into disuse. Examples include sites such as Barano, Castello di Bolsena, Ferento, Montefiascone, and Monterado (See Figure 26). This process of retraction was the direct result of an increasing urban domination of the landscape. It is not a coincidence that the reduction of the number of aristocratic hubs in the countryside came during the same period as an expansion in civic projects and wealth at Volsinii. This retraction should not be seen as a total collapse of the Volsinian system of production, however, as the city was a continual supplier of surplus grain to Rome throughout the 5th century B.C.[140] In conjunction with this continued agricultural productivity, there is a greater degree of continuity in rural settlement within the *Ager Volsinus* than can be found in the landscape of the Southern Coastal cities. This continuity existed in terms of both the use of a number of secondary sites, and the maintenance of

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[139]Steingräber 1983, 267.

[140]Colonna 1985, 105-108.

**Figure 26. The Territory of Volsinii in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43).**
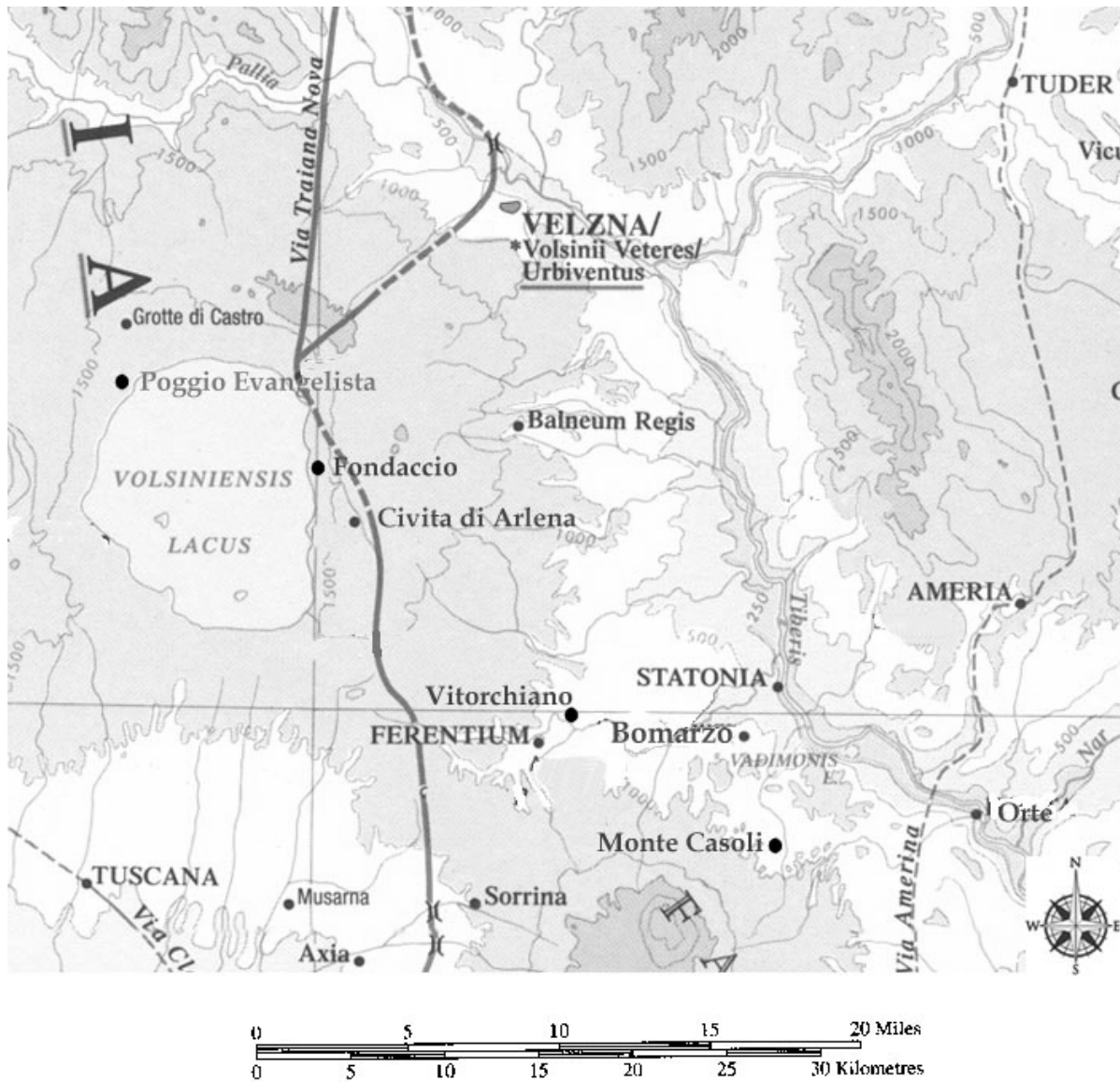
aristocratic life, as evidenced by a continued flow of prestige goods, which populated the

burial assemblages of the necropoleis of the remaining secondary centers. Rich burials and

continued activity have been documented for the 5th century B.C. at sites such as Bomarzo

(whose development appears to have been a direct result of the downturn at Ferento), Città

d'Arlena, Città di Grotte di Castro, and Poggio Evangelista.[141]

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[141]Nardi 1980, 300-301; Tamburini 1998a; Colonna 1973, 50-51.

The continued flow of prestige goods into the interior of the *Ager Volsinus* is most likely the result of a reorientation of the wealth-finance economy away from the cities of the Tyrrhenian coast toward the Adriatic port of Spina, an option cities like Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci could not easily exercise.[142] Links with the *Ager Faliscus* were also augmented as can be seen by the flourishing 5th and 4th century B.C. record at Bomarzo and by the rise of the site of Orte, both situated as Southern outposts of Volsinii.[143] These sites were located in less than ideal locations for the production of cereals and can only have survived by managing trade down the Tiber.[144] It is for this reason that I believe that Baglione's assertion that it was trade with the Etruscan cities of the Tyrrhenian coast that created the wealthy deposits of 5th century B.C. Attic Red-Figure vases in the territory of Bomarzo is incorrect.[145] Rather these vases should be seen as a product of continued ties with communities to the North along the Tiber who remained in contact with the Greek world via Spina on the Adriatic coast.

The Faliscan Response to the Coastal Crisis

The 5th century B.C. within the *Ager Faliscus* was a time of great change as well, as the Faliscan zone appears to have been readying itself for the conflict with Rome to come. During this period, the village settlement of Trevignano located at the very western edge of

[142]Bruschetti 2003, 341.

[143]Steingräber 1983, 300-301; Nardi 1980, 295-296.

[144]Colonna 1985, 109.

[145]Baglione 1976, 69.

the *Ager Faliscus* was abandoned due to its indefensibility.[146] This trend was seen also in the

landscape of Sutri, where the indefensible site at La Ferriera was replaced by the fortified

Figure 27. The Ager Falsicus in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.
(Adapted from Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 68 fig. 1).

Fig. 1 —The Ager Faliscus and its Principal Roman Roads
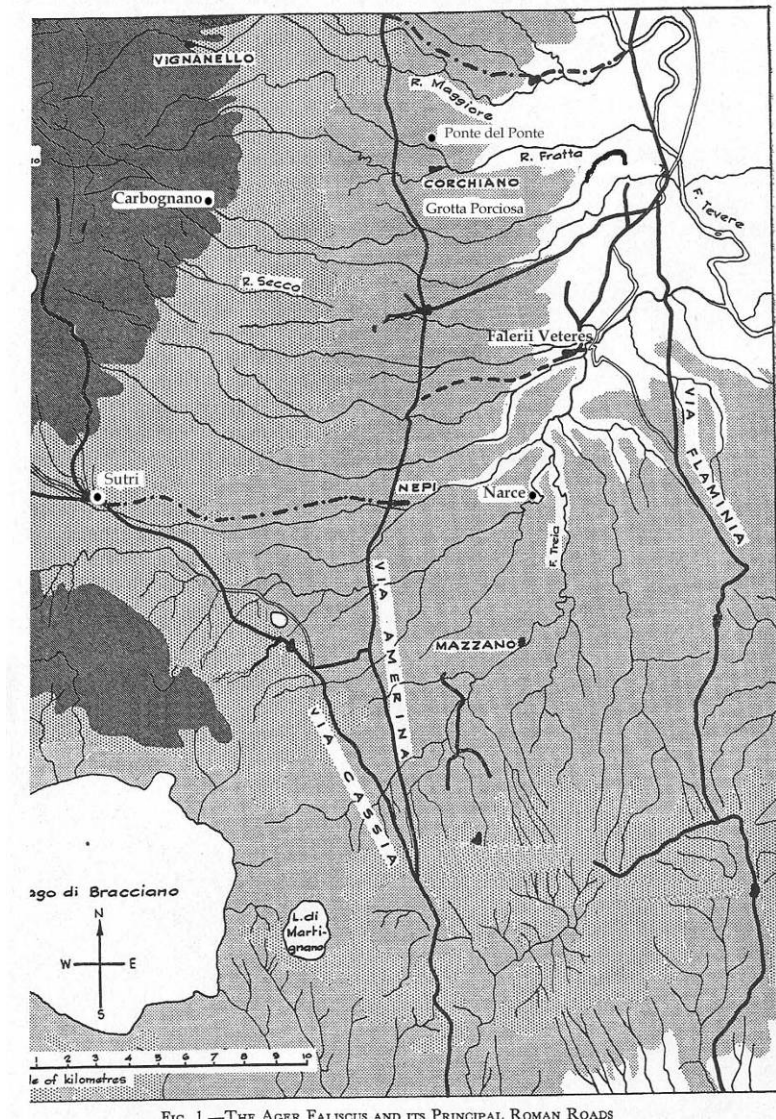
hilltop center at Sutri. At the same time, a number of the Faliscan centers followed the 5th

century B.C. trend seen also at Veii and in the *Ager Capenas* of constructing extensive

fortification systems. The sites within the *Ager Faliscus* include Falerii Veteres, Narce,

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[146]Potter 1979, 89; Potter 1976, 25.

Corchiano, Ponte del Ponte, and Grotta Porciosa.[147] Such a concentration of resources in

sites at the top of the settlement hierarchy suggests that the Faliscans, like their neighbors to

the South were growing uneasy with the prospect of isolated farmsteads, as well as

becoming unwilling to inhabit un-walled sites. It is probably not a coincidence that the

Faliscans first engaged in armed conflict with Rome during this century.[148]

The Roman Reorganization of Volsinii

    After the downturn of the 5th century B.C., the subsequent century was a period of

recovery as more and more secondary centers were occupied, perhaps under a greater

degree of urban control. Sites like Barano, Monte Becco and Montefiascone were added to

the sites that had survived the depredations of the 5th century B.C. As before, these centers

were accompanied by necropoleis containing elite burials, suggesting that after a century of

urban growth and concentration of wealth a degree of stability and increased vigor was

returning to the territory.   The supposed conflict between Volsinii and her allies the

Salpinates with Rome at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. had little effect on the patterns

of rural settlement.[149] The period was not one of unmitigated rural growth, however, as a

number of sites fell victim to the Roman incursions of the end of the century. In 310 B.C.,

after an Etruscan raid on Sutri, the Roman army made its first foray to the North despite

senatorial disapproval, and laid waste to the region.[150] In concluding the conflict, a Roman

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[147]Potter 1976, 25; Potter 1979, 90. The reasons for the fortification of numerous sites throughout Etruria have been discussed above and will not be repeated here.

[148]Schotter 1976, 29-30.

[149]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.31-32. See Harris (1985, 145-146) for a brief analysis of this campaign..

[150]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.33-40.

force is said to have taken a number of *castella* belonging to the city.[151] This episode can probably be associated with the loss of a number of prominent secondary centers within the territory of Volsinii. Cività di Grotte di Castro and Cività d'Arlena show particularly violent destructions.[152] Either ahead of this conflict or as the direct result of it, the inhabitants of the southern-most portion of the *Ager Volsinus* undertook the construction of a series of fortification walls at places like Monte Casoli.[153] On the heels of this incursion, the Etruscans sued for peace.[154] Despite this settlement, the residents of Volsinii joined again in the hostilities of the opening decade of the 3rd century B.C. Volsinii was granted *indutiae* of forty years in 294 B.C. after its territory was ravaged along with that of Roselle. In this campaign, Livy asserts that the residents of Volsinii suffered enormous casualties and witnessed the fall of Roselle, both factors that may have led to the hasty conclusion of hostilities even under unfavorable terms, which included the establishment of a substantial indemnity.[155] Volsinii was the victim of a further campaign in 280 B.C.

At some time following the resulting capitulation, Volsinii was drawn into the Roman sphere of dominance and granted a *foedus*.[156] The price of this *foedus* was most likely the confiscation of half of her territory, the same penalty meted out in the case of Vulci and Cerveteri.[157] Evidence that this was indeed the case comes in the form of the early date of

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[151]Harris 1971, 58-60. This appears to have been the normal strategy of the Etruscans when faced with a Roman army within their borders.

[152]Tamburini 1998a, 72; de Azevedo and Schmiedt 1974, 28-29.

[153]Baglione 1976, 66-67.

[154]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.41; Diodorus Siculus 20.35.1-5

[155]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.37. The size of the indemnity is listed at 500,000 *asses*.

[156]Harris 1971, 96.

[157]Tamburini 1998a, 7.

**Figure 28. The Territory of Volsinii after the Roman Conquest
(Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43).**
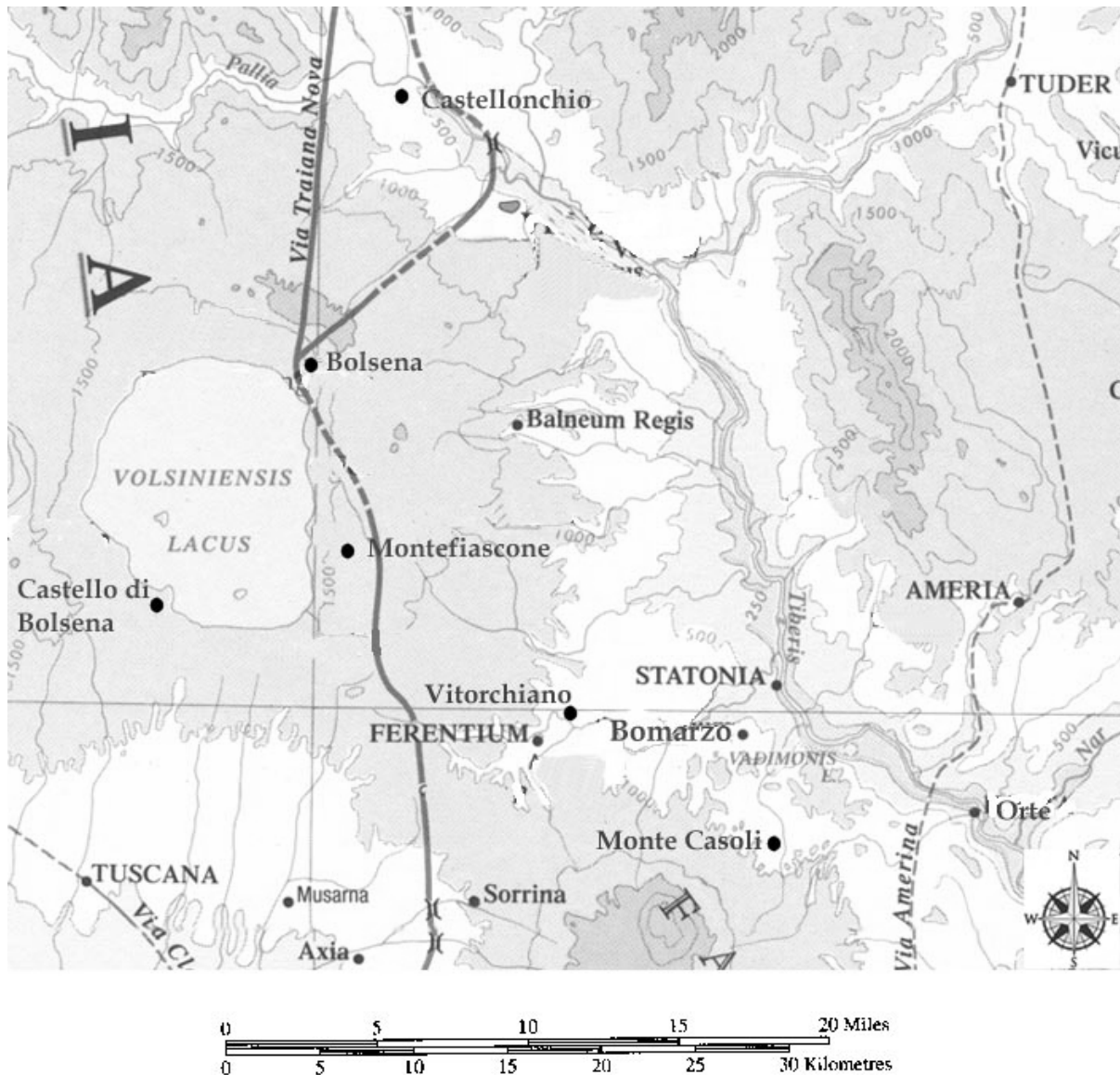
citizenship recorded for the inhabitants of Bomarzo and Bagnoregio, suggesting that it was

the Southern Tiberine portion of the *Ager Volsinus* that was confiscated along with the land

around the *Via Cassia* (See Figure 28).[158] This confiscated land was organized on the basis of

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[158]Steingräber 1983, 300; Tamburini 1998a, 7; Mansuelli 1988, 64; Munzi 2001, 49.

the new *praefectura* at Statonia.[159] These confiscations served to strip Volsinii of control over the Lower Tiber Valley.[160] Evidence of a *zilath* present at Bomarzo as early as the 2nd century B.C. suggests that the Romans eagerly promoted the growth of the local aristocracy in some of the secondary settlements within the *Ager Volsinus,* perhaps as part of a concerted strategy to advance a new class of individuals who were dependent on the territory's Roman status for their newfound prominence.[161] The elite class at Volsinii gave up its pretensions toward an expansionistic foreign policy only to be usurped by the lower classes. This significant disruption of the Volsinian landscape and social order appears to have broken traditional ties of patronage between the aristocratic community and the populace. As a result, the social order of the *Ager Volsinus* was ruptured, culminating in the request of Roman aid by the aristocratic class at Volsinii in 265 B.C.[162] This intervention was likely undertaken on the basis of the conditions of the *foedus* of 280 B.C.[163] The result was the same as would be seen in the landscape of the Faliscans a decade and a half later.[164] The town of Volsinii (Orvieto) was destroyed and the inhabitants transferred to a new site at Bolsena.[165] Yet, the new site at Bolsena was incorporated on the lines of a federated city rather than a colony, suggesting that the transferred population was considered stable enough not to

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[159]Munzi 2001, 49.

[160]Munzi 2001, 48.

[161]Baglione 1976, 71.

[162]Livy, *Periochae* 16; Florus 1.16; Valerius Maximus 9.1; Orosius 4.5.3; Zonaras 8.7. See Harris (1985, 150-155) for the best modern discussion of the incident.

[163]Munzi 2001, 49.

[164]Zonaras 8.7.; Florus 1.16.

[165]The work of Cagiano de Azevedo (1972) has clearly demonstrated the widespread destruction of the site at Orvieto during the middle of the 3rd century B.C., while systematic explorations conducted at Bolsena under Buchicchio (1970) have confirmed the lack of depositional layers associated with any phase of activity at Bolsena before the same century. This data argues for the traditional topographical scheme that assigns the identity of Volsinii Veteres to Orvieto and that of Volsinii Novi to Bolsena.

need an influx of new settlers to secure their loyalty.[166] In addition to the relocation of the

inhabitants, the Romans also performed an *evocatio*, drawing the gods of the town to Rome

and emptying the site of even its divine residents.[167] Material from the region suggests a

boom in rural and urban activity in the centuries following the transfer of the city of Volsinii

from Orvieto to Bolsena. At Bolsena, the 3rd century B.C. marks the initiation of deposition

at many of the major monumental sanctuary complexes within the Roman city.[168] The

transfer of the site of Volsinii from Orvieto to Bolsena was echoed in the *floruit* of a small

satellite center at Castello di Bolsena where a fortification wall was constructed in the mid

3rd century B.C.[169] By the middle of the 3rd century B.C., the *Ager* Volsinus was also

beginning to forge strong artistic and economic ties with the communities of Magna

Graecia, presumably via the now available trade routes across Latium.[170]

Rome and The Faliscans

        The narrative of the conquest of the *Ager Faliscus* reads in a similar fashion. The 4th

century B.C. was a period of unrest. The Faliscans had allied themselves with the anti-

Roman coalition of the Veintines and Capenates, hoping that this power block could hold

off the advancement of Rome. Despite the united efforts of the peoples immediately to the

North of the Tiber, nearly all of the major nucleated agglomerations of population were

taken by the Romans in the first decades of the century. The literary sources suggest that

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[166]Munzi 2001, 49.

[167]Zonaras 8.7. Cf. Edlund (1987) and Edlund-Berry (1994) for descriptions of this process and other examples where the technique was employed.

[168]Buchicchio 1970, 29-31.

[169]Tamburini 1998a, 75.

[170]Colonna 1985, 124.

Falerii Veteres was sacked as well, perhaps in 394 B.C. The situation that would prevail for the remainder of the century suggests that the Faliscan zone remained largely independent because of a peace settlement negotiated in the wake of these events.[171] With the fall of Veii and Capena and the creation of the colonies at Sutri and Nepi in the first decades of the century, the *Ager Faliscus* was drawn into a world that was far different from that to which it was accustomed. The *Ager Faliscus* now existed as a hostile enclave hemmed in by a vast extension of pro-Roman territory. At the same time, all of the traditional allies of the Faliscans had been subdued leaving the region politically isolated.[172] In the middle of the 4th century B.C., the Faliscans, uncomfortable with their precarious situation, sought out a pair of new allies, Cerveteri and Tarquinia, and attempted to secure a more satisfactory settlement.[173] From the Faliscan perspective, the action appears to have succeeded in its goals as Falerii was given *indutiae* of forty years in 351 B.C. At the request of the Faliscans, this was exchanged for a *foedus*, most likely on equal terms, in 343 B.C.[174] This permanent alliance gave Rome a reasonable assurance of security of the citizens residing in the territories of the colonies at Sutri and Nepi, while at the same time assuring the continued autonomy of the Faliscans in the remainder of the *Ager Faliscus.*[175] The Faliscans appear to have remained faithful to their alliance throughout the remainder of the 4th century. No mention is made of any Faliscan part in the Roman-Etruscan conflicts of 311-308 B.C. Throughout this period of hostilities during the 4th century B.C., the *Ager Faliscus* remained

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[171]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.27.11-15; Diodorus Siculus 14.96.5-98.5; Dionysius of Halikarnassos 13.1-2; Plutarch, *Camillus* 10.7; Zonaras 7.22. See Schotter (1976, 31), Harris (1971, 43) and De Sanctis (1907, 150) for a discussion of the sources.

[172]Cambi 2004, 78.

[173]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 7.12.5-7.19.6.

[174]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 7.38.1.

[175]Harris 1971, 48; Schotter 1976, 32.

heavily populated with an abundance of small rural sites located in the interstices between the larger village communities that dotted the landscape.[176]

It was not until 295 B.C., at the end of a nearly decade long campaign, that the Faliscans threw their lot in against the Romans again.[177] They were defeated and stripped of their *foedus,* which was replaced with an annual indemnity. Sporadic conflicts between the Faliscans and their Etruscan allies against Rome continued until 292 B.C. when another settlement appears to have been reached, this time much more favorable to the Romans.[178] This new settlement was accompanied by the economic and political marginalization of the territory, and it is not surprising that under such heavy pressure there was a heavy die off of rural settlement as Faliscan products were isolated from nearby market centers now in Roman hands.[179] It is of primary interest to note that this decline in rural settlement in the *Ager Faliscus* preceded, rather than followed, the Roman conquest of the region.[180] The *Ager Faliscus* appears to have remained free of armed conflict until 241 B.C. when the Faliscans rebelled against Rome for a final time and were punished severely. As a result, the 3rd century B.C. was a period of disruption, with the death of a number of larger settlements and a dispersal of the population from nucleated centers into the countryside in open

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[176]Cambi 2004, 78.

[177]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.26.15. We have no evidence for the internal political conditions within Falerii at this time, but it is likely that the group that had secured the *foedus* of 343 B.C. had been replaced by a faction that saw the future of the *Ager Faliscus* as part of a political block with the Etruscan cities rather than an increasingly dependent neighbor of Rome.

[178]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.45.6.-10-46-12. The lack of evidence for Faliscan hostilities against Rome, however, may be a function of the dearth of sources for the period after 284 B.C. The Faliscans may not have been significant players in any campaign of the period to have merited mention by the *Periochae.* It does appear, however, that the Faliscans did retain their independence after the settlement of 292 B.C. only coming under Roman domination *sensu stricto* after 241 B.C.

[179]Cambi 2004, 78.

[180]Cambi 2004, 78. In fact, the period following the conquest of the region in 241 B.C. marks the point where the fortunes of the rural landscape reverse. An abundance of new settlements were founded in the last decades of the 3rd century and throughout the 2nd century B.C., albeit in new locations.

**Figure 29. The Ager Faliscus in the Roman Period
(Adapted from Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 68 Fig. 1).**

Fig. 1.—The Ager Faliscus and its Principal Roman Roads
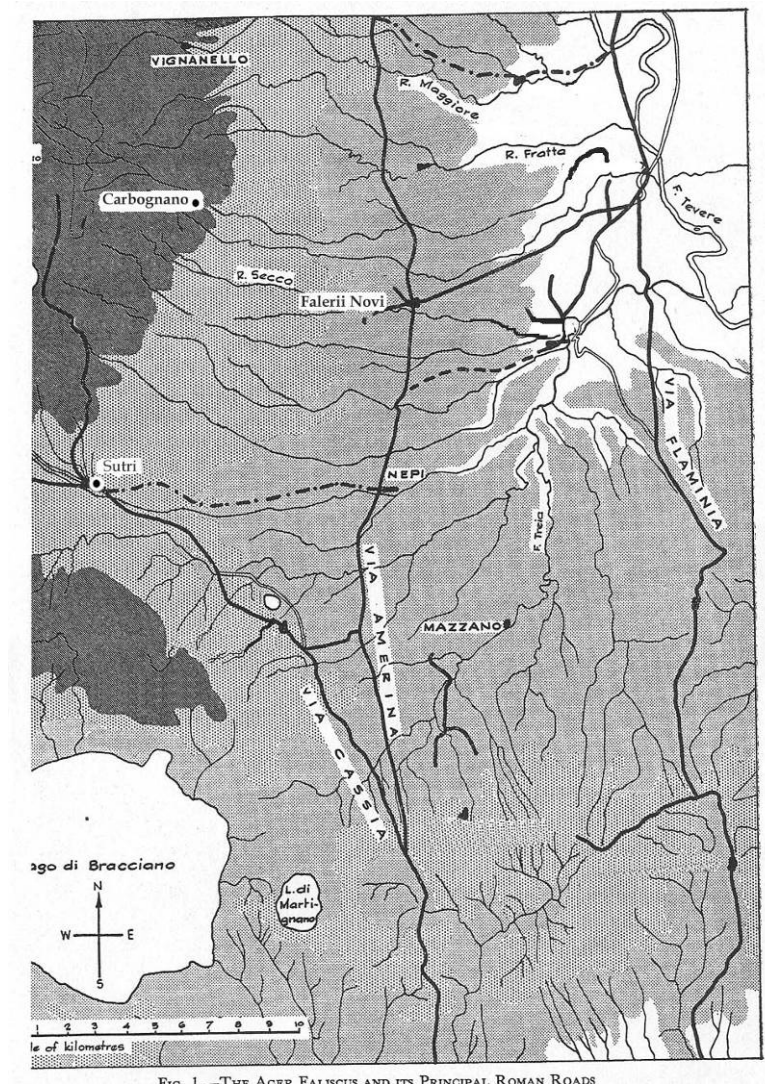
sites.[181] The 3rd century B.C. represented a paradigm shift in the settlement patterns of the

area, as Rome initiated a harsher policy associated primarily with the destruction of Falerii

Veteres in 241 B.C.

The landscape of the *Ager Faliscus* saw some of the most dramatic changes at every

level of the settlement hierarchy as any city that was incorporated into the Roman political

sphere. As already mentioned, the Romans razed the hilltop stronghold of Falerii Veteres

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[181]Potter 1979, 93.

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(massacring 15,000 Faliscans on the process), and shortly thereafter created a new central place for the region at a lowland site five kilometers to the West at Falerii Novi, effectively removing the threat of a well defended locus of resistance (See Figure 29).[182] It appears that Narce was also destroyed in the same campaign and its population likewise dispersed.[183] The new town of Falerii Novi, like Nepi its neighbor to the South, was located on the new consular road, the *Via Amerina*. This location ensured that the new settlement could be watched closely by the inhabitants of the Roman colony at Nepi, as well as drawing the indigenous population into the Roman network of trade and communications.[184] The disruption was not limited to the top of the settlement hierarchy, however. Nearly every secondary agglomeration of population was abandoned during the 3rd century B.C. Corchiano, Ponte del Ponte, and Grotta Porciosa (all significant villages controlling significant portions of the *Ager Faliscus*) went into disuse shortly after the fall of Falerii Veteres.[185] The more isolated mountain sites located at Vignanello, and Carbognano show continued occupation, and only into the 1st century B.C. in a trend similar to that seen in the *Ager Capenas*.[186] It is probably not coincidence that these were the most isolated and

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[182]Zonaras 8.18; Potter 1979, 99; Mansuelli 1988, 28.

[183]Schotter 1976, 33.

[184]Terrenato 2004, 234; Cambi 2004, 78-79; Potter 1979, 99-100. Like in the case of Veii, however, the sanctuaries of the old capital at Falerii Veteres, both urban and suburban, show continued patronage well beyond 241 B.C.

[185]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 188; Potter 1979, 100. The precise date of the final occupation at each of these sites is a matter of considerable degree of debate. The results of Potter's survey of the area clearly indicate a 4th century B.C. date for the dramatic transformation of the landscape, but it is unclear whether the abandonment of the larger village communities within the *Ager Faliscus* was a result of Roman strategy, or a function of a landscape destabilized by the prospect of a conflict with Rome as is seen in the 5th century landscape around Sutri and in the *Ager Capenas*. Cp. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (1957, 116; 125-128) for Corchiano and Ponte del Ponte. As Cambi (2004, 78) notes, the evidence from smaller rural sites within the *Ager Faliscus* suggests that these sites were abandoned in anticipation of the final Roman conquest as part of the policy of economic isolation mentioned above. Only with the restudy of the pottery from Potter's campaigns as part of the Tiber Valley Project will it be possible to answer this question definitively.

[186]Cambi 2004, 79.

sparsely populated sites within the *Ager Faliscus.*[187]   In addition to what appears to have

been a desertion of nearly every major nucleus of population within the region, the Romans

confiscated half of the *Ager Faliscus* as part of the settlement reached in 241 B.C.[188]   An

extreme disruption of the landscape is shown in the major changes found in the Faliscan

countryside as well. Over 80% of the farms in the *Ager Faliscus* were abandoned by the end

of the 3rd century.[189] Additionally, those farms that remain inhabited are almost all clustered

within the territory of the settlement at Nepi, a Roman *colonia* since the early 4th century B.C.

This pattern suggests a protected status for the pro-Roman region.[190] The extreme nature of

the changes in the settlement pattern of the *Ager Faliscus* most likely stemmed from a series

of conditions that the Romans may or may not have envisioned as part of the same process.

Clearly, the Romans wished to make an example of the Faliscans as a deterrent to

further rebellion from among her traditional allies. The reaction may have been so severe as

result of the proximity of the *Ager Faliscus* to Rome. Although the reduction of Falerii was

not due to an open act of rebellion, but from a refusal to respect the terms of a *foedus*, troop

levies or otherwise[191]   In fact, by this point Rome had already secured the loyalty of a

number of Etruscan communities far beyond the Ciminian Forest. Rome was not about to

tolerate unrest on the borders of a territory that had been part of the state for over 200 years.

Once the Romans were able to take control of the *Ager Faliscus,* they were finally able to

complete their reorganization of the landscape of Tiberine Etruria. The harsh treatment of

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[187]Potter 1979, 100.

[188]Potter 1979, 100.

[189]As Cambi (2004, 78) notes the majority of these were abandoned in the first half of the century, before the destruction of Falerii Veteres.

[190]Cambi 2004, 79; Potter 1979, 101.

[191]Munzi 2001, 49-50.

Falerii may also have been a result of the desire to confiscate the land necessary to build a road linking the territory of Volsinii with that of the Roman colonies at Sutri and Nepi. It is no coincidence that the first major road that traversed the Faliscan territory, the Via Amerina, was planned in the years immediately following the conquest of the city.[192] Before the end of the 3rd century B.C. a second major consular road, the Via Flaminia would bisect the *Ager Faliscus* as well.[193] Both of these roads bypassed Falerii Veteres, ensuring the continued marginalization of the site with reference to the new Roman world to which the Faliscan inhabitants now belonged.

The Late Republican Recovery of Southern Inland Etruria

By the Late Republic, the territories of both cities had substantially recovered from the disturbance of the previous centuries. Within the *Ager Volsinus*, the precise dating of the phenomenon of rural expansion is not refined enough to locate it within a specific historical context, yet it is clear that by the period of the late Republic the old territory of Volsinii was a flourishing agricultural landscape.[194] The majority of the sites from the period have been identified based on surface scatters of pottery that suggest a high proportion of simple farmsteads in the region.[195] The density of villas is far lower here than in the portions of

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[192]Harris 1971, 168; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 107; 187-188; Potter 1979, 104. The site of Falerii Novi was laid out with its street grid aligned to the road. The section that connected Nepet to the Via Classia was laid out in the decades following the *deductio* of the colony, while the section to the North of the city was planned as a unit with the section extending through Falerii Novi and eventually on to Umbria.

[193]Potter 1979, 102.

[194]Stopponi 1999, 56. The new work of Stopponi employs the generic criteria of associating *terra sigilata italiana* with sites of the imperial period rather than attempting to refine the data to a greater degree of chronological detail. Black glaze is similarly used as an indicator of Republican sites. As a result of this fairly imprecise scheme of dating the campaign suffers from many of the same problems as the South Etruria Survey.

[195]Stopponi 1999, 56. The discussion of any further patterning of the data is precluded by the generally poor state of knowledge of the region. Not only is the chronology of the majority of the sites of the period in doubt,

South Etruria that occur closer to Rome, but they form a significant element of the rural landscape nonetheless.[196] The majority of the rural sites are located in the area between Belvedere and Porano, a region that appears to have been extensively exploited in Roman times.[197]

With the introduction of the Late Republican period, a number of sites underwent significant transformations. Ferento was established as a colony under the *Lex Sempronia.*[198] Other major developments were associated with the promotion to municipal status. This includes not only the main urban center at Bolsena, but also communities such as Ferento and Bomarzo, both made *municipia* under Augustus.[199] In addition, the old Etruscan site at Monte Bisenzio was given citizenship after the social war under the Roman name Visentium.[200] Orte appears to have followed the same trend.[201] It is not a coincidence that the towns flourishing in the new roman landscape were the ones that played an important role in directing trade along major Roman roads. Ferento was located along the Via Clodia and Bolsena on the Via Cassia, while Orte was located at a crucial juncture on the Via Amerina. Bomarzo did not occupy a position on a major Roman road but maintained its connectivity due to its location at a key point in control of the trade between Rome and the Upper Tiber valley along the river.[202] This pattern created a similar phenomenon of

but even the location of the major road through the territory of the Republican and Imperial period, the *Via Cassia,* is in doubt.

[196]Mansuelli 1988, 65.

[197]Stopponi 1999, 56-57.

[198]Steingräber 1983, 311.

[199]Mansuelli 1988, 63-64; Steingräber 1983, 288.

[200]Steingräber 1983, 292-293.

[201]Steingräber 1983, 301.

selective survival as seen in the *Ager Faliscus*.[203] These sites were unsurprisingly the ones

that saw the greatest level of development throughout the Roman period. At Ferento, the

site was adorned with a forum complex, a porticus, an amphitheatre, and a number of

statues associated with an Augusteum.[204] At Bolsena, the majority of the civic infrastructure

was built as part of this reorganization, a full two centuries after the incorporation of

Volsinii into the Roman Empire. In the Imperial period, the inhabitants transformed their

site with a theatre and amphitheatre along with a number of substantial public buildings

including a major bath complex.[205] The region saw a substantial reorganization in the

Trajanic period as a new road, the *Via Traiana Nova*, was laid out in order to connect the

territory of Chiusi with that of the region of the Lago di Bolsena. The Road bypassed the

site of Orvieto completely. The new line of the road project reflected the reality of the

defunct nature of the site of Orvieto.

What is interesting is that this formalization of what had been the power situation in

central Etruria only took place more than three centuries after the destruction of the site.[206]

This situation is in high contrast with the pattern found in the territory of Veii and the

Falisco-Capenate zone, where the road network largely ignored communities that had failed

to integrate successfully into the Roman system. In the 2nd century B.C., the area seems to

have recovered, as a number of new farms replaced the ones that had died out in the

previous period. 68% of these sites were located on newly occupied ground, many of them

near the new roads, and the vast majority in the zone flanked by the two consular roads, the

[202]Baglione 1976, 71-72.

[203]Steingräber 1983, 288.

[204]Mansuelli 1988, 64.

[205]Buchicchio 1970, 31-40.

[206]Harris 1965b; Buchicchio 1970, 22-26.

Via Amerina and the Via Flaminia.[207] Perhaps this was due to the increased access to markets for agricultural products provided by proximity to the major roadways of the region. The new degree of connectedness achieved throughout the *Ager Faliscus* is evidenced by the increasing number of non-local amphorae sherds from the territory, whose quantity saw a dramatic boom by the end of the 2nd century B.C.[208] At the same time, the land surrounding many of the old village centers was drawn into regimes of intense pasturage as opposed to their previous agricultural focus.[209] Despite its isolation, however, the site of Falerii Veteres also appears to have been sparsely resettled, and activity is documented for all of the major sanctuaries in the Republican period.[210] In the decades that followed the layout of the Via Flaminia, a substantial nucleus grew up at the road station of Aquaviva.[211] The occupation of this site provided a focus for agricultural and territorial organization of the Eastern portion of the *Ager Faliscus* in the same the way that Falerii Novi and Nepi acted as central places for the Western portion. The site itself was located at the junction of the Via Flaminia with a smaller road that serviced the countryside.[212] The size of the scatter at Aquaviva suggests an extensive site. The surface remains give every indication of a wealthy settlement with extensive mosaics and painted plaster and marble revetments.[213]

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[207]Cambi 2004, 82; Potter 1979, 97 fig. 27; 101; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 189.

[208]Cambi 2004, 81.

[209]Cambi 2004, 80-81.

[210]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 131-135.

[211]Potter 1999.

[212]Potter 1979, 117.

[213]Potter 1979, 118.

The process of rural expansion continued in the 1st century B.C. reaching its peak with the introduction of the system of villa agriculture. The majority of the villas within the *Ager Faliscus* were located near Aquaviva with the remainder almost all within the territory of Nepi. Only a few scattered examples have been uncovered in the region around Falerii Novi.[214] There is a close linkage between the landscape of villas and that of villages within the Imperial Period *Ager Faliscus.* A number of old village communities reemerge as centers connected with major villas. The list of such sites includes Fabrica, Corchiano, Vasanello, and Vignanello. As with the *Ager Capenas,* many of these villas and villages are connected with wealthy freedmen.[215] Even with the extensive development of infrastructure in the *Ager Faliscus,* the majority of rural sites exhibit material scatters indicative of smaller rural sites well below the villa threshold. As many as 78% of the sites Republican and Early Imperial sites within the *Ager Faliscus* were small or moderate in size.[216] This expansion of rural settlement in the 1st century B.C. may be the direct result of the *deductio* of a triumviral colony in the region that would have infused the countryside with a number of new inhabitants.[217]

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[214]Cambi 2004, 82-83; Potter 1979, 121 fig. 35.

[215]Cambi 2004, 83.

[216]Cambi 2004, 81-82; Potter 1979, 122.

[217]Cambi 2004, 82.

CHAPTER 5.
NORTHERN COASTAL ETRURIA:
ROSELLE, VETULONIA, POPULONIA AND PISA

The settlement patterns of the area of Northern Coastal Etruria are particularly

difficult to examine for a number of reasons. The greatest difficulty is perhaps the major

alteration of the coastal landscape that took place both in antiquity, and during the 20th

century. The extensive reconfiguration of the Tyrrhenian coast has buried or washed away

countless archaeological deposits. To this difficulty, the uncertainty over the political

situation for the southern part of the region (the territories of Vetulonia and Roselle) must

be added. Although the problem of assuming static notions of the borders of the territories

of Etruscan city-states has already been considered with respect to other parts of Etruria, the

landscape of Roselle, Vetulonia, and even to some degree Populonia, present a nearly

impossible situation for the archaeologist. It is clear that Vetulonia experienced a significant

decline in its political power beginning in the first years of the 6th century B.C., after

flourishing during the Orientalizing Period. It is less obvious what effect this decline had on

its hegemony over its traditional hinterland. Some authors have asserted that, beginning in

the 6th century B.C., Vetulonia became a dependency of Roselle, into whose territory the

Ager Vetulonensis was absorbed.[1] An alternative hypothesis suggests that Vetulonia

maintained control over a much smaller hinterland, having given up a portion of its former

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[1]Mazzolai 1960, 33-34.

territory to both Populonia and Roselle.[2] In addition, it is nearly impossible to tell how the resurgence of Vetulonia in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. would have affected territorial boundaries. As a result, any conclusions about the way that the city-states of Roselle and Vetulonia organized their territory must be preliminary at best.[3]

Only a single section of Northern Coastal Etruria has been surveyed in an intensive fashion. Van Dommelen has systematically resurveyed a section of the territory of Vetulonia, the Alma and Pecora Valleys covered in an earlier extensive project.[4] These two projects, the latter of which is the extensive project of survey based on the town of Scarlino provide some of the best data for the interaction of various site-types in the countryside.[5] The Scarlino survey falls victim to the same criticisms leveled at the *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena* in that the study area corresponds to the territory of a medieval diocese rather than any ancient administrative unit. In addition to these previously mentioned survey projects, the whole of the territory of Vulci was the subject of a coarse-grained study conducted by Claudio Curri.[6] Similar extensive studies have been undertaken in the territories of Pisa and Populonia.[7] Archaeologists have largely ignored the landscape around the Etruscan city of Roselle.

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[2]Cucini 1985, 147.

[3]Curri 1978, 13.

[4]van Dommelen 1993.

[5]Cucini 1985.

[6]Curri 1978.

[7]Bruni 1999; Bruni 1998; Pasquinucci and Menichelli 1999; Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997; Pasquinucci 1992: Pasquinucci 1995; Fedeli et al. 1993; Fedeli 1983.

<u>The Origins of the Northern Coastal Cities</u>

In Northern Coastal Etruria, the pattern of development of the major cities followed a similar trajectory to the one seen in the Iron Age in Southern Coastal Etruria. Here, however, this early activity was often limited to the presence of elite burials with little evidence of the internal organization of the sites.[8] Particularly scanty are the remains at Roselle, where the urban center does not appear to have been inhabited before the second half of the 8th century B.C.[9] In contrast to the clear archaeological evidence to the contrary, the literature surrounding the founding of Pisa and Populonia describes both cities as colonial foundations.[10] In the case of Pisa, it is clear that the city had been occupied by the Bronze Age, if not by the earlier Copper Age.[11] Perhaps the ancient belief in a later colonial origin for Pisa was a result of the slow early growth of the site. In fact, the initial phases of the Villanovan Period at Pisa did not show the same expansive growth found at other Northern Etruscan centers along the coast.[12] Throughout the Villanovan period, the occupied area of the site diminished, with continued settlement only in the areas most protected from the flooding of the Auser.[13] The ancient tradition suggests that Populonia too was not part of the group of Etruscan cities that arose out of the consolidation of pre-existing Villanovan village communities, but rather was formed as a result of colonization of

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[8]Cristofani 1981a, 32.

[9]Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[10]Fedeli 1983, 15 n.1.; Bruni 1998, 74. The two sites are supposed to have been founded by Greeks, or by Etruscan cities of the interior.

[11]Bruni 1998, 74.

[12]Bruni 1998, 86.

[13]Bruni 1998, 86.

the coast by Chiusi or Volterra, or by settlers from Corsica.[14] The archaeological record refutes this hypothesis, and it is clear that the city had a significant Villanovan prehistory.[15] Instead, these references should be seen as ancient testimonies of the close cultural ties of Populonia with both the cities of the interior and the island of Corsica.[16]

In contrast, at the future site of the city of Vetulonia there is evidence of occupation of the group of hills that would make up the future urban center at least as early as the 9th century B.C., a period of major expansion.[17] By the beginning of the 8th century B.C., Vetulonia dominated the other Etruscan cities of the Northern Tyrrhenian coast, at least culturally, and probably politically. The city saw its greatest florescence during the period from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 6th centuries B.C.[18] Its early primacy was likely due to access to the mineral rich zone of the Massetano.[19] The earliest necropoleis associated with Vetulonia all lay along the roads that connected the settlement with the *zona mineraria*.[20] Because of this mineral wealth, Vetulonia should be seen as a true industrial power as early as the Orientalizing period.[21] Even at this early period, the city had far flung contacts with the Etruscan cities of the coast as well as the interior.[22] Presumably, Vetulonia was engaged in the trade of raw metals for finished imported goods, and perhaps dietary

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[14]Servius, *Ad Aen*. 10.172.

[15]Steingräber 1983, 118.

[16]Martelli 1981, 153.

[17]Mansuelli 1988, 55; Steingräber 1983, 133.

[18]Steingräber 1983, 133.

[19]Michelucci 1981, 144; Steingräber 1983, 133.

[20]Cristofani 1981a, 42-43; Cristofani 1981b, 432.

[21]Steingräber 1983, 133; 143. This industrial complex included the manufacture of bronze goods and the presence of a prominent school of gold jewelry manufacture.

[22]Camporeale 1969; Steingräber 1983, 134.

staples.[23] Her primary trading partners appear to have been Sardinia and Corsica.[24] These crafts were clearly in the hands of a few elite families who were beginning to materialize their wealth in extensive necropoleis organized on a clan basis.[25]

In the territory of the future city-state of Pisa, the finds from the Early Orientalizing period show that the site maintained contacts with her coastal neighbors, especially Vetulonia.[26] Throughout the *Ager Pisanus,* the cultural material shows great affinity with that of the *Ager Volaterranus* and the Lower Cecina Valley, suggesting that the mouth of the Arno was under the cultural influence of Volterra.[27] The cultural material from the territory of Populonia was also under heavy influence of Vetulonian styles, and during the 8th century B.C., the city may have been under Vetulonia's political sway. As a result of the impressive development of Vetulonia's productive economy and far-flung trade contacts coupled with her domination of the routes of access to the metal rich hinterland of Northern Coastal Etruria, the other cities of the region were slower to develop extensive settlement systems and urban infrastructure. At Populonia, the 8th century B.C. (when Vetulonia was reaching the apex of her power) was characterized by a period of recession in comparison with the flourishing Iron Age settlement of the territory.[28] Perhaps as a direct consequence of Vetulonia's commercial and maritime dominance, Populonia's contacts with the Greek world were non-existent during the 8th century B.C.[29] The growth of the future city-state of

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[23]Curri 1978, 23.

[24]Curri 1978, 24.

[25]Steingräber 1983, 137-138.

[26]Bruni 1998, 87-92.

[27]Bruni 1998, 93-96.

[28]Fedeli et al. 1993, 92; Steingräber 1983, 118.

Roselle appears to have suffered the most due to its close proximity to Vetulonia. Here the site would only emerge from the shadow of her powerful neighbor with the arrival of the last decades of the 6th century B.C.

There is little evidence for minor centers in the hinterland of the major urban sites of the region until the late 8th century B.C., a time when Etruscan aristocrats within the future urban sites had established their dominance.[30] The best evidence for the 8th century B.C. expansion comes from the territories of Pisa and Vetulonia. The Archaic Period was in many ways a continuation of the trends of expansion and decline that were already present in the final decades of the 7th century B.C. During the Archaic period, the population of the Northern Coastal region was concentrated in the major cities of the area, the majority of which saw significant expansion in the numbers of residents and the beginnings of a tradition of monumental public architecture.[31] The period was also one of increased trade contacts with the outside world as Etruscan aristocracies eagerly sought status-reinforcing goods from abroad.[32]

The Development of Vetulonia in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods

The period of the greatest urban growth at Vetulonia, the 8th century B.C., was characterized by a nearly complete evacuation of the rural landscape, the same trend seen in the 9th century B.C. in Southern Coastal Etruria. In the territory of Vetulonia, the trend of urban consolidation lasted at least a century longer, continuing into the 8th century B.C. The

[29]Fedeli et al. 1993, 92.

[30]Cristofani 1981a, 33.

[31]Cristofani 1981b, 440.

[32]Cristofani 1981b, 441.

Figure 30. The Territory of Vetulonia in the Orientalizing Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)
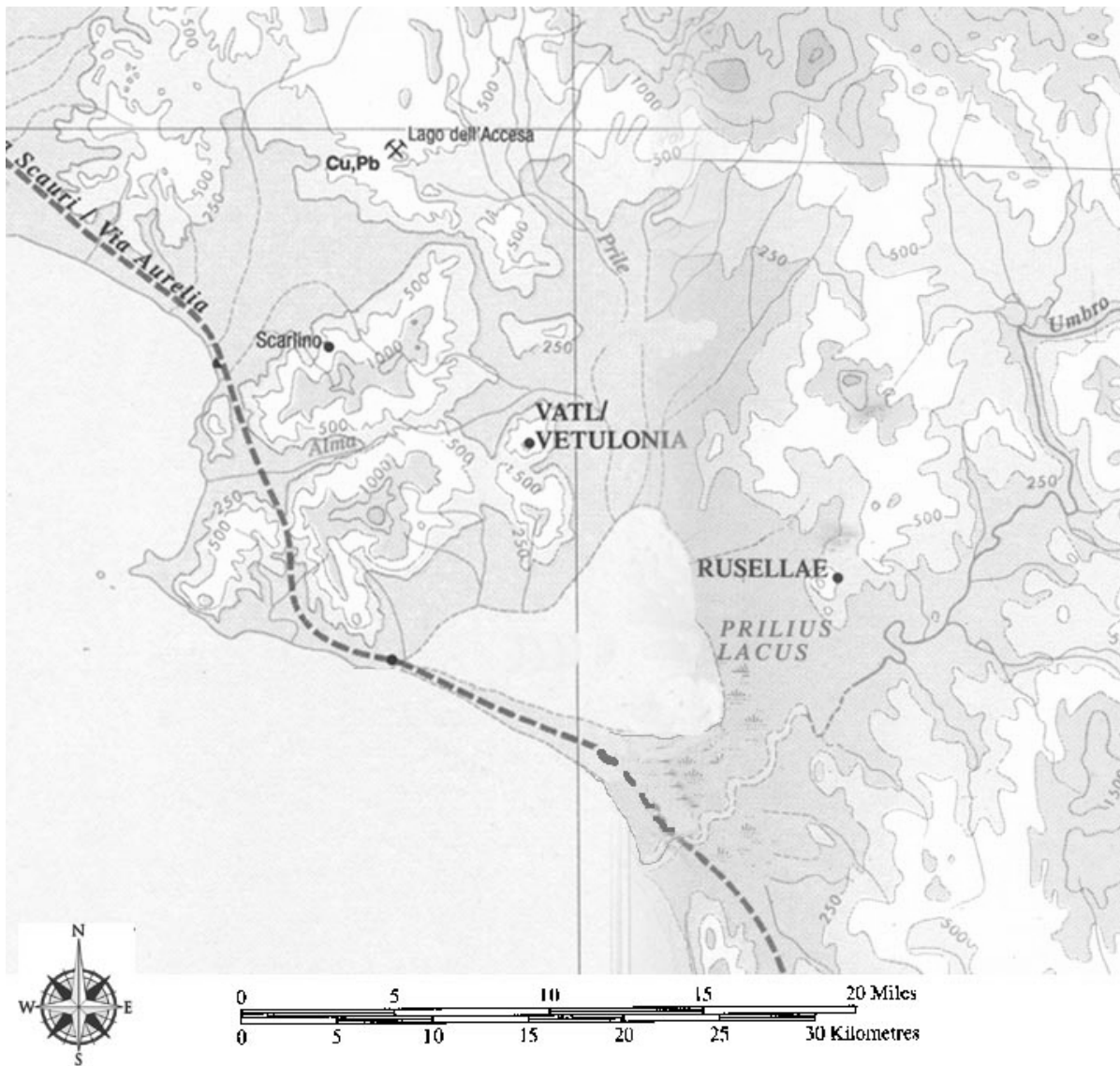
continued urban primacy within the *Ager Vetulonensis* can be linked to the city's focus on trade with the external Mediterranean world and the function of the city as the central production and market center for her network of exchange. It is telling that the only major secondary settlement to develop during the period, the *castellum* at Lago dell'Accesa, which developed in conjunction with the exploitation of the mineral deposits at Massa Marittima, was geared for the extraction of the materials that served as the basis for Vetulonia's

position in the scheme of international trade (See Figure 30).[33] This site would continue to

play an important role in the landscape of Vetulonia down to the 6th century B.C., when it

appears to have been abandoned.[34] The initial decades of the 7th century B.C. were

characterized by the growth of the city-state of Populonia at the expense of its neighbor

Vetulonia.

At the same time that Vetulonia was losing its place as the dominant player in the

pan-Mediterranean metal trade, there was significant rural expansion throughout her

territory.[35] The two need not be unrelated, however.[36] The rural expansion within

Vetulonian territory was geared at the creation of a series of transportation routes through

the region, most likely to secure her access to the mineral resources of the interior.[37] At the

same time, a limited expansion of agricultural and extractive sites was taking place in the

Pecora or Alma Valleys. There is no indication of Villanovan settlement here.[38] Only with

the beginning of the 8th century B.C., was there any push toward the valleys, and the largest

period of expansion came during the succeeding century.[39] The Alma valley was

particularly sparsely populated with only a few isolated farmsteads occupying the banks

[33]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55; Steingräber 1983, 145-146.

[34]Cristofani 1981a, 43; Cristofani 1981b, 429-430; Michelucci 1981, 144; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55.

[35]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55.

[36]Cucini 1985, 147-150; van Dommelen 1993, 174-179. The only systematic survey of the territory of Vetulonia was conducted in the area around the town of Scarlino in the early decades of the 1980's. As a result it is difficult to extrapolate on the nature of the settlement patterns present throughout the region. We are forced, then to view the small portion of the territory intensively surveyed as a microcosm of the remainder of the city-state, a methodology not without its own dangers.

[37]Curri 1978, 17.

[38]Cucini 1985, 282.

[39]Cucini 1985, 282.

along the river.[40] The main settlement of the region was a small village located at Campo di Chiara where a number of smaller sites were gathered near a necropolis stretching from Scarlino down toward the valley bottom.[41] Settlement was far sparser in the region between Scarlino and Massa Marittima with the majority of sites being small farmsteads along the Pecora drainage.[42] Despite their limited numbers, it is clear that the sites from this period were situated with an intention of controlling the major route-ways through the region along the river valleys.[43] This consolidation of the major route-ways through Vetulonian territory may have been a direct result of nervousness over growing Populonian interest in the resources of the area. Yet, the wealth of the region is attested in the expanding number of prestige items included in Orientalizing Period tombs. This elite class would continue to flourish even after the decline of Vetulonia, perhaps due to new links with Populonia due to the metal resources of the territory.[44] In fact, the creation of new non-urban sites throughout the 7th century B.C. may be the initial signs of this decay, as an alternative elite class began to break away from the primate center and to engage in contacts with Vetulonia's neighbors.

It is important to note that Vetulonia itself was located away from the main routes of communication from South to North Etruria; instead, the city dominated the track that led from the coast and the *Lacus Prilius* to the mineral rich hills of the interior upon which her wealth was dependent.[45] By the end of the 7th century B.C., this outlet was already experiencing significant changes due to the deposition of silt. These environmental

[40]Cucini 1985, 282-283.

[41]Cucini 1985, 283.

[42]Cucini 1985, 283.

[43]Cucini 1985, 285.

[44]Cucini 1985, 285.

[45]Curri 1978, 21; Cristofani 1983, 39.

alterations were restricting Vetulonia's access to the Tyrrhenian, the main factor upon which its power had been largely built.[46] Instead of controlling the other main route through her territory (the North-South route) Vetulonia appears to have been content to monitor the track-way at a distance by founding a series of smaller dependent communities.[47] The Archaic Period was witness to a process whereby the traditional urban elite were supplanted by a class of rural potentates, living in secondary centers and controlling the main routes of communication and possessing better access to the limited agriculturally productive lands.[48] In the aftermath of the fragmentation of Vetulonian territory into the hands of the rural elites, the city was unable to subsist on the agricultural resources of her territory.

Unlike the other cities of the Northern Coastal region, Vetulonia saw a significant decline during the 6th century B.C. The centripetal forces that had led to the formation of a number of rural sites in the previous century culminated in the creation of a rural elite class that served as an alternative to their urban counterparts. The best evidence for this expansion can be seen in the landscape of the Pecora and Alma Valleys covered by the Scarlino Survey. This trend of rural expansion reached its point of maximum development sometime during the early 6th century B.C.[49] From the end of the 7th century B.C. until the

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[46]Steingräber 1983, 134; Mansuelli 1988, 55. Curri (1978, 13) notes the difficulties in detecting this downturn archaeologically, given that very few remains of the Orientalizing or Archaic periods have been recovered at Vetulonia, and that the burial assemblages from tombs in the territories of Roselle and Vetulonia show a great deal of crossover. Mazzolai (1960-33) argues that the entirety of Vetulonian territory fell under the control of Roselle after the middle of the 6th century B.C. That the territory of Roselle bordered that of Populonia is surely an exaggeration.

[47]Curri 1978, 22. Apparently the founders of Vetulonia believed that the defensibility of the site was an overriding factor.

[48]Michelucci 1981, 151. Curri (1978, 25-35) cites the alteration of the lower course of the Ombrone toward a new outlet to the South of the *Lacus Prilius* as a major factor in the change of the landscape. He wishes to see the greatest period of alteration during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

[49]Curri 1978, 17.

beginning of the 5th century B.C., a series of necropoleis in the hinterland of Vetulonia, primarily along the Bruna River and its tributary the Sovata, suggest that this served as a corridor for transporting the metal ores secured in the nearby hills.[50] From the 7th century B.C., villages located at Selvello and Toraccia grew up at points that were ideally situated to control the major route through the *Ager Vetulonensis* connecting Populonia with Roselle and the cities of the Etruscan South.[51] To this network of sites a settlement at San Germano was added during the 6th century B.C.[52] A number of minor centers also existed from this early date in the Pian d'Alma.[53] By the middle of the 7th century B.C., the settlement regime of Vetulonia had also expanded to include the coastal region with a village located at Val Berretta, a site located astride the major routes into the mineral rich interior.[54] Its coastal location made the site an ideal *entrepôt* for goods exchanged for metal products.[55] In addition, a number of sites were founded along the edge of the *Lacus Prilius* in the Late 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[56]

Returning to the area documented in the Pecora and Alma basins, it should be no surprise that a number of sites, such as the villages at Val Berretta and San Germano, show continued occupation throughout the 5th century B.C.[57] The final blow may have been struck in 453 B.C. with the Syracusian raids on Elba and the cities of Coastal Etruria. These

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[50]Michelucci 1981, 137; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 56; Cristofani 1981b, 430-431; Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[51]Curri 1978, 17-19; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55; Michelucci 1981, 137.

[52]Curri 1978, 18; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55.

[53]Michelucci 1981, 137.

[54]Curri 1978, 18-20; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55.

[55]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55-56.

[56]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55; Cristofani 1981b, 430-431.

[57]Curri 1978, 23.

events severed Vetulonian contacts with the outside world.[58]   The smaller sites in the vicinity of Vetulonia almost all went into disuse during the 5th century B.C.[59]   A similar picture exists for the territory of the Gulf of Follonica. The area was nearly emptied in the wake of these events with only a few scattered tombs dotting the landscape of the 5th century B.C.[60] Despite this emigration, the site of Vetulonia did continue to be inhabited throughout the 5th century B.C., with the population even constructing a circuit of walls sometime in this period.[61]

The Growth of Pisa: the 8th-6th centuries B.C.

   In contrast, within the territory of Pisa, the development of the hinterland followed closely the trajectory of the urban center. Like in Southern Coastal Etruria, the *Ager Pisanus* witnessed a retraction in rural settlement, wherein a number of Proto-Villanovan sites were abandoned only to be reoccupied in the late 8th century B.C. Throughout the 8th century B.C., Pisa was extending its influence over the coastal plain and the Val d'Arno. This period was marked by the occupation of strategic points along the coastal dunes in conjunction with key points at the junctions of the Arno and its tributaries.[62] Two *castella* in the lower Val d'Arno, Romita di Asciano and Poggio al Marmo di San Rossore were part of this initial phase of expansion (See Figure 31).[63] The secondary center at Romita di Asciano exemplifies

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[58]Michelucci 1981, 151.

[59]Curri 1978, 37.

[60]Cucini 1985, 286.

[61]Cristofani (1981a, 44) argues for a mid 6th century B.C. date for the construction of the walls. Cp. Steingräber 1983, 134-136.

[62]Bruni 1998, 96.

[63]Bruni 1998, 92-93.

Figure 31. The Territory of Pisa in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (Adapted From Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)
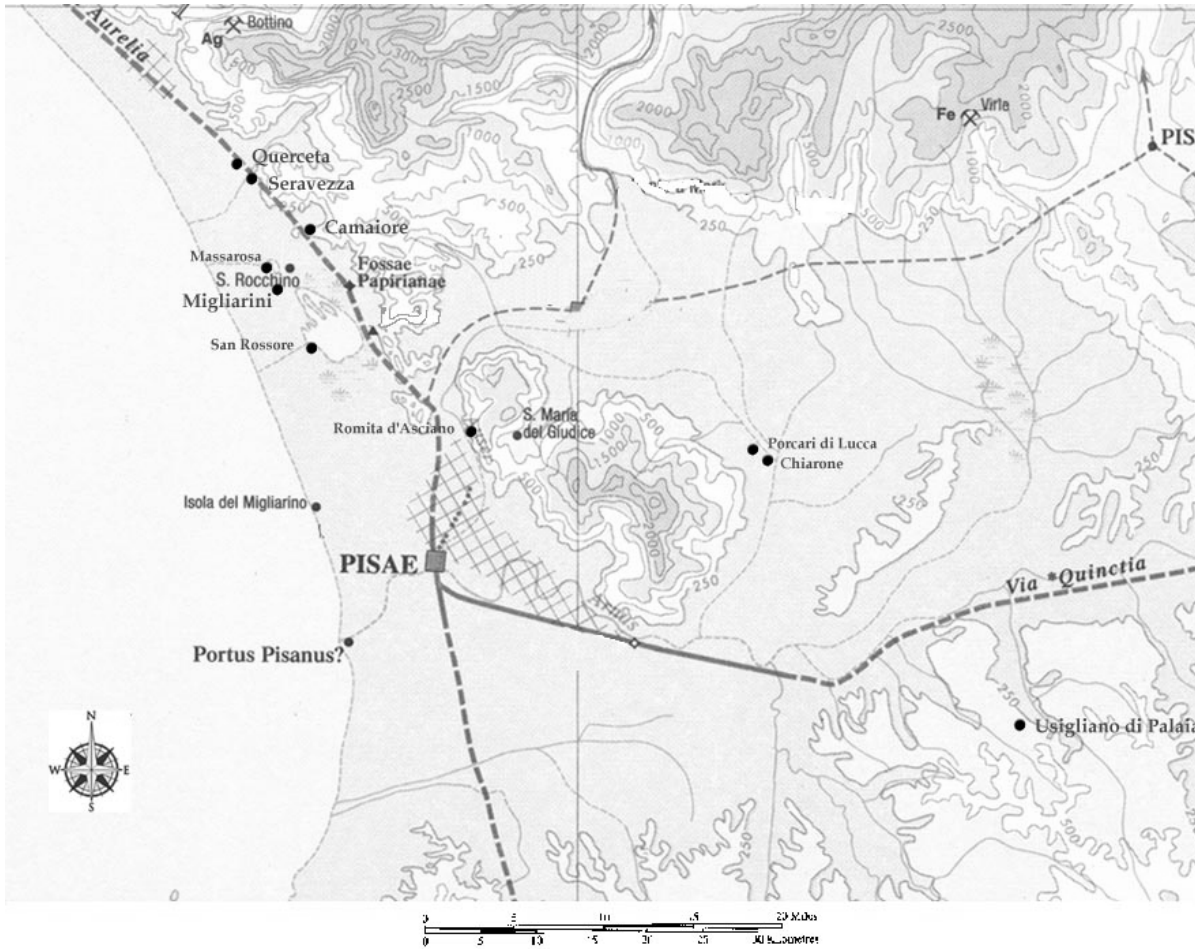
the pattern of occupation found in this region. There was extensive activity in the Proto-Villanovan period, followed by an abandonment of the *castellum* until its reoccupation in the 8th century B.C.[64]   To the South of Pisa, a number of small rural necropoleis dot the landscape, but no evidence of the settlement structures to which they are attached has been brought to light.[65] This organization most likely reflects a similar pattern to that seen in the coastal territory of Volterra where a number of necropoleis were paired with coastal villages dominating small portions of the littoral and the fertile agricultural land immediately

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[64]Bruni 1998, 96.

[65]Bruni 1998, 93.

surrounding them. These sites were generally of the *castellum* type, but a few were located in areas without significant elevation and thus most likely represent agro-towns.[66] A pair of hilltop sites was also founded in the mid 8th century B.C. along the lower course of the Serchio, a tributary of the Arno to the East of Pisa at Porcari di Lucca and Chiarone di Capanori.[67] Along the coast, a series of key sites were brought into existence during the late 8th century B.C. as well. San Rocchino and Massarosa were the two most prominent.[68] Throughout the 8th century B.C., these secondary centers were fully integrated into the economy of Pisa. The luxury goods, which were products acquired through pan-Mediterranean trade, were reaching the coastal secondary centers within the territory of Pisa. A particularly well documented example comes in the form of abundant number of Proto-Corinthian wares in the earliest levels at San Rocchino.[69] In fact, throughout the Orientalizing and Archaic Period, the coastal and riverine communities associated with Pisa may have served as the hub for the re-importation of these goods into the *Ager Fiesolanus*.[70]

The territory of Pisa saw a similar boom in rural settlement during the second half of the 7th century B.C. concomitant with the first major evidence for productive activities within the city.[71] The increase in expansion within the territory of Pisa was matched by a shift in social and cultural relations within the city, as elites within the city began to construct massive communal *tumuli* as symbols of their power over the landscape in a

[66]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470-471; Saggin 2000, 44-45.

[67]Bruni 1999, 250, 253-254; Bruni 1998, 93.

[68]Bruni 1999, 248.

[69]Bruni 1998, 97.

[70]Bruni 1998, 97.

[71]Bruni 1999, 251. These industrial activities include the production of pottery and the processing of iron.

similar process as that seen in the territory of Tarquinia.[72] In its hinterland, Pisa began to fill

out the available territory. The Serchio Valley saw significant late 7th century B.C. expansion

in the form of a series of small agro-towns that functioned as a control over the major route

of communication through the region, the Arno.[73] At the same time, a number of sites, the

best known of which is Usigliano di Palaia, were founded at the Southern edge of the Val

d'Arno near its confluence with the Egola.[74] Even in these small agro-towns, consisting

merely of small structures, there was continued evidence of the integral part that such

communities played in the organization of Pisan territory. At the edges of Pisa's influence,

these small centers still employed a ceramic series of characteristically Pisan manufacture.[75]

The late 7th century B.C. saw the rise of a number of small port sites including San

Piero a Grado at the mouth of the Arno.[76] A number of these port sites were founded to the

North of Pisa along the Ligurian coast including the *castella* at Migliarini, Pozzi di

Seravezza, Querceta and Villa Mansi di Camaiore.[77]   The sites of San Rocchino and

Massarosa founded in the previous century expanded throughout the 7th and early 6th

centuries B.C.[78] The material recovered from San Rocchino (the only extensively excavated

site in the area) suggest that these sites were geared toward external trade.[79] Given their

distance from the city of Pisa, these sites must have served as hubs for the exploitation of the

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[72]Zifferero 1995.

[73]Bruni 1999, 252. These sites also clearly played a significant role in the agricultural boom evidenced in the production of large quantities of transport *amphorae* recovered from the urban center.

[74]Bruni 1999, 256.

[75]Bruni 1999, 257-259.

[76]Pasquinucci 1992, 536; Bruni 1998, 173.

[77] Bruni 1998, 173; Bruni 1999, 251-252.

[78] Bruni 1998, 173.

[79] Bruni 1998, 176.

productive potential of the surrounding territory as well. Farther afield, at the Northern limit of the Ligurian coast, Pisa may have founded a number of sites situated to take advantage of the mineral resources there.[80] This is especially likely given the degree of control that Populonia was already exercising over Elban resources at this date. These communities appear to have been multi-ethnic in their composition and reflect an organization that follows the *emporion* model.[81] Because of the great distance between these sites and the main urban center, they would have been under a limited control of Pisa as part of her extended sphere of influence rather than under her direct control. Evidence for the area to the South of the Arno is scarcer. It is possible that Livorno was occupied already in the Archaic Period and that Pisa dominated the area as far as the mouth of the Fine where her territory bordered that of Volterra.[82]

The late 7th and 6th centuries B.C. also marked a point of transformation of the interior of the *Ager Pisanus.* Unlike Populonia where no significant secondary settlement developed until the Hellenistic Period, the *Ager Pisanus* was populated by an increasing number of *fattoria* complexes as early as the 6th century B.C., a trend already seen in Southern Coastal Etruria[83] These small farmsteads were most densely concentrated in positions along major intersections in the network of communication within the *Ager Pisanus* such as the Serchio and Era valleys.[84] These sites were most likely part of an expansion aimed at opening up greater extents of the Pisan hinterland to settlement and with the exploitation of marginal environments. One prominent site located along one of

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[80]Bruni 1998, 176.

[81]Bruni 1998, 177; Bruni 1999, 253.

[82]Bruni 1999, 262-263; Bruni 1998, 177-178.

[83]Bruni 1998, 180.

[84]Bruni 1998, 180-181

the tributaries of the Val d'Era, and thus the boundary with Volterra, was Parlascio di Casciana.[85]

This dispersed settlement pattern appears to have begun to show signs of nucleation with the initial years of the 5th century B.C., as a number of communal sanctuaries were founded at places like Chiarone di Capannori.[86] Amphora evidence suggests that Pisa played a major role in the trade of the Northern Tyrrhenian during the second half of the 6th century B.C. following the expansion of Etruscan influence in the wake of the defeat of the Phoceans at Aleria.[87] It is unsurprising then that the first evidence from Isola di Migliarino, a port located at the mouth of the Serchio, and thus perfect for controlling such trade, dates from this period.[88]

Populonia's Growing Power in the Archaic Period

Evidence for the development of the rural landscape of the territory around Populonia is particularly sparse, but some of the main trends can be summarized. With the subsequent decline of Vetulonia beginning in the late 7th century B.C., Populonia appears to have flourished as a true industrial power.[89] Populonia underwent a significant increase in its power due to her increasing control over the metal resources of the interior at the expense of Vetulonia.[90] During the Archaic Period Populonia may have even gained control

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[85]Bruni 1999, 259.

[86]Bruni 1998, 183-184.

[87]Bruni 1998, 192-196.

[88]Pasquinucci 1992, 535; Bruni 1998, 194-196. In connection with Pisa's expanding role as a major Mediterranean port city, material with strong affinities to that of the city of Pisa has been found throughout the region in places such as Massalia and Genoa.

[89]Steingräber 1983, 118.

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over the resources of the Pecora and Alma valleys discussed in detail earlier. An extensive

urban community arose on the *arx* of Populonia and extensive necropoleis began to dot the

shoreline first during the Archaic Period.[91] Few necropoleis were found outside the urban

and suburban areas.[92] In addition, at the end of the 6th century B.C., the inhabitants of the

city constructed a circuit of defensive walls that incorporated the citadel.[93] Unlike the other

centers of Coastal Etruria, however, Populonia did not develop an extensive settlement

scheme in its hinterland. Instead, Populonia appears to have relied heavily on exchange for

its subsistence goods.[94]   Despite the significant development of the urban community, only

a few sites of the 7th century B.C. have been identified within the hinterland of Populonia.

The majority of these sites lay along the coast in the Gulf of Follonica and to the North of

Populonia at places such as Podere Sant'Antonio, Franciani, Affitti, Poggio al Lupo, and

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[90]Martelli 1981, 169; Cristofani 1981a, 43-44; Steingräber 1983, 118; Fedeli et al. 1993, 107-108. Fedeli et al. (1993, 108) suggests that in the 6th century B.C. the resources of Elba were by no means a Populonian monopoly. Instead, they were the province of the Etruscan nation under the leadership of Cerveteri and only with the Syracusan raids of the 5th century did Populonia assume dominance. This theory, fails to take into consideration the strong cultural affinities between Archaic Elba and Populonia as well as the vicinity of the two centers. If Populonia did not already have a monopoly on Elban iron in the Archaic Period, it was already importing the lion's share of the ore. The city appears to have begun to exploit the mineral resources of its hinterland as early as the 8th century B.C., but trade and processing of metal reached its peak in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The iron processing took primarily place on the shoreline along the Gulf of Baratti beginning in the Late 7th – Early 6th century B.C. A reorganization of the areas of production accompanied the intensification of ore processing. An industrial zone was created in the vicinity of Porcareccia and Casone. As production moved from the city center towards these areas in the 6th century B.C. necropoleis also expanded in these directions.

[91]Fedeli et al. 1993, 93-97; Fedeli 1983, 112. The rich imported burial goods from the necropoleis at Populonia suggest that, at the same time Populonia began to develop the extensive Mediterranean contacts found in other Etruscan coastal cities. Trade was particularly heavy with Corsica, Elba, and the Phocaen settlement of Massalia.

[92]Cristofani 1981b, 432-433.

[93]Martelli 1981, 156; Cristofani 1981a, 44; Steingräber 1983, 120. Fedeli (1983, 125-126) would date the walls slightly later, placing them in the aftermath of the Greek victory at Cumae in 474 B.C.

[94]Cristofani 1981a, 44; Steingräber 1983, 118; Martelli 1981, 171; Fedeli et al. 1993, 112-117. Trade links in this early period were primarily with the cities of Southern Coastal Etruria rather than with the cities of the interior. After the battle of Aleria the eastern coast of Corsica fell within the sphere of Populonian influence. Populonia also engaged in extensive exchange with the communities of the Ligurian Coast and Tyrrhenian France. Throughout the 6th century B.C. there was a consistent flow of East Greek and Attic imports into Populonia.

Figure 32. The Territory of Populonia in the Archaic Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)

Fattoria Alba, all about twelve kilometers from Populonia (See Figure 32).[95] These villages appear to have been active well into the 6th century B.C. and were comprised of groups of huts.[96] They may have served to exploit the marine resources of the coastal region in the same way seen in the territory of Vulci. A pair of major settlements also arose in the interior at Campiglia Marittima and Val Fucinaia. Both sites saw their greatest period of florescence later, but excavations have revealed that these sites were in use as early as the end of the 7th century B.C. perhaps as a result of Populonia's expanding interest in securing the metal resources of the interior.[97]

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[95]Fedeli 1983, 114; Fedeli et al. 1993, 97.

[96]Fedeli et al. 1993, 97.

[97]Steingräber 1983, 131; Fedeli et al. 1993, 97.

<u>Roselle Asserts its Independence</u>

Like Pisa, Roselle was slow to show true urban characteristics. The main hills of the future city were densely populated only with the beginning in the middle of the 7th century B.C., and the religious landscape of the city emerged with the construction of a series of temples late in the 6th century B.C.[98] The community grew rather slowly, and only reached a size of forty one hectares (far smaller than its other Etruscan counterparts).[99] The boundary with Vetulonia, its neighbor to the North, followed the Bruna and Asina Rivers.[100] Roselle, unlike its neighbors Vetulonia and Populonia, was not solely in existence to exploit the mineral resources of the region. Instead, it also controlled key points of access into the interior (most notably the Ombrone, but also the overland routes such as the predecessor to the Via Aurelia Vetus).[101] The Archaic period remains of a community situated at Istia di Ombrone should be seen in the light of Roselle's function as a gateway to the interior.[102] Roselle was also situated to take advantage of the fertile agricultural land that surrounded the site.[103] In its agricultural emphasis on production, Roselle was similar to the cities of Southern Etruria, and perhaps Pisa and Volterra. Unlike Vetulonia, its neighbor to the North, Roselle played little role in the overseas commerce in luxury goods (direct contacts only with Sardinia can be hypothesized from the city's burial assemblages).[104] Instead, most

[98]Bocci Pacini 1981, 129.

[99]Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[100]Mazzolai 1960, 33.

[101]Bocci Pacini 1981, 129; Cristofani 1981a, 43; Cristofani 1981b, 432; Mazzolai 1960, 47-51. Mazzolai (1960, 55-59) assumes that there was a great deal of metal production within the *Ager Rusellanus*, but this is predicated on his assumption that much of the territory of Vetulonia belonged to Roselle after the 6th century B.C.

[102]Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[103]Curri 1978, 23; Bocci Pacini 1981, 124.

[104]Curri 1978, 23.

of the imports from her territory must have come as a result of exchange with her neighbors functioning as intermediaries.[105] The location of Roselle, coupled with the early 7th century B.C. date for the first major phase of occupation (similar in date to the other major secondary centers founded by Vetulonia) suggests that it originally may have been one of the minor centers that Vetulonia used to control the major North-South route in coastal Etruria as well as the Ombrone.[106] It is not a coincidence that Roselle was the first city within Etruria to build a set of city walls, as they were probably aimed at asserting independence from Vetulonia. This occurred precisely at the time when the site had outgrown its role as a minor village community in the middle of the 6th century B.C.[107] Roselle gained in importance with the concomitant decline of Vetulonia, perhaps because of a direct confrontation between the two cities.[108] In the aftermath of the fragmentation of Vetulonian territory into the hands of the rural elites who controlled the major routes of communication throughout the region, the city was unable to subsist on the agricultural resources of her territory. In contrast, Roselle's access to the fertile alluvial plain and terraces surrounding the Ombrone provided the means for securing an agricultural surplus. The expansion of the urban center of the territory was clearly linked to this type of staple finance economy. Roselle was the only Etruscan city without a dependent port community or a seaside location, and as a result, the city was dependent on her more active maritime neighbors for status-reinforcing goods from abroad. Roselle did, however, serve as the access point for goods coming from the interior along the Ombrone, with the city acting as

[105]Curri 1978, 23.

[106]Cristofani 1983, 39.

[107]Cristofani 1981b, 435; Cristofani 1981a, 44.; Curri 1978, 22; van der Graaff 2005, 96-99.

[108]Mansuelli 1988, 55-56; Steingräber 1983, 134; Mazzolai 1960, 33..

an exchange center for goods from the inland region. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the rural territory of Roselle.

Early and Late Periods of Crisis

Northern Coastal Etruria saw a significantly different experience than the cities of the Southern Coast throughout the 5th century B.C. By the beginning of the 5th century B.C., Vetulonia was already mostly irrelevant to the political situation within Northern Coastal Etruria.   Excepting Vetulonia, the majority of the city-states of the region saw a concentration of population in the major urban centers, along with the retraction of rural settlement.[109] At the end of the 5th century B.C., the newly concentrated urban populations began to engage in a number of civic projects.[110] Populonia, with its continued dominance over the region's metal resources, escaped the downturn of the 5th century B.C. altogether, as the site maintained a significant degree of connectivity even with Greek markets.[111] This suggests that the raids of Syracuse were only effective in breaking the maritime power of the Southern Etruscan cities, leaving the trading empires of Populonia, and to a lesser extent Pisa, intact. Pisa appears to have fared similarly due to its continued unobstructed access to Northern Tyrrhenian markets.

Due to her continued production of metal, Populonia did not suffer the same decline in wealth as the cities of Southern Etruria following the defeat at Cumae in 474 B.C.[112] In

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[109]Pisa represents an exception to this pattern. Only the urban center appears to have experienced a period of crisis, while the rural territory did not see any slackening in the pace of settlement until the 4th century. This may be a result of the insulation of Pisa from the restructuring that took place in the Southern Tyrrhenian as a result of the victories of the Greeks at Cumae and the subsequent Syracusian raids on Southern Coastal Etruria.

[110]Cristofani 1981b, 441.

[111]Cristofani 1981b, 441.

[112]Steingräber 1983, 118.

fact, Populonia took advantage of the decline of the maritime power of the Southern Coastal

cities to solidify her sphere of influence in the Northern Tyrrhenian.[113] Populonia appears to

have maintained strong contact with the Greek world throughout the 5th and 4th centuries

B.C. because of her continued dominance of the resources of Elba, even despite the

Syracusian depredations of the region in 453 and 384 B.C.[114] Throughout the 5th century

B.C., Populonia was one of the only Etruscan city-states to see the continued importation of

Attic Red-Figure vases.[115] At the same time, Populonia also bolstered its connections with

Etruria Padana.[116] Despite the maintenance of an extensive trade network, there were signs

of a decline in rural settlement in the hinterland of the city, suggesting that the same urban

concentration of power found in other Etruscan city-states occurred at Populonia as well.[117]

During the 5th century B.C., Populonia transformed herself into a settlement focused on

urban production and external trade at the expense of a developed hinterland.[118]

The territory of Pisa does not appear to have followed the same pattern seen in other

Etruscan cities. Instead, environmental disasters connected with the flooding of the Arno

and Auser, led to a significant degradation of the monumental structure of the city along

with its population numbers.[119] The problems seen in the initial decades of the 5th century

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[113]Cristofani 1983, 84-85; Fedeli et al. 1993, 118; Martelli 1981, 172.

[114]Martelli 1981, 153; Cristofani 1981a, 50. Fedeli et al. (1993, 108; 1983, 125-126) rightly see the Syracusan raids on Elba as a temporary setback rather than an event with lasting consequences.

[115]Fedeli 1983, 125; Fedeli et al. 1993, 118.

[116]Fedeli et al. 1993, 121.

[117]Fedeli et al. 1993, 117.

[118]Fedeli 1983, 133; Fedeli et al. 1993, 117.

[119] Bruni 1998, 198; 209-214. The main sanctuary located in the modern Piazza di Duomo was destroyed. This set the stage for a reorganization of the civic and religious landscape of the city of Pisa in the second half of the 5th century B.C. In the Piazza di Duomo a new sacred complex complete with an altar was constructed. The votives suggest that the complex was associated with a divinity who presided over rituals of passage for Pisan youths.

Figure 33. The Territory of Pisa in the 5th and 4th Century B.C. (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)
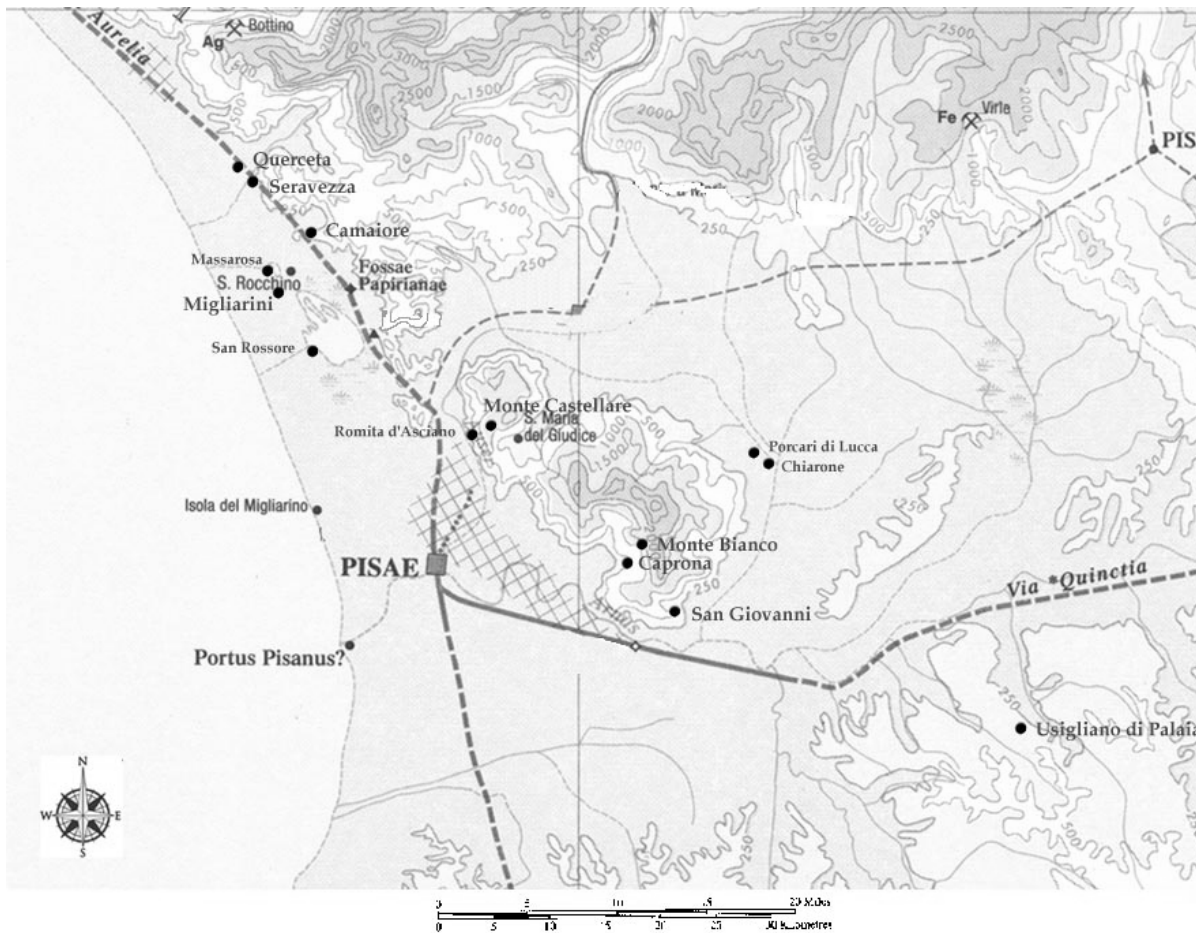
B.C. with regard to the urban space were not echoed throughout the territory. This is the opposite of the trend seen in the majority of the Etruscan landscape, where the 5th century B.C. was characterized by an increase in urban power rather than an expansion of rural settlement. Here instead, the rural the pattern of settlement was augmented (See Figure 33).[120] The trend of expanding dispersed settlement that had characterized Southern Coastal Etruria in the 6th century B.C. can be found in the *Ager Pisanus* in the succeeding century. A

In last years of the 5th century B.C. or the early years to the 4th century B.C., the area of the Piazza Dante also saw significant reorganization as the zone, previously occupied by private houses was converted into a sacred zone with monumental cultic structures. This building was decorated with a series of *antifices* that saw their origin in Volsinian territory, but were widely dispersed throughout Etruria in religious complexes within primary and secondary centers, suggesting that Pisa was participating in the Etruria wide consumption of cultural elements.

[120]Bruni 1998, 198.

number of aristocratic farmsteads of the *fattoria* type were founded in the Serchio valley and around the Lago di Sesto filling out a landscape already populated with secondary centers.[121] It is telling that there was no similar expansion of coastal settlement during the 5th century B.C.[122] This suggests that the city of Pisa was beginning to look toward the interior in order to support the elite classes within the urban sphere.

It is important to note at this point, when other Etruscan cities were in the process of constructing city-walls, Pisa never appears to have adopted this expediency.[123] Instead, the city relied on the string of *castella* located along the Monti Pisani and on the presence of the marshes that surrounded the city for protection.[124] The site at Monte Spazzavento occupied a key position in this network, situated at the Northern edge of the Monti Pisani where they intersect with the plain of the Upper Serchio valley.[125] The site at Monte Castellare di Asciano occupied a similar position at the Northern edge of the hinterland of the city.[126] Both sites were characterized by rich depositions of imported Attic wares of Black Figure and Black Glaze.[127] The latter site may have contained a small sanctuary as well.[128] This suggests that these sites were closely tied into the urban networks of production and

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[121]Bruni 1998, 199.

[122]Bruni 1998, 199.

[123]Bruni 1998, 228-230.

[124]Bruni 1999, 254-255; Bruni 1998, 230-231. Other Etruscan cities, such as Spina also relied on marshy ground as a protective barrier in the absence of a fortification wall. The absence of a fortification wall for the city proper may also be the result of a perceived lack of danger in the 5th century B.C. It should be noted that Pisa was fairly insulated from the major upheavals of inter-city warfare and the conflict with Rome and the Greeks in comparison with the other Etruscan cities.

[125]Bruni 1998, 203.

[126]Bruni 1998, 203.

[127]Bruni 1998, 203.

[128]Bruni 1998, 203-204.

distribution, perhaps as a result of the key position these sites occupied in the defensive scheme of the city. They were abandoned in the initial decades of the 4th century B.C., only to be replaced by a similar series of sites to the East, wedged between the Monti Pisani and the Arno west of the Serchio.[129] This string of fortified settlements most likely sees its analogy in the sites found along the Mugello Valley, and to the North of Arezzo in the Casentino.[130] These sites were all most likely built in order to protect the *Ager Pisanus* from the threat of the Ligurians to the North, as well as from the unstable situation presented by the presence of the Gauls in the Po plain beginning in the 5th century B.C.[131] Similar growth to that found in the interior of the *Ager Pisanus* was absent in the communities of the coast to the North of Pisa, perhaps due to their essentially non agricultural nature. Only San Rocchino showed signs of growth in the 5th century B.C.[132] A different arrangement was coming into existence in the area of the mouth of the Arno. The site at *Portus Pisanus*, active since the Orientalizing period, was now coming to dominate the coastal region as a central place for Pisan access to the Tyrrhenian.[133] The dominance of the *Portus Pisanus* is confirmed by the 5th century B.C. destruction of the site at San Piero a Grado.[134] This consolidation of the arrangement of the major port facilities employed by the city echoes the same trend seen a century earlier in Southern Coastal Etruria.

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[129]Bruni 1998, 204.

[130]Bruni 1998, 204. Cp. Vander Poppen 2003, 98-99; Curri et al. 1967; Steingräber 1983, 70-72.

[131]Polybius 2.16.2; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 34.55.1; 35.3.1; 41.13.

[132]Bruni 1998, 199.

[133]Cristofani 1983, 39

[134]Bruni 1998, 202. Both sites saw a resurgence in the 4th century B.C. most likely as centers of small scale cabotage.

In the territory of Pisa, a true crisis cannot be seen until the initial decades of the 4th century B.C., a century later than the majority of the coastal centers of the south.[135] Instead, the decline was a result of the increasing pressure of Ligurian and Gallic expansion on the *Ager Pisanus*.[136] The 4th century B.C. witnessed the destruction of the line of defensive sites that made up the defensive belt that occupied the Monti Pisani and their replacement by a series of new *castellum* sites. The primary sites of this later defensive system included Caprona, Monte Bianco, Monte Castellare di San Giovane alla Vena, and Monte d'Oro.[137] Like many of the fortified sites in Southern coastal Etruria, Monte Bianco was paired with a necropolis of its own.[138] These sites were soon replaced by a more extensive network as a direct result of the previous system to protect Pisan interests in the Val d'Arno. Throughout this period of decline, the inhabitants of the city maintained access to goods imported from the Greek world, as foreign vases remained popular grave goods.[139]

The transformation of the 5th century B.C. landscape of Roselle is harder to gauge, but based on the meager evidence of Mazzolai's study, there does appear to have been a decline in rural settlement during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[140] Despite the loss of rural settlements, Roselle, like its other Northern counterparts, does not seem to have suffered a severe loss of contact with the Greek world during the 5th century B.C. Abundant Greek

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[135]Bruni 1998, 217-218. Populonia also did not see a substantial decline during the 5th century B.C. Instead, the site began to fall by the wayside with the initial decades of the 2nd century B.C.

[136]Bruni 1998, 218.

[137]Bruni 1998, 204-205.

[138]Bruni 1998, 204.

[139]Bruni 1998, 218-219.

[140]Mazzolai 1960, 24.

vases flowed into Roselle throughout the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[141] This may have been

due to Roselle's dependence on her still thriving Northern neighbor Populonia for access to

foreign prestige goods, or due to her links with the cities of the interior via the Ombrone.

Hellenistic and Republican Transformations

Beginning in the 4th century B.C., there was a significant shift in the majority of the

cities of Northern Coastal Etruria away from the exploitation of metal resources towards an

agricultural basis.[142] Even in the territory of Populonia, the major producer of metal

resources, this trend began to emerge in the Republican Period. The new agricultural

settlements of the region were tied to the course of the Via Aurelia.[143] There was continued

rural expansion in the territories of Pisa and Vetulonia, and a similar trend can be assumed

for the landscape of Roselle. The major city-states of the region all came under the political

sway of Rome during this period, in some cases as part of a favorably negotiated alliance,

and in others as a result of military conquest. Overall, the events surrounding the transition

to Roman rule were not accompanied by major changes of the landscape. Roselle, in fact,

was the first Etruscan city to fall to the Romans (294 B.C.). The limited notices in the

historical sources suggest that despite the harsh Roman action in the wake of the sack of the

city, there was a substantial recovery almost immediately. It is likely that Roselle regained

its autonomy fairly quickly under the same terms as would be demanded of the cities of

Southern Etruria: the cost of a portion of her territory, the installation of a garrison, removal

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[141]Bocci Pacini 1981, 129.

[142]Cristofani 1981b, 436.

[143]Cristofani 1981b, 435.

of weapons and ships, and the exchange of hostages.[144] This circumstance is in accordance

with Mazzolai's assertion that the entire Grosseto plain saw a period of expansion in

agricultural usage beginning in the 3rd century B.C.[145] By the end of the century, Roselle was

in a position to aid the expedition of Scipio with the provision of the important agricultural

crops of grain and timber.[146]   During the same century, a building within the area of the

forum, presumably a temple, received a new set of architectural terracottas.[147]

The Rebirth of the *Ager Vetulonensis*

The substantial body of rural evidence for the settlement of the territory around

Vetulonia suggests that the 4th century B.C. marked a period of initial recovery following the

downturn of the 5th century B.C. Within the territory of Vetulonia, the major concentration

of population continued to shift away from the urban center. The late 4th century B.C. saw

the territory reinvigorated through the construction of the settlements of Poggio Castiglione

(along the Lago di Accesa), Monte d'Alma, Monte Clavo and Scarlino, all fortified *castella*

that would survive until the 3rd century B.C.[148] These sites were ideally situated to provide a

measure of control over the mineral resources that lay between the *castella*.[149] A number of

small sites were also re-founded during the last years of the 4th century B.C. in the fertile

land along the *Lacus Prilius,* as the Hellenistic city shifted toward a more substantial

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[144]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 10.37.1-5.

[145]Mazzolai 1960, 24.

[146]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.45.

[147]Mansuelli 1988, 57.

[148]Cristofani 1981a, 44; Cucini 1985, 286; Steingräber 1983, 134.

[149]Cucini 1985, 286; Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 57; Cristofani 1981a, 44.

dependence on agricultural resources.[150] The city of Vetulonia regained a marginal degree of importance in the new Roman system when a second circuit of walls was constructed.[151] Late Etruscan Vetulonia shows a substantial degree of urban reorganization, with the introduction of a street grid and extensive activity on the *arx*.[152] During this period of resurgence, Vetulonia fostered close economic contacts with Chiusi and Populonia.[153] The territory of Vetulonia was drawn into the orbit of the Roman Empire at an early stage, likely following the conquest of Roselle in 294 B.C.[154]

Here, as in Southern Etruria, the layout of the major Roman roadway (the *Via Aurelia*) had much to do with the subsequent pattern of settlement. The original route of the Via Aurelia followed the path of the old Etruscan route. Thus, it bypassed Vetulonia to the East, running along the Bruna and Sovata valleys.[155] When the Via Aurelia was reorganized in the early 2nd century B.C., it bypassed the Etruscan city to the West along the coast, suggesting that the city was irrelevant to the new order of the region.[156] The series of small sites that had grown up along these valleys disappeared after the transfer of the road to the South.[157] Along the new coastal route, a major *statio* (possibly ancient Salebrum) grew up at

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[150]Curri 1978, 37.

[151]Steingräber 1983, 134-136.

[152]Mansuelli 1988, 56.

[153]Mansuelli 1988, 56; Steingräber 1983, 134.

[154]Cucini 1985, 286; Steingräber 1983, 134; Wiseman 1979, 133-134.

[155]Curri 1978, 38.

[156]Steingräber 1983, 134-135.

[157]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 58; Curri 1978, 38-39.

Castiglione della Pescaia.[158]   A number of other small farmstead sites can be found along

this track as well, beginning in the late 3rd century B.C.[159]

Hellenistic Populonia: Growth and Continuity

The territory of Populonia saw a far different course of development and experience

of incorporation than that seen in the landscape around Vetulonia and Roselle. The second

half of the 4th century B.C. and the early 3rd century B.C. were periods of substantial growth.

The population of Populonia boomed along with the production of metal. The two are

surely connected.[160] In this period of prosperity, a second set of fortifications encircling the

entirety of the city was added, perhaps in response to the Roman expansion occurring in the

South.[161] A few small burial sites suggest that there was also an expansion in agricultural

production in the area immediately bordering the city.[162] The major agro-town at Fattoria

Alba, at the North end of the Gulf of Baratti, continued to be used throughout the

Hellenistic period.[163] The expansion of rural sites was not limited to the coastal region

[158]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 57; Curri 1978, 40; Mazzolai 1960, 25-26.

[159]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 57. Cp. Michelucci (1981, 148) and Mansuelli (1988, 56) who note that like many other cities of Northern Etruria Vetulonia saw a concomitant revamping of the civic center at the same time that there was an expansion of rural settlement. Vetulonia saw a limited urban renaissance during the 2nd century B.C., which included the refurbishing of one of the temples at Poggiarello Renzetti with a new program of terracottas.

[160]Fedeli et al. 1993, 122-125. Inscriptional evidence from the city suggests that the industrial workforce comprised individuals from throughout the Western Mediterranean including such areas as Spain, Sardinia, and Corsica. Fedeli 1983, 145. During the same period a group of suburban industrial zones were added to those along the shore of the Gulf of Baratti.

[161]Steingräber 1983, 120; Martelli 1981, 156; Fedeli 1983, 133-136, 155; Fedeli et al, 1993, 123-124.   These walls did not incorporate the majority of the necropoleis and settlements in the industrial zone situated along the coast, but did protect the entire promontory.

[162]Fedeli 1983, 147-148.

[163]Fedeli 1983, 148.

Figure 34. The Territory of Populonia in the Hellenistic Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)
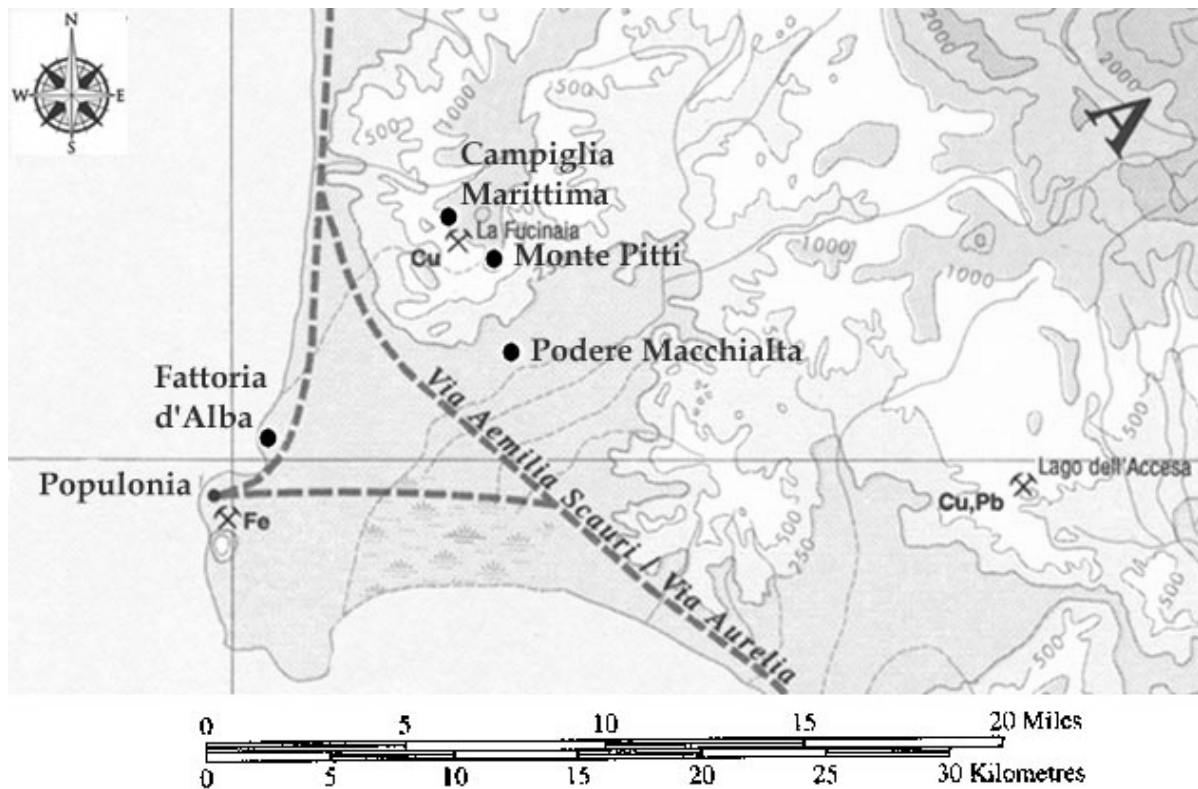
around the city (See Figure 34). This period saw the greatest development of minor centers in the interior associated with the extraction and initial processing of metals. A series of Hellenistic ore processing furnaces have been recovered from Val Fucinaia and Campiglia Marittima.[164] In relation to these sites, a minor center grew up during the 4th century B.C. at Castelluccio (Monte Pitti), where there is evidence for metal processing at a fortified site of the *castellum* type. The site went out of use in the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. along with a number of the other similar sites located at the edge of the mineral rich zone of the interior.[165] At a site only a few kilometers from Castelluccio, at Podere Macchialta, a similar

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[164]Steingräber 1983, 131; Fedeli 1983, 148.

[165]Martelli 1981, 173; Fedeli 1983, 148.

site of the Hellenistic period (3rd-2nd B.C.) was supplanted by a Roman villa.[166] To the North, the site at Madonna di Fucinaia also saw a period of florescence during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[167] All of these sites were located ca. fifteen kilometers from Populonia and may have provided points of redistribution and collection in the hinterland of the major urban centers, allowing closer control over the metal resources of the region.[168]

Populonia was drawn into the Roman sphere at some point during the first half of the 3rd century B.C., probably as a *civitas foederata.* Such an arrangement ensured favorable terms that allowed the city to keep the majority of her territory.[169] There was very little disruption of the territory of Populonia.[170] The *castellum* at Poggio Castelluccio (the settlement for the Monte Pitti necropolis) was destroyed in this period, but overall the landscape appears to have been quite stable. Other sites in the Campigliese continued in existence into the 2nd century B.C.[171] Only a small portion of the *retroterra* of Populonia (near Caffagio) was drawn into the orbit of a Roman community at *Aquae Populoniae*, perhaps also called *Forum Subertanum* as early as 211 B.C.[172] This site may have been founded on land confiscated from Populonia at the time of its *foedus.* In fact, the 2nd century B.C. was a time

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[166]Fedeli 1983, 148.

[167]Fedeli 1983, 148.

[168]Fedeli 1983, 149.

[169]Steingräber 1983, 118; Fedeli 1983, 155.

[170]Fedeli et al. 1993, 125. Evidence of these early and friendly contacts with Rome can be found in the presence of a workshop associated with the *Atelier des Petites Estampilles* at Populonia. A number of other Latial and Roman ceramic types have been recovered at Populonia in great quantities from levels beginning in the early 3rd century B.C. Populonia also appears to have been the major exporter of goods from Rome, the Faliscan area, and Southern Etruria throughout the Northern Tyrrhenian down to the 1st century B.C.

[171]Fedeli et al. 1993, 126.

[172]Mansuelli 1988, 59; Fedeli et al. 1993, 130; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.52; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 26.23.5-26.27.5. Fedeli (1983, 159) identifies the site as modern Caffagio.

of great expansion of population into the countryside, as both mining activity and agricultural production were augmented.

The city was besieged in 282 B.C. as part of the Gallic war against Rome, and provided resources to the Roman navy in its endeavors around Corsica in the middle of the century.[173]   The city remained loyal throughout the Second Punic War, providing Scipio with much needed iron for his expedition, and receiving the Roman fleet in 203 B.C. during its expedition to Sardinia.[174] The 2nd century B.C. saw a building boom on the acropolis of Populonia, as a forum and a new temple were constructed near the Hellenistic predecessors.[175] Throughout the Mid-Republican period, Populonia continued to play an important role in metal production.[176] This fact may have accounted for the continued prosperity and success of the city in the era before the Social War.

Pisa in the Hellenistic Period

As in the territory of Populonia, the 3rd-1st centuries B.C., marked a resurgence of Pisan power and territorial extension accompanied by a renewal of the civic infrastructure. This expansion was crystallized as Pisa entered into a fruitful alliance with Rome that made the city a major asset in the Roman campaigns against the Ligurians beginning in the 3rd century B.C. Pisa's incorporation into the Roman alliance was accomplished without any hostilities in Pisan territory, and there is no indication that a punitive colony was placed in

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[173]Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.2.7.; Cristofani 1981a, 44.

[174]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.45.; Fedeli 1983, 155.

[175]Fedeli et al. 1993, 126.

[176]Cristofani 1981a, 44; Steingräber 1983, 118-119; Mansuelli 1988, 58.

the region on confiscated land.[177] Already as early as 225 B.C., Rome was using Pisan ports

as bases in order to launch raids on Sardinia and against Gallic invaders.[178] Perhaps because

of Pisa's utility to Rome as a northern bulwark against these enemies, the 4th and 3rd

centuries B.C. saw a significant reorganization and expansion of building in both the city

center and the countryside.

From the initial decades of the 3rd century B.C., the coastal zone to the south of the

Arno began to be exploited through a new series of port communities such as the ones at

Castiglioncello and Quercianella, while *Portus Pisanus* remained an active site.[179] A number

of small sites along the coast were engaged in the production of ceramics and tile from the

3rd century B.C.[180] The creation of these new coastal sites may have been a direct response to

the growth of the port of Volterra located at Vada.[181] From the middle of the 3rd century

B.C., these sites were connected by the creation of a number of Roman coastal roads that

linked the costal fascia with the main urban center. These coastal communities allowed Pisa

to act as a hub in the trade of the Northern Tyrrhenian linking Populonia, Aleria,

Languedoc, and the Ligurian coast.[182] In addition, Pisa began to participate in the refining

activity that had been characteristic of Populonia, and may have offered an alternative

source for raw metals.[183] The same period is marked by the expansion of the types of goods

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[177]Bruni 1998, 241. Only in the wake of the period of insecurity brought on by the Ligurian and Gallic raids of the 2nd century B.C. was the colony of Lucca founded in the former *Ager Pisanus.*

[178]Polybius 2.27.1 and 2.28.2; Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 123; Bruni 1998, 237.

[179]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 229-231; Bruni 1998, 233.

[180]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 229.

[181]Bruni 1998, 233.

[182]Cristofani 1983, 46-49, 85-87; Bruni 1998, 233-235.

[183]Bruni 1998, 236.

Figure 35. The Territory of Pisa in the Hellenistic Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43)
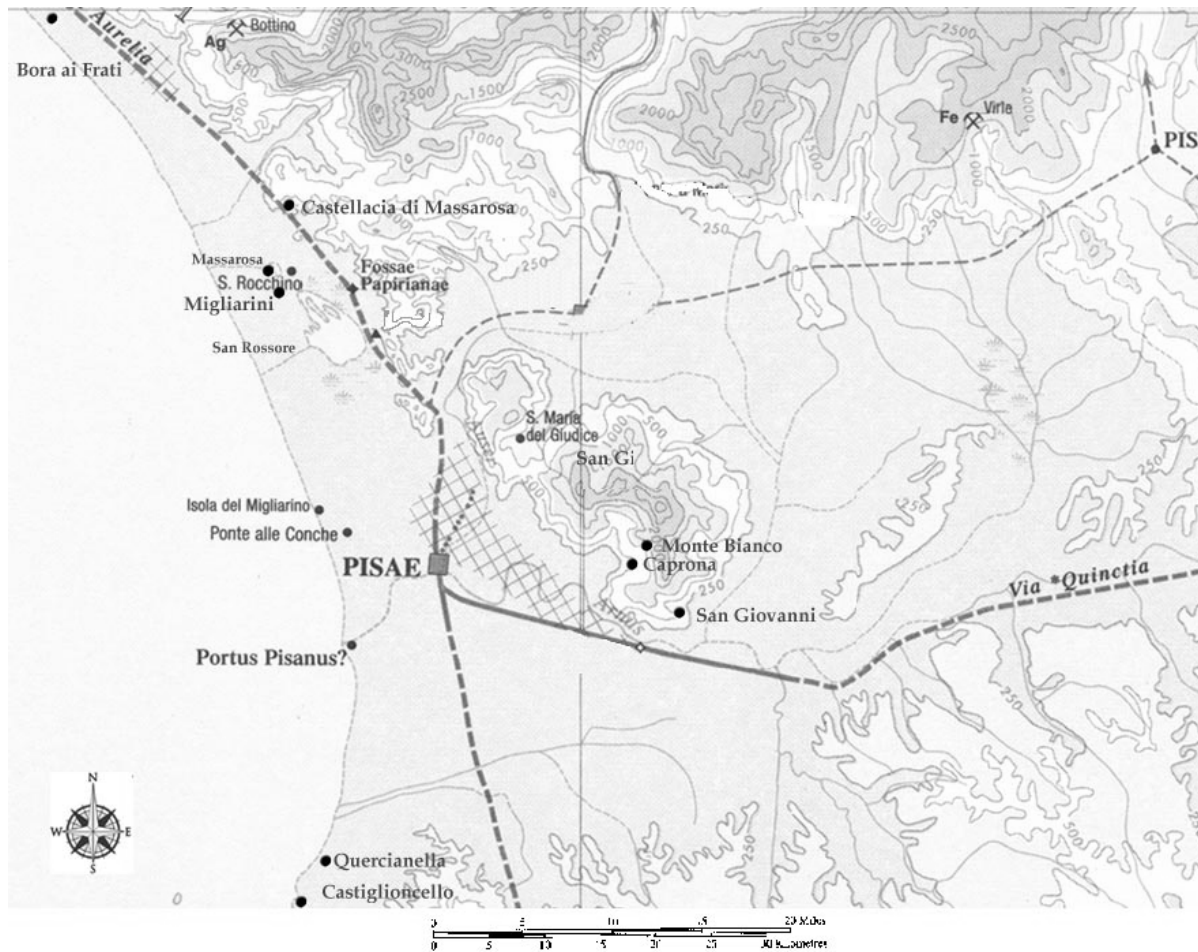
included in burials at these coastal communities to include objects and burial types indicative of a strong Ligurian presence, suggesting that these port communities were assimilating persons of different ethnic backgrounds into a single mercantile agglomeration.[184] Yet the elite of Pisa were maintaining strong connections with the powerful *gentes* of the interior, as indicated by the deposition of a woman descended from Chiusine nobility.[185] To the North of the Arno, a series of *castella* were constructed along the coast in very defensible positions during the late 4th century B.C (See Figure 35). These sites

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[184]Bruni 1998, 234-235.

[185]Bruni 1998, 235.

include San Rocchino (already occupied in earlier periods), Castellaccio, Bora ai Frati, and Monte Lieto.[186]

Despite the aid of the Romans, Pisa was unable to maintain her hold over the entirety of its territory throughout the 3rd century B.C. At the end of this century, both San Rocchino and Bora ai Frati were destroyed in the same campaigns that disturbed the immediate hinterland of the city itself.[187] Yet not all of these sites were destroyed, with a number continuing into the 1st century B.C. They were certainly still active when they most likely provided the target for the Ligurian raid of 193 B.C.[188] It appears to have been in response to these threats that Pisa gave up a portion of her territory for the foundation of the Latin colony at Lucca. Luni was also founded shortly thereafter along the coast to the north of Pisan territory.[189] These same events may have led to the Roman construction of the Via Aemilia Scauri along the coastal strip.[190] In other areas, the period from the 3rd to the 1st centuries B.C. was one of remarkable continuity. The zones to the South of Pisa, and along the Arno and Serchio valleys to the East, continued to be occupied by a number of small farms.[191] The Arno also was the focus for a number of sites that can be classed as minor river ports.[192] There was a high degree of continuity in landholding of small properties along the coast to the South of the Arno, suggesting that there was a flourishing landscape of independent or tenant farmers linked to the urban elite through relationships

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[186]Bruni 1998, 236.

[187]Bruni 1998, 238.

[188]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 124.

[189]Salmon 1970, 109; Bruni 1998, 241.

[190]Pasquinucci 1992, 539.

[191]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 125.

[192]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 125.

of patronage.[193]   The area also became a major producer of pottery, for both local consumption and export.[194]

Roman Reality

Both Pisa and Populonia entered into alliances with Rome in a peaceful fashion, and retained almost complete local autonomy down to the beginning of the 1st century B.C. The traditional activities of trade, mineral extraction and agricultural production remained entrenched in the hands of the same families as before. Even in the territories of Roselle and Vetulonia, cities that were incorporated early in the process, there was a substantial and rapid recovery following the brief hiatus marked by the Roman conquest. Instead, the great moment of discontinuity in Northern Coastal Etruria was the Civil War between Marius and Sulla. Only Pisa appears to have avoided its upheaval. Roselle, Vetulonia, and Populonia all favored the Marian cause in the uprising, and as a result were treated harshly by the Sullan troops. These cities withstood sieges and were eventually sacked. In the aftermath, much of the territory of the area was confiscated and reorganized. Pisa in contrast, does not appear to have participated in the conflict, and the 1st century B.C. remained a period of expansion of the agricultural landscape of the city in the form of small farmsteads.

Vetulonia in Transition

Vetulonia was one of the Etruscan cities to have been sacked at the hands of the Sullans. Thanks to the extensive work conducted by the Scarlino Survey and the reanalysis of the Roman sites by van Dommelen, the area provides a detailed view into the activities of

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[193]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 126-127.

[194]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 127.

a rural landscape following the Civil War. Following the incorporation of the city, a limited number of villas were built along the coast and the shore of the *Lacus Prilius* in the Ampio Valley. These structures were not, however, characterized by the extensive *partes urbanae* found in other portions of Etruria, and instead resembled their much smaller counterparts in the territory of Volterra.[195] In addition, the *statio* located at Castiglione della Pescaia continued to flourish in its location along the Via Aurelia at the mouth of the *Lacus Prilius*.[196] No colonies were planted in the territory of Vetulonia. In addition, there are no signs of centuriation in the Gulf of Follonica. Roman interest in the region seems to have been restricted to the extraction of the metal resources of the Massetano, echoing the Etruscan exploitation of the area. During the 1st century B.C., substantial quantities of slag were deposited along the Gulf of Follonica. Here, a giant processing site appears to have existed at Pogetti Butelli.[197] A great deal of the ore being processed must have been coming from Elba. The harbor provided a convenient and protected landing place for the ships, and the Alma and Pecora basins provided sufficient timber to fuel the furnaces.[198] In addition to this extensive mineralogical activity, the fertile plains below Scarlino were drawn into regimes of intensive agriculture. The majority of the region was characterized by small farmsteads, although a few sites such as the one at Le Vigne reached more than a quarter of a hectare.[199] This landscape continued to concentrate on the refining of ore until the disruption of the

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[195]Curri 1978, 27-28. Cp. Terrenato (1998b) on villas in the Volterran landscape.

[196]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 58.

[197]Cucini 1985, 288.

[198]Cucini 1985, 288. In fact the area appears to have been second only to Populonia in terms of the amount of ore processed in Etruria in antiquity.

[199]Cucini 1985, 290.

Civil War between Sulla and Marius. Afterwards, there was a substantial reorganization as the processing of Elban ore began to take on less importance.

During the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods, there was a substantial expansion of rural settlement in the Pecora and Alma valleys. This expansion of rural sites was accomplished through various forms. A series of central places existed throughout the landscape, but they took on different forms dependent on topographic, social, and agricultural potentials of the different areas. A *statio* of the Via Aurelia appears to have existed at modern Puntone, probably the site listed as Manliana by the ancient itineraries.[200] There is evidence for a bath building here, and the ancient itineraries show a nearby port.[201] The *statio* was part of a major productive system for the exploitation of mineral resources. Here a number of small sites aggregated around a major villa and several smaller villas. Some of these sites, located on the more fertile soils of the southern foothills, clearly provided the agricultural surplus necessary to sustain the population engaged in the refining of metals.[202]   Whatever the precise economic relationship, the reduced level of wealth found within these smaller agricultural sites suggests a position of dependence upon the elites within the larger community for access to imported goods and also periodic markets. Van Dommelen suggests that these small farmsteads were organized on the basis of a free peasantry, or a share cropping arrangement, since this allows for effective exploitation of the land without direct supervision from the elites who were engaged in other productive activities.[203] Also of note is a small aggregation of farmsteads, probably a

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[200]Cucini 1985, 298; van Dommelen 1993, 179.

[201]Cucini 1985, 290 and 300.

[202]van Dommelen 1993, 181.

[203]van Dommelen 1993, 182.

Figure 36. The Lower Pecora Drainage (after Van Dommelen 1993, 175 fig. 27).
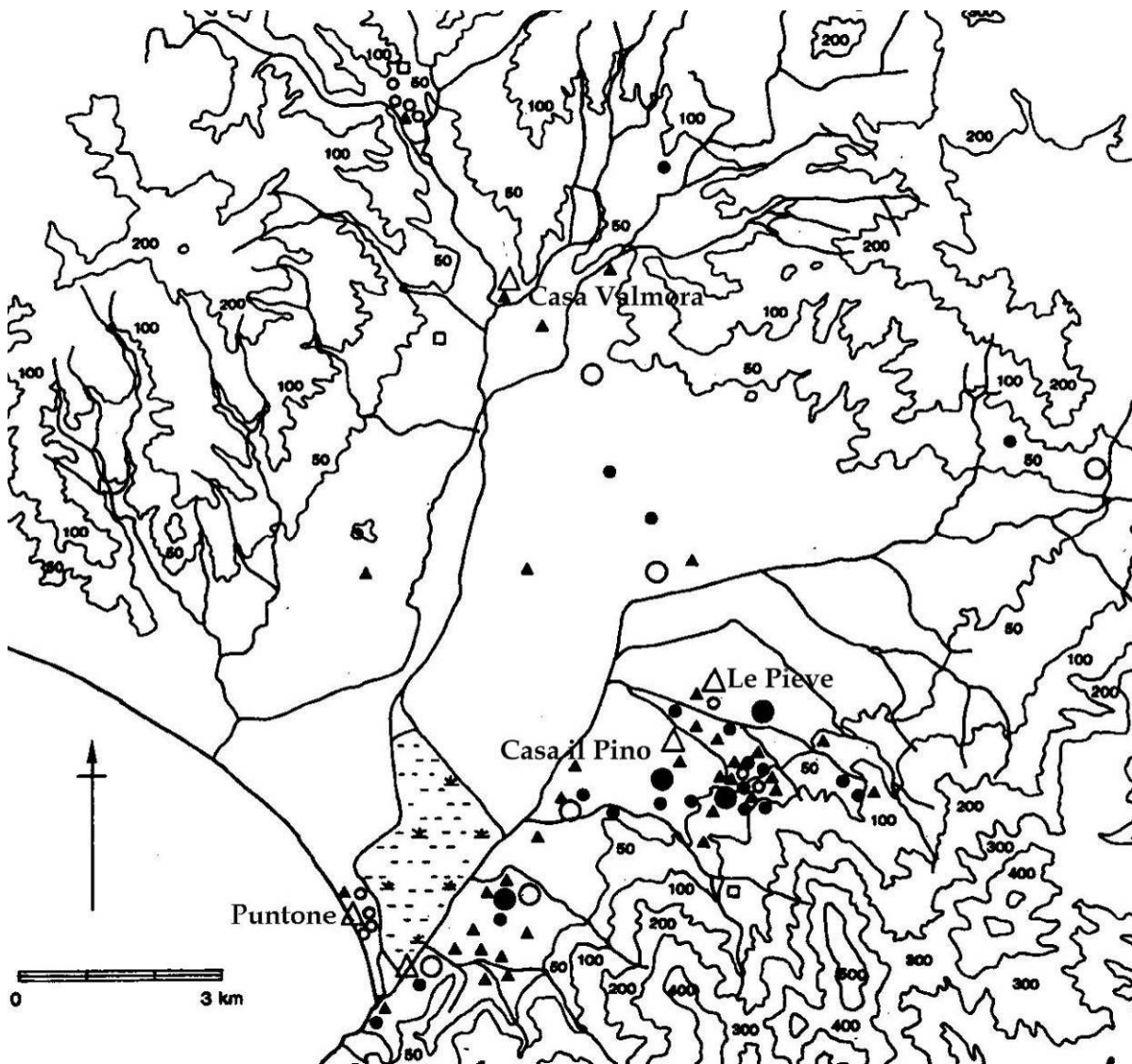
vicus, located upstream on the Pecora at Campo Ruffaldino (See Figure 36).[204] These rural

sites were located in a topographic situation that permitted agriculture, as well as the

management of limited grape and olive cultivation.[205] The production of these cash crops is

the reason that these sites show the richest material culture of any of the small farms.[206] This

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[204]Cucini 1985, 297-298; van Dommelen 1993, 183.

[205]van Dommelen 1993, 183.

[206]van Dommelen 1993, 183.

may also have been the result of the greater degree of independence from networks of exploitation maintained by villas in other portions of the landscape. The relationship between these sites and the nearest central place, the villa at Casa Valmora, must have been limited to the need for a local marketplace due to the distance of the *vicus* or agro-town from any other central place. Two other aggregations of population may have existed at Marsiliana and Scarlino, although the nature of these communities is poorly understood for the period in question.[207]

Throughout the remainder of the territory, surveyed less intensively by Cucini, the villas that did exist were located in a sporadic fashion across the region, but the majority of them were situated in positions with the most fertile agricultural soils.[208] In addition, the majority of the villas were located at strategic points along the natural routes of communication. Surprisingly few villas were located along the Via Aurelia with the exception of those at Puntone.[209] Cenci instead suggests that the majority of the villas were located along a minor road that connected Manliana with Siena by way of *Aquae Populoniae*.[210] The few villa sites within the territory were also the best connected with the outside world. They are the only sites in the region that show evidence of imported *sigilata* or amphorae.[211] Nevertheless, throughout the late Republican and early Imperial Periods the majority of rural sites can be classed in the categories of *fattoria* and small farms with the latter predominating.[212] The sites of intermediate size (the *fattoria* type) are usually found

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[207]Cucini 1985, 296.

[208]Cucini 1985, 290.

[209]Cucini 1985, 298.

[210]Cucini 1985, 298-300.

[211]Cucini 1985, 293-296.

apart from the larger central places within the region, while the smaller farm sites tend to aggregate near the major sites within the region be they villas, *stationes,* or *vici.* In the area of the Northern coastal plain, a number of extremely poor farms have been found, suggesting that they may have been part of a system of intense pastoral production.[213] On the alluvial fan to the North of these sites, a number of agricultural sites were also present.[214] These sites used the villa at La Pieve as their central place although the relationship must have been of low intensity.[215] More direct relationships of exploitation may be represented with the villa communities around Casa il Plinio.[216] The variety of settlements that occupied key nodal points in the networks of local exchange and production are indicative of economic regimes specifically tailored to their specific niche in the environment.

Populonia and Roselle: Reorganization and Decline

In contrast to the burgeoning landscapes that arose out of the major reorganizations of the Sullan period in the territory of Vetulonia, the landscape around the cities of Populonia and Roselle would never recover its pre-destruction vitality. As in previous centuries, ore production remained the major economic activity in the *Ager Populonensis* down to the 1st century B.C.[217] The temple on the acropolis was destroyed at this time, and a major villa at Le Logge was constructed near the city center.[218] The city was never rebuilt,

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[212]van Dommelen 1993, 178-179; Cucini 1985, 297-298.

[213]van Dommelen 1993, 182.

[214]van Dommelen 1993, 182.

[215]van Dommelen 1993, 182-183.

[216]van Dommelen 1993, 180.

[217]Cristofani 1981a, 43-46; Steingräber 1983, 119.

but continued as a small village with a scattering of functioning temples and a small artisan's quarter.[219] Metal production continued during the second half of the 1st century B.C. in the absence of a defined city center. During this period, slag deposits began to cover the entire area of the S. Cerbone, Porcareccia and Casone necropoleis, suggesting a violent transition in the structures of power directing the production of metal.[220] The coastal region became a popular location for large villas.[221] A substantial villa and settlement was located near Piombino at Falesia.[222] A pair of maritime villas located at Poggio San Leonardo and Poggio del Molino occupied the heights overlooking the North end of the Gulf of Baratti.[223] These sites were closely associated with the agro-town at Fattoria Alba, which continued to be inhabited until the 5th century A.D.[224] Much of the metal production of this latest phase of the city may have happened under the supervision of these sites. By the end of the Augustan Period, Populonia had been supplanted by new territories with larger deposits of metal that had come into the Roman Empire during the conquests of the Republic.[225] At the Eastern edge of Populonian territory, substantial villas arose at Vignale, Caffagio, and Podere Macchialta (See Figure 37).[226] These sites were part of a string of villas and villages that lined the Eastern side of the Via Aurelia. The villages included Podere Aquaviva,

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[218]Fedeli 1983, 156; Fedeli et al. 1993, 130.

[219]Mansuelli 1988, 58-59; Fedeli 1983, 156.

[220]Fedeli et al. 1993, 131.

[221]Fedeli 1983, 156; Fedeli et al. 1993, 130; Cristofani 1981a, 46; Steingräber 1983, 119.

[222]Fedeli 1983, 158.

[223]Fedeli 1983, 159.

[224]Fedeli 1983, 158.

[225]Mansuelli 1988, 59. Such areas include Spain.

[226]Fedeli 1983, 159.

Figure 37. Village Communities in the Territory of Populonia in the Roman Period (Adapted from Barrington Atlas, Maps 42 and 43).
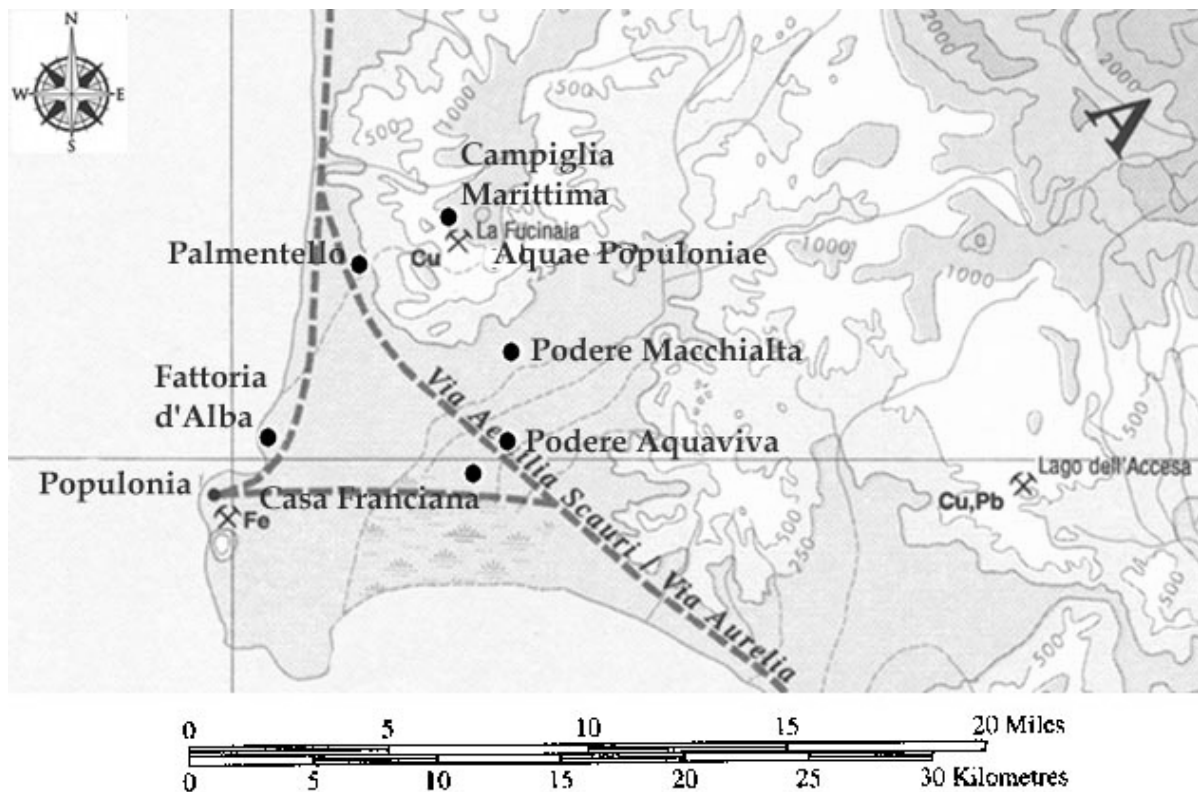
Palmentello, and Casa Franciana.[227] By the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., the grandeur

of the former Etruscan city was dead, and a fishing village stood in its place.[228]

A similar process can be seen at Roselle. Although Roselle became a *municipium*

after the Social War and saw a violent destruction at the hands of Sulla, the city was

reinvigorated under the triumvirs or Augustus and became a colony.[229] At this time, the

city saw a substantial boom in building, but despite these honors, the city of the Roman

period was smaller than its Etruscan predecessor. Almost nothing is known about the rural

organization of the new settlement.

[227]Fedeli 1983, 159.

[228]Fedeli et al. 1993, 132.

[229]Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.51.; Cristofani 1981a, 46; Bocci Pacini (1981, 115) suggests that the colony should be dated to Augustan times or later.

Roman Pisa: Untouched by the Civil War

The development of the landscape of the city of Pisa contrasts strongly with the other cities of the Northern Coastal region. With the final defeat of the Ligurians in 155 B.C., the territory of Pisa came into a period of relative stability. Unlike other centers of Etruria, there is no indication that Pisa, or the colonies founded at the edges of her territory, were touched by the war between Marius and Sulla. The city was given municipal status in 86 B.C., and grew quietly until the founding of a colony in the Augustan period.[230] Only with the deduction of this Augustan colony was the rural landscape reorganized into a scheme of centuriation that included the fertile territory to the South of the city and a segment of the coastal plain.[231] Following this centuriation, the *Ager Pisanus* saw a veritable boom in the number of small farms located throughout the territory that bordered the Arno to the East of the city.[232] The landscape of Roman Pisa was at least partially occupied by villas engaged in cereal and wine production.[233] In some cases, villas supplanted the previous settlements, but these villas likely drew local elites into new relationships of patronage with the rural community.[234] Nevertheless, the majority of the farmsteads and villas were small in nature, although there was an abundance of elite building material (window glass, *opus spicatum*, though no mosaics) even from the tiniest sites.[235]

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[230]Bruni 1998, 225; Pasquinucci 1995, 311-316. The Piazza del Duomo as well as all of the other areas explored within the city were again reorganized during the Augustan period, perhaps with the creation of the *Colonia Iulia Obsequens Pisana*.

[231]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 130; Pasquinucci 1995, 311-312.

[232]Pasquinucci 1992, 538.

[233]Pasquinucci 1995, 313.

[234]Pasquinucci 1995, 313.

[235]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 130-131.

Pisa was known throughout the early Imperial Period for its wine production.[236] This trade was particularly heavy at *Portus Pisanus* beginning in the last decades of the Republic and throughout the Imperial Period.[237] A number of *amphora* kilns have been found confirming this reputation. These workshops were most often situated along rivers or streams with access to the raw materials needed for pottery production and routes of transport.[238] In conjunction with this expanded role in trade was the development of the port of Isola di Migliarino, which saw its greatest period of activity from the Late Republic onwards.[239] The close ties between this port and the fertile land of the Pisan *retroterra* suggests that Isola di Migliarino specialized in the export of agricultural products such as grain and wine.[240] In addition to her agricultural products, Pisa was also a major center for the production of *terra sigilata* beginning in the final years of the last century B.C.[241] A number of kilns related to this production have been excavated throughout the *Ager Pisanus*, including a branch associated with the major manufacturer *Aetius* at Isola di Migliarino.[242] Some of the wares from Pisan kilns have been found as far afield as India and the German *limes*.[243] There also seems to have been a significant expansion of brick and tile

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[236]Pliny, *N.H.* 18.109.

[237]Pasquinucci 1992, 537.

[238]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 131; Pasquinucci 1992, 537.

[239]Pasquinucci 1992, 535.

[240] Pasquinucci 1992, 536.

[241] Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 133.

[242]Pasquinucci 1992, 535. This echoes the pattern of production at Arezzo where a number of workshops dominated the countryside as well as the major urban factories.

[243]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 133.

production.[244]   The *Portus Pisanus* flourished during the Imperial Period because of this trade.[245]

[244]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 133-134.

[245]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 134.

CHAPTER 6.
NORTHERN INLAND ETRURIA

Northern Inland Etruria is one of the least well-explored regions occupied by the Etruscans. Major portions of the landscape have received little or no attention from major field projects, while other zones have been the subject of intense archival work conducted in the absence of any active field component. The territories of Volterra and Chiusi are the major exceptions to this characterization. The Cecina Valley and the coastal plain to the south of the river has been the subject of intensive systematic survey.[1] Teams working with and extensive methodology have also explored areas to the North of the Cecina River and in the Val d'Elsa.[2] There has been no systematic intensive survey of the territory of Chiusi, but the region has been the subject of a number of extensive projects including the semi-intensive work in the area surrounding Chianciano Terme.[3] The volumes of the *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena* cover the Western portion of Chiusine territory.[4] The unfortunate result of these projects, centered on the Medieval city of Siena rather than the territories of the Etruscan cities is that the best data for the landscape of Etruscan and

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[1]Terrenato 2001b; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, *passim.*; Terrenato 1998a; Terrenato 1998b; Terrenato and Saggin 1994.

[2]North of Cecina: Cherubini 2000; Del Rio 2000; Pasquinucci and Menichelli 1999; Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997; Cherubini and Del Rio 1995; Pasquinucci 1992; Cherubini 1987; Del Rio 1987. Val d'Elsa: Valenti 1999. Unfortunately, the results of these surveys suffer from a heavy bias toward specific periods. The survey to the North of the mouth of the Cecina is primarily geared toward the exploration of the Roman landscape of production and trade, while the Val d'Elsa survey is strongly geared toward recovering the Medieval pattern of settlement.

[3]Paolucci 1988a.

[4]Bottarelli 2004; Felici 2004; Nardini 2001; Cambi 1996; Harris 1965b.

Roman Chiusi comes only from the margins of its territory. The only study to encompass the entirety of Chiusine territory is the monumental, if now outdated, synthesis of Ranucchio Bianchi Bandinelli.[5] There has also been a drive toward the extensive survey of portions of the Val di Chiana, some of which have included territory from the region around Cortona and Arezzo as well.[6] Yet, the known settlement landscape of these two communities is largely the product of antiquarian and archival research rather than active field reconnaissance.   The picture is even bleaker for the territory of Perugia. The recent volume on the territory issued by the Museo Claudio Faina is almost exclusively devoted to funerary and epigraphic data. The situation is not much better for Fiesole. An attempt was made to complete an extensive survey of the entirety of the territory of ancient Fiesole, but a series of floods in the mid 1960's led to the abandonment of this project after only a few areas had been documented.[7] This survey of the region is also largely a work of the archives followed up by only a limited degree of ground-truthing. The published results were largely descriptive rather than interpretive, so that no synthesis of the settlement pattern of Fiesole exists. The evidence is particularly sparse for the Roman Period in the territories of Fiesole, Perugia, Cortona and Arezzo.

Due to this variety in the quality of the available evidence, it will be necessary once again to evaluate the general conclusions proposed by previous scholars in light of the few areas that have been intensively surveyed. Conjectures derived from areas that have received little systematic coverage will be valuable in confirming large-scale trends, but the constant intrusion of local variations and patterns necessitates that we proceed with caution.

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[5]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925.

[6]Tracchi 1968; Tracchi 1969; Tracchi 1971; Tracchi 1978.

[7]Curri et al. 1967; Nicosia 1966b.

Fortunately, much of the landscape does appear to have followed a series of traceable trajectories during the crucial period of transition from Etruscan to Roman dominance. The abundance of evidence makes it possible to trace changes in the landscapes of the cities of Volterra, Chiusi, and Fiesole. The remaining cities will be referred to in an incidental fashion where the meager data for their territory reflects the trends in the landscape of these three cities.

The Origins of Urban Communities and their Territories

The cities of Northern Inland Etruria did not follow the same developmental trajectories as their coastal counterparts. In many cases, the future urban centers of the zone were not occupied until the Late Orientalizing, or even the Archaic Period, and those sites that do show evidence of early inhabitation (e.g. Chiusi, Volterra, and Perugia) did not cause a similar disruption in the surrounding landscape when they began to undergo the process of urbanization.[8] Chiusi and Volterra do appear to have followed the traditional trajectory of urbanization. Through the process of *coalescentium*, a series of Iron Age hut villages merged into a single urban community during the Early Orientalizing Period. Yet, there was no concomitant retraction in the settlement of minor centers within the territories of the Northern Inland cities such as the one that accompanied the drive toward urbanization of the cities of the Southern Coastal region.[9] Instead, smaller agglomerations of population appear to have continued to exist alongside the urban centers growing up in the course of the Late Iron Age and Early Orientalizing Periods. Even in the areas where there is, as of yet, no evidence for habitation of future urban centers before the Orientalizing

[8]See Bettini (2000, 44-52) and Zanini (2000, 30-31) for details of the recent urban excavations of Iron Age strata at Chiusi; Cf. also Bonomi Ponzi (2002, 586-587) for Perugia and Carafa (2000, 32) and Luchi (1981, 414) for Volterra.

[9]Bettini 2000, 44-52.

Period (e.g. Fiesole, Arezzo, Cortona) the territories as a whole were occupied by a number of sites, often the places that would continue to be occupied throughout the Archaic Period as minor centers.[10] Evidence for this kind of agglomerated rural settlement preceding the Orientalizing Period is best documented in the territories of Chiusi and Volterra, although examples can be found throughout the region.[11] The city-states of Northern Inland Etruria did not participate in the same two-stage process of achieving dominance over a substantial territory in the same way that the cities of Southern Coastal Etruria did. In Northern Inland Etruria, the process of urbanization was not accompanied by the extension of control over a larger hinterland at the expense of communities nearby. These communities continued to exist throughout the history of the Northern city-states, some located as nearby to the urban centers as one or two kilometers. Nor was there any serious attempt to impose dominance over regions at a great distance from the urban centers in the Orientalizing Period. The consolidation of large blocks of territory under the hegemony of a single center appears to have been a phenomenon of the late 6th and 5th centuries B.C. This late drive toward urban centralization may explain the relatively small size of the Northern cities (excepting Volterra at 258 ha.) and the relative ubiquity and importance of secondary centers in the Northern Inland area.[12]

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[10]The traditional assumption of a lack of habitation for Fiesole, Arezzo, and Cortona throughout the Bronze and Iron Age may be a result of the relatively understudied nature of these urban centers. As in the case of Chiusi and especially Perugia, only recent excavations have revealed substantial pre-Etruscan phases. It is likely that further excavation of Fiesole, Arezzo, and Cortona will reveal that these sites were inhabited earlier than currently believed. Until such evidence is recovered, however, I will follow the traditional scheme of development, realizing that this would have to be altered in the face of additional evidence about the pre-history of these urban communities.

[11]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 497.

[12]Chiusi occupied an area of only 26 ha. by the most ambitious estimates, Delpino 2000, 80-81.

<u>Orientalizing and Archaic Expansion</u>

Throughout the Orientalizing Period, the landscape of Northern Inland Etruria continued to be one dominated by village communities that served as the residences of aristocratic families. Small necropoleis or individual monumental *tumuli* that served to reinforce *gentilicial* control over segments of the rural landscape were often closely linked with these rural residences. Those families residing in the future urban centers of the region appear to have followed the same pattern, demarcating the hinterland surrounding the urban communities with prominent burial markers. The population and power of the future urban centers had not reached the critical mass needed to establish a preference for urban residence on the part of the elite. There was as yet, no need to participate in the competitive social environment of the city. Instead, aristocratic families were content to reside in the countryside and dominate segments of the landscape through relationships of kinship and patronage. Aristocratic families chose many of these sites so that they occupied not just in fertile agricultural zones, but also dominated major routes of communication and trade, allowing for access to imported goods and status-reinforcing items. In many cases, the goods retrieved from such sites suggest that the elites in control of large portions of the rural landscape were only loosely tied to the major urban centers of the region. Several sites show evidence of extensive trade and influence from multiple city-states, indicating that rural elites were able to determine their own alliances and contacts. These trends are most easily traced in the landscapes of Chiusi, Volterra, and Fiesole due to the abundant survey and excavation data. As a result, these cities will serve as the focus of analysis for the Orientalizing period. Data from the other city-states of the Northern Inland region will be

considered where it reflects valuable insights on the patterns seen in the territory of these three well-documented cities.

Elite Control and Rural Residence: Orientalizing Volterra

During the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., Volterra began to expand its cultural dominance (not yet political dominance) over a large landscape centered on the Cecina Valley and the coastal plain surrounding its mouth.[13] This territory stretched out throughout the region to include portions of the Val d'Era, Val d'Elsa, and Val di Pesa.[14] As Volterra extended her influence over a portion of the Tyrrhenian coast to the West, there arose a landscape populated by villages and their respective necropoleis running along the coastal strip.[15] Due to the substantial changes in the geopedology of the coastal region, few remains of the actual settlements have been uncovered. Instead, the monumental necropoleis stand as proxies for the villages to which they were associated.[16] A series of *tumuli* placed at the edge of the coastal zone clearly marked the boundaries of inherited territories of the elite class.[17] Volterran territory appears to have been sectioned into semi-autonomous slices that were each under the autonomous control of individual elite families in residence in the countryside.[18] Such communities existed at Belora, Casaglia, Guardistallo, Casale Marittima, Bibbona, Bolgheri, and Donoratico.[19] Finds of *bucchero*

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[13]Fiumi 1961.

[14]Fiumi 1961.

[15]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299; Carafa 2000, 34; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

[16]Carafa 2000, 34.

[17]Zifferero 1991; Zifferero 1995; Riva and Stoddart 1996.

[18]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

pottery and bronze *fibulae* from associated 7th century B.C burials, suggest that these villages each had their own elite class.[20] During the 7th century B.C., a small settlement at the mouth of the Cecina, near the future port of Volterra, went into disuse, while at the same time there was a major expansion of other sites along the coast.[21] In the interior, a number of fortified *castella* also arose in the region, with their highest density on the hills overlooking the valleys of the Cecina, Era, Elsa, and Pesa Rivers.[22] Beginning primarily in the first decades of the 7th century B.C., the settlement hierarchy began to crystallize into a pattern where self-sufficient nucleated villages began to control segments of the landscape, as seen already for the coastal zone.[23] Within the Cecina Valley, Rocca di Sillano and Poggio di Granchio, represent likely elite residences and bastions of control over the landscape.[24] Survey data from the Val d'Elsa demonstrates the existence of a similar type of landscape.[25] In the Val d'Elsa, a number of complex elite burial practices emerged during the Orientalizing and Early Archaic Periods. Surprisingly, the burial evidence from the Val d'Elsa shows strong affinities with not only tombs from Volterra, but also Fiesole, Populonia, and also Chiusi.[26] This reinforces claims that the elite of the Val d'Elsa achieved their status through the manipulation of access to key routes between the major emerging city-states of the region. In this same period, some of the Etruscan families who would come to dominate the

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[19]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470; This list is not exhaustive. See Carafa (1994, 114) for other examples in the upper Cecina Valley and in the Val d'Era.

[20]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

[21]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 227.

[22]Luchi 1981, 414; Valenti 1999, 302.

[23]Valenti 1999, 302.

[24]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

[25]Valenti 1999, 302-304.

[26]Valenti 1999, 302.

political landscape of the area for generations to come first became prominent.[27] Like the coastal area to the South of the Cecina, the subsistence economy of the Val d'Elsa was based on local surplus maintained under the control of small groups of local aristocrats. A corollary to the domination of rural landscape by elites resident in coastal villages and interior *castella* is the low density of isolated or dispersed small farm sites throughout the whole of the territory.[28] Only at the end of the 7th century B.C. did isolated settlements begin to occupy a prominent place in the landscape and only in the segments of Volterra's territory farthest from the city.[29]

Chiusi: Fragmented Control over the Orientalizing Landscape

The narrative of balanced expansion in settlement seen in the territory of Volterra during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. was mimicked by Chiusi a century later. There was clearly an increase in population throughout the region, as like in the territory of Volterra, a concomitant increase in centralized control over the landscape did not accompany this increase in population. It is during the Orientalizing Period when Chiusi began to see a significant increase in the size of the urban population documented by an expansion in the number of burials found in the urban necropoleis.[30] Yet, at the same time, the vast majority of the secondary centers in the region suggest that a large proportion of the elite were not yet interested in urban residence. These necropoleis were spread out throughout the

[27]Valenti 1999, 303.

[28]Carafa 1994, 115; Carafa 2000, 34. Although this fining may be representative of the actual pattern of settlement it is also possible that the lack of small rural sites is a result of the low visibility of the fairly non-intense nature of Orientalizing material culture at the level of the household.Although, Cp. Valenti (1999, 302) where small rural sites can be documented from the 7th century B.C. This suggests that they are truly absent from the Coastal area and the Central Cecina Valley.

[29]Valenti 1999, 302.

[30]Luchi 1981, 417-418.

surrounding territory at places like San Casciano, Cetona, Sarteano, and Castiglion del Lago.[31] Chiusi itself, like Volterra, did not occupy a position of absolute hegemony over its

Figure 38. The Territory of Chiusi (after Bianchi Bandinelli 1925).
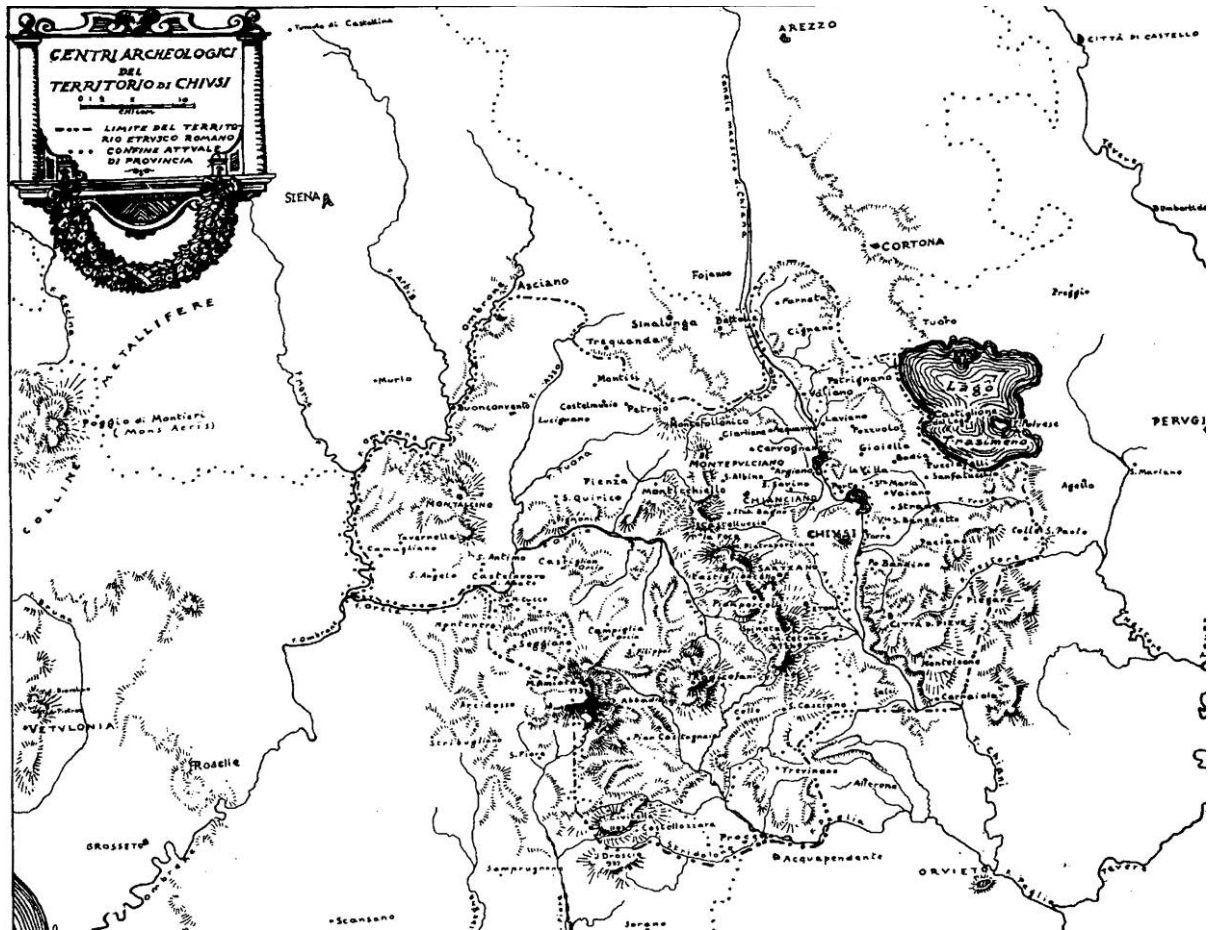
neighbors, but rather provided an alternative residential choice for elite groups, a number of which maintained their residence in the numerous village communities in the area, choosing a strategy of direct dominance over the landscape. This type of organization suggests the existence of a gentilicial warrior elite able to dominate limited portions of the agricultural landscape directly through rural residence and burial.[32] This arrangement also may explain the relatively small size of Chiusi at only twenty-six hectares. As in the *Ager Faliscus*, Chiusi

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[31]Luchi 1981, 417.

[32]Cherici 2000, 185-186.

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was flanked by a number of other substantial communities such as the ones connected with the necropoleis above. Even at the period of the urban center's greatest dominance these outlying minor centers remained vital counterweights to the city.

Three areas within the territory of Chiusi provide substantial evidence of the details of the patterns of settlement during the Orientalizing Period: Radicofani, Pienza, and Chianciano Terme. Unfortunately, the areas covered by the relevant surveys are those at the margins of Chiusine territory, and as a result, we must be cautious in extending the conclusions thus derived to the remainder of the territory of the city-state. Nevertheless, the more abundant burial data from necropoleis across the hinterland of Chiusi, suggests that the patterns revealed in these surveys reflect a plausible model for the whole of the city-state. Village communities served the vital functions of control over the movement of goods and were situated to exploit an agricultural surplus. The burial and settlement evidence from this Western border territory suggests that already by the Orientalizing Period two different elite strata were managing the Chiusine economy in different ways. The first economic scheme focused on the domination of a rural population engaged in drawing an agricultural surplus from the land, and the second on dominating routes of access between Chiusi and the cities of the coast participating in the larger super-regional economy.[33]

Throughout the territory that comprised the Western boundary of Chiusine territory, control over the major routes of communication between Chiusi and the city-states of the coast continued to be the overriding concern of many elites. Because of this concern, a number of village communities were founded in places where their position afforded them control of the major river valleys of the regions. The territory of Chianciano Terme saw a significant increase in population and in cultivated land beginning in the late 7th century

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[33]Felici 2004, 37-38, 304-305.

B.C. The dominant type of settlement was the village connected with a small necropolis.[34]

These sites appear to have existed on the basis of a relatively closed subsistence economy

throughout the Orientalizing Period. Control over trade with Vetulonia in the form of metal

grave goods augmented the economy of this region.[35] Two additional groups of sites

(constituting small village communities) were located in prime positions to control river

access through this boundary zone. One (Le Conie) was located at the meeting point of the

Formone and Paglia, and another (Mulino Bururicco) at the confluence of the Paglia and

Rigo.[36] This suggests that the region was home to a busy communications link between the

Ombrone and the Tiber. The best evidence for this type of community comes not from

evidence directly derived from one of these settlements, but rather from the extensive

excavations of one of the region's necropoleis, at Tolle. The settlement associated with this

necropolis dominated a major route of communication and the elite residents here deposited

a number of imported items in their graves.[37] The hilltop location of the necropolis, some

distance off from the site of settlement would suggest that the funerary monuments served

as markers of symbolic dominance over the territory.[38]

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[34]Paolucci 1988a, 103.

[35]Paolucci 1988a, 103-104.

[36]Bottarelli 2004, 177.

[37]Felici 2004, 302-305. The Archaic period within the territory of Pienza is marked by the presence of a pair of prominent necropoleis, and a relative scarcity of sites that may have provided the population that would have been buried in the graves contained therein. Several scholars have attempted to resolve the question of the location of the habitation associated with this necropolis with little success. The exact location is not of extreme importance as all of the possibilities proposed appear to represent the same type of site in a similar topographic situation. All of the likely candidates are located within two kilometers of the necropolis and are all located in positions in the hills that would have allowed the residents to control access to the interior via the main routes of communication of the region. The necropolis at Tolle has produced a number of extremely valuable items that are all of coastal origin, suggesting that the burial population of this necropolis was in direct contact with the cities of the coast, primarily Vetulonia. This suggests that the burying population derived a great deal of its wealth from control and participation in trade between the cities of the coast and interior.

[38]Felici 2004, 304-305.

In contrast to the cemetery at Tolle, the other major necropolis of the region, located at Borghetto, shows great affinity with the material culture of Chiusi, rather than that of the coast.[39] The lack of imported material, suggests that the burial population here was comprised of an aristocracy that derived its power largely from control over local agricultural surplus and had strong ties to the rising city-state of Chiusi. A number of villages located in this region present a significantly different social organization, based not on the control of the movement of goods, but rather on the simple dominance over a workforce creating an agricultural surplus. One such site is a small village (Palazzuolo) located near the source of the Orcia River and a smaller stream the Rigo.[40] The village was ideally sited to cultivate the area of the plateau on which it was located, as well as holding a dominant position with respect to controlling the lower slopes in its immediate vicinity. The nearby streams, an unusual topographic coincidence for a site at such an elevation, provided easy access to water.[41] The site also shows evidence of a necropolis of impoverished burials when compared to the nearby necropoleis of Sarteano. It is likely that the population of this settlement existed as a satellite community with ties of dependency to a richer elite group like the ones that comprised the burial populations of the Sarteano and Chianciano necropoleis.[42] The recovery of sherds of transport *amphora* from Palazzuolo suggests that the area had begun to produce at least some products for export such as oil or wine, although the basis of the economy was most likely rooted still in cereal production.[43]

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[39]Felici 2004, 37-38, 305.

[40]Bottarelli 2004, 175. It is possible that similar sites may have once existed in similar locations to that of Palazuoli. Evidence of their existence would have been easily effaced due to their precarious position atop high plateaus. Cf. Bottarelli 2004, 176.

[41]Bottarelli 2004, 175.

[42]Bottarelli 2004, 175.

Another prominent site that appears to have engaged in a primarily agricultural regime of production was located at Palazzo Massaini. Here there exists a scatter of greater dimensions and containing a greater variety of ceramic wares, including both storage and serving vessels.[44] It is likely that this structure, located away from the main routes of traffic of the Archaic Period represents a middle level of organization below that of the aristocratic class that appears to have been active at Tolle.[45] This lower segment of the elite stratum is probably tied to a level of social complexity based on the control of local resources and of a network of rural dependents divorced from the Etruria-wide exchange. Such a population probably mirrors the one that comprised the burial community employing the Borghetto necropolis.[46] It is tempting, on the basis of these vast differences in wealth among rural residents of the region, to propose a three-tier organization of settlement with the urban center dominating a series of secondary centers such as Chianciano and Sarteano. At a greater distance from the urban center, was yet another level of organization based on a purely agricultural economy.

A Countryside Devoid of an Urban Center: Orientalizing Period Fiesole

In contrast to the major centers of Southern Etruria, there is no extensive evidence for an intense occupation of the site of Fiesole before the 6th century B.C.[47] Instead, the evidence for Orientalizing and Early Archaic Period settlement comes largely from a series

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[43]Bottarelli 2004, 178.

[44]Felici 2004, 303.

[45]Felici 2004, 305.

[46]Felici 2004, 305. In fact, the two sites (Borghetto and Palazzo Massaini) are only 1.5km apart. It is a possibility that the population of Palazzo Massaini is the burying community of the Borghetto necropolis.

[47]Steingräber 1983, 46.

Figure 39. The Territory of Fiesole in the Orientalizing Period (After Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143 fig. 2).
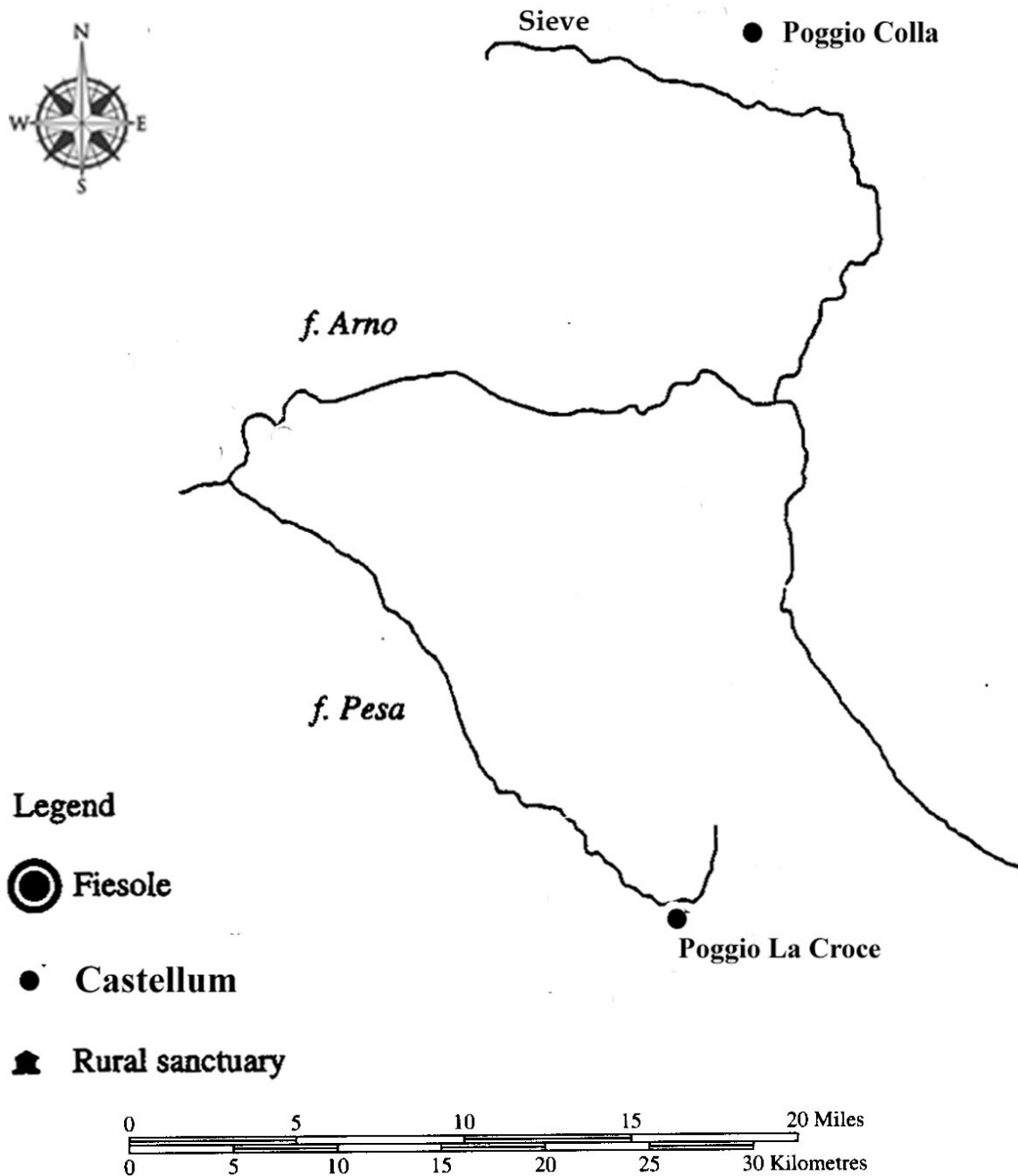
of habitation sites that must have been associated with the extensive necropoleis within the

territory. The most impressive of these tombs were located in the region around Quinto and

Sesto Fiorentino, a pair of modern suburbs of Florence (See Figure 39). Here a pair of major

tumuli dominated the landscape, but were part of the larger locus of burial activity scattered

within the region.[48] No habitation site associated with the burying population has, yet, been clearly identified.[49] Given the monumentality and the investment in the conspicuous consumption of labor necessary to construct the two major *tumuli*, a major settlement must have existed in the region.[50] A similar situation prevailed in the area around Artimino, where the Comeana necropoleis were in use during the Orientalizing Period.[51] Here too, archaeologists have not recovered any settlement site. The most likely candidate is the hilltop of Artimino where the later Archaic Period settlement came to dominate the course of the Arno.[52] There is also new evidence for an Orientalizing period necropolis in Florence itself.[53] The site of the future Roman colony served as a river port for the community at Fiesole in much the same way that Castellonchio provided Volsinii with access to the Tiber.[54]

Elsewhere in the region, sites have clearly shown activity in the Orientalizing Period. In the Mugello, the picture has become clearer due to the intense excavation of a *castellum* located at Poggio Colla. Here, the recent re-evaluation of ceramic material led the excavators to re-date the period of occupation from as early as the Final Bronze Age, and continuing down to the early 2nd century B.C.[55] A similar chronological span is suggested

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[48]Nicosia 1970, 241-242; Steingräber 1983, 56-58.

[49]Nicosia 1970, 242.

[50]Magi 1930 109.

[51]Nicosia 1966b, 280-283; Nicosia 1970, 245-246.

[52]Steingräber 1983, 59-60. Settlement may have begun on the hilltop as early as the 7th century B.C. but the clearest evidence is for the succeeding centuries.

[53]De Marinis 1996a, 37.

[54]De Marinis 1996a, 37.

[55]This re-evaluation of the ceramics was part of a larger project under the direction of Phil Perkins and Jennifer Niels.

by the remains of yet another *castellum* at Poggio La Croce in the Val di Pesa.[56] Clearly, we must be careful in extending this pattern to other sites, but the possibility does exist that further excavation of the group of *castella* that dominate the *Ager Fiesolanus* in the Archaic and Hellenistic Period will show that they were already active in the Orientalizing Period and perhaps even earlier. If this is the case, then the landscape of the territory surrounding Fiesole followed a similar developmental pattern to that seen in the region around Chiusi, where Bronze and Iron Age settlement schemes continued largely unchanged even after the period of urbanization and consolidation that occurred in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. This also suggests there was a coherent cultural package that pertained to the region of North Central Etruria. This cultural zone stretched from the Apennine passes at the Northern end of the Vaglia and Sieve Valleys, toward Artimino in the East, and down the Val di Pesa and Val d'Arno to the South and Southeast as early as the Orientalizing Period.[57] That this is the case is less surprising than the fact that such a scheme of shared regional culture was created in the absence of a primate urban site.

Excellent evidence for the material culture associated with one of these *castellum* sites in the Orientalizing Period can be gleaned from the excavations at Poggio Colla. At Poggio Colla, the inhabitants built a number of structures using a series of posts driven into the natural soil of the hill. The plans of these structures are not yet clear, but there is extensive evidence for Orientalizing Period elite activity in the form of *bucchero* ceramics recovered from fills used in later construction. Already by the 7th century B.C., the residents at Poggio

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[56]Cresci and Vivani 1995. Although, there may be a hiatus here from the 9th-7th century B.C.

[57]Cresci and Vivani 1995, 152.

Colla were engaged in the practice of elite banqueting, and were employing a number of specialized ceramic forms for this process.[58]

Throughout Northern Inland Etruria, there was a lack of urban consolidation of both population and power when compared with the great Etruscan cities of the South. For most of the Orientalizing Period, a small number of elite families dominated the landscape, the majority of which resided in rural locations, primarily easily defended *castella* or agro-towns with prime access to the most fertile agricultural land. Many of these sites controlled the flow of trade along major corridors connecting the communities of the interior with those of the coast. Yet, there appears already in the Orientalizing Period to have been a differentiation in access between different elite groups to the prestige goods that served as socially reinforcing commodities. In the most prominent village communities, elites were already engaged in the conspicuous consumption of goods and foodstuffs used in the social activities that bound a dependent population to them, while in others simple systems of kinship and patronage ensured elite control over an agricultural surplus.

The Beginnings of Urban Control: The Archaic Landscape

The Archaic Period was marked by the beginnings of an expansion of urban control over the countryside. Yet, nowhere would urban domination be complete by the end of the 6th century B.C. The major cities of the region, however, began to become the primary hubs of consumption and distribution of goods imported from the larger Mediterranean world. Likewise, urban communities were beginning to dictate the development and distribution of artistic styles. Cities also began to become the major arbiters in internal disputes and the

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[58]Vander Poppen 2003, 77-78; Cf. Dietler (2001) for an ethnographic analysis of the function of feasting in maintaining elite control over a subservient population.

place where the major religious ceremonies were conducted and political decisions were made. Nevertheless, the village-dominated landscape remained the rule throughout the period, with a substantial portion of elites still preferring the type of rural residence that allowed close connection with a dependent population and a segment of the productive landscape. Along side these village communities, a number of new dispersed farmsteads began to fill up the rural landscape. Presumably, some of the dependents of the rural elite classes were beginning to take direct possession of small pieces of the landscape on a more permanent basis, suggesting that gentilicial control over the landscape was splintering in favor of a limited distribution of private property or arrangements of long-term tenancy.

With the beginning of the Archaic Period, there appears to have been a new degree of wealth within the urban community of Volterra, suggesting that urban-based elites were beginning to engage in the same type of burial activities as their rural counterparts, a phenomenon already documented in the necropoleis of the city of Chiusi.[59] The nature of the grave goods, many of which consisted of proto-Corinthian and Attic Black-Figure vases, indicate that the contacts of the city with the outside world were growing throughout the 6th century B.C.[60] Up to this point, the city of Volterra had served merely as a common locus of cult, and as such, an organizing factor in collective action such as war or trade. It also acted as an arbiter in situations of local conflict, but did not assert direct political hegemony. The changes in the city were not so much an expansion, but rather a reorganization and monumentalization of the structures associated with urban life.[61] The city, however, only

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[59]Luchi 1981, 414-418.

[60]Luchi 1981, 414.

[61]Carafa 2000, 33.

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began to take on true urban functions with the beginning of the 6th century B.C.[62] As a result, throughout the Archaic period rural elite power dominated the concerns of the city, as is confirmed by the rich material culture of the smaller villages and tombs found in the countryside in comparison with the sparse record of Archaic Volterra.[63]

Throughout the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., there was a major push towards an accelerated urbanization at Chiusi. Throughout the Archaic Period, the city of Chiusi was the center of industrial production, boasting factories producing burial markers and *bucchero* pottery disseminated throughout the territory of the city-state.[64] The same period saw Chiusi as one of the driving forces in the foundation of Etruscan cities in the Po Valley.[65] The landscape was sparsely settled until the 5th century B.C., although as early as the beginning of 6th century B.C. there is evidence of extensive contacts between Chiusi and the major centers of the Northern Coastal region such as Vetulonia and Populonia.[66] It was from these cities that the elite of Chiusi obtained their prestige imports and the markers of social status manufactured on Etruscan soil. The importance of the city derived from its control over the point of access between the Chiana and Tiber valleys. It is not surprising then, that Chiusi was one of the earliest cities to engage in diplomatic dealings with the communities of Latium.[67]

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[62]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299; Carafa 2000, 32.

[63]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

[64]Luchi 1981, 418.

[65]Luchi 1981, 418.

[66]Bianchi Bandinelli (1925, 497-498) asserts that there was little if any direct contact with the city-states of the Greek world during this early period, instead trade was accomplished through the intermediaries of the coastal zone.

[67]Strabo 5.2.9; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.38; Dion Hal. 3.51.

In the territory of Fiesole, the 6th century B.C. also represented a period of growing cultural and religious importance for the primate urban community. By this point, Fiesole was a burgeoning center of population. The site did not yet have the ability to dominate the surrounding landscape, but was at least a *primus inter pares* with the other nearby *castella*. Already in the 6th century B.C., Fiesole was the religious and artistic center of the region, responsible for the dissemination of elite goods and styles.[68] One phenomenon associated with this growth of Fiesole is the spread of a type of sculpted burial marker, called the *pietre fiesolane*, throughout the region.[69] Many of the 6th and 5th century B.C. *tumuli* within the territory of Fiesole were marked with these decorative stones, many of which were made in a workshop in Fiesole. These burial markers demonstrate clear links between rural elites and the main urban community.[70] During the Archaic Period, the area around Pistoia and at the extremes of the Sieve and Pesa valleys were added to the core area of Fiesolan culture that characterized the previous era.[71]

Little evidence exists that would suggest a major settlement at Perugia before the final decades of the 6th century B.C., and the site appears to have been in decline throughout the Late Orientalizing and Early Archaic Periods.[72] A similar pattern existed at both Arezzo and Cortona.[73] These sites only began to assume urban proportions late in the Archaic Period. In all three towns, in the final decades of the 6th century B.C. there was a fusion of a

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[68]Vander Poppen 2003, 96-98.

[69]For the Fiesole Stones see Magi (1932; 1933; 1935), Nicosia (1966a), De Marinis (1980, 1996b), Bruni (1994), Capecchi (1996).

[70]Bruni 1994.

[71]Capecchi 1996, 158.

[72]Ceniacoli 2002, 58.

[73]Cherici 1987, 143; Bruschetti 1979, 93-94; Steingräber 1983, 64.

number of rural residing elite groups concentrating on a new urban residential scheme. The cessation of use seen in a number of urban necropoleis, abandoned to make room for habitation documented the new expansion in urban residence.[74] The residents of the urban community at Perugia built a major temple.[75] Like some of the centers of the Southern Coastal Region, Archaic Period Perugia seems to have employed a series of suburban necropoleis at a distance from the urban community as markers of the immediate hinterland of the city. A similar organization prevailed in the territory of Cortona. As a result, there was little in the way of a standardized cultural package that disseminated across the territory.[76] All of these sites were likely major hubs in the distribution of the agricultural network. Arezzo fulfilled this role especially well given its location at the intersection of a number of route ways. It is possible that all of these future cities were still under the control of Chiusi.

The Florescence of the Landscape of Archaic Volterra

During the 6th century B.C., elite families built a series of *tumuli* at Casale Marittima, Casaglia, and Bibbona, most likely at a distance from their associated villages, which may have served as symbolic markers of the border of the dependent hinterland of these village communities.[77] A series of bronzes recovered from Casale Marittima, Bibbona, and Querceto attest the increasing degree of wealth of these communities.[78] This region,

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[74]Ceniacoli 2002, 58, 60.

[75]Ceniacoli 2002, 59.

[76]Bruschetti 1979, 93. During the Archaic Period the territory of Cortona was heavily dependent on the material culture of Chiusi.

[77]Carafa 2000, 34-35; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

Figure 40. Sites Recovered in the Cecina Valley Survey for the Archaic Period, (After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 34).
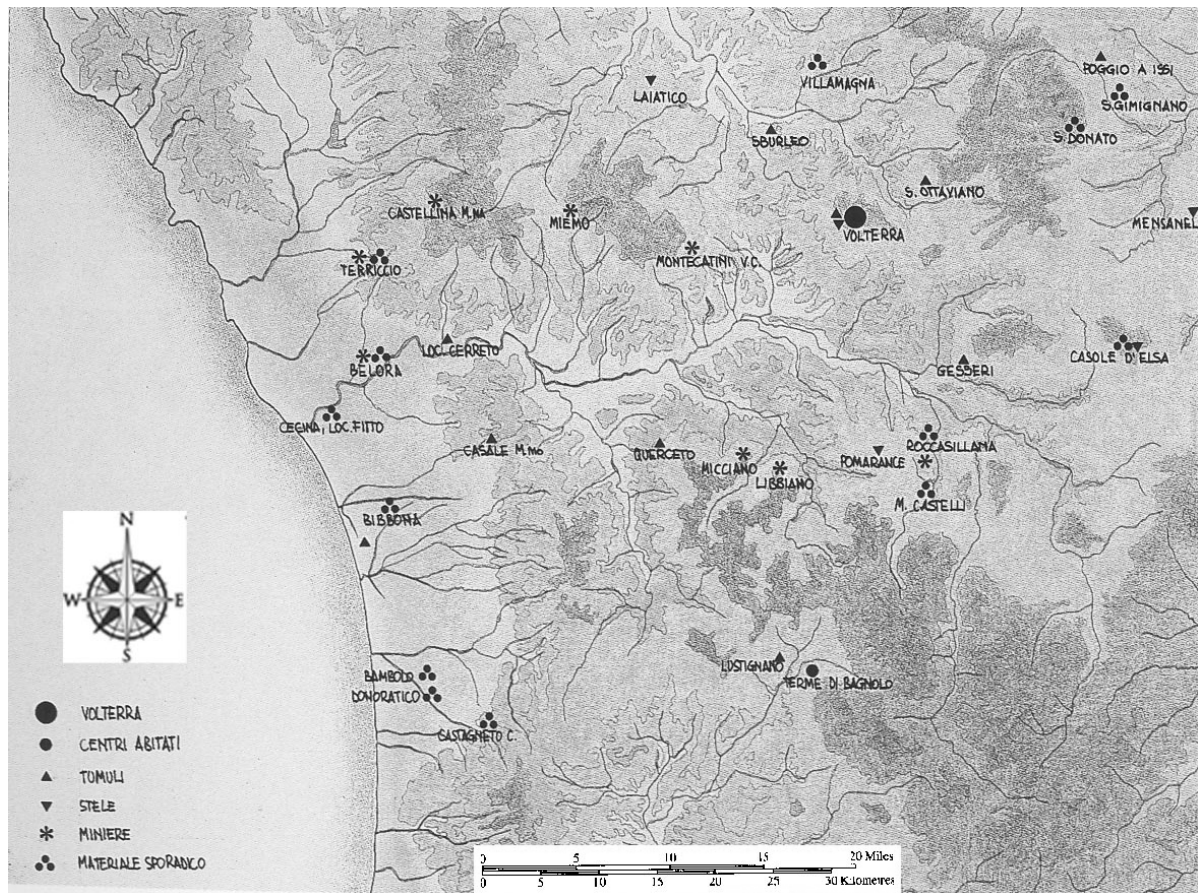
primarily the area to the North of the Cecina valley, was an important source of metal ores as well.[79] Processing of these resources accelerated during the Archaic Period at sites such as Bolgheri, Bibbona, Casale Marittima, Guardistallo, Montescudaio, Querceto, and Casaglia from the 7th to the 6th centuries B.C. (See Figure 40).[80] These sites were situated in order to take advantage of the possibilities of Mediterranean exchange of goods for natural resources.[81] In these communities, the elite classes present comprised an alternative source

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[78]Fiumi 1961, 266. Votive deposits from two sites along the coast at Debbi and Melograni suggest that another village arose in this region as well. Cf. Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470-471.

[79]Carafa 2000, 35; Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[80]Cristofani 1981a, 43; Carafa 2000, 35.

of power from the elites tied to the urban center. Their wealth was predicated on access to networks of exchange, and the domination of metal resources of the region.[82]

The Cecina Valley survey has recovered a similar landscape to the one documented to the North of the Cecina. Few sites can be securely dated to the Archaic Period, but three substantial villages appear to have been occupied, two in the coastal region and another in the interior.[83] The first two of these villages were probably situated in order to take advantage of the mineral resources of the hills, as well as the possibilities of maritime trade offered by the Mediterranean.[84] The remaining village was located on easily defensible ground further in the interior.[85] This landscape pattern suggests that the region may have been farmed on the basis of relationships of tenancy or patronage between small farmers and elites residing in the major villages of the area.[86] These villages of the coastal region to the South of the Cecina were most likely engaged in agricultural production, and the local aristocrats derived their wealth from their management of the resulting surplus.[87]

In contrast to the coastal region, during the Archaic Period the Val d'Elsa saw a dispersal of population, as the major units of settlement became small groups of two or three habitations scattered amongst a series of nucleated villages. The isolated houses favored locations primarily in the hills, but with sparser settlement on the plains and river

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[81]Cristofani 1981b, 433-435; Cristofani 1981a, 43.

[82]Carafa 2000, 35; Carafa 1994, 113.

[83]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[84]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[85]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471 There is little indication of small farms during this period, although they may be represented by the sporadic finds of minor tombs throughout the survey area.

[86]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[87]Carafa 2000, 35.

valleys. The villages were all located on the hilltops.[88] The rural aristocracy was largely represented through the presence of impressive burial monuments focusing on the iconography of the warrior. This type of display accompanied the development of warrior bands operating outside the influence of the control of Volterra that would have given a great deal of prestige and power to local elites.[89] This new settlement scheme, with an expanded settlement at lower elevations also saw the introduction of the cultivation of the olive and grape in addition to grain and legume production.[90] The introduction of these types of crops, necessitating a heavy investment in time and labor before achieving significant yields suggests that there may have been an accompanying transition to private ownership.[91]

Archaic Fiesole, Cortona and Perugia: Tensions between Rural and Urban Communities

In addition to the expansion of the area dominated by the culture of Fiesole, there was a significant multiplication in the number of subsidiary sites located throughout the territory, leading to a far higher density of settlement in the region. As hypothesized for the previous century, the majority of the settlements for the Archaic Period were *castella*. These sites appear to have been elite residences or ceremonial / religious complexes that dominated smaller agglomerations of population surrounding a fortified *arx*. Strings of these secondary centers line the Arno, Sieve, and Pesa Valleys on a series of hilltops that were visible from each other. Such sites include Artimino, Casa al Vento, Poggio La Croce,

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[88]Valenti 1999, 36.

[89]Valenti 1999, 303-305. Despite the growth in the power of this rural elite class the countryside of the Val d'Elsa appears to have been largely devoid of the *palazzi* found in other portions of Northern Central Etruria..

[90]Valenti 1999, 303-304.

[91]Cp. Gilman (1981) on the effect that such investment has on the development of complex political structures.

**Figure 41. The Territory of Fiesole in the Archaic Period
(Adapted from Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143 fig. 2).**
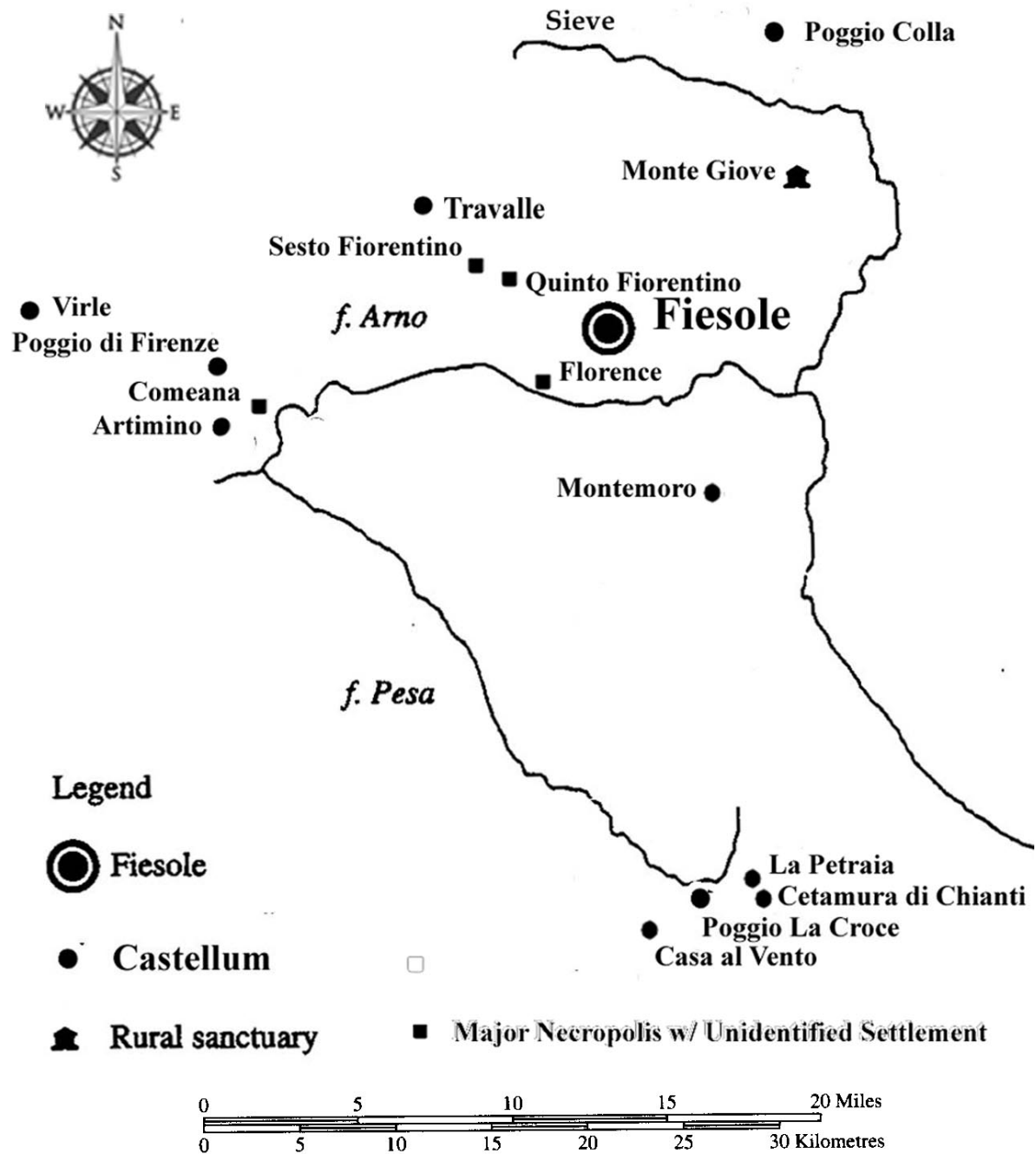
Cetamura di Chianti, La Pietraia and Montemoro (See Figure 41). Valenti also sees the

landscape as dominated in some cases by meeting areas located on the highest peaks of the

region such as Monte Masseto.[92] The majority of the sites were located at a distance of ca. ten kilometers from one another.[93] This spacing suggests that the territories associated with these sites were small enough to have been farmed by those residing in and around the *castella*. These sites, evenly spaced and located on the most defensible ground available functioned as central places for controlling the agricultural production and exchange of this limited hinterland.   In contrast, a number of smaller scale territories also appear to have existed, such as those uncovered at Poggio La Croce, Colonia del Grillo, and Mencia-Monteaperti where the agricultural hinterland of these village communities occupied only about two square kilometers, and housed few subsidiary sites.[94]   In addition to this agricultural function, the organization of these strings of fortified communities in great quantity along all of the major access points throughout the territory of Fiesole must have provided a significant degree of control over traffic entering the region.[95] These sites would have been ideal defensive outposts for the region, which was one of the most liminal in all of Etruria. With the loss of Etruria Padana and the increasing power of the Gauls to the North, and with incursions beginning as early as the beginning of the 5th century B.C., these strings of *castella* served to provide a bulwark towards the hostile outside world. It is telling that the number is far greater and the spacing far closer together than in the territories of the major city-states of South Etruria where concerns were largely with internal rather than ethnic boundaries.[96]

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[92]Valenti 1995, 395.

[93]Valenti 1995, 393.

[94]Valenti 1995 394-395.

[95]Vander Poppen 2003, 104-105.

[96]Stoddart 1990, 49; Riva and Stoddart 1996.

Excavation data for this period comes primarily from the sites at Poggio Colla and Artimino. At the former, this period saw the construction of a large monumental building, almost surely a temple, which came to dominate the central portion of the hilltop. Rich depositions of bucchero vessels, and the expansion of the necropolis, demonstrate the continued importance of the site throughout the Archaic Period.[97] At the same time, the residents of the site created an early defensive system consisting of an *agger* and *fossa* along the North edge of the hilltop.[98] At Artimino too, the major necropolis at Comeana expanded significantly, and the first evidence for the occupation of Artimino itself came in the form of a number of *bucchero* ceramics and the votive head of a horse recovered from near the stable of the Medici villa.[99] At Cetamura di Chianti, a number of post-hole structures dominated the Archaic Period *arx*.[100]

A similar organization to that seen in the territory of Fiesole dominated the hinterland of Perugia. A number of fortified hilltop settlements and sanctuaries populated the territory of Perugia, including such sites as Rio Secco, and Monte Acuto di Umbertide.[101] Like Fiesole, Perugia extended its cultural influence throughout the Archaic Period, primarily in the direction of the Tiber. It would eventually expand to include the sites of Civitella d'Arna and Bettona.[102] A number of major elite necropoleis dominate the route-

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[97]A number of these vessels have been recovered from an early Etruscan quarry, while others have been found in the fills used to created the terraces associated with the later construction of the Hellenistic period fortifications. Recent evidence documenting the growth of the necropolis during the Archaic period has been recovered via a large-scale coring project undertaken during the Summer of 2007. The results of this study will be presented in a forthcoming article by R. Vander Poppen, I. van der Graaff, and T. Nales.

[98]Warden et al. 2005.

[99]Steingräber 1983, 60-63; Nicosia 1966b, 284-285..

[100]de Grummond 2000, 11.

[101]Ceniacoli 2002, 50-51

[102]Ceniacoli 2002, 51.

ways toward Orvieto, and Chiusi, all spaced between thirteen and fifteen kilometers apart, in a similar fashion to that seen in the region to the South of Fiesole.[103]

A different system of organization appears to have prevailed in the territory of Cortona. Here there was a drive toward the construction of a series of *gentilicial tumuli* in the countryside. They were not associated with larger necropoleis, and rather served as markers of elite domination over portions of the landscape. Rather than seeing the centralized control familiar in the Southern Etruscan city-states, the territory of Cortona was divided into portions dominated by the rural residing elite and their dependent *clientela*. Paolo Bruschetti suggests that these large tumuli are associated with nearby (yet undiscovered) rural elite residences in a pattern much like that seen in the territories of Orientalizing Period Fiesole and Volterra.[104] There was a high degree of stability in this landscape, as the majority of the *tumuli* remained in use down to the 5th century B.C.[105] This type of rural organization suggests a powerful *gentilicial* structure of land ownership, one that persisted into the Hellenistic period. In conjunction with an emphasis on agricultural exploitation, a number of sites were situated to control the main thoroughfare through the region along the corridor of the Chiana River as early as the 6th century B.C.[106]

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[103]Ceniacoli 2002, 52-58. There is no clear evidence for settlements associated with these necropoleis, but is tempting to posit a close interaction between a rural residing elite and these burial sites. Cf. Bruschetti 2002, 72-73.

[104] Bruschetti 1979, 89. There is also little indication of the types of settlements in which the *clientela* of the great families lived. Bruschetti (1979, 92-93) suggests that they were rural residents, but in the absence of any work (either intensive or extensive) we are left to wonder whether they inhabited a series of agro-towns, *castella*, or even occupied dispersed farmsteads. Cf. also Cherici 1987, 143; Bruschetti 2002, 72-73.

[105]Bruschetti 1979, 92.

[106]Bruschetti 1979, 90-92.

Rural Expansion and the Development of Boundary Sanctuaries: Chiusi and Arezzo

The territories of Arezzo and Chiusi also saw the major expansion of village communities in addition to the beginning growth of the urban centers. Within the territory of Chiusi, the sites at Sarteano, Chianciano, and Cetona all grew significantly. With the transition to the 6th century B.C., there is evidence of an increasingly wealthy class engaging in rural burial and residence at Chianciano. The same period saw the proliferation of Etrusco-Corinthian and bucchero fabrics in both burials and in settlements of the zone.[107] It is from this same period that the earliest settlement at Chianciano Terme itself likely dates. The rural landscape of the interior of Chiusi's territory continued to be marked by a burgeoning society equal in wealth to its urban counterpart throughout the Archaic Period.[108] In the territory of Chianciano, a number of villages continued to dominate the major valleys of the region, especially the Foce and Parce valleys.[109] The same phenomenon can be seen in the territory of Arezzo. Arezzo occupied the most favorable site in the area, at the junction of no less than four major watersheds.[110] In addition to the abundant resources of the nearby mountains and their forests, these river valleys provided a significant zone of fertile and well-watered land for the cultivation of cereals. This landscape yielded a regular surplus.[111] The agricultural exploitation of this territory may have already been underway as early as the 6th century B.C. despite the retarded growth of the urban center itself. The burial assemblages from a limited number of very rich necropoleis suggest a pattern of rural elite residence associated with dominance over the

[107]Paolucci 1988a, 104.

[108]Paolucci 1988a, 105.

[109]Paolucci 1988a, 105.

[110]Cherici 2004, 25.

[111]Cherici 2004, 25-26.

rights of usufruct of sections of Arretine territory, a pattern similar to the one laid out above.[112]   This type of clan based control of the land continued down at least to the 4th century B.C., when we hear of a number of uprisings by the servile class.[113]   A second major community dominated the region, a *castellum* at Castiglion Fiorentino.[114]   There also appears to have been a significant *castellum* only five kilometers to the southeast of Arezzo whose inhabitants erected a fortification wall in the Hellenistic Period.[115]

In addition to the patterns of growing wealth and population in urban centers and village communities, a number of sites began to occupy the periphery of the territories of Chiusi and Arezzo. These sites, mostly minor centers, but also sanctuaries, served to define the boundaries of the major city-states with peripheral regions. In the case of Chiusi, such sites can be seen along the Western border of the city-state, while in the territory of Arezzo these sites occupied the route ways connecting the city with Fiesole and with the passes over the Apennines. Votives recovered from Radicofani, at the Western edge of Chiusi's territory, suggest that it had already become a major sanctuary in the Archaic Period.[116]   As such, it would have functioned as part of a network of *castella* and sanctuaries that marked the outer limits of Chiusine territory in the direction of the coastal cities of Vetulonia and Roselle on one side, and Volsinii and Vulci on the other.[117]   These sites included a series of villages located also in the zone around Abbadia San Salvatore (See Figure 42).[118]   If this

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[112]Cherici 2004, 27.

[113]Cherici 2004, 27.

[114]Cherici 1992, 25.

[115]Steingräber 1983, 66.

[116]Bottarelli 2004, 178.

[117]Bottarelli 2004, 178.

**Figure 42. The Archaic Sites Recovered from the Radicofani Survey
(Adapted from Botarelli 2004, 176 fig. 8).**
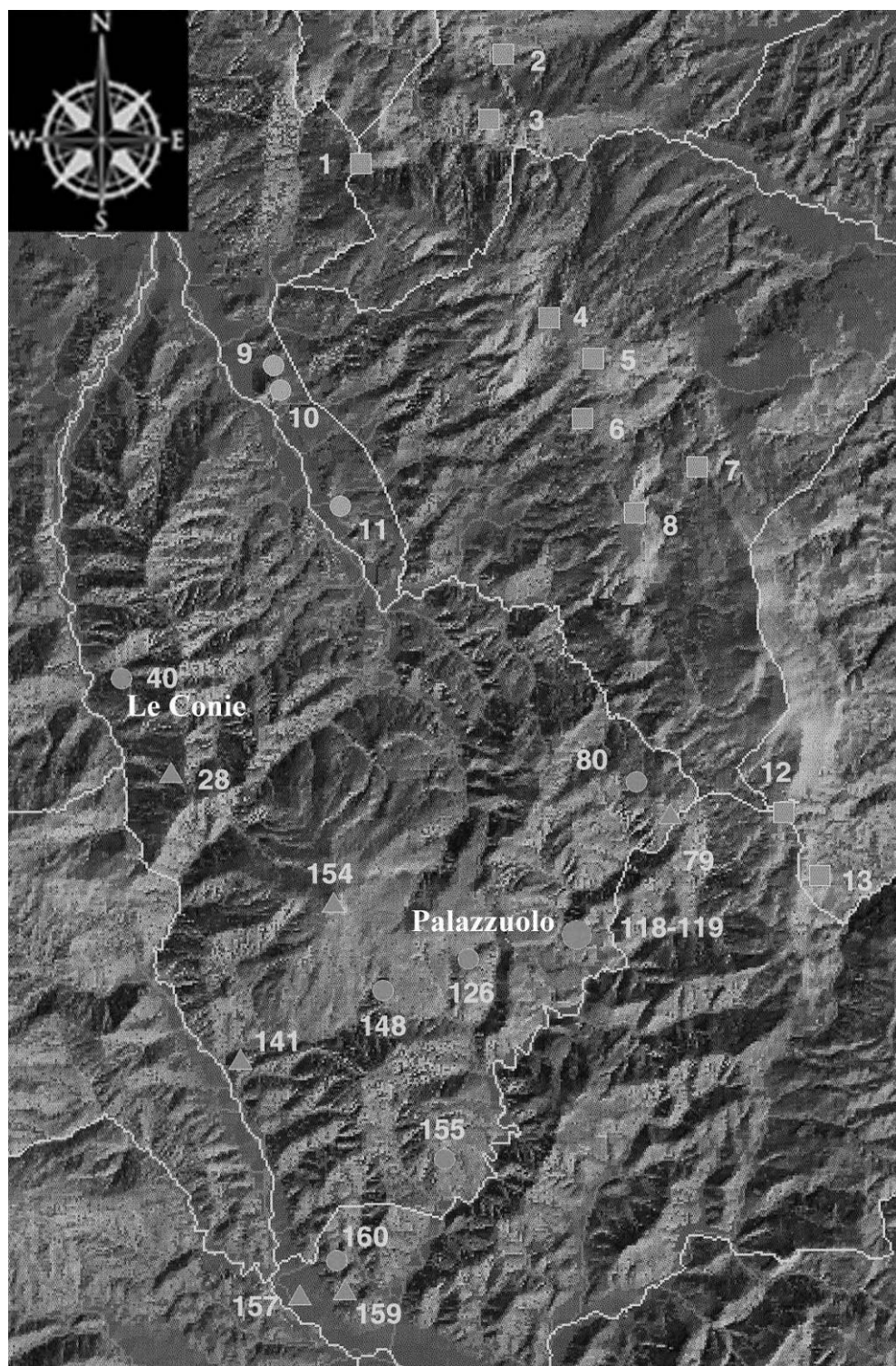
[118]Cambi 1996.

region is any indication of larger trends, there was sparse activity in the regions farthest from the major urban centers and village communities of the territory of Chiusi. This zone showed an unusual scarcity of activity when compared with the rich finds of the more central portions of the territory of Chiusi.[119] Here, there is no apparent evidence of the type of rich burials found in the regions around Chianciano and Sarteano. Not surprisingly, it was these poorer sites, such as Palazzuolo, that saw the earliest decline, being abandoned as early as the late 6th century B.C. (See Figure 43).[120] This pattern is in contrast with the evidence from the *oppida* located deeper within the territory of Chiusi, which seem only to show signs of collapse in the late 5th century.[121] Throughout the territory settlements continued to be scattered along the edges of the river valleys along the most cultivable portions of the land suggesting that there was a high degree of agricultural production even in these marginal lands. In the nearby region of Pienza, there was a significant expansion of isolated dispersed settlement. A number of small individual houses, sometimes clustered in pairs, occupied the area.[122] These sites were scattered across the landscape and appear directly connected to no particular larger site. All of these sites exhibit relatively similar simple assemblages of ceramics consisting nearly completely of utilitarian wares.[123] The zone around Radicofani showed a similar pattern of dispersed farmsteads. Here too, these sites can be classified as simple residential scatters consisting of a few sherds of *impasto*.[124]

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[119]Bottarelli 2004, 174-175.

[120]Bottarelli 2004, 175.

[121]Bottarelli 2004, 175-176.

[122]Felici 2004, 303.

[123]Felici 2004, 303.

[124]Bottarelli 2004, 175.

Figure 43. Archaic Sites in the Territory of Pienza, (after Botarelli 2004, 304 fig. 4).

The Northern boundary of the territory of Arezzo shows a similar pattern of settlement. Beginning in the 6th century B.C., there was an expansion of settlement to the North of Arezzo as trans-Apennine routes took on added importance due to the Etruscan colonization of the Po Valley. A series of small sites, located on major hilltops, such as Pieve Socana (where a substantial 5th century B.C. altar has been recovered), Rassina, and Bibbiena are the likely locations of a string of *castella* arranged to control this route.[125]   A major

[125]Steingräber 1983, 70.

sanctuary also existed at Monte Falterona near the source of the Arno.[126] Here the votive

deposition of figurines and coins continued through the Hellenistic Period. All of these sites

may have been part of a network of communities situated in order to control access to the

major route-way through the agency of sanctuaries.[127]

The 5th Century: Urban Concentration and Domination

The 5th century B.C., generally said to be a period of crisis throughout Etruria, was a

period of substantial reorganization of the landscape of Northern Inland Etruria. Unlike the

centers of the South, however, the city-states of Northern Inland Etruria did not see a

diminution in their access to goods from the eastern Mediterranean such as Attic Red-Figure

Vases or luxury goods from the Near East. Volterra, like Populonia and Pisa expanded her

contacts in the Northern Tyrrhenian, while the cities located farther from the coast appear to

have reoriented their networks of distribution towards the Adriatic via the communities of

the Po Valley.

The period represents an era of rural instability, as in the territory of nearly every

city-state the balance of power shifted away from rurally resident aristocrats and toward

urban communities. The urban centers of Northern Inland Etruria grew substantially

throughout the 5th century B.C., with many of the cities embellished with substantial

architectural projects consisting of temples, and city walls. At the same time, there was at

least a partial shift in residence rules among the elite. Beginning in the 5th century B.C., a

majority of the region's elites were choosing urban residence over their traditional rural

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[126]Cf. Fortuna and Givannoni 1989.

[127]Steingräber 1983, 71. These sites also included the communities of Teana and Monteguragazza. The presence of larger communities in association with these sanctuaries remains an open question. On analogy with the evidence for the territory of Fiesole this possibility seems likely.

habitations associated with family tombs. This shift was not complete by any means, and in large portions of the region rural residence in *castella* and agro-towns still presented a viable and attractive option. A number of the village communities that had been in existence for centuries went into disuse during this period. Others saw major destructions, and would only reorganize in the following century. When these secondary centers again became important elements in the landscape of the Hellenistic Period, they would be substantially reorganized.

Volterra: Urban Expansion and Limited Rural Retraction

The evidence from the Cecina Valley Survey suggests that the crisis in international contacts suffered in the territories of the Etruscan South was largely absent in the area of Volterra.[128] With the introduction of the 5th century B.C., the trend toward rural loci of power began to reverse.[129] There was probably an agricultural intensification coupled with the monumentalization of the urban center at Volterra.[130] Volterra saw the construction of a set of city walls and a rebuilding of the poliadic cult. Urban residents constructed a substantial residential quarter in the city, and monumentalized the area of the *arx*. It is also telling that the majority of burials from this period are found near the city and employing burial urns of urban manufacture.[131] Elites began to place more emphasis on their role in

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[128]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[129]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

[130]Terrenato and Saggin 1994. 471.

[131]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

the urban sphere of politics as the long distance relations that had always been the sphere of the city began to assume new importance.[132]

Throughout the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., patterns of settlement remained stable in the coastal region.[133] One large village to the South of the Cecina River, and the future port of Volterra at *Vada Volaterrana* comprised a series of new sites with origins in the 5th century B.C..[134] In the interior, a number of small centers existed at key points in the network of communications, often in defensible locations.[135] These aggregations provided the residential locations of the majority of the rural population.[136] The density of these sites suggests that the period was one of intense agricultural activity, especially in the central portions of the Cecina Valley.[137] Small farmsteads are noticeably absent from the 5th century B.C. settlement schemes of the Coastal plain and the central Cecina Valley.

In contrast to the settlement scheme of the Cecina Valley, the trend toward increasing urbanization was completely absent from the Val d'Elsa. Instead, the trend of expansion of the regime of small heavily defended *castella* was coupled with the introduction of dispersed small farms. In addition, Volterran aristocrats continued to use several of the gentilicial tombs, there was a general increase in the wealth of funeral goods including the introduction of Attic Vases.[138] Despite the apparent cessation of use at many gentilicial tombs in the last half of the 5th or first half of the 4th centuries B.C., it appears that

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[132]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

[133]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[134]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 227.

[135]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[136]Luchi 1981, 414.

[137]Carafa 1994, 116.

[138]Valenti 1999, 305.

the main settlement of the region, Monteriggioni continued to be occupied.[139]   Here this

quasi-urban community continued to dominate access to the Val d'Elsa. The site appears to

have continued to dominate the settlement of the valley with most of the land in the hands

of a small aristocratic class.[140]

The 5th century B.C. Economic Boom: Chiusi

Unlike some of her Southern Coastal neighbors, Chiusi maintained a high degree of

access to external goods by reorienting her trade networks towards the Adriatic via the

Apennine passes located in the territory of nearby Cortona and Arezzo.[141] Perhaps because

of its Northern location, Chiusi did not undergo the significant period of crisis that marked

the 5th century B.C. experience of so many of the Southern Coastal cities.[142]   Chiusi also

appears to have maintained regular contacts with Volterra throughout this early period.[143]

Inscriptional evidence suggests that a small number of elite families exerted extensive

control over the 5th century B.C. society and landscape marking their dominance through a

series of suburban and rural necropoleis.[144]   The territory of Chiusi saw a sustained

explosion of population during the 5th century B.C., as it grew to become one of the most

heavily populated zones within Etruria. This expansion of population was not limited

solely to the city of Chiusi itself, but also included the largest of the secondary centers, those

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[139]Valenti 1999, 305.

[140]Valenti 1999, 305.

[141]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 499.

[142]Luchi 1981, 418.

[143]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 499.

[144]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 500.

that existed at the borders of the land directly associated with Chiusi.[145]   Sarteano, Chianciano, Castelluccio di Pienza, Città delle Pieve and Castiglion del Lago continued to show signs of vigor throughout the period.   Within the territory of Chianciano, the Foce Valley also remained a heavily populated corridor, with a site at Casa al Vento developing into an important fortified outpost.[146]

Other areas within the territory of Chiusi did not fare nearly so well. There was a strong contraction in the settlement of the zones of Pienza and Radicofani. The 5th century B.C. throughout the territory of Radicofani was one of dramatic crisis.[147] In this zone, not a single site appears to have survived from the Archaic period, as social relations between the urban and rural elite with the dependent poor classes were reconfigured largely in an urban setting.[148] The Archaic landscape in the territory of Pienza came under tremendous pressure in the 5th century B.C. This century represented a definite caesura in the occupation of the countryside, as no habitation sites were uncovered within the survey area.[149]   It is worth noting, however, that the two major necropoleis of the area, Tolle and Borghetto saw continued elite burial throughout the period.[150] In fact, the burials at Borghetto began to display a greater degree of affinity with life outside the valley as the percentage of imported

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[145]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 498-499.

[146]Paolucci 1988a, 106.

[147]Bottarelli 2004, 178. The same lack of 5th century B.C. sites has plagued other survey projects throughout the territory of Chiusi and beyond.

[148]Bottarelli 2004, 178.

[149]Felici 2004, 305. This may be an actual representation of the settlement pattern, but it is also possible that the lack of distinctive 5th century B.C. ceramics may belie a misdating of some of the Archaic or Hellenistic sites that may continue in existence or come into existence in this period. Felici (2004, 308) notes that in at least 7 cases Hellenistic settlements were located within 300m of an Archaic predecessor.

[150]Felici 2004, 305.

burial goods rose significantly during this century.[151]   The lack of continuity of rural

residence is a phenomenon noted throughout the region. During the 5th century B.C., the

rural population began to show a strong affinity for the emerging urban and suburban

communities. The urban/rural conflict of the period was resolved largely in favor of city

interests. It is clear, however, that an elite segment of the population continued to control

the region through its dominance of the main routes of communication.[152]

Fiesole: Temporary Interruption and Restructuring

        The 5th century B.C. was a time of disruption in many of the major settlements within

the region surrounding Fiesole. The evidence is particularly striking for the Southern

portion of the territory, where the only data derived from archaeological survey is to be had.

As a whole, the landscape experienced a downturn in the 5th century B.C. The only sites

that show a high degree of continuity are the villages, which gained a degree of

independence as the region contracted in terms of rural settlement.[153] The 5th and 4th

centuries B.C. saw a decline in population in the area, with a substantial reorganization of

the settlement structure.[154]   Although the inhabitants of the region abandoned relatively

few sites during this century, many were destroyed or underwent a major process of

impoverishment. Some were rebuilt immediately; others saw a brief hiatus of occupation

and were only reoccupied in the subsequent century. During this period, there were major

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[151]Felici 2004, 305. It is likely that elites did continue to occupy sites that provided the as yet undiscovered centers that supplied the burial populations of the two necropoleis.

[152]Felici 2004, 305.

[153]Valenti 1995, 396.

[154]Valenti 1995, 17.

Figure 44. Castella in the Classical Period in the Territory of Fiesole (Adapted from Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143 fig. 2).
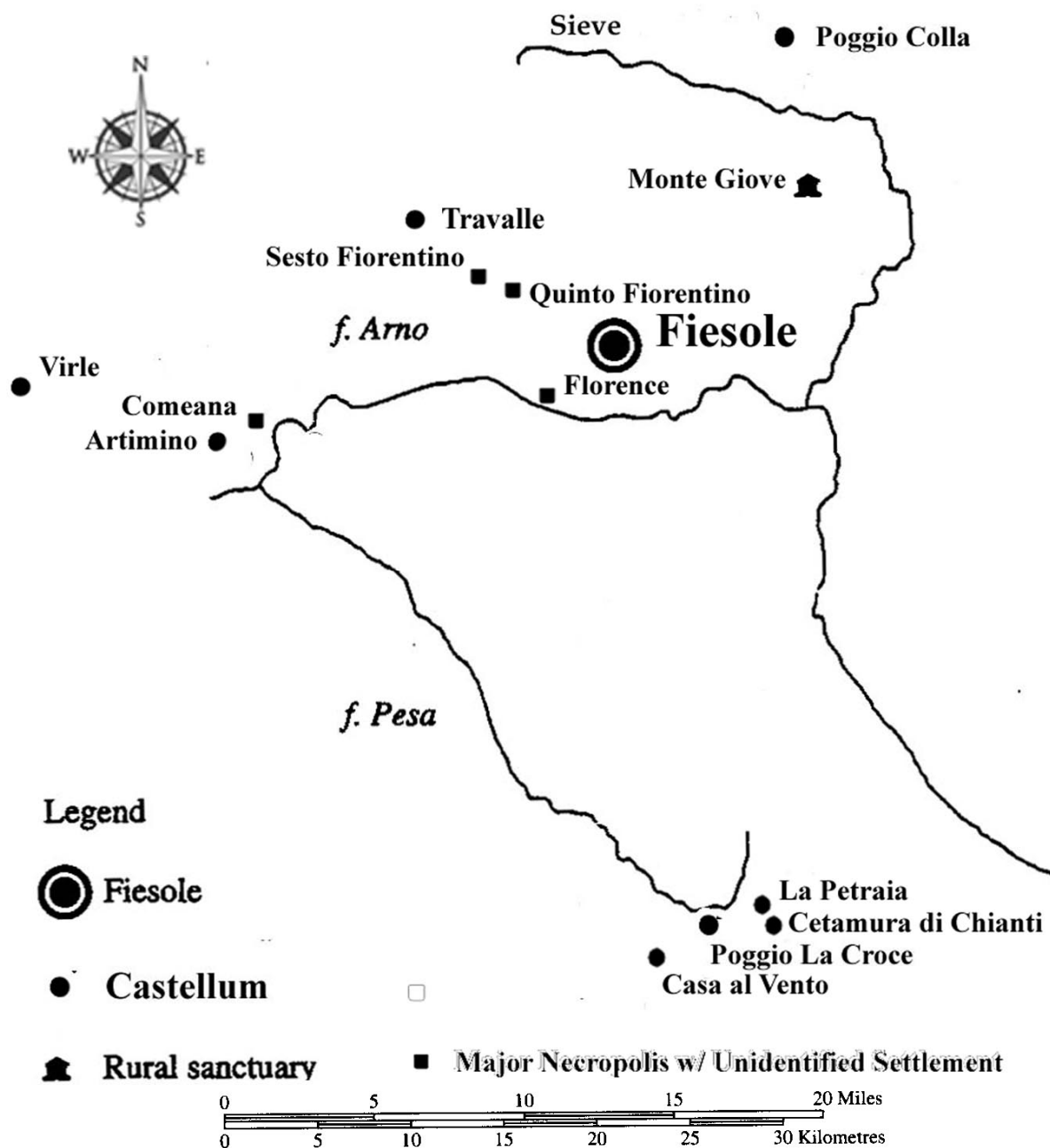
disruptions as Poggio Colla, Frascole, Cetamura di Chianti, and Poggio La Croce.[155] Montemoro was among the minority of sites completely abandoned during the 5th century B.C. (See Figure 44).[156] Despite the seeming impoverishment of many of the village

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[155]Capecchi 1992, 10-11; Warden et al. 2005; de Grummond 2000, 11; Cresci and Vivani 1995, 144-146.

[156] Valenti 1995, 334.

communities within the territory of Fiesole, there is continued evidence for external trade in the form of Attic Red-Figure Vases. This suggests that Fiesole and its territory remained connected to the network of trade that linked the Northern Etruscan cities with Greece.[157] The downturn in rural settlement was not universal, however, as Artimino did not see any diminishment in the bustling activity documented for area. In addition, the rural population founded a limited number of sites *ex novo* during the 5th century B.C., such as S. Fedele a Paterno.[158]

Cortona, Perugia, and Arezzo

This outline of events appears to have been the rule in the cities of the Tiber Valley as well, with both Cortona and Perugia participating in a major urban expansion at the expense of rural communities. This region remained oriented toward schemes of agricultural production, likely under the control of a wealthy elite class still in control of the land despite the shift of residence rules.[159] As early as the 5th century B.C., the region was sending surplus grain to Rome.[160] The same centuries saw the expansion of suburban necropoleis at the expense of the earlier rural gentilicial ones in an echo of the shifting balance of urban and rural power.[161] Cortona followed the example of its Northern neighbors in developing an urban core in the 5th century B.C. This urban concentration explains the depopulation of the rural portion of the territory documented by Dionysius of

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[157]It is unclear, however, whether the vases were coming via the cities of the Northern Etruscan coast, or across the peninsula from the cities of the Po Valley such as Spina.

[158]Valenti 1995, 289; Nicosia 1970, 246.

[159]Bruschetti 2002, 76-77.

[160]Bruschetti 2002, 72.

[161]Bruschetti 2002, 78.

Halicarnassus in his description of the 4th century B.C. incursion of the Gauls, a phenomenon that can be traced throughout many portions of Northern Etruria.[162] At the same time that Cortona was growing in its power, a number of Archaic Period sites and necropoleis fell into disuse, suggesting that there was a significant consolidation of power accompanied by a reorganization of the landscape.[163] In fact, the construction of the circuit of city walls may have been another echo of the growing instability in the Chiana and Tiber Valleys due to the increased frequency of Gallic raids.

The Hellenistic Period

The Hellenistic Period was a time of continued urban growth in Northern Inland Etruria. All of the major cities had now come to dominate the surrounding village communities, as well as substantial hinterlands. Almost all of these cities had added a series of fortification walls to protect the increasingly monumentalized urban centers, all of which were the site of major temples and zones of manufacturing. Along with the continued expenditure of labor and money on improving urban infrastructure, the cities of Northern Inland Etruria emerged from the 5th century B.C. period of rural retraction to engage in a process of vigorous expansion. Throughout Northern Inland Etruria, the preferred site type was the fortified *castellum*. Many of these sites no longer depended on the virtues of their natural situation for defense, but were added fortification walls. Along side of these *castella*, a number of sanctuaries also dominated commanding positions within the landscape, especially in the territories of Fiesole, Arezzo, and Chiusi. The period was one of instability, as the Etruscan cities were engaged in the military struggle that would decide the future of

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[162]Dionysius of Halikarnassos, *Rom. Ant*. 13.11

[163]Cherici 1987, 142-143.

Roman control in Central Italy, and these outposts provided a significant protection against Roman expansion. After the events of the Late 4th and Early 3rd century B.C., all of the communities of Northern Etruria continued to function in a situation of near autonomy under *foedera* granted by the Romans. In this new environment, the *castella* became a tool for elite control over the rural population, ensuring the stability of the landscape. These *castella* provided a rural elite counterbalance to the significantly expanded population that began to occupy dispersed farmsteads throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. In exchange for this stability, the Roman state continually intervened on the side of Etruscan elites in the face of popular protest, and provided new opportunities for participation in the larger political game played at Rome. This type of landscape, dominated by a mixture of *castella* and dispersed landholdings, served as the rule down to the period of the Social War, when some sections of Northern Inland Etruria would be substantially altered.

<u>Volterra: Maintenance and Expansion of the Traditional Landscape</u>

The Hellenistic Period was a time of economic and political prosperity for the *Ager Volaterranus*.[164] The population monumentalized the city-center with the construction of a new poliadic temple and the addition of another circuit of defensive walls. The urban center continued to dominate the elite landscape.[165] At the same time, the urban residents constructed a number of extra-urban temples in the immediate vicinity of the city marking the major routes of communication with the countryside. One such example is a temple of the 3rd century B.C. located at Vallebuona, where the Volterrans built a structure with a

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[164]Luchi 1981, 414.

[165]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 37-39.

marble cult statue.[166] In the following century, a similar small sanctuary with a pair of temples was built at Piano di Castello.[167] The city also became a center of industrial production controlling the manufacture of painted pottery, bronzes, and alabaster sarcophagi.[168] In addition, the urban necropoleis saw substantial expansion as elite families constructed new tombs and continued to use old familial burial places in subsequent generations. This continuity suggests that the powerful *gentes* of the Archaic Period were still thriving in Hellenistic Volterra.[169]

The Hellenistic period also represents the most fundamental point of reorganization in the history of the landscape of Volterra.[170] There was an explosion of rural settlement into areas previously unoccupied by permanent residences, as well as a continued development of many centers that stayed in existence from the Archaic Period.[171] Settlement expanded in the coastal plain and in the interior, especially in the direction of Chiusi.[172] This may have been the result of the 4th century B.C. depopulation of the Western Edge of Chiusine territory as described in the accounts of Dionysius and Livy.[173] There were significant advances in the Val d'Elsa as well in the direction of the city-states of Pisa

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[166]Luchi 1981, 414.

[167]Luchi 1981, 415.

[168]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 37, 40-41.

[169]Luchi 1981, 415.

[170]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[171]Luchi 1981, 415.

[172]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 38.

[173]Dion. Hal. 13.16; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.36.

**Figure 45. Hellenistic Sites to the South of the Cecina River
(After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 44).**
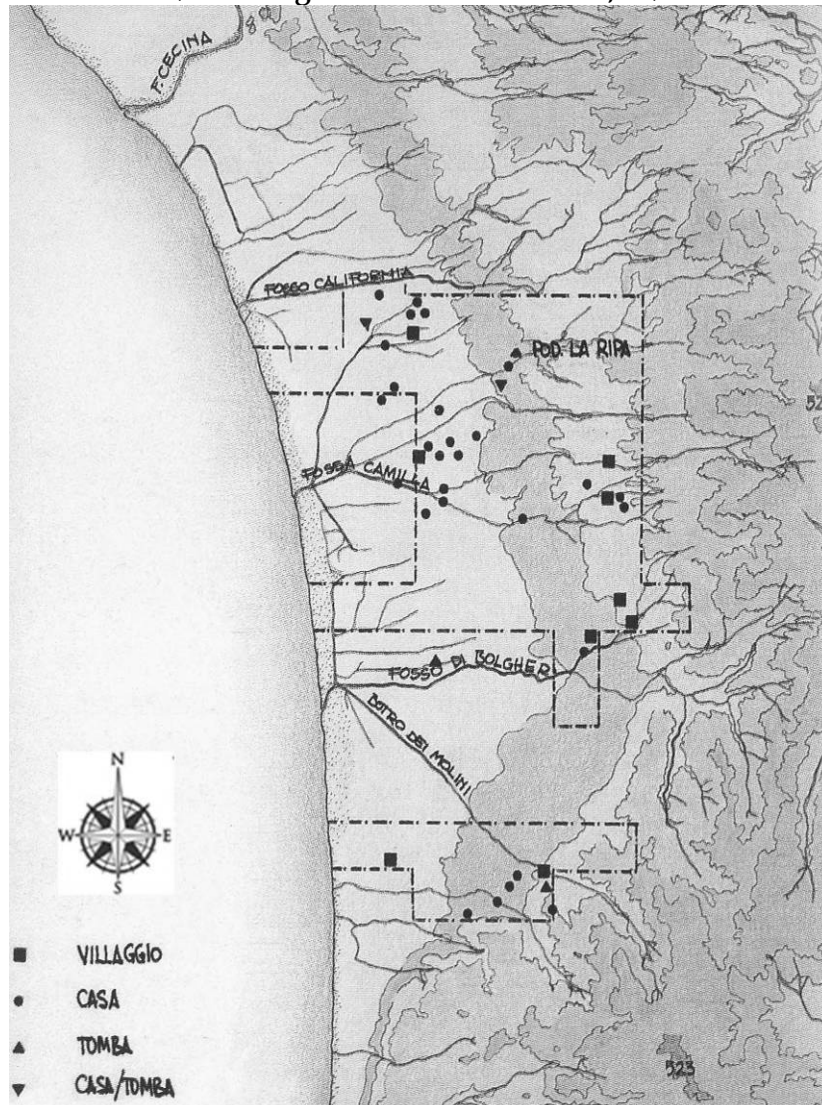
and Fiesole, as a number of new sites were founded at the Eastern and Northern edges of

Volterran territory from the 4th century B.C. onwards.[174]

Survey data from the coastal region to the South of the Cecina argues there was a

significant expansion in both the number of small farmstead sites and villages that occupied

the region (See Figure 45).[175] A mixture of villages and farmhouses densely populated the

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[174]Carafa 1994, 117.

[175]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471-472; Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 126.

landscape to the south of the Cecina.[176] This intensification in settlement reflects a larger

economic intensification of agricultural resources.[177] The village type of settlement saw its

most dramatic development during the 4th century B.C. with six new sites founded,

although the villages of the Hellenistic Period do not appear to have been the sites of elite

residence as their Archaic and Orientalizing predecessors were.[178] Another two sites per

century were added during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., suggesting that the village was

still playing a vital role in the social and economic relationships in the *Ager Volaterranus*.[179]

In fact, five of these villages, which saw their first occupation during the Hellenistic Period,

continued in use until Late Antiquity.[180] The Hellenistic Period also saw the widespread

introduction of the small farmstead throughout the coastal plain to the South of the

Cecina.[181] The 3rd century B.C. was a time of particularly heavy expansion, with almost 50%

of the farms identified by the survey in this region founded during this century.[182] The

majority of these small farmsteads were located at a distance from the coast in the areas

most suitable to intensive cultivation of grain.[183] The new regime of cultivation and

residential preference suggests major reorganizations in the social fabric of Volterran

society. These changes were likely associated with the increased tension between elite

classes and their dependents in evidence throughout Etruria during the Hellenistic

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[176]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 126.

[177]Saggin 2000, 44.

[178]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[179]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

[180]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 472.

[181]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 126.

[182]Saggin 2000, 44; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 472.

[183]Saggin 2000, 44.

Period.[184] It is not possible to tell, however, whether independent smallholders, tenants closely tied to the elite in traditional relationships of dependence and patronage, or a servile workforce cultivated the new small farmsteads within the coastal plain.[185] The sheer number of small farmsteads suggests the presence of independent smallholders or tenant farmers with links to the urban elite as the bulk of the workforce in this area.[186] Yet, the expansion of the small farmstead did not presage an abandonment of the rural areas of the *Ager Volaterranus* to the underclass. The elite still maintained a powerful hold on rural production and exploitation via socially embedded relationships of economic dependence and through the construction of new tombs in rural areas.[187] One such tomb was built at Podere La Ripa where a gold crown of Greek manufacture was included as part of the burial assemblage.[188] The period also saw the introduction of the villa, although its major period of development followed the Social War. This initial period of development significantly preceded full integration of Volterra into Roman society.[189] Etruscan elites adopting Roman symbols of rural power most likely inhabited these villas.[190]

　　　　To the North of the Cecina, there was also an explosion in the number of villages and farmsteads that occupied the landscape.[191] Inland settlements existed at Rosignano

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[184]Saggin 2000, 45. These stresses can be seen in the number of servile revolts and conspiracies documented within Etruria during the Hellenistic Period. These include the revolts at Arezzo and Volsinii and the Baccanalian Conspiracy.

[185]Saggin 2000, 44; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 472. 477.

[186]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 127.

[187]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[188]Saggin 2000, 44.

[189]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 37. Terrenato 1998b, Saggin 2000, 45.

[190]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 37, 47; Luchi 1981, 416.; Terrenato 1998b, 98-101; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[191]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 228, 231; Cherubini 1987, 116.

Figure 46. Hellenistic Sites to the North of the Cecina Valley
(After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 46).
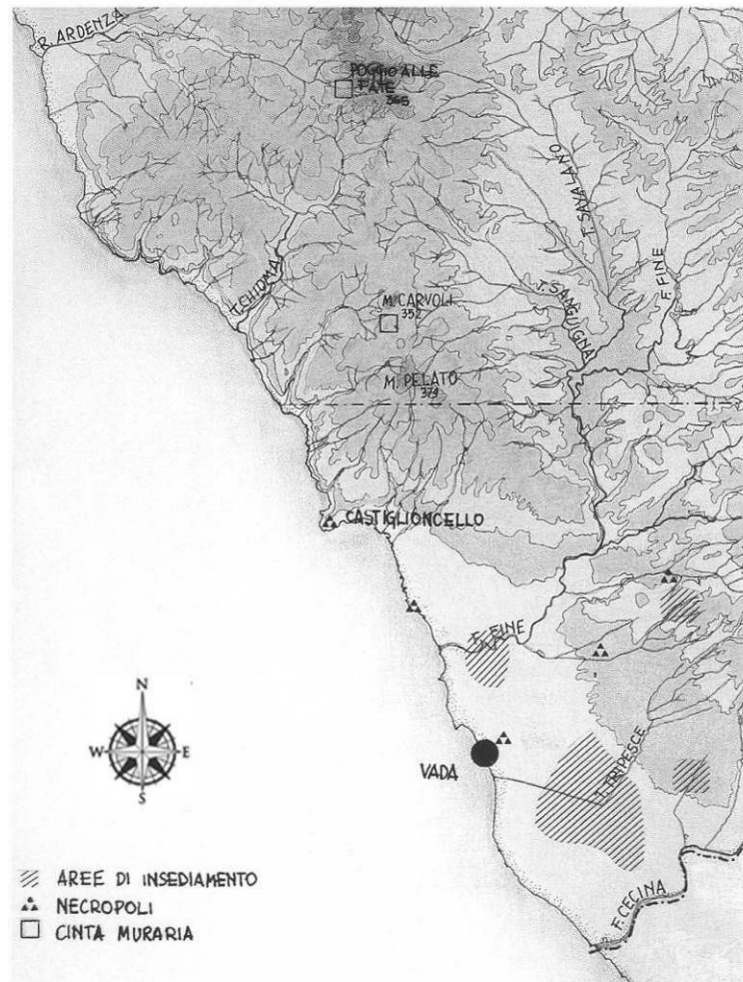
Marittima and Bibona (See Figure 46).[192] At the same time, a pair of *castella* with impressive

fortifications was founded *ex novo* on the high ground to the north of the Cecina and Fine

basin.[193] It is not surprising that these sites, Monte Carvoli and Poggio alle Fate, were

founded during the period of negotiation between Rome and Volterra about the relationship

that would determine the future of the territory.[194] Perhaps these sites provided a refuge for

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[192]Cherubini 2000, 46.

[193]Cherubini 2000, 46.

[194]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 231; Cherubini 2000, 46.

a faction of Volterrans who wished pursue a different course.[195] Beginning in the 3rd century

B.C., there was a substantial expansion in the number of small farmsteads, just as in the area

to the South of the Cecina.[196] These sites were located primarily on the riverine terraces

associated with the Cecina and Fine Rivers.[197] A few villas cam into use in this area as well,

some of which remained in use throughout the Roman period, although this type of

settlement was not the rule during the Hellenistic Period.[198] In addition, the major ancient

port of Volterra (*Vada Volaterrana*) at modern Vada saw significant expansion.[199] A second

port community grew up further to the north at Castiglioncello as well.[200] The construction

of this major port community clearly amplified Volterra's role as a maritime, as well as

mining and agricultural power. The necropoleis associated with these coastal communities

and other settlements dotting the Tyrrhenian littoral suggest extensive trade contacts with

the interior of the *Ager Volaterranus*, Campania, and the cities of South Etruria.[201] The

frequency with which prestige objects were included in burials argues for a continued elite

presence in the area.[202] The coastal strip was also a region that saw heavy industrial activity.

The residents of the area produced wine *amphorae* for the export trade, largely in *stationes*,

villages and farmsteads, along side black glaze kilns.[203]

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[195]Cherubini 2000, 46. Cp. Carandini and Cambi (2002) who document a similar phenomenon in the areas beyond the centurieation of the colony of Cosa.

[196]Cherubini 2000, 46-47.

[197]Cherubini 2000, 46-47.

[198]Cherubini 2000, 47.

[199]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 228; Cherubini 1987, 116.

[200]Cherubini 1987, 116; Cherubini 2000, 46.

[201]Cherubini 1987, 116; Cherubini 2000, 47.

[202]Cherubini 2000, 47.

**Figure 47. Hellenistic Period Sites in the Cecina Valley
(After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 42).**
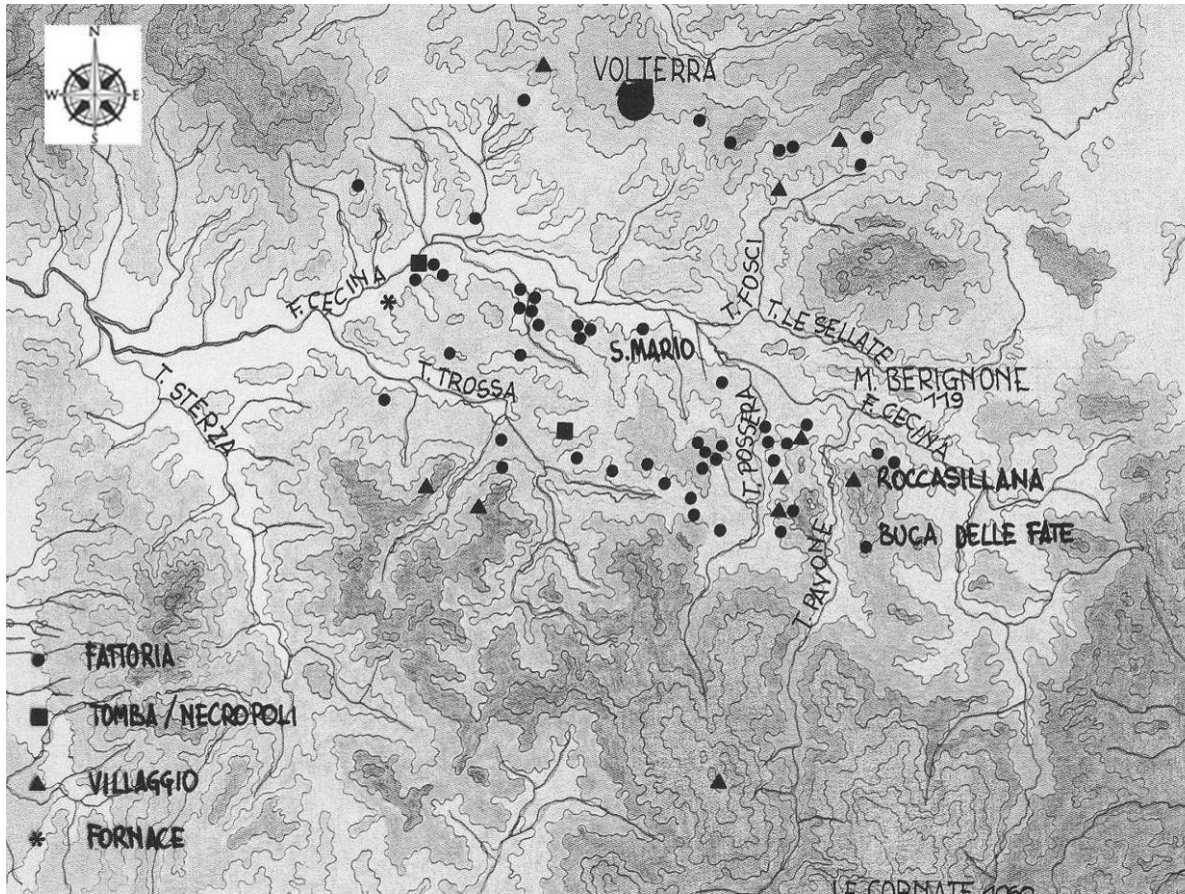
The area including the upper Cecina Valley and the surrounding hills maintained a pattern of village organization throughout the Hellenistic Period (See Figure 47).[204] The bulk of these sites retained their positions at high elevations in easily defensible locations. There is also significant evidence that throughout the interior there was a more marked elite presence in the villages and *castella* than can be seen in contemporary coastal villages. High status goods recovered from sites such as Rocca Sillana, and the construction of new elite burial complexes in association with village sites such as the one located at Buca delle Fate

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[203]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 127; Cherubini 1987, 116.

[204]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471-472; Terrenato 2000, 42.

document the elite presence in these communities.[205] In addition to the traditional scheme

of *castella*, a number of new settlements of the village type arose to exploit alabaster or metal

resources.[206]   Villages were also the site of craft production and industrial activity.[207]

Additionally, the overlay of a dispersed pattern of rural landholding that allowed for the

exploitation of a greater area of agricultural potential, a pattern that would be the rule for

the hinterland of the city through the Hellenistic and Roman periods, reinforced the village

structure of the landscape.[208]   Many of these small farmers must have maintained only a

small degree of independence, as they appear to have been still subject to the power of the

elite *gentes* residing in the urban center at Volterra, or in one of the secondary centers.[209]   The

greatest area of expansion of the small farms was in the most fertile areas of the river basin

on the fluvial terraces, the land most suited to agricultural exploitation. The interior of the

Cecina Valley is also noteworthy because of the complete absence of villas, perhaps because

of the lower potential for extensive agricultural expansion of the type achieved along the

coastal plain.[210]

The Hellenistic period saw the largest expansion of population in the countryside of

the Val d'Elsa as well.[211]   A number of nucleated centers with small associated territories

had taken over as central places for the region.[212]   Within the Val d'Elsa, the 4th century B.C.

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[205]Terrenato 2000, 42.

[206]Terrenato 2000, 42.

[207]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[208]Terrenato 2000, 42-43.

[209]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[210]Terrenato 2000, 43.

[211]Valenti 1999, 314.

[212]Valenti 1999, 307.

saw the construction of a number of new monumental tombs, suggesting that there was

continued rural activity among the Volterran aristocrats even at the time when the city was

seeing a trend toward centralization.[213]   The 4th century B.C., however, showed the first

signs of large scale dispersed settlement. This pattern may indicate stress in the traditional

relationships of patronage and dependence within the region.[214]   In addition, local

aristocracies were consolidating their power in small *castella*, and were only tied to the city

proper by loose ties of allegiance.[215] These structures were probably a deliberate attempt by

Volterra to expand its own defense network through the fortification of key places within

her territory, primarily to the South and Southeast.[216] This development echoes the pattern

from the Cecina Valley, although it is slightly later in its development.   Even the most

prominent sites were but small villages with accompanying necropoleis.   Old social

networks were intensified as the aristocratic classes continued to control the ever-increasing

surplus of newly extensive production regimes.[217] For the first time we begin to see direct

dependence in the form of settlements that are clearly arranged around an elite production

facility.[218] These new structures developed in many cases before Roman domination, and

out of structures that had existed previously.

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[213]Carafa 1994, 115.

[214]Valenti 1999, 305.

[215]Valenti 1999, 306.

[216]Cp. Vander Poppen (2003, 104-106) for a similar phenomenon in the zone to the North and East of Fiesole.

[217]Valenti 1999, 309-310.

[218]Valenti 1999, 310.

<u>Chiusi: Expansion of Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement</u>

Archaeological evidence suggests a far different picture of the landscape around 4th century B.C. Chiusi than the one depicted by Livy as depopulated but fertile at the time of the arrival of invading Gauls. Instead, the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. marked a period of great florescence in the rural landscape. A number of new secondary centers were occupied for the first time and many of the Archaic Period sites saw reinvigorated life.[219] These sites were almost all located on hilltops and were of the *castellum* type, usually possessing their own small necropoleis. Epigraphic evidence suggests that at least a significant portion of the cultivators of the rural landscape at Chiusi were of servile status or labored under socially embedded relationships of tenancy and patronage.[220]

The area surrounding Chianciano Terme provides the most representative look at the development of the heart of Chiusine territory. Here there was a significant rebound in population throughout the 3rd century B.C. In fact, there was an 80% increase in total settlement during this century.[221] The 2nd century B.C. saw a further expansion of settlement into increasingly marginal territories. This expansion into marginal areas was largely due to an increase in the number of isolated farmsteads.[222]

Survey data suggests that the Hellenistic period saw a re-colonization of the countryside, around the modern towns of Pienza and Radicofani as well. A boom in

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[219]Luchi 1981, 418.

[220]Luchi 1981, 418.

[221]Paolucci 1988a, 106.

[222]Paolucci 1988a, 106.

isolated settlements scattered across the landscape drove this increase in population.[223] The

Hellenistic Period saw a more diffuse settlement pattern than the preceding centuries, as

Figure 48. Sites in the Hellenistic Period from the Radicofani Survey
(After Botarelli 2004, 182 fig. 15).

sites spread more evenly throughout the countryside. A number of sites occupied even the

Northwestern portion of the territory, which was nearly empty in the Archaic and Classical

Phases.[224]   A large proportion of arable soil within the region appears to have been

cultivated during the Hellenistic period. In fact, arable soil along with access to major or

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[223]Felici 2004, 306.

[224]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

minor watercourses, appear to have been the defining attributes for the arrangement of the Hellenistic settlement pattern.[225] As appears to have been the case for the entire territory of Chiusi, there was an increase in the absolute number of rural sites, although these sites appear to have been reduced in overall size and wealth.[226] The same trend marked the territory of Arezzo, where sites of the Hellenistic period did not display the same rich assemblages found in their Archaic Period predecessors.[227]

The region also likely saw a change in the type of cultivation practiced, as a number of sites relocated from western to eastern facing sites in an attempt to secure good pastureland.[228] The highest level of the settlement hierarchy consisted of two distinct types of settlements, residential agglomerations of the *fattoria* type and fortified *castella*. The ceramic assemblages of the *fattoria* complexes do not differ greatly from that of individual habitations, which were now abundant in the region.[229] This suggests that the social strata within the territory had begun to see significant alteration from the Archaic model, with a significant under or middle-class occupying the land, although probably still under the indirect control of a number of aristocratic families.[230] The presence of a number of toponyms derived from Etruscan clan names known from the Hellenistic period attests both to elite interest in the region, and continued contacts with the main settlement at Chiusi.[231]

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[225]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[226]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[227]Cherici 2004, 28.

[228]Felici 2004, 308.

[229]Felici 2004, 307.

[230]Bottarelli 2004, 180; Felici 2004, 306. Cp. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.36.12-13.

[231]Bottarelli 2004, 181.

Figure 49. Hellenistic Period Sites from the Pienza Survey, (After Felici 2004 306 fig. 5)
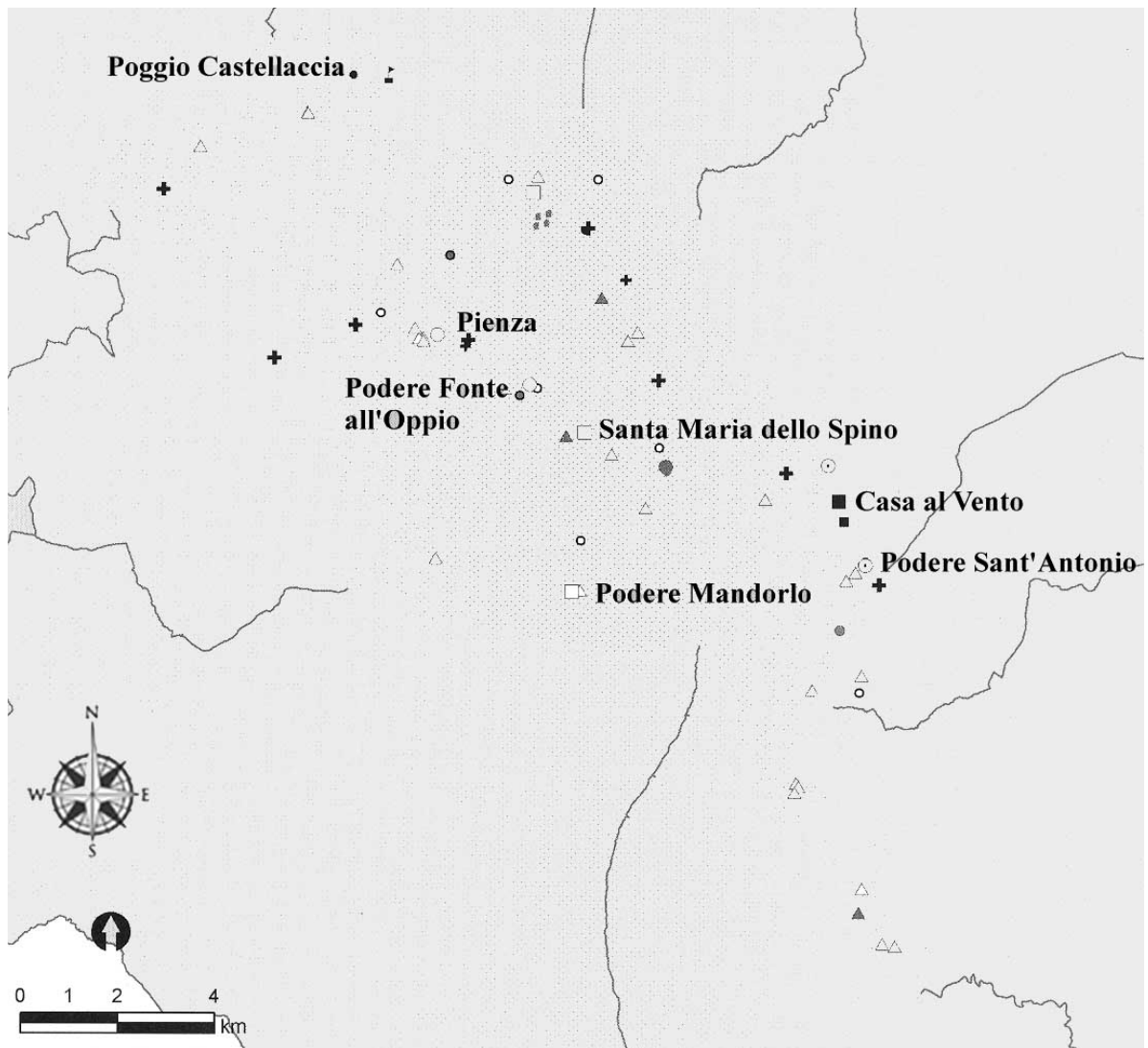
The burial evidence for the period appears to echo this conclusion, as burials became less elaborate and new classes of individuals began inscribing dedications.[232]

As stated above, a series of new village communities dominated the landscape of the Western edge of Chiusi's territory during the Hellenistic Period. The first of these was Podere Fonte all'Oppio, where an agro-town with an associated necropolis extended for

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[232]Felici 2004, 306. This is the same period when we see an enlargement of the middle social stratum throughout Etruria. The slave revolts at Volsinii and Arezzo are two examples of the tensions that resulted in the new Hellenistic social order.

nearly ten hectares (See Figure 49).[233] This settlement represented a middle level of social organization divorced from the wealthiest sites of the region, the *castella*.[234] Clearly, the greater security of agglomerated residence in such a village rather than in an isolated farmstead attracted some of the newly emergent landed class. Poggio Castellaccia and Casa al Vento, a pair of *castella*, represent the two most prominent loci of power within the survey area.[235] The settlement of elite groups in newly founded *castella* echoes a trend seen in the heart of Chiusi's territory in the zone around Chianciano Terme. Burial evidence at Casa al Vento, and elsewhere among *castella* of Chiusi, displayed a strong affinity with types popularized by the urban center. This pattern suggests a close connection between elite rural and urban culture.[236] Another one of the main centers of the period appears to have been Radicofani itself, which shows evidence of a sanctuary, as well as the presence of a small necropolis and village.[237] The site appears to have dominated the territory in its immediate vicinity as few structures have been found in the countryside.[238] Settlements near the *castellum* are noticeably absent from the major alluvial valleys, a zone where they had predominated in the Archaic and Classical Periods.[239] Radicofani functioned in the same manner as other Hellenistic rural sanctuaries, in that it provided a hub for economic contact in an otherwise dispersed settlement pattern.[240]

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[233]Felici 2004, 308.

[234]Felici 2004, 308.

[235]Felici 2004, 308.

[236]Felici 2004, 308.

[237]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[238]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[239]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[240]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

These sites, some of which were significant sanctuaries, belong to a larger category of secondary centers. Sites of this type occupied mountaintop locations, and as a result were visible from a great distance throughout the territory.[241] Many of the cults, including the one housed at Radicofani, were associated with the sources of streams or rivers.[242] As a whole these *castella* and sanctuaries functioned as a ring of military outposts and sacred sites that maintained the border of the territory between Chiusi and Roselle. These castella engaged in a constant vigil over the main paths of entry into the Chiusine region.[243] One of these routes appears to have been via the Val della Paglia and the Tiber, connecting Chiusi to South Etruria. A second route of major importance occupied the Val d'Orcia and Val d'Astrone and connected Chiusi with Vulci. A third minor route crossed the center of the territory of Radicofani connecting Chiusi with Monte Amiata.[244] As result of their gateway function, these sacred centers maintained a powerful political importance throughout the period.[245] Such sites did not merely house cults, however. Many were home to significant residential populations. Such sites may have had an important function in the maintenance of pastoral migration schedules and routes towards Monte Amiata by serving as permanent hubs for the exchange of goods and sites of cultic activity of transhumant's.[246] The zone around Monte Amiata, beyond this protective string of sites marked by a dearth of

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[241]Cp. Warden et al. (1999, 239-240) for a similar situation in the Mugello Valley.

[242]Bottarelli 2004, 184.

[243]Felici 2004, 308; Bottarelli 2004, 184-185.

[244]Bottarelli 2004, 187.

[245]Bottarelli 2004, 185.

[246]Bottarelli 2004, 185-186.

settlement down to the 2nd century B.C.[247] The area, instead, served as a resource for timber and pasture. [248]

Fiesole: Urban Prosperity and Rural Fortification

By the end of the 4th century B.C., Fiesole had grown into the major city of the region.[249] In response to the instability of the 5th century B.C., a number of new *castella* were constructed during the 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.[250] These sites included Poggio La Guardia, Le Pici, and Poggio del Giro.[251] At the same time, quite a few of the old sites, which had fallen victim to a recession during the 5th century B.C., were rebuilt and expanded. This reinvigoration of the landscape on the basis of secondary centers led to an incredibly dense pattern of settlement with small well-defended sites supervising a compact agricultural hinterland, sometimes as small as two kilometers in radius. Most of the *castellum* settlements, such as Cetamura della Berardenga, Cetamura del Chianti, and Poggio La Croce were located on the highest ground in the region, primarily overlooking the Val d'Arno and the Val d'Ambra (See Figure 50).[252] A similar expansion can be seen in the Mugello val di Sieve, where it appears that settlements were put on nearly every defensible hilltop overlooking the valley.[253] During the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. in particular, the

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[247]Cambi and De Tommaso 1988, 472.

[248]Cambi and De Tommaso 1988, 472.

[249]Steingräber 1983, 46.

[250]Valenti 1995, 397.

[251]Valenti 1995, 206; 317-319; Nicosia 1970, 241-242.

[252]Valenti 1995, 398.

[253]These sites include Rufina, Frascole, San Martino a Scopeto, Poggio Colla, Montesassi, and possibly Monte Giove.

**Figure 50. Hellenistic Castella in the Territory of Fiesole
(Adapted from Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143 fig. 2).**
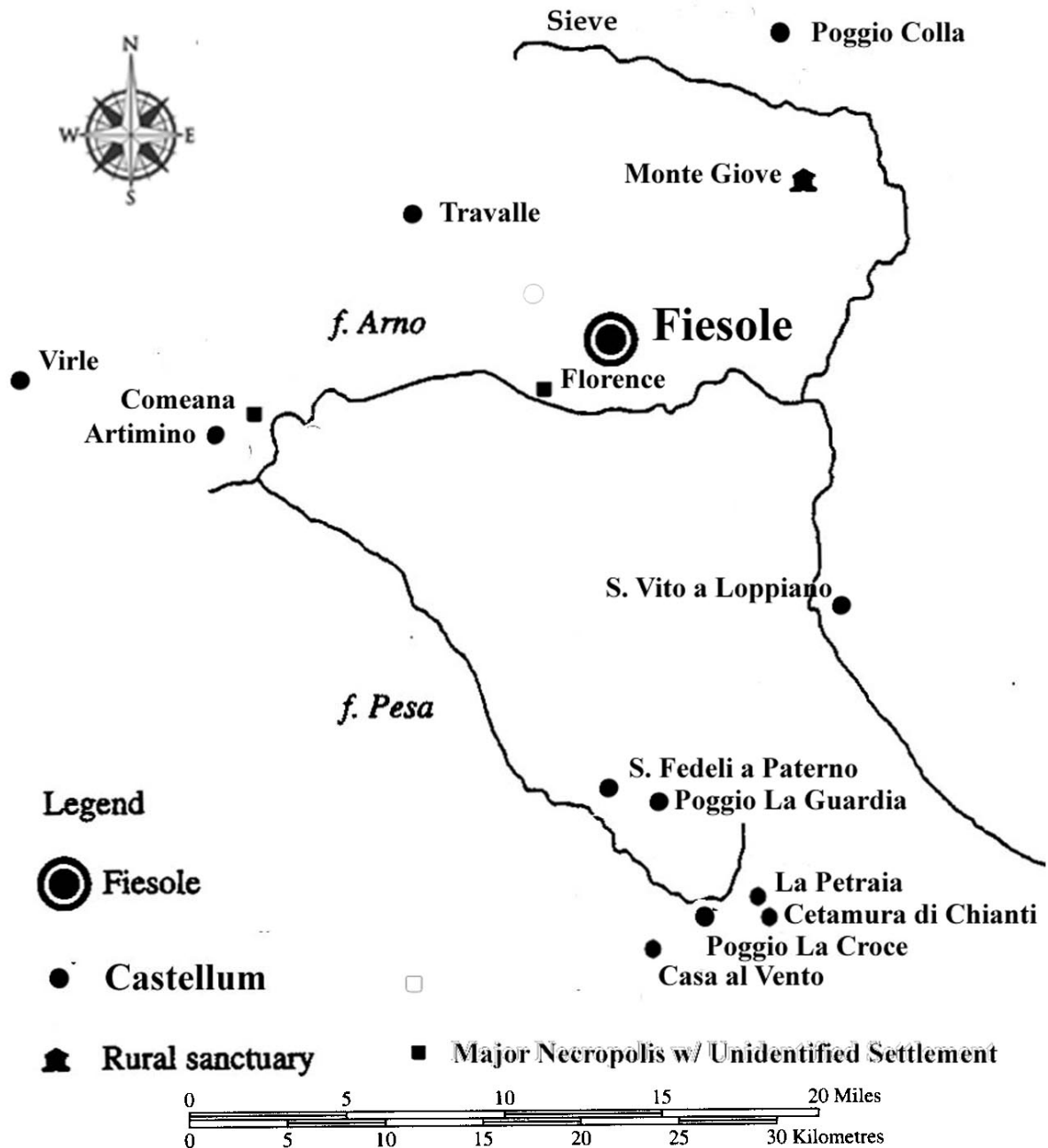
residents of *castella* began to add masonry fortifications to the natural defenses of their

sites.[254] This process belies a growing sense of insecurity among the populations

surrounding Fiesole. Yet, at the same time, these sites displayed an incredible degree of

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[254]Cresci and Vivani 1995, 144.

prosperity during the Hellenistic Period. They came to serve as the major administrative hubs for their territory, often dominating the local productive, industrial, and ceremonial landscape. The sites to the North along the Mugello and Vaglia valleys, and to the East along the Arno corridor, served to protect the territory of Fiesole, now a burgeoning urban community, from the mounting pressure exerted during the many Gallic and Ligurian forays into Etruria.[255] Sites situated as outposts along the left bank of the Upper Arno Valley and along the Val d'Ambra, defined the border between the territory of Fiesole and the city-states of Arezzo, Chiusi, and Volterra. In fact, it is particularly difficult to determine where the boundary between these communities existed in the Hellenistic period, due to the proliferation of fortified *castellum* sites in the region.[256] In addition, the inhabitants of many of these sites built them in ideal positions to control the main routes of communication through the region.[257] Such sites were connected to networks of trade that provided luxury goods including imported ceramics from not just Fiesole, but also from the surrounding centers of Volterra, and Chiusi.[258]

This arrangement of the settlement pattern, based almost exclusively on major fortified hilltop sites coupled with the precarious position of Fiesole with respect to both its Etruscan neighbors to the South and its Gallic and Ligurian neighbors to the North, suggests that these settlements maintained a substantial degree of importance and independence throughout the period in question.[259] The relatively late growth of Fiesole as an urban

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[255]The most famous of these forays can be dated to 390 B.C. when the Gauls succeeded in sacking Rome, but other major incidences occurred in 302 B.C. and 225 B.C. This is by no means an exhaustive list. This arrangement mirrors the one recovered at the Western edge of the territory of Chiusi.

[256]Valenti 1995, 397.

[257]Valenti 1995, 397.

[258]Smith 2002, 24.

center, and its small size with respect to other Etruscan city-states strengthens this assumption. In addition, there is growing evidence that the elites living in the sites of the *Ager Fiesolanus* were as rich, if not richer than the ones occupying the primate urban community during the Hellenistic Period. A number of *castella* were clearly hubs of manufacturing activity including metalworking, textile production, and extensive pottery production (even in some cases of exportable wares such as black glaze).[260] Many, but not all of these activities began to be concentrated within the walls of the *castella*, although a few industrial quarters existed in open spaces surrounding these sites.[261] Many of the *castella* also served as the focal point for local and regional cults. Excavators have recovered the name of one aristocratic family on votive dedications both at Fiesole, and at Frascole in the Mugello Valley. This dedication suggests close ties between the urban center and the settlements of the territory.[262] There is a high degree of likelihood that families within Fiesole were either active in the centers of the countryside, or that these centers were inhabited by lesser branches of the elite families present in the main urban community. The family was also active at Volterra, Arezzo, and Chiusi during the Hellenistic Period.[263] Inscriptional evidence from the rural necropoleis in the territory of Perugia shows a similar trend.[264] A number of the *castella* began to include substantial facilities for the storage of

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[259]Vander Poppen 2003, 104-105.

[260]Cresci and Vivani 1995, 147-149; de Grummond 2000, 17-21; Warden et al. 2005.

[261]In many of the *castella,* a portion of the manufacturing activity was brought inside the walls during the Hellenistic period. Even in cases such as Poggio Colla where a major potter's quarter is coming to light off the citadel it is important to note that some manufacturing could be done even under siege. This represents a departure from the trend seen in earlier periods.

[262]Capecchi et al. 1992, 11-12; Cp. Warden et al. (2005) and Warden (2007) for a detailed discussion of cultic activity at Poggio Colla during the Hellenistic period.

[263]Capecchi et al. 1992, 11-12.

[264]Bruschetti 2002, 82-83.

agricultural surplus within the fortification walls during this period, providing an increased degree of self-sufficiency.[265]

Beyond the landscape of secondary centers, we have evidence for the first time for isolated rural settlement in the region. Archaeologists have only surveyed a small portion of the landscape of the territory of Fiesole, but in the area between the Arno and Ambra valleys, subject to the investigation of a University of Siena team, a number of small farmsteads grew up during the Hellenistic Period. This expansion led to the highest density of rural settlement before the Medieval Period.[266] A number of richer houses with more substantial construction and elite goods were also present among the farmsteads.[267] These sites can be classed with the sites termed *fattorie* elsewhere. This suggests the growth of a new group of lower level elites who were making decisions to occupy the land they were cultivating directly. This pattern predominated in Volterran territory during the Hellenistic period, and in the *Ager Fiesolanus* there was likewise a continued use of *castella* along side these new dispersed sites.[268] This phenomenon can likely be linked to the revolutions documented in the inscriptional evidence at Volterra and Chiusi, where a new aristocracy replaced many of the old families.[269] At any rate, during the Hellenistic Period, there was a substantial expansion in the number of families living directly on the land, and it seems that the traditional networks of *gentilicial* control over the rights of usufruct were replaced with individual ownership of land. The differentiation in wealth at the level of the farmstead,

[265]Warden et al. 1999, 241-244; Capecchi et al. 1992, 10; Cresci and Vivani 1995, 146-148.

[266]Valenti 1995, 397

[267]Valenti 1995, 397.

[268]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 42-43. A similar pattern has been documented in the territory of Pisa during the 3rd century B.C. See Bruni 1998, 204-205.

[269]Valenti 1995, 397. These patterns can be seen in the territories of Perugia, Cortona and Arezzo as well. Cf. Bruschetti 2002, 78.

which allowed some agriculturalists to construct larger complexes, was likely due to personal skill and the luck necessary to obtaining a stable surplus over time, rather than any ascribed status of the individual landholder.[270]

Etruria after the Social War

As is the case for the majority of Etruria, no single unified narrative can be written for the city-states of the Northern Inland region during the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. Unlike Southern Etruria, where the effects of incorporation had played out in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., Northern Etruria did not see a substantial degree of reorganization in the centuries preceding the Social and Civil Wars. The *foedera* under which the cities of the Etruscan North operated had allowed for a substantial degree of autonomy and self-determination. In fact, the introduction of a new level of political resources derived from Rome supported the native social order. Few, if any of the Northern Etruscan cities participated in the Social War, instead remaining loyal to the cause of Rome. The outcome of the struggle was that the cities of Etruria received a Roman citizenship that they did not request. In the aftermath of this conflict, the cities of the Etruscan North almost all supported the side of Marius in the Civil War and fell victim to the victorious troops of Sulla in the following decade. This region, which had not changed dramatically with the events of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. came into a period of sustained crisis that had the potential to alter the social and economic landscape of Northern Etruria in significant ways. Some cities, such as Volterra, managed to avoid significant reorganization of their settlement patterns and power structures; the traditional social structure of other communities, so long supported by Rome, collapsed in the wake of extensive confiscations

[270]Valenti 1995, 397

and resettlement schemes that accompanied the introduction of colonies of Sullan veterans into the heart of the old Etruscan cities. Yet, despite the drastic measures taken by the Sullan colonists, the situation here was far different from the one that had played out in Southern Etruria. Only with the case of the foundation of the colony of *Saena Romana* (located at modern Siena) did Sulla choose to found a major urban agglomeration as a competing force to the old Etruscan cities. These urban communities, closely tied to the Roman road network, were not decimated by the strategies employed in areas of South Etruria, which consisted of the confiscation of large portions of hinterland placed under the control of new urban centers. Rather colonies comprised of veterans were set up in the major cities of the region as a counterbalance to the entrenched aristocratic classes. This difference of strategy likely mattered little to the inhabitants of the urban centers who were placed under the direct control of Roman masters, but it meant that the primary settlements in the hierarchy were not deprived of their importance, as was the case of their Southern counterparts.

Trends in the pattern of settlement are harder to trace at the level of village communities. A number of these centers continued in existence down to the end of the 1st century A.D. and beyond, while others were extinguished with the Civil War or the major period of road building that had occurred during the 2nd century B.C. Where these sites were useful for the management of the territory in its new Roman incarnation they persisted.

<u>Volterra: A Roman City with an Etruscan Hinterland</u>

Rome first reached a settlement with Volterra at the end of the 3rd century B.C. when the city was declared an allied *municipium*.[271] Volterra only entered fully into the control of Rome with the extension of Roman citizenship to all the Italians in the wake of the Social War. The extension of citizenship appears to have had little effect in the decade preceding the sack of the city by Sulla because of its pro-Marian stance in the civil wars of the 80's.[272] The direct result of this event was the confiscation of a large portion of the Southeastern segment of Volterra's territory for the creation of the Roman colony of Saena Iulia.[273] The city faced the threat of reorganization because of the confiscation of its territory and the revocation of the citizenship of its citizens, a decision strongly contested by Cicero in the Roman courts.[274] Cicero, Volterra's continuing patron, urged Q. Valerius Orca to respect the traditional pattern of the landscape in his plans for the *deductio* of a colony to settle some of Caesar's veterans in the *Ager Volaterranus*.[275] The Civil War and Caesar's eventual death interrupted any such plans, and the city only received the title of a *colonia* under Augustus.[276] During this same era, Volterra may have ceded some of its territory along the Val d'Elsa to the Augustan colony at *Florentia*, and gave up additional territory to the East to the re-founded Augustan *Saena Romana*.[277] Outside of these two minor reapportionments of property, the landscape of Volterra remained relatively unaltered throughout the Imperial

[271]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 64.

[272]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 64.

[273]Luchi 1981, 413-414.

[274]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 64

[275]Terrenato 1998b, 107; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 64-65.

[276]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 65.

[277] Chellini 1997, 389-390.

Period and into Late Antiquity. In addition, during the Augustan Period the city saw a substantial period of resurgence as powerful urban patrons began to rebuild the civic infrastructure. The Caecina family built a new theatre and an attached porticus complex.[278] On the acropolis, the water supply system for the city was augmented by the construction of a pair of cisterns.[279]

Despite the Pro-Marian stance of the city, the landscape of Volterra was not substantially altered during the Late Republican or Early Imperial Period. The changes that came with the official incorporation of Volterra into the Roman Empire following the Social War were far less drastic than those that occurred at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. with the transition to the Hellenistic Period.[280] There is no evidence for centuriation of the Volterran coastal plain or the interior, suggesting that the new settlement regime was not based on a traditional colonial land settlement scheme.[281] This was probably the result of the success of Volterran elites in securing patrons within Roman society. The continued patronage of powerful Romans throughout the period of annexation appears to have prevented the fundamental changes seen in the territories of Volterra in the wake of the conquest.[282]

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[278]Luchi 1981, 416; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 479.

[279]Luchi 1981, 415.

[280]Terrenato 1998b, 96.

[281]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 131.

[282]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 478-479; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 65.

**Figure 51. Late Republican and Early Imperial Sites in the Cecina Valley
(After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 76).**
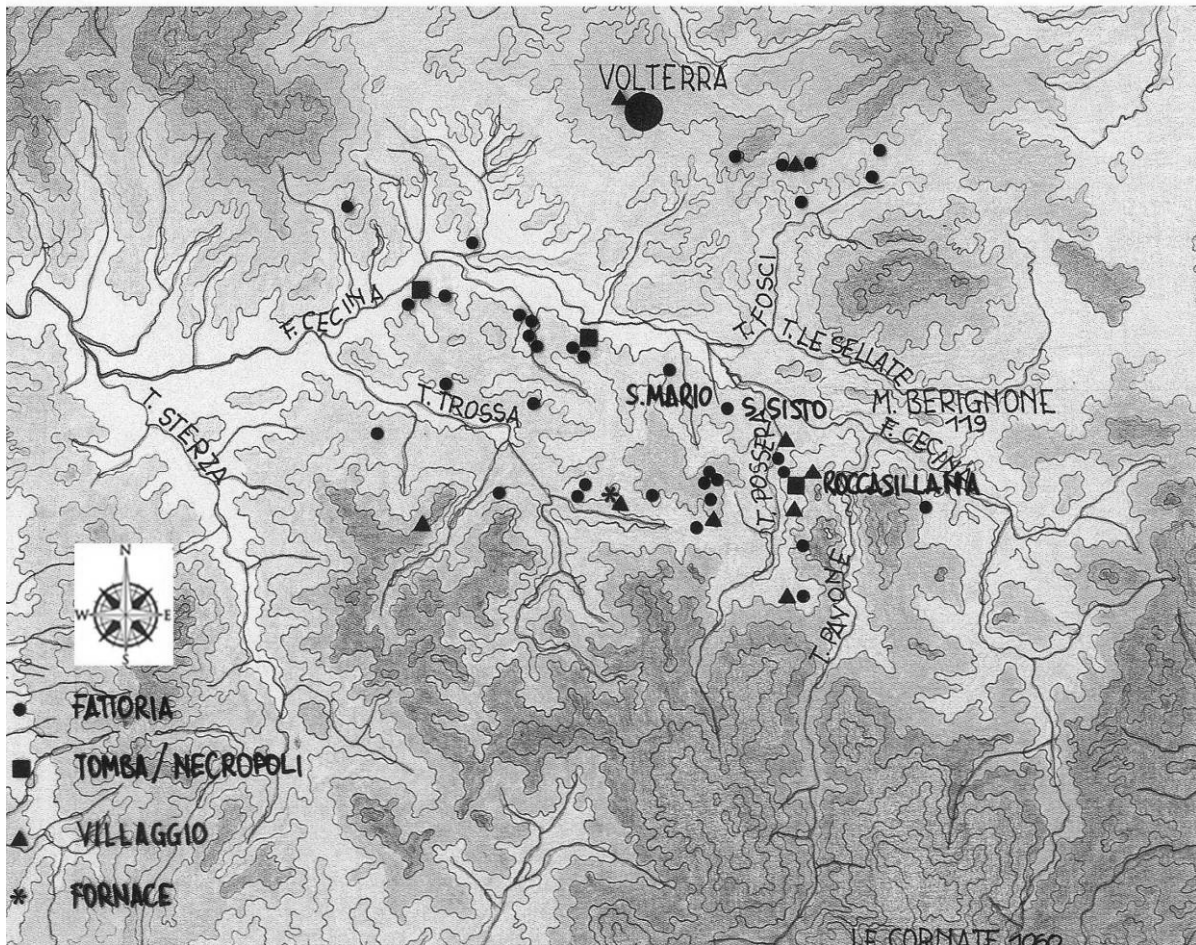
This stability is seen most markedly in the interior zone of the Cecina Valley where the Hellenistic settlement pattern continued nearly unchanged into Late Antiquity. Almost all of the villages present in the Hellenistic period continue in use, and a few new ones began to be occupied.[283] Villages continued to be the dominant site type in areas of high altitude (See Figure 51). One of these villages, San Sisto, appears to have been a substantial settlement located high in the hills overlooking the Cecina River. The presence of an inscription naming a Roman equestrian suggests that this site occupied an important position in the landscape. Perhaps the site was a minor administrative center in the Roman

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[283]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 76.

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governmental network.[284]   The continuation of native funerary traditions bolsters this claim.[285]

As in the Hellenistic Period, a high number of small farmsteads continued to occupy the riverine terraces along the Cecina. Again, there was a complete lack of villas in the interior of the Cecina Valley, as elites involved in the exploitation of the Upper Cecina basin appear to have resided in the urban center itself, or in the villages of the area.[286]. Clearly, the economic and social structure of the indigenous communities of the area continued unaltered under a new Roman political reality.[287] This suggests that Pre-Roman ties of patronage between small holders and the urban and village-based aristocracy may have dominated property arrangements of some of the land cultivated by the residents of the small farmsteads.[288]

Along the coast to the south, there was a more intermediate degree of disruption of the landscape. As already noted for the Hellenistic period, a number of villas began to dot the landscape, especially along the axis of the major route of communication, the Via Aurelia.[289] The majority of the villas were founded at the end of the 2nd century B.C. and in the first half of the 1st century B.C.[290] Of the nineteen villas recovered in the area to the South of the mouth of the Cecina, very few appear to have contained a *pars urbana*, or

[284]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 77.

[285]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 478; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 77.

[286]Terrenato 1998b, 96; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 76; As Terrenato (1998b, 101) suggests the absence of villas in the heartland of the *Ager Volaterranus* dictates a reevaluation of the facile equation of villas with the highest level of the rural settlement hierarchy in Italy under the Empire.

[287]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 76-77.

[288]Terrenato 1998b, 109.

[289]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 78; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 473.

[290]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 473.

residential wing.[291] The majority of the villas instead can be classed as *villae rusticae*.[292] This implies that many of the villas did not see permanent, or even more than occasional elite residence, and that the structures may have functioned as markers of possession over the landscape in the same way that *tumuli* had in earlier periods.[293] In addition, the scanty epigraphic evidence that does exist for excavated villa sites suggests that Etruscan elites rather than Roman transplants owned them.[294] Unlike many areas of South Etruria, however, the presence of villas (albeit rather poor villas by the standards of South Etruria) does not seem to have supplanted other types of sites.[295] Instead, the traditional foci of rural activity and power, villages, continued to play an important role in the productive landscape of the Cecina Valley where they provided at least a portion of the rural workforce.[296] There was also no significant decline in the number of small farmsteads concurrent with the expansion of villas in the Southern Coastal region. This may stem from the relatively limited scope of agricultural production undertaken in the Cecina valley where cereal crops were far more important than the oil and wine crops produced by many of the slave run *latifundia* of South Etruria.[297] The close connections between the three major types of settlement within the area suggest that the villa-owning elite recruited a large segment of their labor force from the villages of the region. The correlation between villages and villas in the area is not, however, one to one. Village residents probably played a more

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[291]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 472.

[292]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 473.

[293]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.

[294]Terrenato 1998b, 102.

[295]Terrenato 1998b, 96; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 78, 88-89.

[296]Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 79, 88-89.

[297]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 473; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 79, 88-89.

independent role in providing the labor force for several properties near their residential center.[298]

There is no evidence for centuriation of the Volterran coastal plain. Instead, numerous farmsteads, villages, and villas augmented the pre-existing settlement scheme.[299] To the North of the Cecina, a more traditional villa economy marked the coastal region due to the close proximity of the territory of the Roman colony of Pisa, and due to the expansion of the port facilities at the mouths of the Cecina and the Fine Rivers.[300] Despite the introduction of significant numbers of villas, small farmsteads did continue to make up a major portion of the landscape.[301] Here too, the majority of villas occupy the immediate coastal plain or the route of the *Via Aemilia Scauri*.[302] Few villas were found inland and few had an elaborate *pars urbana*.[303] There does appear to have been a minor concentration of villas in the hills surrounding Rosignano.[304] The Caecina family owned a villa in this area, suggesting that the major elite families from Volterra were engaged in the long distance trade facilitated by ports such as Castiglioncello and Vada Volaterrana (See Figure 52).[305] The villas and farmsteads in the territory surrounding these ports were engaged in extensive industrial production.[306] Amphorae produced in the coastal territory reached

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[298]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 474; Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 79.

[299]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 131.

[300]Del Rio 1987, 118; Del Rio 2000, 80.

[301]Del Rio 2000, 81; Del Rio 1987, 118.

[302]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 131; Del Rio 1987, 118; Del Rio 2000, 80.

[303]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 131.

[304]Del Rio 2000, 80-81.

[305]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 231; Del Rio 1987, 118; Del Rio 2000, 80-81.

[306]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 232.

Figure 52. Late Republican and Early Imperial Sites North of the Cecina (After Regoli and Terrenato 2000, 80).
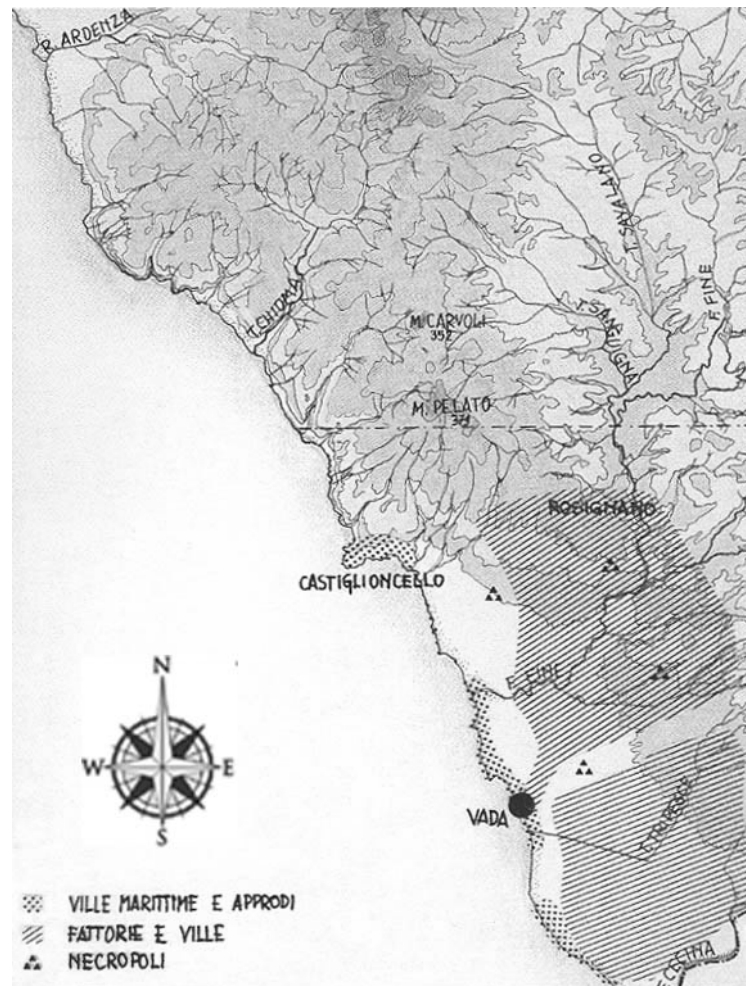
forts on the German frontier, probably transporting olive oil.[307] To the North of Vada a site

appears to have been associated with the manufacturer of *terra sigilata*, Aetius.[308]   Brick

production was also extensive in the region.[309] This volume of trade was sufficient that the

harbor at Vada was expanded in the Augustan period to include a series of *horrea* and a

macellum.[310] At the end of the 1st century B.C., a bath complex was added to the site.[311]

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[307]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 132; Del Rio 1987, 118.

[308]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 232.

[309]Pasquinucci and Menchelli 1999, 133; Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 232-234.

In the Val d'Elsa, there also was not a major alteration of the landscape associated with the Roman conquest. In fact, no major alteration of territory appears to have happened before the beginning of the 1st century A.D.[312] The 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. saw a slight increase in the total population, but the sites became poorer at the same time.[313] A number of new nucleated centers became the focus of power within the region. There was also an increase in the number of productive facilities within the region (*fattoria* and *villas)* as there was a new trend towards rural self-sufficiency. The Val d'Elsa represents one of the areas of highest density for the concentration of major productive sites of the villa type outside of the coastal plain.[314] It is possible that this is a result of the inclusion of the valley in the territory of the new colony of Florentia.[315] If this is not the case, then the pattern of villa creation is clearly one where the most intense frequency was at the margins of Volterran territory. In addition to the growth in the number of villas and medium sized *fattorie*, the major site at Monteriggioni saw a new life during this period, as once again it appears to have served to dominate access to the upper Val d'Elsa.[316] The early imperial period within the Val d'Elsa appears to have been one of slight decline for agglomerated rural settlements, as the number of nucleated settlements began to shrink in number and size, a direct contrast to the pattern discovered in Chianti and the remainder of the *Ager Volaterranus*.[317] In

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[310]Pasquinucci and Gambogi 1997, 232; Pasquinucci and Menichelli 1999, 134.

[311]Del Rio 1987, 118.

[312]Valenti 1999, 310.

[313]Valenti 1999, 36, 310-312.

[314]Terrenato 1998b, 99; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 477.

[315]Chellini 1997, 389-390.

[316]Valenti 1999, 311-312.

[317]Valenti 1999, 114-115.

addition, the number of newly inhabited sites is the greatest yet seen in the landscape, with only one third of all sites continuing from the previous period.[318]

Chiusi: Balanced Expansion and Retraction

This Etruscan system of land dominance continued uninterrupted into the 1st century B.C., when it was finally altered by the creation of a Roman landscape.[319] As a whole, Chiusi maintained the vast majority of its territorial possessions up until the confiscations of Marius and Sulla. Chiusi appears to have remained neutral throughout the Social War, only to fall victim to the predations of the victorious Sullans after the defeat of Carbo near Trasimene. Like the other cities of the Etruscan North, Chiusi was robbed of its citizenship and settled by veterans. After the Social War, Chiusi ceded territory to its Northwest, along the Ombrone and right bank of the Merse, to the Roman colony at Saena Iulia (modern Siena).[320] In spite of this, the majority of the old Etruscan centers in the immediate vicinity of Chiusi saw a continued fluorescence in the Roman period.[321] Nevertheless, there appears to have been a sharp discontinuity in the families who were making epigraphic dedications in the period after the Social War. Only about one quarter of the families represented belonged to the former aristocracy.[322] The remainder of the dedicators appears to have come from the lower classes or from the newly enrolled veteran colonists.

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[318]Valenti 1999, 113.

[319]Felici 2004, 309.

[320]Luchi 1981, 417.

[321]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 509.

[322]Luchi 1981, 419; Benelli 2001. The conclusion that the new aristocratic families were descended from Sullan veterans does not necessarily follow. The new elites may have been from old Etruscan families masquerading under new Latin names, or the new families may have come from the former middle and underclass of the city.

For the most part, the communities surrounding Chiusi must have maintained their own self-government.[323] These sites included Cetona, S. Casciano, Sarteano, and Chianciano among others. Throughout the Roman period, Chiusi remained an important hub of maritime traffic on the Tiber, as well as in the road network due to its location on the *Via Cassia*. With the beginning of the 1st century B.C., a number of villas began to operate in the region around Chianciano Terme.[324] These villas occupied large tracts of fertile land in close proximity to the major roadways of the region, particularly along the Via Cassia.[325] The 1st century B.C. saw a significant decrease in rural population in the heartland of Chiusine territory, although the inhabitants built a number of Roman bath complexes in the secondary centers throughout the area.[326]

Despite the sweeping changes that accompanied the Late Republican period, only a minor discontinuity in the settlement systems of the regions around Pienza and Radicofani marked the era.[327] Chiusines continued to occupy a number of the major sites of the Hellenistic phase until the end of the 1st century B.C.[328] In fact only 27% of the Roman sites in the territory of the town of Pienza occupy areas not settled in the previous period.[329] The majority of the territory was coming under the control of larger settlement agglomerations as the old Etruscan landscape pattern was beginning to fade into a new Roman order. An expansion of the burying population concomitant with a diminution of the wealth of formal

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[323]Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 510.

[324]Paolucci 1988a, 106-107.

[325]Paolucci 1988a, 107.

[326]Luchi 1981, 419-420.

[327]Bottarelli 2004, 188; Felici 2004, 312.

[328]Felici 2004, 310.

[329]Felici 2004, 312.

**Figure 53. Late Republican and Early Imperial Sites in the Pienza Survey
(After Felici 2004, 309 fig. 9).**
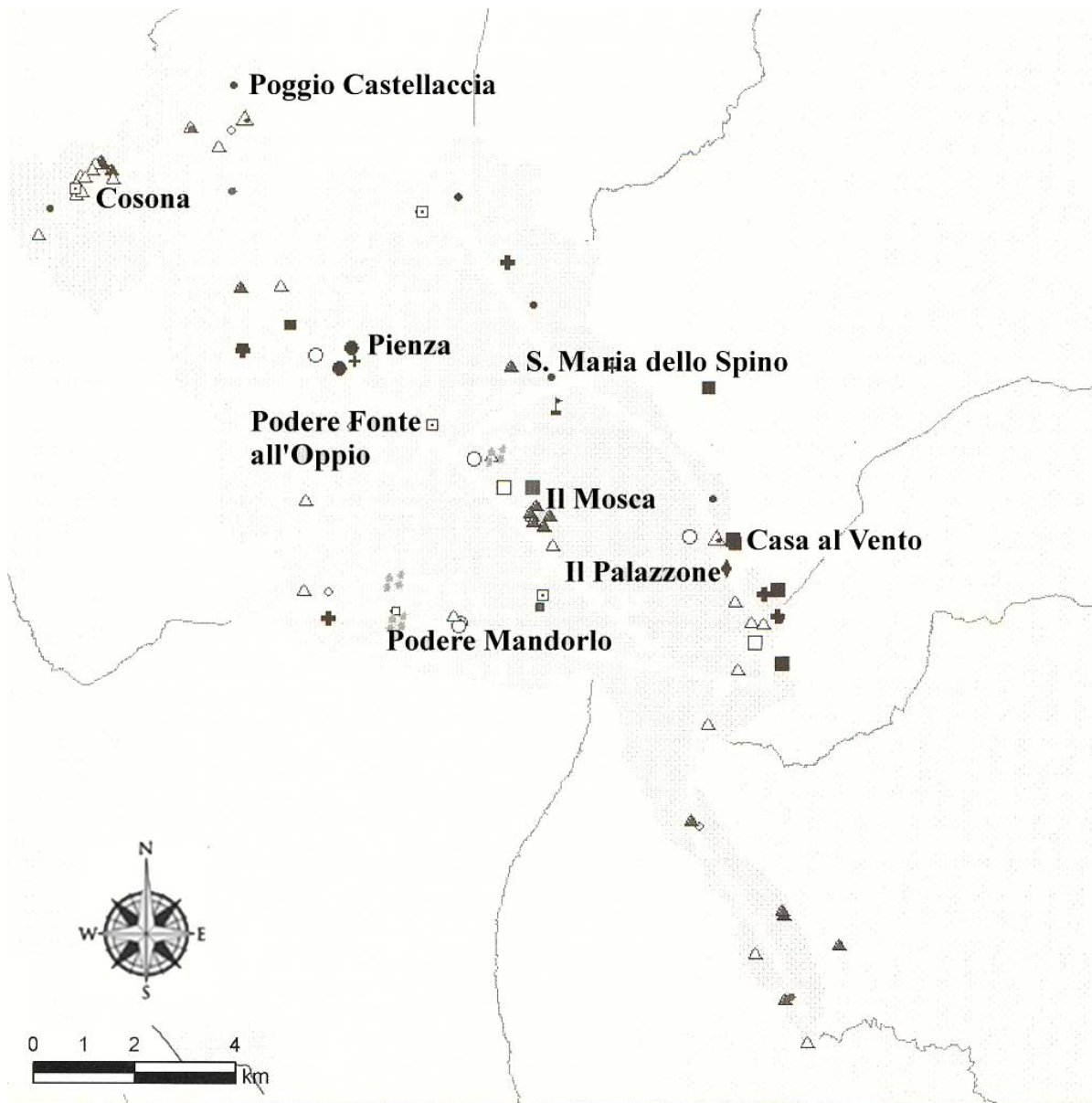
burials in the territory of Chiusi indicates that new avenues for status display were evolving.[330] It is probably not a coincidence that this period saw the last burial activity at both the Tolle and Borghetto necropoleis.[331]

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[330]Bottarelli 2004, 188-189.

[331]Felici 2004, 313.

The Late Republican settlement pattern was comprised of a mix of villas and villages with a number of smaller sites scattered in their interstices (See Figure 53). The village pattern of settlement remained strong with a high degree of continuity in these sites from the Hellenistic pattern. Villas were beginning to represent a competing locus of power, and a series of large farm complexes occupied a medium point on the scale of settlement complexity. A major village was located at Cosona, where a number of smaller structures, probably houses, surrounded a larger complex.[332] The presence of pieces of transport amphora from the site indicates an agricultural economy of exchange. The ceramic scatters of all of the major sites within the territory attest to the presence of an economy of agricultural surplus and exchange controlled at the level of a local aristocracy.[333] One site worthy of consideration is a small concentration of domestic sites, probably a village at a site called Il Mosca, located on the southern slope of a hill located just above the Val d'Orcia.[334] Two other sites, Campi Rutuliani and San Gregorio both parts of the center at Pienza, are of additional note. At Campi Rutuliani, a number of vessels employed in pastoral activities have been recovered, suggesting a partial transformation of the economy from strictly agricultural to a mix of pastoral and agricultural pursuits. The major agro-town at Podere Fonte all'Oppio also continued to exist throughout the period.

Fattorie and villas began to take jurisdiction over some of the productive capacity of the landscape, as opposed to the previous scheme of primarily village control.[335] This area should not, by any means be considered an exclusive "villa zone." Instead, the village at

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[332]Felici 2004, 310.

[333]Felici 2004, 312.

[334]Felici 2004, 310.

Figure 54. Late Republican and Early Imperial Sites from the Radicofani Survey (After Botarelli 2004, 191 fig. 30).
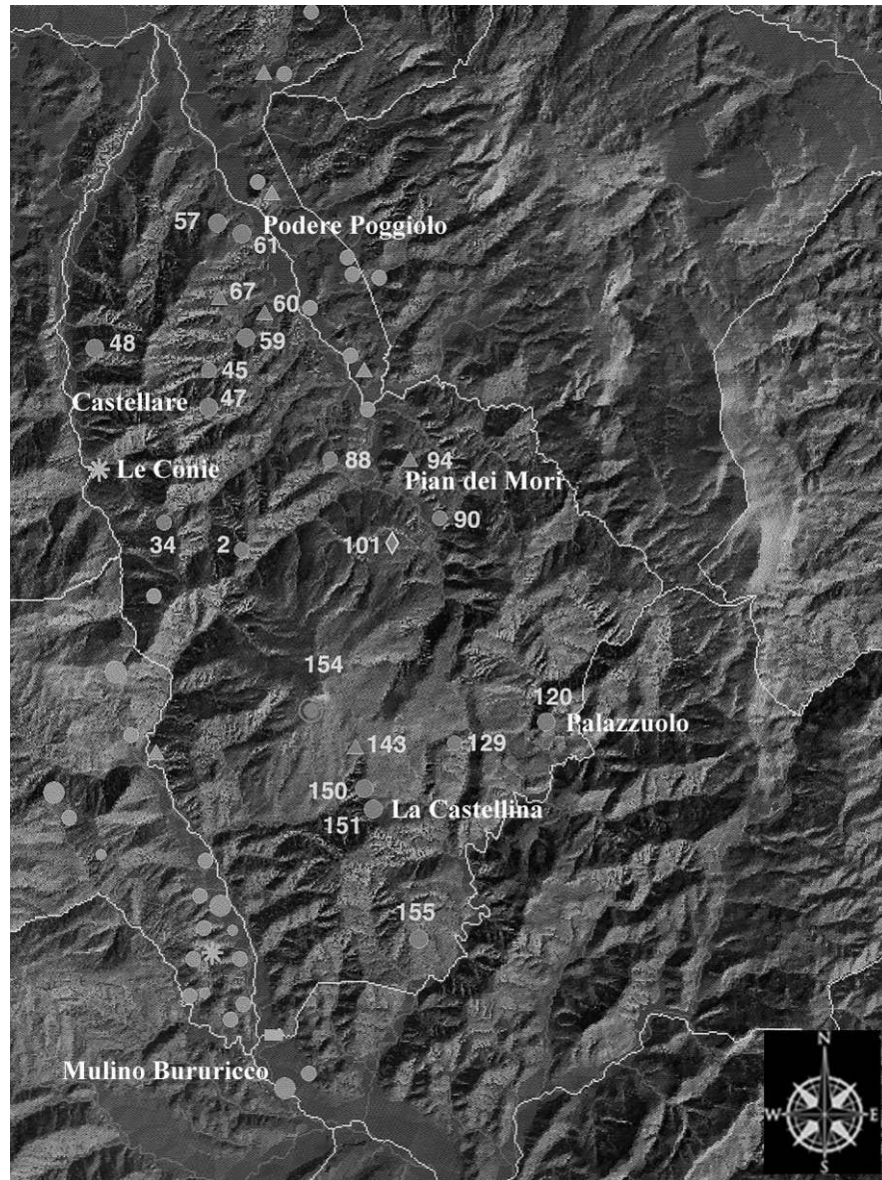
Cosona dominated the Eastern portion of the territory where the land appears to have been controlled in an autonomous fashion outside the villa system.[336]   It is perhaps not an accident that the village was isolated from the remainder of the sites in Chiusine territory.[337]

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[335]Felici 2004, 312. A number of the *fattorie* can be questioned as to whether they represent structures more akin to their villa counterparts or represent village agglomerations.

[336]Felici 2004, 312.

This division may also be due to the relatively limited types of subsistence activity present in the geomorphological situation of Cosona where the terrain strongly favors the monoculture of cereals.[338] The presence of an inscription, most likely abbreviating the name of a *gentilicium* found elsewhere in Chiusine territory, suggests the presence of a small aristocratic faction still occupying Radicofani during the Late Republic.[339] This also suggests a degree of linguistic continuity as the Etruscan alphabet and nomenclature system appears to have remained in use throughout the 2nd century B.C.[340]

Two villas were also located within the territory of the region, occurring on the major axes of communication.[341] In contrast to the villages, the villas and *fattorie* were located in areas where there is easy access to a variety of soil types allowing for a mixed economy.[342] A number of small farms also dotted the region. Despite the wealth of agricultural land within the territory, there was quite obviously an important pastoral aspect of the economy as well, with shepherds traversing the area between the mountain pastures and the valley bottoms.[343] Likewise, there was probably an intimate relationship between agricultural economies and those of a great proportion of the wooded area within the region.[344] Trade contact within the region was limited to a small local sphere of contact. The extreme poverty of the sites of this period coupled with the scarcity of black glaze

[337]Felici 2004, 312.

[338]Felici 2004, 312.

[339]Bottarelli 2004, 189-190.

[340]Bottarelli 2004, 190.

[341]Felici 2004, 312.

[342]Felici 2004, 312.

[343]Bottarelli 2004, 194.

[344]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

attests to the backwater position of the region throughout the Late Republic. In fact, the vast

majority of black glaze imported into the territory came from the local source of

manufacture to the east of Chiusi.[345] Much of the land appears to have been divided into

small plots of five to ten *iugera* in a similar fashion to the trend documented in the layout of

Roman colonial foundations.[346] From the point of the Social War onwards, the number of

sites appears to have decreased, but those sites that survived were more stable in their

nature. The creation of larger territorial units such as villas accompanied this slight

reduction in the total number of rural sites.[347] In the area within the territory of Abbadia

San Salvatore, the settlement pattern appears to confirm these conclusions.[348] Here the great

majority of sites clustered in alluvial valleys along the major track way within the region.

Such a location would have allowed the farmers of the region easy access to distribution

sites where their surplus agricultural products could be marketed. The majority of the sites

within the territory of Radicofani followed the same pattern, locating themselves close to the

major thoroughfares of the region.[349]

The landscape of the Early Imperial period in the territory of Radicofani is very

similar to that of the Late Republic.[350] With the exception of the village located at Radicofani

itself, and major agro-towns at Mulino Bururicco and Podere Fonte all'Oppio, a number of

small farmsteads dominated the zone. The territory immediately surrounding these major

agro-towns and villages continued to be devoid of the major structures such as large villas

[345]Bottarelli 2004, 189-190.

[346]Bottarelli 2004, 188,

[347]Bottarelli 2004, 190.

[348]Bottarelli 2004, 190.

[349]Bottarelli 2004, 190.

[350]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

and villages found in its immediate landscape.[351]   A different pattern was found in the vicinity of the nearby sites located in the *commune* of Abbadia San Salvatore, where a number of village and large *fattoria* structures dominated the course of the Paglia River in concert.[352] After the introduction of the Roman colony at *Saena Iulia* this route took on major importance and functioned as a *via publica.[353]* Here, the economy expanded to include the exchange and services brought by the new road, as it afforded opportunities for residents to divorce themselves from the monotony of a solely agricultural subsistence base.[354] There also may have been small villages located at Calemala and Poggio Poggiolo.[355] In the territory of Pienza, Casa al Vento, Cosona, and Campi Rutuliani remained major village centers, and the site at Le Conie was reoccupied. Most of the sites from the preceding period remained in existence during the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D., with only the smallest of the sites phasing out of use. A number of new and usually larger habitations replaced these small sites.[356] Many of the villages and the majority of the smaller sites occupied the alluvial valleys and riverine terraces of the major rivers and streams of the area.[357] An absence of significant quantities of *terra sigilata* demonstrates the continued poverty of this zone despite the nearness of a number of production sites. As with the case of *vernice nera*, Arretine wares were only found within the major sites of the territory, and always located in

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[351]Bottarelli 2004, 196-197.

[352]Cambi 1996, 78.

[353]Bottarelli 2004, 197.

[354]Bottarelli 2004, 197.

[355]Cambi 1996, 78.

[356]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

[357]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

the Val di Paglia and the Val di Formone.[358] Most likely, only families whose land put them in a direct path of the transport routes of the ceramics as they moved into Southern Etruria were able to acquire them.[359]

On a number of sites, excavators have recovered grindstones, suggesting that the region was a major exporter of grain[360]. The literary tradition echoes the archaeology in confirming this trend.[361] The high proportion of *dolia* fragments in comparison with those of transport *amphorae* indicates a heavy reliance on local storage and limited exchange rather than with an extended network of subsistence supply.[362] In the region around Monte Amiata for the first time, a pair of sites at Casale Vascio and Casale Voltolino became true agro-towns.[363] Despite the growth of these towns, and the addition of a limited productive economy based on a sparse scattering of small villa structures, the region remained geared toward silvaculture rather than the introduction of cash crops such as vines and olives.[364]

Fiesole: A Landscape of Disruption and Discontinuity

Evidence for the settlement of the *Ager Fiesolanus* during the Roman period is far sparser than for earlier phases. In part, this is due to a lack of interest in the landscape surrounding Florence in its Roman incarnation.[365] At the same time, there does seem to be

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[358]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

[359]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

[360]Bottarelli 2004, 195.

[361]Ovid *Medic.faciei* 65; Martial, *Epig*. 13.8.

[362]Bottarelli 2004, 196.

[363]Cambi and de Tommaso 1988, 473.

[364]Cambi and de Tommaso 1988, 473.

Figure 55. Late Republican and Early Imperial Sites in the Territory of Fiesole (Adapted from Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143, fig. 2).
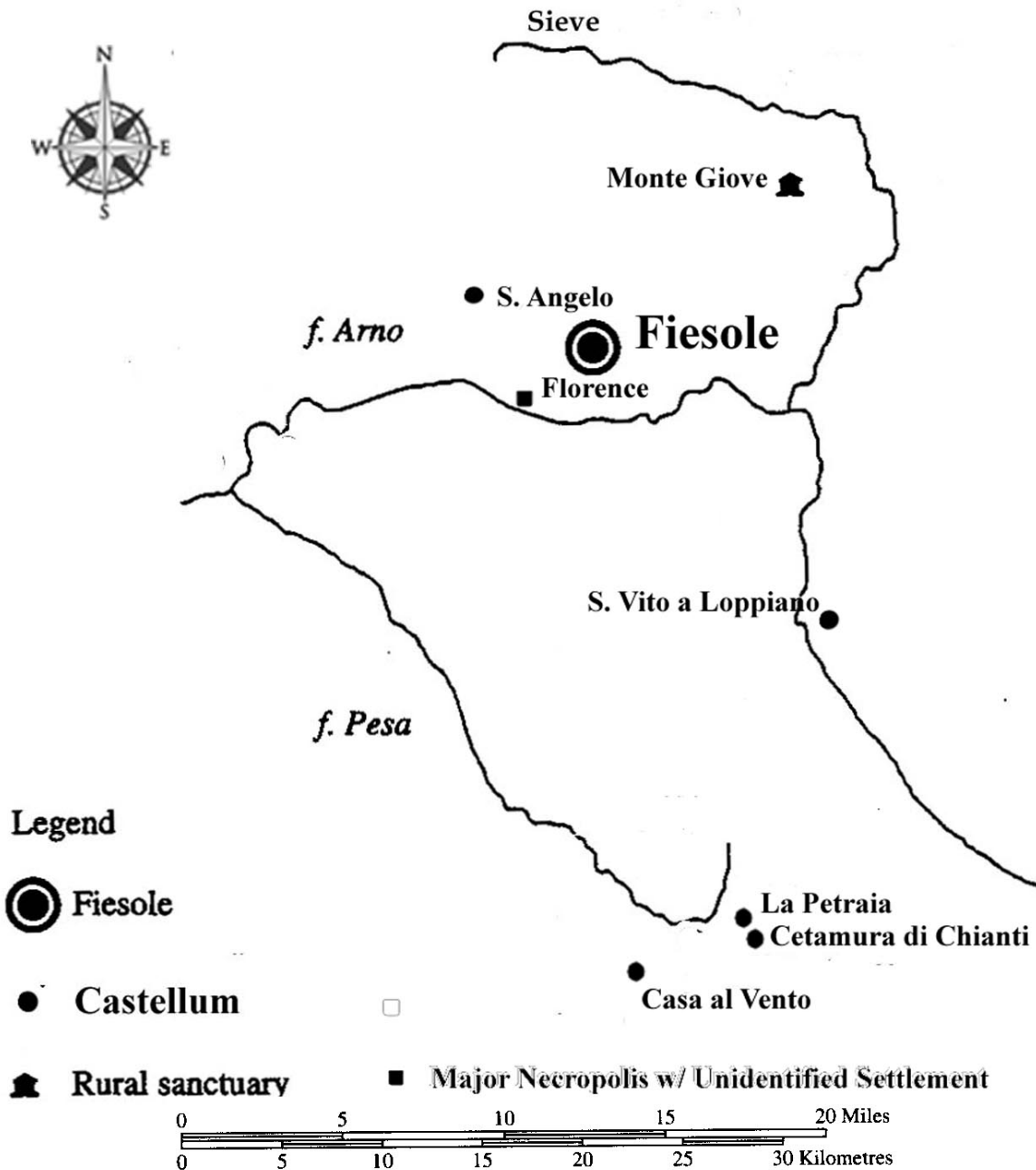
a significant drop off in the number of sites occupying the landscape in association with the Roman conquest. A first major period of disruption occurred with the campaigns that accompanied the construction of the Via Flaminia in 187 B.C. The destruction of a number

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[365]This lack of interest in the Roman *Agro Fiorentino* is most likely due to the traditional rivalry of the city with Siena, her neighbor to the South, who saw itself as a Roman city.

of sites, including Poggio Colla, Poggio La Croce, Frascole, and Artimino can be dated to the decades surrounding this event.[366] The entire Val di Sieve and the Upper Val d'Arno were emptied of *castella* as part of this process. This is understandable given the new nature of the *Ager Fiesolanus*. By connecting the region to the Roman cities of the Po Valley, Fiesole ceased to be a liminal community. The frontier was no longer at its borders. Thus, the reason that the network of *castella* had been preserved in such as strong form had been removed.

The situation did not improve after the Social and Civil Wars. The literary sources suggest that Fiesole itself was the subject of a large-scale redistribution of land to the Sullan veterans.[367] In the wake of this distribution, there followed a considerable period of instability that culminated in the uprising of discontented soldiers and Etruscans in 63 B.C. under the leadership of Cataline.[368] Only with the Augustan period does there appear have been a revival of the urban center of Fiesole, now existing alongside its sister community at Florence.[369] A large portion of the *Ager Fiesolanus* had also been confiscated in order to form the colony of Saena Romana at modern Siena. It is perhaps telling that the best evidence for continuity of settlement of the minor centers in the territory of Fiesole during the Roman period comes from a pair of sites located in the territory of the new city of Siena. At both Cetamura di Chianti and S. Fedele a Paterno, life continued under a new organizational scheme. Cetamura was even beautified with a bath complex in the Augustan period, a sign

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[366]Warden et al. 2005; Nicosia 1966b, 284-285.

[367]Salmon 1970, 131; Mansuelli, 1988, 77-78. Evidence of this redistribution is problematic. Some authors have posited that the new colonists were settled at Florentia, but this appears to be too easy of a solution, especially given the earlier remains located in the Piazza della Republica. Cp. De Marinis 1996a, 36-38.

[368]Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 52.1.

[369]Stiengräber 1983, 49. This period saw a rebuilding of the Etruscan temple as well as the addition of a number of other cult places.

of its continued prominence. Very few villas have been documented in the Northern

portion of the *Ager Fiesolanus*, suggesting that the region had become an agricultural

backwater, used only as a transportation corridor. In the area to the South of the Arno (for

which we have the most evidence), the most popular type of settlement remained the small

mono-familiar houses located at low elevation, situated to take advantage of the most fertile

land in the region.[370] It was only with the end of the 1st century B.C. that villas replaced the

richest of the Hellenistic *fattoria.* These villas were largely restricted to the Southern-most

portion of the former territory of Fiesole, now under the control of Siena. They occupied the

bottomland of the valleys, a distinct contrast to the former loci of power.[371]

The Expansion of Roman Arezzo

Arezzo, had been one of the least important cities of the Etruscan period, and as a

result, it appears to have flourished in the Roman landscape, as the region easily absorbed a

number of new Roman colonists. Like many of the other Etruscan cities, Arezzo supported

the lot of Marius against Sulla. The dictator punished the city with the settlement of a

number of veterans. The social strife caused by this colony renders the fact that a large

contingent of the troops of Catiline were from Arezzo unsurprising. The city also received a

Caesarian colony. Signs of two separate programs of centuriation in the countryside

surrounding Arezzo are ample testimony of the reorganization of the landscape and the

addition of new settlers.[372] Given the disruptive nature of this process in better-documented

areas such as the one around Cosa, it is likely that here too the addition of new settlers was a

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[370]Valenti 1995, 398.

[371]Valenti 1995, 18, 399.

[372]Fatucchi 1992, 263.

traumatic event. The abundance of Roman toponyms derived from *gentilicia* tends to confirm this assumption, and may suggest that Roman families began to dominate the old centers of the landscape in the same ways that their Etruscan predecessors.[373] These schemes of centuriation created a very rigid network of roads radiating from the city and dominating the countryside. Unlike its neighbors in Southern Etruria, Arezzo remained a hub of the new Roman road network as a stopping point on the Via Cassia. This factor, coupled with its function as a hub of production of *terra sigilata* ensured the continued prominence of the town in Imperial times.[374] Yet, there was an expansion of small sites along these roads, such as the small community that grew up at Ponte a Buriano, a major crossing point for the Cassia.[375] A number of the smaller *castella* within the region did survive the transition to direct Roman rule. Both Il Monticello and Il Tiro survived into the 2nd century A.D. The last century B.C. and the first A.D. also marked a period of intense rural exploitation thanks to improved drainage in the fluvial valley of the Chiana.[376] This period did see the introduction of villa agriculture, but these structures appear to have been fairly late in their development. The majority of these structures were not located in the valley bottom, but were rather located on low hills with significant view-sheds.[377] This period also saw the introduction of a number of sites geared for the production of pottery. Such sites were often located not in Arezzo itself, but rather in small, dispersed settlements located in the alluvial plain.[378]

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[373]Fatucchi 1992, 263.

[374]Steingräber 1983, 66.

[375]Fatucchi 1992, 270.

[376]Cherici 2004, 28.

[377]Cherici 2004, 30.

<u>Discrepant Consolidation: The Development of Northern Inland Etruria</u>

From the Final Bronze Age onward, the region of Northern Inland Etruria followed a distinctly different trajectory than the area of the South. The type of rural contraction that accompanied the Late Iron Age and Early Orientalizing period drives toward urbanization that had characterized the cities of the South were absent from the record of the North. In fact, many of the major Northern cities did not develop into truly urban communities until the 5th century A.D. Up until this point, the landscape was highly populated by a series of gentilicial residences in the form of small *castella* or agro-towns often associated with impressive necropoleis that stood as symbols of control over rights of usufruct. Beginning in the 5th century B.C., there was a scaled retraction of rural settlement as the primate centers began to take on fully urban proportions, and as elites began to choose urban residence over the traditional option that connected the upper classes directly with the rural landscape. A period of instability and unrest accompanied the process as the region began to encounter the presence of mobile raiding bands of Gallic warriors from across the Apennines. Throughout this process, a number of the old aristocratic residences went into disuse. With the beginning of the Hellenistic period a number of new *castella* and sanctuaries were founded throughout the landscape of Northern Etruria, but mostly in areas that served as borders between Etruscan city-states, or at the edge of the territory dominated by the Etruscan ethnic group.

The Late Republic and Early Empire do not read as a simple narrative even at the level of broad generalization. The territory of some cities, such as Volterra, managed to maintain a high degree of continuity throughout the era, while others saw more disruption due to an increase in direct Roman settlement. Arezzo is an example of the later

[378]Cherici 2004, 33.

phenomenon, as its territory was divided up into no less than three sets of centuriation and the region became a major productive hub for the most Roman product of all, *terra sigilata*. Most cities fell into a middle category. A number of the old village communities were destroyed at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., but a large minority continued to be inhabited throughout the Early Imperial Period. Along side these centers a number of villas began to dot the landscape. They appear to have been largely located close to the cities of Northern Inland Etruria and especially in the zone bordering on the new colony at Saena Romana. They were a limited phenomenon compared to the numbers found in Southern Etruria and on the coast, but they did begin to dominate the most fertile zones of the region, especially river valleys with good access to the system of communication. Along side the villas, an abundance of small farms filled in the settlement pattern. These sites, first present in the Hellenistic period, continued to provide the backbone of rural settlement down to the end of the Imperial period.

CHAPTER 7.
URBAN AND RURAL LANDSCAPES
IN PREROMAN ETRURIA

The articulation of the rural landscape of Pre-Roman Etruria is a process that shows

a significant degree of variety from sub-region to sub-region, from city to city. And even

within the territory of single Etruscan cities, settlement patterns varied from valley to valley,

as essentially local social and environmental conditions intermingled with Pan-Etruscan

trends.[1] This type of variety should not be surprising given the highly independent nature

of individual Etruscan city-states and the variety of environmental niches that made up the

territory of these same states. As Horden and Purcell have noted in their monumental work

on the history of the Mediterranean, this kind of diversity is the rule rather than the

exception throughout the Mediterranean.[2] Notwithstanding this diversity, it is valuable to

examine some of the overarching trends found throughout the entirety of Etruria, which

demonstrate the lived experience of rural residents of Etruscan city-states.[3] Following the

explicitly Braudelian framework laid out at the outset, this chapter will examine the

development of secondary centers as a part of the Etruscan landscape. It will attempt to do

so from the point of view of long and medium term trends, *conjunctures* and *mentalités*,

overlaid upon the slowly changing environment of Etruria. As such, it will be necessary to

paint this development with broad strokes of the historical brush, simplifying the complex

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[1]Mansuelli 1979, 367.

[2]Horden and Purcell 2000, 10-25.

[3]Mansuelli 1979, 368.

and rich data in order to speak about common and divergent trajectories of the major sub-regions within Etruria.[4] A detailed site-by-site analysis of the type found in the previous chapters is noticeably absent from the chapter that follows.

Temporal Limits of the Etruscan Landscape

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the organization and the dynamism of the Etruscan landscape within the geographical situation described in the previous chapters. In order to elicit the transformation of the landscape of Pre-Roman Etruria, it becomes necessary to add a temporal dimension to our already defined geographic restrictions. For the purposes at hand, this examination will begin by considering the Orientalizing landscape of the 7th century B.C. with only passing reference to the events that surrounded the earlier drive toward urbanization within Etruria. It could be argued that such a late starting point fails to consider the dramatic changes that led to the formation of the cities of Etruria, the majority of which appear to have come together from Villanovan Early Iron Age predecessors. This complaint is not without merit. However, the issue of urbanization within Etruria has received extensive and excellent treatment in recent years, often based on new excavation of Etruscan urban centers.[5] In addition, the process of urbanization does not properly fall within the scope of this study, which aims to consider the interaction between a fully urbanized central community and its dependent population located in the hinterland. In other words, the process of urbanization is taken as a precondition for the interactions and changes that will be considered below.

[4]Finley (1986, 60-61) long ago noted the usefulness of abandoning the employment of the antiquarian type of regional history advocating narratives built on simplified models containing evidence carefully selected to present a logically consistent picture of the past.

[5]See especially Paciarelli 2000 and Rendeli 1993.

Similar problems are encountered in defining a suitable endpoint for a discussion of the <u>Etruscan</u> landscape; not the least of which is our ability to define what exactly constitutes Etruscan vs. Roman material culture.[6] It is nearly impossible to fix a single specific date for the close of this chapter because the encounters between the various segments of the Etruscan landscape and its incorporation into the Roman system took place over a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years. This process began with the city of Veii falling to Rome in 396 B.C., while no other Etruscan city received a final settlement until the fall of Roselle in 292 B.C. As a result of these considerations, I believe it is far more useful to consider the Etruscan landscape in its iterations from the 7th century B.C. down to a point within the 4th century B.C. The specific point in the 4th century B.C. where our narrative will leave off in this chapter must necessarily vacillate a bit with the historical circumstances of the incorporation of each individual city. A subsequent chapter will pick up the thread of development at the point where the current one leaves off.

It may seem unorthodox to begin to talk about a Roman landscape in 4th century B.C. Etruria, when a number of communities still had over one hundred years of independence before their final inclusion in the Roman order. This is justified because Rome did not encounter an Etruria at its height of power reached at the end of the 6th century B.C. Instead, Rome came into conflict with a region suffering from a series of economic and political setbacks that had resulted in the restriction of Etruscan markets, and caused a crisis of confidence in the traditional aristocratic leadership. This crisis was leading to substantial changes in the rural and urban landscapes. The 5th century B.C. saw a reorganization of Etruria as a result of these events, while the 4th century B.C. represents the first period of

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[6]The difficulties of the similarities between Roman and Etruscan culture in the Pre-Roman Period will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

restructuring that in many cases continued uninterrupted throughout the Roman period. This chapter will explore the creation of the Pre-Roman landscape of Etruria as a dynamic process. An analysis of the changes that occurred at the time of the conquest and in the subsequent centuries will form the topic of a subsequent chapter.

The Pre-Urban Backdrop

It is undeniable that by the beginning of the period considered in this study, the village had already had a lengthy history in the landscape of Etruria, with some examples emerging as early as the Bronze Age.[7] In fact, it would not be unfair to characterize both the Bronze and Iron Age landscapes of Etruria as village landscapes. These Pre-Etruscan villages dotted the landscape, occupying almost every conceivable environmental niche from mountaintops to valley bottoms.[8] Yet, the landscape was not densely populated. Not every suitable location for a settlement had been occupied, and little differentiation between sites had occurred.[9] Among these early villages were some of the sites that would grow into the major cities of Etruria.[10] In addition, a number of other sites that would grow into a well-articulated network of subsidiary centers were already in existence before the formation of the Etruscan city-states. Beginning in the 9th century B.C., there was a clear break from the earlier nearly egalitarian pattern, as a few villages began to differentiate themselves from their neighbors through their ability to coalesce into larger agglomerations

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[7]Bartoloni 2000, 53; Rendeli 1993, 157-159; 227; Potter 1979, 41-64: Torelli 1974-1975, 5-7; Stoddart 1990, 43.

[8]Torelli 1974-1975, 8-9.

[9]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 41-43; Stoddart 1990, 43.

[10]Pacciarelli 2000; Bartoloni 2000, 58.

and to attract significantly expanded residential populations.[11] At the same time that the major cities of Etruria were first beginning to take shape, a powerful aristocracy was increasing their hold on political and economic control.[12] This control was often predicated on elite monopolies over the means of warfare materialized in the deposition of weapons, and the metals from which they were made, in the tombs of the era.[13] Overall, the period was one of rapid population growth, and the outcome of this process was a burgeoning urbanism that was leading to the massing of labor and resources in a select few central places.[14] Volumes more could be written upon the problems and peculiarities that surrounded the processes described in coarse grain above, but the role of village communities in the social, economic, and political system of the underlined developed city-state is the pressing concern of this study, and to this subject we must return.

The Consolidation of Territory in Southern Coastal Etruria

Like the preceding Iron Age, the Orientalizing Period marked a significant transition in the spatial organization of the landscape. Although a number of major communities had coalesced during the 9th century B.C. in Etruria, only with the 8th century B.C. did these urban centers begin to reorganize the territory in their immediate vicinity to reflect the increased dominance of this select group of growing sites over their neighbors. This process is most clearly demonstrated in the development of the cities of the Southern Coastal region

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[11]Bartoloni 2000, 57-58; Stoddart 1990, 43; Pacciarelli 2000; Torelli 1974-1975, 10-11.

[12]Potter 1984, 236-237.

[13]Bartoloni 2000, 64-66; Bietti Sestieri 1992.

[14]Cristofani 1981a, 48.

of Etruria, in the territories of Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci.[15] In Southern Coastal Etruria, the aggrandizement of a central urban space and the creation of a system of boundaries, often in the form of suburban *tumuli*, were necessary preconditions for the development of a differentiated settlement hierarchy.[16] This development was largely predicated on the incorporation and subordination of a large number of pre-existing settlements and their associated elite classes. Concomitant with this development was the continued growth of a super-elite class within the urban centers. These elites controlled major portions of the rural landscape on the basis of *gentilicial* organization and through ties of patronage and alliances of marriage.[17] The position of these elites continued to be reinforced by their control of agricultural surplus, access to luxury goods, and control of workers. The development of these power bases can be seen through their material correlates. These correlates include a new emphasis on wares associated with the socially reinforcing setting of the banquet, the arms that signified an elite warrior identity connected with the ability to muster and lead troops into the field, and newly materialized systems of ancestor worship in the form of statuary and extensive burial facilities.[18] These same aristocrats were avid consumers of Orientalizing luxury goods of Greek and Near Eastern (Phoenician) provenience, most of which have come down to us as part of elaborate burial assemblages.[19] Concomitant with the rise of aristocratic control over large portions of the Etruscan landscape was the introduction of crops that necessitated capital investment in land, such as olives and vines.[20]

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[15]Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 43.

[16]Zifferero 2005, 261.

[17]Naso 2000, 111

[18]Naso 2000, 122-124.

[19]Torelli 1986, 52.

These developments accompanied the foundation of a number of new sites, all under the headship of the burgeoning cities.[21] There was also an increasing degree of sophistication in the functional attributes of the secondary level centers of the region, as these sites began to act as central places for their immediate hinterland. As part of this process, a number of previously occupied sites met their end, particularly those sites that were located in indefensible locations and those that fell within a ten-kilometer radius of the larger urban communities.[22] During the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C., there was a reinvigoration of the landscape, as new sites were founded and some of the sites abandoned in the phase of urban consolidation were reoccupied.[23] In fact, the late 7th century B.C. represents one of the three most prolific periods for the foundation of secondary centers as a result of the drive to re-occupy large territories that had been nearly evacuated in the preceding drive toward urbanization. Urban elites and their relatives were willing to see a repopulation of the rural landscape provided that it was done under the direct supervision of the urban aristocracy. Some of this drive to repopulate the landscape must have been a result of the competition between Etruscan city-states as they were already beginning to compete for land and valuable resources. The development of the secondary landscape was a direct result of this competition and the fear of aristocrats that to fail to develop a significant hinterland would result in resources being claimed by a competitor.[24] Almost

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[20]Torelli 1986, 52; cp. Cifani (2002, 256) who dates this development to the early Archaic Period.

[21]Torelli 1974-1975, 41-42.

[22]Torelli 1974-1975, 12.

[23]Stoddart 1990, 43; Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54; Torelli 1974-1975, 44.

[24]Renfrew and Cherry (1986) term this kind of complexity-inducing competition between settlements of similar sizes and social articulations peer-polity interaction. The relatively short time span in which these developments took place suggests that the type of model posited by Renfrew and Cherry was operative in Coastal Etruria during the Orientalizing Period and in the Interior Etruria at a later date.

thirty percent of the village communities in Etruria saw their beginnings in the late 7th century B.C. or the first decades of the 6th century B.C.

Within this expansion there was a definite preference for sites of the *castellum* type, located in naturally defensible places at the edges of the territories of the major cities of Southern Coastal Etruria during the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C.[25]   In Southern Etruria there were almost twice as many *castella* as agro towns during the Orientalizing Period. This expansion has been documented both in the area near the coast, and in the *retroterra* at the Eastern limits of the land controlled by the coastal cities.[26] During the 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., the sites of the interior served to protect the coastal cities from incursions from city-states of the Tiber Valley while controlling the flow of goods down the major land and riverine routes of the region.[27] Many of these secondary centers were approximately five to ten hectares in size, and often controlled access to major routes of communication within the landscape.[28] Necropoleis that housed the remains of the local elite classes that, in many cases, were inferior lines of the major aristocratic families that had secured dominance over the major city-states accompanied nearly all of these sites.[29] Often

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[25]Torelli 1974-1975, 12. It is important to note that the process of creation of secondary centers, primarily *castella* throughout the landscape would not reach its apex until the 6th century B.C. For earlier centuries large segments of the landscape remained organized in different ways. Also important to note is the fact that from their inception these sites depended on the natural defenses of their locations. Many of these sites would receive walls beginning in the period of urban concentration during the 5th century B.C. and continuing throughout the Hellenistic Period.

[26]Mansuelli 1979, 368; After nearly four decades of further study on the hinterlands of Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci, Ward-Perkins' assertions (1972, 870) that the territories of the Southern Coastal cities lacked an articulated system of secondary settlements can now be discounted. As discussed, these assertions reflect the dangerous tendency in some scholarship to project local patterns seen in individual survey projects onto unexplored landscapes without careful consideration of significant underlying differences.

[27]Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 39-40; Perego 2005a, 219-220; Perego 2001, 19; Rendeli 1993, 330-331.

[28]Stoddart 1990, 43; Cifani 2002, 248; Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 42; Rendeli 1993, 165-171; Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54.

[29]Rendeli 1993, 165-171; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70.

such structures were organized in a way that mimicked the spatial preferences for burial seen in the dominant urban centers under whose control the *castella* belonged.[30] During this period, there was an almost complete lack of open sites. This suggests that the intense agricultural exploitation within the immediate vicinity of the medium and large sites was coupled with less intense regimes of production such as pasturage in outlying areas.[31] The imbalance between *castella* and agro towns is more pronounced in the territories of the Northern Etruscan cities, where the *castella* was nearly the only type of settlement founded. This is likely due to the lack of dominant urban communities in the North down to the 5th century B.C.

The population and wealth of the primary cities of South Etruria make it clear that despite the booming growth in the number and sophistication of *castella*, the urban centers within South Etruria occupied a position at the top of the settlement hierarchy.[32] Networks of satellite central places formed by the burgeoning *castella* were often small-scale recreations of the spatial and social order of the cities in whose territory they fell. These sites served as markers of possession of the growing hegemony of the cities over the landscape in the same way that *tumuli* would show ownership over individual fields in the succeeding Archaic Period.[33] In addition, the spacing of these new dependent *castella,* all ten kilometers or more from each other, suggests that they were able to exploit the resources of the landscape directly. This allowed urban centers to control a wider territory by facilitating the second hand collection of agricultural surplus. Rural elites and their dependents

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[30]Rendeli 1993, 305-307.

[31]Cifani 2002, 248.

[32]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 70.

[33] Zifferero 1991.

exchanged this surplus with their urban-residing counterparts due to the urban monopolies on manufactured goods and imported luxury items used to reinforce status within society.

At the same time that a string of *castella* dominating outlying portions of the territories of the major city-states was developing, a number of minor regional centers were beginning to boom at the Eastern edge of the coastal territory in places such as Norchia, Sovana, Blera, San Giuliano, and Tuscania (See Figure 56). These sites shared the typical features of the *castella*, but were of significantly larger size. The quintessential example of such a site is Tuscania, which controlled the Eastern border of Tarquinian territory near the Lago di Bolsena.[34] Due to the importance that such sites played in the organization of the territory of the newly formed Etruscan city-states, these communities often display the greatest degree of wealth of any of the secondary centers located in the hinterland of the major cities. These sites had particularly rich necropoleis indicative of a well-developed aristocracy.[35] These factors suggest that there is a distinct possibility that a number of these communities were yet outside the political control of their urban neighbors, representing a competing focus.[36] Nevertheless, these communities often mirrored the

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[34]Perego 2001, 19-20.

[35]Rendeli 1993, 352-356

[36]Torelli 1974-1975, 12; Rendeli 1993, 299; 351; Mansuelli 1974, 234-236. The independent nature of these communities is suggested by the presence of a warrior from Sovana among the participants in the battle depicted in the François Tomb. The fact that this individual fights against the Vulcian combatants argues that this community or at least aristocratic factions within the community were free to make their own foreign policy decisions. See Cristofani 1981a, 49; Torelli 1986, 54; Torelli 1984, 176; Buranelli 1987.

Figure 56. Cities and Minor Centers in Etruria
(Adapted from Boatwright et al. 2004. Map 2.3)

spatial arrangements of the urban communities in whose territories they fell, and showed a

strong degree of affinity in material culture and also in the arrangement of burials.[37]

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[37]Rendeli 1993 350-356.

As already noted above, the coastal strip also saw the limited development of secondary centers during the Late 8th and 7th centuries, although not at anything like the rate seen throughout the remainder of the hinterland of the coastal city-states. The sites located directly on the coast during this period were of a smallish nature, and it appears that major Mediterranean trade was managed directly by the Etruscan city-states rather than dominant port communities.[38] Instead of the creation of a single major port community, a series of smaller villages were located at strategic points along the landscape, providing a multiplicity of landing places for merchants attempting to reach the major urban centers, and preventing any one harbor from gaining the power necessary to disturb the fragile urban monopolies on goods from abroad. This multiplicity of small landing places dotted along the coastline also reflects the nature of a significant proportion of the seagoing traffic at this time. The small vessels geared toward cabotage of the type revealed by Horden and Purcell appear to fit well with this pattern of harbor facilities.[39]

At the same time that the number of secondary centers was increasing across the landscape, Cerveteri and Tarquinia (particularly Tarquinia in the Orientalizing Period) were expanding their influence into the region of the mineral rich Tolfa and Allumiere hills through the creation of a number of small pioneer settlements geared toward the extraction of metal ores.[40] A similar development can be traced in the series of settlements founded at the Eastern edge of the *Ager Vulcentis* such as Rofalco and Castro.[41] Unlike their Northern cousins Vetulonia and Populonia, this interest in raw metals was not exclusive, and a

[38]Perego 2005a, 214-221.

[39]Horden and Purcell 2000, 140.

[40]Coccia et al. 1985, 522-524; Naso and Zifferero 1985, 247; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990, 443; Pallottino 1991, 79; Cifani 2002, 249.

[41]Rendeli 1993, 212-217.

significant emphasis on agricultural production was maintained despite the wealth of the ores retrieved from the Tolfa Hills.

Variations on the Southern Coastal Pattern of Development

Some of the cities that dominated other portions of Etruria developed along very similar lines as Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci. A prime example of this is Etruscan Pisa, where the 8th century B.C. saw the creation of an extensive urban population because of a growing hegemony over trade with the Northern Tyrrhenian.[42] Volterra also appears to have followed a similar trajectory. Unlike some of the cities to her South, the main products involved in the trade from Pisa and Volterra were wine, oil, and grain.[43] The agricultural nature of the wealth of the Pisan and Volterran aristocracy necessitated the development of a fully articulated system of minor centers within the landscape. In the territory of Pisa, this manifested itself in the development of a string of fortified *castella* that guarded access along key routes of communication via the network of tributaries of the Arno. The Eastern edge of the territory of Southern Coastal Etruria displayed an analogous pattern.[44] These *castella* too were likely engaged in the management and collection of agricultural surplus that eventually made its way back to Pisa. A similar phenomenon was occurring in the territory of Volterra, where a number of new *castella* were coming to dominate the Cecina and Elsa Valleys.[45] The Volterran coast mimicked the patterns found in South Etruria, with a

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[42]References to the early Etruscan domination of the Tyrrhenian are found in Strabo, *Geog.* 6.2.2; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Rom. Arch.* 1.11; Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 5.40. See also Cristofani 1983, 46-49.

[43]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471. Pasquinucci and Menichelli (1999) Document the material correlates of this type of trade, albeit in a later period.

[44]Bruni 1998, 183-191.

[45]Luchi 1981, 414; Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299; Valenti 1999, 302.

multiplicity of small villages and their associated necropoleis dominating the seashore.[46] Each of these sites appears to have been a small village community with its own elite.[47] No dominant port yet held a monopoly on control over the seashore.

The landscapes of cities such as Volsinii (Orvieto) and Roselle would eventually follow this pattern. After an initial period of stagnation during the 8th century B.C., both communities quickly became the head of a highly developed hierarchy of dependent centers. Volsinii initiated little expansion during the 8th and first half of the 7th centuries B.C.[48] Instead, the city itself grew at the same time as a number of smaller independent communities focused on the Lago di Bolsena rather than on the main urban center.[49] Only with the last half of the 7th century B.C. did Volsinii put her stamp on the territory between the Tiber and the Lago di Bolsena, causing a significant upheaval in the pre-existing pattern of settlement.[50] A similar sequence appears to have occurred in the territory of Roselle, whose expansion into the *Lacus Prilius* was predicated on the downturn of the fortunes of Vetulonia.

Yet, the pattern of development seen for Southern Coastal Etruria was not recreated throughout all of Etruria. Instead, the hinterlands of a number of other cities in Etruria followed significantly different trajectories of landscape development. In contrast to the well-developed network of secondary level centers within the territories of the Southern

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[46]Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299; Carafa 2000, 34; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

[47]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

[48]Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 40; Bruschetti 2003, 339; Tamburini et al. 1998b, 67; Steingräber 1983, 267; Colonna 1973, 62.

[49]Tamburini et al. 1998a, 68; Judson and Hemphill (1981, 200) see the lack of articulation of a settlement hierarchy as a permanent condition of the territory of Volsinii, but it is clear that the city did indeed begin to assert its dominance over its hinterland beginning in the later 7th century B.C.

[50]Colonna 1973, 46-53.

Coastal cities, two Etruscan cities (Vetulonia and Veii) exhibited a strongly centralized pattern. Like its counterparts, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci, the inhabitants of Vetulonia successfully eliminated the vast majority of secondary centers within hinterland of the city during the 9th century B.C.[51] Vetulonia did not foster the creation of a new string of secondary village settlements aimed at protecting of her borders or exploiting the agricultural resources of her hinterland. Most likely, this strong centralized pattern is indicative of the lack of interest in the agricultural resources of their territory on the part of the citizens of Vetulonia. Instead, from the late 9th century B.C. Vetulonia was tied into the larger Mediterranean network of trade in luxury items, serving as a hub of distribution of such goods for the rest of Etruria.[52] Vetulonia survived not due to its agricultural surplus, but due to its access to the rich metal ores easily extracted from the mineral rich zone of the Massetano. The only major secondary center clearly associated with Vetulonia during the Orientalizing Period was at Lago dell'Accesa, situated in a prime location to oversee the extraction of metal from the hills.[53] Not only did this lack of interest in the agricultural landscape preclude the development of secondary centers, but it also resulted in a lack of small farmsteads, such as the ones that dominated the territory of Veii in the place of secondary centers. Vetulonia's success at maintaining this centralized pattern throughout the *Maremma* may have been the reason for the significantly retarded growth of the two

[51]Cristofani 1981a, 33.

[52]Turfa 1977, 369-373; Gras 2000, 100-101; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 137; Pallottino 1975, 83.

[53]Dani and Vanni Desideri 1992, 55; Steingräber 1983, 145-146; Mansuelli 1974, 237.

nearest urban communities, Roselle and Populonia.[54] Only with the decline of Vetulonia in

the 7th century B.C., would these two urban centers attain a level of sophistication.[55]

Like Vetulonia, the landscape surrounding the Etruscan city of Veii displayed a

highly centralized pattern resulting in the complete absence of any significant extra-urban

agglomerations of population.[56] Instead, the citizens of Veii were content to mark out the

limits of Veian territory through the use of *tumuli* located at a great distance from the major

settlement and (unlike in the territory Vetulonia) a series of interspersed farmsteads.[57] This

strong pattern of centralization is far more difficult to explain in the case of Veii than for

Vetulonia, as the presence of small farmsteads throughout the *Ager Veintanus* suggests that

the elites who controlled the city took a keen interest in the creation of an agricultural

surplus. This type of organization may be the result of the influence of the strong influence

of Rome and Latium, whose organization was predicated on a lack of secondary centers, on

Veii. In fact, the density of dispersed farmhouses in the landscape of Veii appears to be the

highest seen anywhere in Etruria during this period.[58] Sutri and Nepi appear to have

followed the Veian pattern, a pattern that would prevail in the landscape under the control

of Veii until its conquest by Rome in 396 B.C.[59]

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[54]Mansuelli 1979, 368.

[55]After the decline of Vetulonia, Populonia would develop a similar centralized landscape with a dearth of secondary settlements throughout the Archaic Period.

[56]Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200; Potter 1979, 72; Ward-Perkins 1972, 870; Ward-Perkins 1970, 293; Kahane et al. 1968, 69-71. The recent work of Carafa (2004, 47-48) argues for a three-tier pattern of settlement in the *Ager Veintanus* but these findings must be considered provisional until the ceramics from the South Etruria Survey are reevaluated.

[57]Potter 1979, 78-79.

[58]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[59]Potter 1979, 63. The lack of a network of secondary settlements may have in fact been the reason behind the demise of Veii, since there was no series of defended places that could act as distractions for the Romans and alternative positions of attack for the Veians.

Yet another pattern of development can be seen in the *Ager Capenas* and the *Ager Faliscus.*[60] Here, a number of secondary level centers ranging in size from one to ten hectares and spaced at a distance of eight to ten kilometers apart did come into existence in the 8th century B.C., but the region lacked a major urban center.[61] The primate centers for each territory, Capena and Falerii, functioned more as *primus inter pares*, rather than the major urban settlement providing the focus for the region.[62] Nevertheless, the secondary centers within the Faliscan and Capenate zones do seem to share a number of traits with their coastal counterparts. The majority of them were located on plateaus in the landscape left by the down cutting action of local streams and rivers, providing naturally defensible positions. In addition, many of these sites dominated the important crossing points over the Tiber and key positions in the newly created network of local roads.[63]

In a number of ways, the development of the Faliscan and Capenate zones mirrors the situation found in Northern Interior Etruria. During this initial phase of the Orientalizing Period, the territories of a number of Etruscan city-states, especially those of Fiesole, Chiusi, and to a lesser degree Arezzo saw a defined lack of concentration of population into the major urban centers at the expense of the surrounding landscape. Although Chiusi and Fiesole were becoming dominant hubs of population, residents of these communities were content to live amidst a number of other nearby settlements of significant size and standing. Especially in the zone surrounding Chiusi, there was little or no alteration of the Villanovan pattern of settlement. A number of vibrant communities such

[60]Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 41.

[61]Ward-Perkins 1970, 294; Ward-Perkins 1972, 870-871; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200.

[62]Jones 1962, 119; Jones 1963, 127-128; Potter 1979, 75-76; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 200.

[63]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 115-118; Jones 1962, 127; Cambi 2004, 77-78.

as Sarteano, Chianciano Terme, Cetona, Castelluccio di Pienza, Bettolle, Manciano, and Città della Pieve continued in existence as appendages to the major urban center.[64] Although the evidence is sparser, it appears that the situation was much the same in the region around Fiesole.[65] Unlike the communities of the Southern Coast, the nearby settlements surrounded the major urban centers of Northern Inland Etruria displayed a striking degree of wealth in the burial assemblages of the local aristocracy, on par with that found in the sites which were to develop into the primary urban communities.[66] This suggests a rather equal relationship between these centers and the subsidiary communities in their vicinity in a pattern that mimics the Falisco-Capenate zone.[67] In addition to the presence of wealthy suburban settlements (within 10 kilometers of the urban center) in the *Ager Fiesolanus* and in the region of the Casentino to the North of Arezzo, it is possible to trace the existence of a number of *castella* located along the major routes of communication between Etruria and the Po Valley.[68] Some of these centers were new creations of the Orientalizing Period while others, such as Poggio Colla in the Mugello Valley were situated on the remains of Bronze Age and Villanovan Sites.[69] A similar situation appears to have existed in the Western

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[64]Mansuelli 1974, 242.

[65]Nicosia 1966b; Curri et al. 1967.

[66]Nicosia 1966b; Nicosia 1970.

[67]It is important to note that although the Orientalizing landscape of these two regions appears similar, the two areas would follow vastly different trajectories in the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods.

[68]Curri et al. 1967. The sites of this region will be discussed in more detail at a later stage when the system was expanded and when better data on nature of the sites is available.

[69]A re-evaluation of the pottery associated with the fill used to terrace the area behind a pair of 4th century B.C. retaining walls at the North Edge of the *arx* at Poggio Colla by Phil Perkins has revealed the presence of significant quantities of pottery dating to the Final Bronze and Iron Ages.

portion of Chiusine territory, where a number of small villages dominated the border.[70]

These settlements were significantly poorer than the communities nearer to Chiusi were.[71]

The final phenomenon of note for the Orientalizing Period comes in the form of a number of communities that were developing in the borderland between the Coastal and Interior city-states. Such communities include Visentium, Acquarossa, Castellina in Chianti, and Murlo.[72] The first two were located near the Lago di Bolsena, between the territories of Tarquinia and Volsinii, while the later two were located in the interstices of several major Etruscan cities states in the area of modern Chianti.[73] Like some of their counterparts found at the Eastern edge of the territory of the Coastal city-states, these sites remained independent throughout the Orientalizing Period. Throughout this period, these sites flourished with some growing to a size greater than thirty-five hectares, larger than the category of minor centers that was discussed earlier.[74] In addition, these sites appear to have been developing idiosyncratic patterns of material culture that did not show strong influence from the neighboring city-states. This material culture included elaborate programs of decoration and building that emphasized traditional elite pursuits such as hunting, warfare, and horseracing.[75] The best interpretation for these centers is as burgeoning city-states moving slowly along the process of development two centuries after the major cities of Etruria had completed this process.

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[70]Bottarelli 2004, 175-177.

[71]Bottarelli 2004, 175.

[72]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[73]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54; Stoddart 1990, 48.

[74]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54.

[75]Cf. Sinos 1994; Rathje 1994; Small 1994.

In summary, a number of general patterns in the development of the landscape of Orientalizing Etruria can be identified. In Southern Coastal Etruria, the area immediately surrounding the major urban communities (ca. 10-15 km) was cleared of secondary centers. A number of smaller communities, mostly of the *castellum* type, arose outside of this boundary. These sites often functioned as controls over the major routes of communication in the region and aided in the effective agricultural exploitation of the landscape. At the Eastern edge of the territory of these city-states a number of quasi-independent minor centers developed. These communities were far richer and significantly larger than the other village communities in the region. Often they occupied as much as fifteen hectares. These sites were becoming small city-states in their own right. During the Orientalizing Period Pisa and Volterra were following similar trajectories to that of the Southern Coastal city-states, and Orvieto and Roselle would follow suit in the subsequent Archaic Period. In contrast, the landscape around the Northern Inland city-states showed a remarkable lack of change from the preceding Iron and Bronze Age patterns. Although the sites destined to become the major city-states of the region were growing, they were unable or uninterested in removing the large suburban centers that stood close by. A similar pattern existed in the Falisco-Capenate zone. In contrast, the landscape around Orientalizing Period Veii was completely devoid of competing secondary centers and instead populated with isolated farmsteads. John Ward-Perkins has suggested that the differences in the regional patterns found in this period can be ascribed to the ethnic background of the inhabitants, yet the shear multiplicity of solutions to the problem of organizing the landscape found throughout Etruria itself would seem to invalidate this hypothesis.[76]

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[76]Ward-Perkins 1972, 870-872.

<u>Archaic Consolidation and Exploitation of Marginal Areas</u>

From the late 7th and through the 6th century B.C., the process of consolidation and expansion of settlement throughout the territory of the various Etruscan city-states continued. The landscape began to become more densely populated with secondary centers, and for the first time with isolated rural settlements.[77] Only with the end of the 6th century B.C. would this process reach its culmination, at the same time that Etruscan power in Italy was reaching its maximum extent.[78] This phenomenon was particularly marked in the territories of the cities of the Southern Coastal zone, and around Volsinii, Volterra, and Pisa. A number of new *castella* were added to the Orientalizing territorial regimes of these cities, solidifying the control of the primate centers within each territory over their landscape. This control included the creation of a chain of outposts geared at monitoring and protecting the border areas that existed between Etruscan city-states (this trend is particularly marked among the borders between Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci) and dominating the major routes of communication between the coast and the interior. Expansion in this zone aimed at increasing control over the unincorporated strip of land that stretched from the Lago di Vico in the South to the Val d'Elsa in the North. In the previous period, a number of independent communities had survived and even flourished in this power vacuum while the eventual borders of the major city-states were forming.[79] These border areas were incredibly flexible, and several secondary centers had exploited the unstable nature of this liminal zone in order to preserve some semblance of negotiated

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[77]The exception to this pattern is Veii, where isolated rural settlement had been the rule ever since the Iron Age.

[78]Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 42.

[79]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54-56.

independence.[80] The state of flux surrounding the exact location of territorial borders has

led to an understudy of the secondary centers that occupied these spaces.[81] As Riva and

Stoddart have noted:

> "…boundaries were never exact, but must always have been characterised by a
> certain level of fluctuation due to this high political competitiveness between cities
> concerning the acquisition of land rich in raw materials."[82]

At the same time, the 6th century B.C. saw a marked decline in wealth and autonomy as

urban elites grew rich at the expense of their counterparts in village communities.[83] During

the 6th century B.C., the urban aristocratic class was at the height of its power, and a number

of individuals are known to us from dedications in the sanctuaries of multiple city-states,

suggesting a cosmopolitan outlook among the most powerful families.[84] Exemplifying these

social trends was the significant 6th century B.C. alteration of the landscape of the interior.

The major city-states of both the interior and coastal zones attempted to assert their

authority over the region that separated their territories. In a number of cases, flourishing

sites (such as Tuscania, San Giuliano, Blera, Sovana, and perhaps Castro), which had always

functioned as quasi-independent communities with loose ties to larger city-states, were

brought under more strict control by the increasingly powerful urban centers of the coast

and interior.[85] The aftermath of this process of incorporation was, in nearly every case, the

initiation of a decline in civic wealth and power in the secondary communities that were no

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[80]Becker 2002, 90-92.

[81]Zifferero 1995, 335-337; Stoddart 1990, 47.

[82]Riva and Stoddart 1996, 93.

[83]Cristofani 1981a, 49.

[84]Torelli 1986, 54.

[85]Mansuelli 1974, 236.

longer able to take advantage of their position as allies to be cultivated.[86] Other communities, which appear to have had no pre-existing ties with the major neighboring city-states, did not fare even this well. A number of sites, such as the failed states based on Acquarossa and Visentium in the South, and the gentilicial *regiae* at Murlo and Castellina di Chianti were destroyed at the end of this century, and thus eliminated as rivals to the power the major city-states.[87] There was also a trend toward the replacement of these types of independent communities with newly founded dependent ones. This process is especially well documented in the territories of Tarquinia and Volsinii.[88] Such a scenario as the one suggested above may have led to the creation of the Etruscan city-state of Roselle. The site saw its origins in the late 8th or early 7th centuries B.C. as part of the expansion of *castella* along the major routes of communication throughout Etruria. Roselle occupied an important junction between the Ombrone and the route that connected Vetulonia with Vulci and the other cities of the Southern Coastal region. In its earliest manifestation the site was likely a dependency of Vetulonia set up to control trade along these axes, but the early date of Roselle's city walls (early 6th century B.C.) suggests that it quickly established its independence during the period of declining fortunes which dominated the Vetulonian city-state beginning in the middle of the 7th century B.C.

The central boundary zone between the coastal and interior city-states was not, however, the only area that saw the proliferation of new settlement during the Archaic Period. In the liminal zones between the coastal city-states, a significant number of *castella*

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[86]Becker 2002, 90-92; Cristofani 1981a, 49. As we will discuss later, these communities would reassert their role as power brokers when another competing political agent entered Etruria, namely Rome. It should not be surprising that a number of communities that had suffered under the processes of incorporation of the 6th century B.C. were the very ones that benefited from the fragmentation of the territory of the old Etruscan city-states that came with the advance of Roman power.

[87]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 54-56; Potter 1984, 238-239.

[88]Perego 2005a,; Tamburini et al. 1998a; Colonna 1973; Colonna 1999, 19-21.

were added as well.[89]   One particular example of this process is in the Tolfa area between

Cerveteri and Tarquinia where the small pioneering settlements of the Orientalizing Period

developed into significant agglomerations of population aimed at controlling access to the

metal resources of the area.[90]   A similar phenomenon can be seen in the territory of

Vetulonia, as there was a push toward the direct exploitation of the metal resources of the

Massetano via secondary centers rather than from Vetulonia itself.   In addition to the

creation of new centers aimed at managing the raw materials of the Tolfa and Massetano

hills, a series of new sites, such as Rofalco and Musarna, were founded in zones of relatively

poor agricultural value.   These sites provided residents with access to a different set of

equally necessary goods provided by the forest margin, such as timber, hunted game and

fowl, and other foodstuffs available through foraging.[91]   In almost every case, the new

secondary centers created to fill in the margins of the landscape did not grow to the same

size as their Orientalizing Period predecessors, but followed a trajectory of stunted growth.

This retarded growth may be a reflection of the lack of available land for the creation of a

full and diverse cachement zone.

In addition to the continued expansion of well-fortified sites geared toward the

exploitation of the resources at the margins of the territories of the above-mentioned city-

states, the Archaic Period was witness to a trend of augmentation of agricultural surplus,

and thus aristocratic wealth. This trend manifested in two different ways. First, there was

an expansion in the number of small farms and *fattorie* within the landscapes surrounding

castella type settlements, as the need to exploit the landscape directly was apparently

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[89]Stoddart 1990, 47-48.

[90]Coccia et al. 1985, 522-524; Naso and Zifferero 1985, 247; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990, 443.

[91]See Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56; Rendeli 1993, 214.. See Horden and Purcell (2000, 182-186) for a discussion of the exploitation of the Mediterranean forest margin.

beginning to outweigh the fear of potential danger of living outside a walled community.[92]

This may also be the first evidence of a developing system of private land-holding outside

the gentilicial system that had dominated the Orientalizing period. These sites were often

located within a single kilometer of each other.[93] Such a trend was visible even in the

landscape of Veii, where the possibility of refuge within a walled community was restricted

to the urban center itself.[94] Most of these small-scale rural settlements remained closely tied

to secondary communities for access to outside services and goods. The development of

rudimentary networks of communications, in some cases the predecessors to the great

Roman roads of the Middle and Late Republic, was also associated with this rural

expansion. It is important to note, however, that this expansion of rural open sites during

the Archaic Period was not a universal phenomenon. This pattern was found throughout

Coastal Etruria and in the territory of Veii, but is not documented in the area of Volsinii or

in Northern Inland Etruria where the fortified aristocratic middle size center (*castellum*)

remained the main type of secondary center throughout the Archaic Period.[95]

In the territories of Tarquinia and Cerveteri, a series of new non-defensible

settlements were founded at a distance of just a few kilometers from these primate cities.[96]

In the territories of these two cities, the Archaic Period would see the alteration of the

balance between *castella* and non-defensible agro towns. During the Archaic Period the

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[92]Cifani 2002, 249; Bruni 1998, 183-184; Enei 1992, 68-70. This trend was not universal within Etruria, however. The expansion of small farms into the countryside does not appear to occur in the landscape of Volterra (outside of the Val d'Elsa) and also appears to be a later phenomenon in the territories of Arezzo and Fiesole as well. The evidence for these last two sites is less secure though, since there is a marked absence of systematic survey for the region. The trajectory of the region around Orvieto is unknown for similar reasons.

[93]Cifani 2002, 249.

[94]Ward-Perkins 1972, 870.

[95]Cifani 2002, 251.

[96]Zifferero 2005, 260-261; Enei 1992, 76; Perego 2005a, 218; Perego 2001, 19.

number of these two site types were nearly equal, suggesting that rural residents were either confident enough to live in open sites, or were forced to do so because of the strength of the urban communities. These sites were often smaller than their well-fortified counterparts located at significant distances from the primary urban community were. Such sites served to provide a central focus of control over the agricultural landscape of these major cities in areas where the distance between the urban center and the outlying fields created a significantly reduced rate of return for those cultivating the land. In effect, the new agro-towns were functioning in a similar fashion as their fortified counterparts of the *castellum* type, acting as hubs for the collection and distribution of agricultural surplus. In addition, these sites served as the locus of specialized craft activity, again allowing the cost of goods to be lessened due to shorter travel times involved in order to secure them. Many of these sites were located within a ten kilometer radius of the major Etruscan urban communities, an area largely devoid of *castella*. They existed then, within the zone previously emptied of secondary centers during the process of urban incorporation. The re-population of this area during the 6th century B.C. shows a growing urban confidence over the solid nature of the control of rural sites. Yet the new sites, unlike their Bronze and Iron Age predecessors, were not situated in naturally defensible locations, but rather occupied positions that allowed for maximum return in terms of travel time to fertile agricultural land, as well as direct access to the urban center. Their non-defensible nature was most likely a result of urban nervousness about the presence of well-defended communities so near the primate site within the region.

The coastal littoral, especially in Southern Etruria, was also subject to a major restructuring. The pattern of dispersed port communities that had prevailed throughout the Orientalizing period came under pressure during the 6th century B.C. In the territories of

Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci a proliferation of small ports was abandoned in favor of the creation of a few major centers closely tied to the urban communities that they served.[97] During this period, there was a boom in the size and sophistication of the primary port communities associated with each of the cities of Southern Etruria. The best evidence for this process comes from the territory of Cerveteri, where Pyrgi was not only significantly expanded, but also linked to the urban center via a newly paved road.[98] This corridor then became the focal point for the development of an extensive network of open rural farmsteads provided with excellent access to both urban and international markets.[99] This centralization of port communities, in turn allowed the dominant urban communities increasingly direct control over the importation of high status foreign goods pouring in from Greece and Phoenicia.[100] A similar phenomenon appears to have occurred near Graviscae and Regae with the increasingly asserted power of Tarquinia and Vulci.[101] Here Greek, Etruscan, and Phoenician merchants mingled and traded. Evidence from a dedication at Pyrgi suggests that these outsiders often exercised considerable influence over the Etruscan communities to which the *emporia* were attached.[102]

The ultimate manifestation of this trend is surge in power experienced by Populonia during the Archaic Period.[103] This site, located directly on the sea, combined the features of

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[97]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[98]Colonna 1968; Rendeli 1993, 312-314.

[99]Cristofani 1981a, 50.

[100]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[101]Turfa 1986, 70-72; 76-79. Vulci may, however, represent a slightly different arrangement as a series of major ports were fostered at Orbetello and also at Talamonaccio.

[102]Pallottino 1991, 83.

[103]Pallottino 1991, 79-80. It appears that by the middle of the 7th century B.C. Populonia, Cerveteri and Vulci had supplanted the former Orientalizing powers of Tarquinia and Vetulonia.

urban center and port into a single community. The monopoly on the import of prestige

items from abroad in conjunction with the monopoly over the extraction and processing of

raw metals from Elba led to the creation of an extremely wealthy aristocratic class during

the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[104] These developments coincided with the creation of a series of

spheres of influence in Western Mediterranean trade in which Etruscan ships maintained a

monopoly within the Tyrrhenian Sea.[105]

   In contrast to this consolidation of ports, the section of the Tyrrhenian dominated by

Volterra and Pisa saw an expansion in the number of seaside communities engaged in local

and long distance trade, primarily with the Greek and native communities of Southern

France. Etruscan Pisa was responsible for the foundation of a number of small port

communities throughout its territory to the south of the Arno, and even along the Versiliese

coast in an attempt to gain access to the resources of the region.[106] The frequency of small

port facilities along the coastal strip must have allowed for the easy transport of agricultural

stuffs into the city and thus increased its productive potential. A similar proliferation of

port communities is evident in the territory of Volterra. Here, burial evidence suggests that

these sites were each dominated by elite *gentes*s able to manipulate the flow of goods in and

out of the territory occupied by their social dependents directly.[107]

   The major urban centers of Northern Etruria were later to develop, and as a result

show a strong degree of continuity with the dispersed settlement pattern that characterized

[104]Martelli 1981, 169; Cristofani 1981a, 44; Steingräber 1983, 118. Fedeli et al. 1993, 108; Mansuelli 1974, 237-238.

[105]Scullard 1967, 184-185; Turfa 1977, 373; Pallottino 1991, 77; Braudel 2002, 224-225; Aubet 2001.

[106]Bruni 1998, 178-179.

[107]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.

Etruria throughout the Villanovan Period.[108]   These centers were firmly based on a

subsistence economy employing extensive agricultural production scheme. The Northern

Etruscan cities only reached their political and economic peak with the Hellenistic and

Roman Periods.[109]   Nevertheless, the system of subsidiary centers found in the territory of

Fiesole during the preceding period was augmented during the Archaic Period (See Figure

57). A number of new *castella* arose in the Arno and Sieve Valleys dominating the points of

access to the territory. These centers enjoyed a remarkable degree of independence from the

now growing Fiesole throughout this period. Many of the sites of this region show evidence

of a wealthy elite class engaged in warfare, religious activity at local sanctuaries, hosting

substantial banquets, and burying their ancestors in sumptuous tombs. At least one major

sanctuary characterized by a number of elaborate votive deposits existed in the region.[110]

Instead of direct political control, the communities of the Mugello val di Sieve appear to

have been dominated through the control of the distribution of elite artistic items such as

Fiesole stones, and the religious primacy of the major urban center.[111] This large degree of

independence was likely a result of the fear of incursions from across the Apennines and the

necessity of having a series of *castella* as defensive outposts for the territory.[112] Arezzo may

have loosely dominated a similar landscape based on small communities associated with

[108]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[109]Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 56.

[110]Warden 2007.

[111]Vander Poppen 2003, 95-105. Cf. Capecchi (1996) for the most recent treatment of the Fiesole stones. The link between Fiesole and the workshop producing the stones found in the Mugello Val di Sieve can be found in Bruni (1994).

[112]Vander Poppen 2003, 104-105.

major religious centers. Such communities include the sites of Pieve Socana and Monte

Falterona along the Upper Arno Valley.[113]

**Figure 57. Castella from the Archaic Period in the Territory of Fiesole
(Adapted from Cresci and Vivani 1995, 143 fig. 2)**

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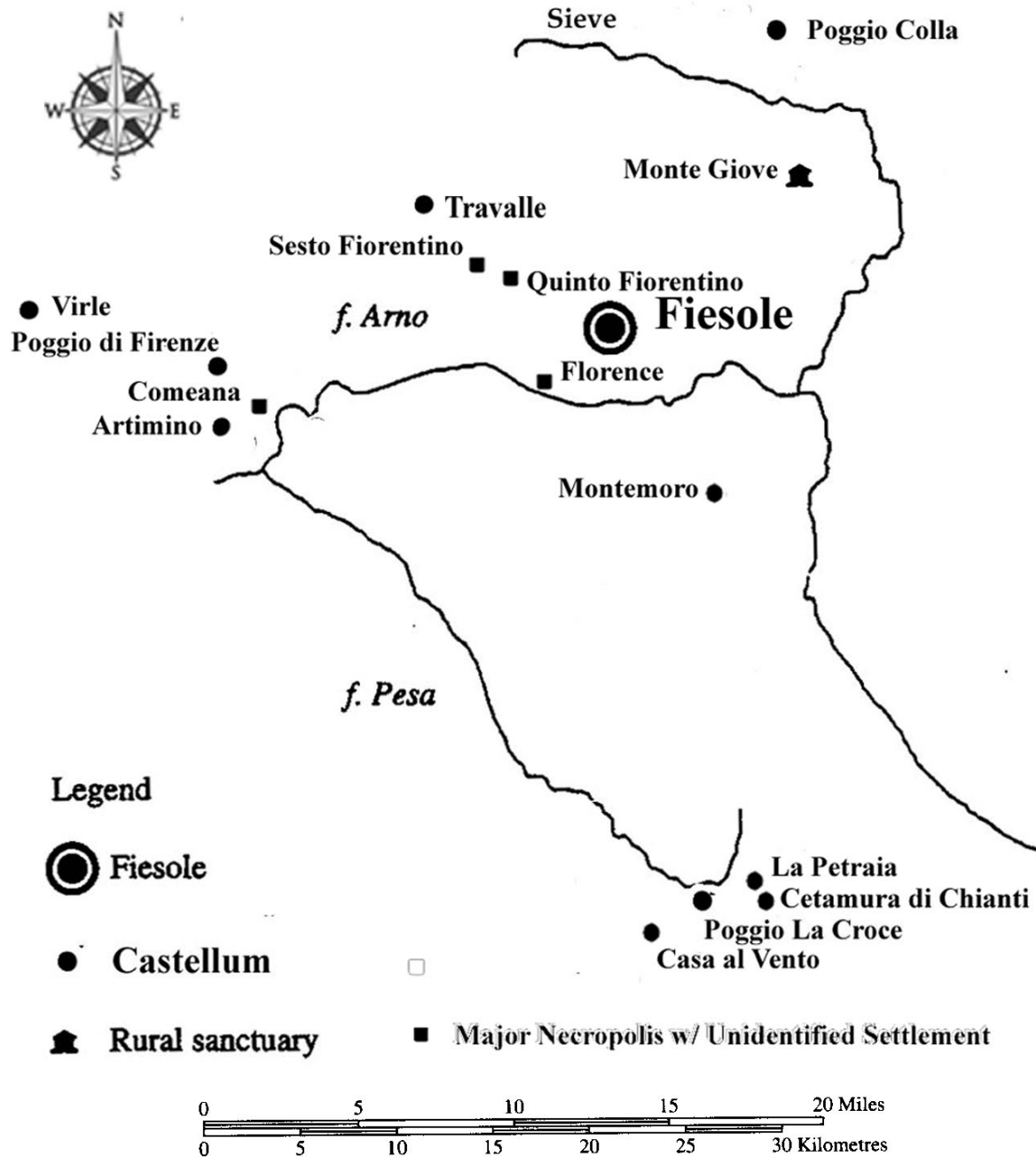
[113]Stoddart 1981, 49; Riva and Stoddart 1996, 106. Perugia may have also had a similar landscape. See Bruschetti 2002.

Because of the trends discussed above, by the end of the 6th century B.C. large portions of the Etruscan landscape had crystallized into a five-tier settlement hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy were the urban communities, the capitals of the major city-states. The great majority of these sites occupied more than one hundred and fifty hectares of land, and thus clearly stands out atop the settlement hierarchy.[114] Others were smaller, in the range of fifty to one hundred hectares, particularly in Northern and inland Etruria.[115] Below this, there was a heavily populated group of sites occupying between ten and thirty hectares.[116] These sites consisted of the minor centers, which occupied the edges of the territory of the city-states, and which existed at an earlier phase as quasi-independent communities.[117] Like the urban communities themselves, these minor centers often had extensive necropoleis and show distinct evidence of a competing elite class structure. At the next level of the settlement hierarchy fall the series of smaller *castella* and agro-towns that filled in the territory of the city-states, providing protection for the border regions and routes of communication. These sites also facilitated agricultural production and the extraction of surplus from the countryside. Such sites were often in the range of one to fifteen hectares. As previously noted, defensibility of sites of this size category was a function of the proximity of the site to the major urban center of the region. Open sites were far more likely to exist in areas nearest to the primate community within the city-state.

[114]Cristofani 1981a, 48-49; Iaia and Mandolesi 1993, 42-43.

[115]Only a few properly urban communities (e.g. Falerii, Capena, Chiusi, and Roselle) fall below this threshold. The reasons for this have been discussed in detail above. In the case of Roselle, the site may have started as a secondary center and only gained its independence from Vetulonia at some time during the late 7th century B.C. Falerii and Capena were not truly capitals of city-states, but instead the focal points of tribal entities or *ethnos* states with multiple agglomerations of population.

[116]Cifani 2002, 248.

[117]As noted above the majority of these communities were drawn under stricter control of the city-states during the Archaic Period.

Within Northern Etruria, the gap in size between the primate urban center and the secondary centers was smaller than in the South due to the continued prominence of gentilicial networks of control over land and dependents. Hegemony over secondary centers within the landscape ensured this type of control. Beginning in the Archaic Period, there was also a significant expansion of isolated rural settlement in two categories. Farmsteads appear to be roughly divided between small farmsteads less than 1/3 of a hectare or larger and those from ½ to ¾ of a hectare. The larger of these farmsteads can be classified under the term *fattorie.* Such structures often were comprised of a significant architectural structure and some indication of elite status such as elite pottery or burials. The smaller category, referred to in this work as farms, consisted of smaller structures with little indication of wealth in the form of elite ceramics. Both classes of isolated rural settlement occurred most frequently at the edges of territory exploited by larger agglomerations of population, and must have been closely tied to these centers for access to goods and services that could not be produced locally. The existence of these isolated farmsteads is not universal in the Archaic Period, however, with major portions of Northern and Inland Etruria still dominated by village landscapes.

The Problematic Classical Period Crisis

The Classical Period, roughly corresponding to the 5th century B.C., has often been labeled as a time of crisis throughout Etruria.[118] Such a pronouncement is exaggerated and inaccurate in a number of ways. There was in fact no single 5th century B.C. crisis in Etruria. Rather a series of crises took place over a period of about two hundred and fifty years on a city-by-city basis. In addition, it is erroneous to ascribe a period of crisis to the 5th century

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[118]Potter 1984, 238.

B.C., since the origins of the decline in rural settlement in several city-states are to be found already in the events of the middle and late 6th centuries B.C. The causes for setbacks in various Etruscan cities were not identical, nor were they a result of related phenomena. Neither is the notion of a true 5th century B.C. social and economic crisis compatible with the settlement patterns found within Etruria as a whole, but rather is only applicable to the cities of the Southern Coastal region.[119] In fact, some Etruscan cities did not experience the crisis at all, but continued on a trajectory of expansion throughout the 5th and even the 4th centuries B.C. Even if we focus on the cities of the Southern Coastal region, the effects and causes of the crisis are often misidentified. In actuality, the narrative of crisis as presented in its extreme formulation appears only to fit the landscape of the city-state of Cerveteri.[120]

Traditional accounts recognize a period of depopulation and degradation of wealth throughout the region on sites both rural and urban.[121] Village communities were abandoned across the landscape as people evacuated the countryside in fear, preferring instead the safety of the cities. Associated with this depopulation was the fracturing of links of trade between Etruria and the Aegean, and specifically Athens.[122] Scholars usually list the loss of contact with Greece after the defeat of the Etruscan (read Caeretian) navy off the coast of Cumae as the cause for the crisis. This disaster is coupled with the decimation of Etruscan trading interests in the Tyrrhenian following the Syracusian sacks of Pyrgi and Elba in 384 B.C.[123] In more nuanced accounts, the loss of naval supremacy is balanced by

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[119]Maggiani 1990, 23.

[120]Enei 1992, 78.

[121]Cristofani 1981a, 48; Potter 1984, 238.

[122]Haynes 2000, 263; Torelli 1986, 55-56; Cristofani 1983, 84-85; Potter 1984, 238.

the severing of the land connection with Campania due to the eviction of Etruscans from Capua and Cumae. This process was the offshoot of the ascendancy of Aristodemus and the Latin confederation, which effectively blocked Etruscan access to the Liris-Sacco route to the South.[124]

This international focus, while probably indicative of the reasons for the sharp decline in the import of Attic pottery into the Southern Coastal cities, was by no means responsible for the dramatic changes seen in the rural landscape of Southern Coastal Etruria, not to mention similar phenomena occurring in the regions around Populonia and Volterra despite their continued access to Greek goods.[125] There is also often a claim of extensive depopulation made along with economic decline, but this assertion too is a misunderstanding of the demographic trends at work. Instead of looking for an outside explanation for the major changes in the landscape, it is far more instructive to focus on the long term patterns in the development of the rural settlement structure and the interaction between urban and rural elites. The retraction of rural settlement seen in many Etruscan communities at any time from the late 6th to the late 4th centuries B.C. should rather be seen as a function of the continued struggle for power between urban and rural based elites. The Orientalizing and Early Archaic Periods had seen the gradual extension of rural power and wealth into major secondary settlements throughout the region at the expense of concentrated civic power. By the middle of the 6th century B.C., this trend had begun to reverse as urban elites began to succeed in gaining a larger degree of control over rural

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[123]Potter 1984, 238; Scullard 1980, 35; 108; Cristofani 1983, 119; Diod. Sic. 11.51; Pindar, *Ol.*1.72; Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.140. The spoils of the Etruscan sailors were dedicated at the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Olympia. Cf. Pindar, *Oly* 1.72.

[124]Cornell 1995, 305; Pallottino 1991, 103; Scullard 1967, 194-195; Scullard 1980, 35; Braudel 2002, 205-208.

[125]Cristofani 1983, 84-85.

communities, especially those marginally independent communities located at the margins of the territory of the major city-states.

The 5th century B.C. crisis should be seen rather as the reassertion of urban power over the landscape. The decline in rural settlement that is seen throughout some of Etruria during this period coincides with the first major urban infrastructure projects, as temples, drainage works, roads, and civic spaces, supplanted elaborate burials as the favorite expenditures of the elite class. The decline in elite burial during the 5th century B.C created a false impression of a great crisis of depopulation, and thus masked the real processes at work. Rather than see the period as a decline, it should be viewed as a time of urban monumentalization and of the revision of elite residential preferences. With the growing display of civic benefactions, elites were forced to take up urban or quasi-urban residence, at least on a part time basis, in order to compete for power within the city-state. The proliferation of wall building in both the major urban communities and the minor centers of Etruria should be seen in conjunction with this process. City walls should be seen as a marker of the new primacy of the urban communities beginning at precisely the period when they were consolidating their hold over their hinterlands.[126] The construction of these walls is often seen as a result of worry about the expansion of interstate hostilities, but as Tim Potter suggests, this may equally be the result of a desire to symbolize the power of the city at the expense of the declining countryside.[127] At the same time the construction of city walls was important as an element in the peer polity interaction in the *agon* between Etruscan cities.

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[126]Cristofani 1981a, 49-50.

[127]Potter 1984, 239.; Cristofani 1981a, 49-50.

In South Coastal Etruria, these trends may have been reinforced by the severing of trading ties with the wider Mediterranean, as elites sought to reorganize the economy of the countryside into the major economic base for the region. With status-reinforcing goods such as banqueting wares imported from Greece or luxury items from the Near East pouring into Southern Coastal Etruria at a slower rate, it was necessary to reinforce networks of agricultural production that could allow Etruscan urban elites to begin to make a transition away from a wealth finance economy and toward a staple finance economy.[128] In such a situation, urban elites in Southern Coastal Etruria may have found it advantageous to obtain a tighter control over the use of agricultural land. Overall, the reorganization of the 5th century B.C. was not nearly as severe as is often claimed. There was not a retraction in rural settlement across all categories of site type.   Instead, the smallest sites were disproportionately affected. Major urban sites, minor centers, and many of the largest of the *castella* continued to be occupied throughout the century. It is telling that in the areas for which we have the evidence of systematic survey, the landscape shows a significant degree of continuity across the 5th century B.C.

Data from archaeological survey provides a more balanced picture of the ways in which the settlement patterns of the Etruscan city-states actually changed during the period that stretched from the final decade of the 6th century B.C. into the 4th century B.C. (the date at which the retraction in rural settlement actually occurred in some regions). As already discussed above, claims of complete discontinuity in the settlement pattern across the divide of the 5th century B.C. do not hold, even for the city-states of Southern Coastal Etruria, where the disruption was the greatest. Even within Southern Coastal Etruria, the retraction

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[128]Colonna 1990, 14-16; Corsi 1998, 232. See D'Altroy and Earle (1985) for a description of the material correlates of these two types of tributary systems.

in settlement that occurred varied greatly from city-state to city-state and even from valley to valley. Of the cities of Southern Coastal Etruria, Cerveteri was the hardest hit by the events of the 5th century B.C., and thus her territory shows the greatest degree of change.[129] The city-state was greatly impoverished and the system of rural settlement and patronage nearly collapsed. A number of minor centers and *castella* within the territory of Cerveteri came under the influence of Tarquinia during this period.[130]

Within the territory of Vulci, the coastal plain to the South of the future site of Cosa was little affected during the 5th century B.C. The extensive village structure that had grown up along the coast fell into disuse at the beginning of the 4th century B.C.[131] Along the Albegna and Fiora Valleys, small rural sites were disappearing around Doganella, Ghiaccioforte, and Saturnia. The new dominance of these sites as central places encouraged town-dwelling farmers to work the immediate hinterland of the sites as commuters.[132] The greatest disruption in the landscape appears to have occurred in the interior around Castro, where most of the major small farmsteads and *fattorie* went into disuse.[133] Castro and Poggio Buco both ceased to be occupied, but the other *castella* and agro-towns of the region survived.[134] Perhaps these minor centers were casualties of the increasing centralization of the period. At Tarquinia as well, the major changes of the landscape occurred with the 4th rather than the 5th century B.C. Here the small farms and agro-towns that had developed in close proximity to the city were the primary casualties of the contraction, as the city began

[129]Enei 1992, 78.

[130]Colonna 1990, 12-13; Zifferero 1990, 70; Merlino and Mirenda 1990, 50.

[131]Attolini et al. 1982, 373.

[132]Attolini et al. 1991, 142-143; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 79-82; Dyson 1978, 258.

[133]Rendeli 1985, 268-269.

[134]Rendeli 1985, 268.

to exploit a greater portion of the landscape directly.[135] In contrast to the picture seen in the

territory of Vulci, the major settlements of the interior of the *Ager Tarquiniensis* saw a period

of increased wealth and expansion rather than recession.[136]

Other parts of Etruria witnessed outright expansion during the 5th century B.C. as a

number of new sites were added. Often these sites were founded as replacements for less

defensible predecessors as in the case of Sutri, which appears to have replaced a site located

at the edge of the Lago di Baccano.[137] Within the *Ager Veintanus,* there was a significant

expansion of isolated rural farmsteads despite the brewing trouble with Rome.[138] The

citizens of the Veian city-state along with the residents of the *Ager Faliscus* and *Ager Capenas*

appear content to fortify the main sites within the region as places of refuge in moments of

trouble.[139] This fear may be reflected in the pattern of settlement around the village of Nepi

where the great majority of sites were clustered in very close proximity to the main center.[140]

The settlement pattern of the territories of Volterra and Volsinii took a middle

ground between the patterns seen in the Southern Coastal region and those documented in

the Veian-Faliscan-Capenate zone of the interior. Within both territories, a number of

castella fell into disuse as the urban centers promoted some of these communities at the

expense of others as part of an increasing urban domination of rural territory.[141] Within the

Ager Volsinus, there was a particularly marked expansion in the number and size of the

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[135]Perego 2001, 20.

[136]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 271.

[137]Duncan 1958, 92; Potter 1979, 89.

[138]Carafa 2004, 54.

[139]Potter 1979, 89-90.

[140]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 88.

[141]Tamburini et al. 1998a; Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471.

castella lying along the routes connecting the region with the Faliscan zone to the South.[142] A similar pattern appears to have occurred in the territory of Volterra where the village type organization based on *castella* and agro-towns continued to dominate the patterns of settlement along the coast and in the lower and middle Cecina Valleys.[143] Like in the case of the territory of Volsinii, there had been little previous expansion of small farms, and thus there was not retraction of this type of settlement associated with the 5th century B.C.[144]

The same series of events, often said to have led to the crisis in Southern Coastal Etruria, served to solidify the position of two other Etruscan city-states in their maritime ambitions. The Syracusian victories at Cumae and later the sack of Pyrgi served to crush the naval power of the Southern cities leaving Populonia with a monopoly on the exploitation of the mineral resources of Elba.[145] Notwithstanding, or perhaps because of Populonia's considerable industrial growth, the territory of the city-state saw a significant decline of rural settlement as the smelting activities began to become concentrated within the city, and the extraction sites of the mainland hills became less important.[146]

With Populonia distracted by the production of metal, Pisa was able to expand her ties into the Northern Tyrrhenian, although her economic interests in this region were by no means monopolistic.[147] This resulted not in an expansion of the network of coastal sites, but instead in an intensification of settlement. This expansion took the form of dispersed farmsteads and *fattorie* throughout the interior along the Arno and its tributaries, as Pisa

[142]Nardi 1980, 295-296; Steingräber 1983, 300-301.

[143]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471; Luchi 1981, 414.

[144]Carafa 1994, 116.

[145]Cristofani 1983, 84-85.

[146]Fedeli et al. 1993, 117.

[147]Haynes 2000, 264-265; Cristofani 1983, 85-87.

worked to produce agricultural products for export.[148] In addition, Pisa began to solidify

her position, not through the construction of city walls, but rather by founding a series of

castella in the Monti Pisani, which served to guard the entryways into the city.[149] A similar

system of fortified centers guarding a river valley prevailed at Fiesole and in the Casentino

to the North of Arezzo. Both of these settlement systems continued throughout the 5th

century B.C.[150] Under the pressure of continued Ligurian raids throughout the late 5th and

4th centuries B.C. this network was quickly abandoned in favor of a new frontier of similar

sites wedged between the Arno and Serchio.[151] In contrast to Cerveteri and Tarquinia, the

cities of Northern Etruria appear to have been able to secure their supply of elite goods by

reorienting their trade networks to focus on the Adriatic and the Etruscan port of Spina.[152]

As a result, the 5th century B.C was one of increasing expansion coupled with flourishing

agricultural and industrial production, especially in the territories of Chiusi and Arezzo.[153]

Within the territory of Fiesole, a number of sites saw a hiatus in occupation, but only a

single site went into disuse permanently. The 5th century B.C. also saw the creation of a

limited number of sites in the *Ager Fiesolanus*.

It appears that the turmoil surrounding the defeat of the Etruscan navy at Cumae at

the beginning of the century had managed to shift the center of gravity of power in Etruria.

The Northern Coastal cities of Pisa, Volterra, and Populonia became the major trading

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[148]Bruni 1998, 199.

[149]Bruni 1999, 254-255.

[150]Rather than fearing a Ligurian presence, the residents of Arezzo and Fiesole must have been nervous about the Gauls who would make their first incursions into Central Italy during this century.

[151]Bruni 1998, 203.

[152]Torelli 1986, 55; Haynes 2000, 264.

[153]Maggiani 1990, 25-30; 32-36.

communities within the Tyrrhenian, and Chiusi and Volsinii began to dominate the political

landscape of Etruria via their well-developed systems of exploitation over the agricultural

resources of their territories.

CHAPTER 8.
URBAN AND RURAL LANDSCAPES
IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ETRURIA

"The Roman Empire was run by a small bureaucracy, almost no police force, and a military stationed mainly on the frontier. New Roman settlements were relatively few. Most of the people living in the countryside were descendents of the pre-Roman inhabitants and retained many of their pre-Roman ways. In this new model Rome is seen as a "minimalist" empire in which, if you paid your taxes and kept the peace, you could generally continue to follow your traditional ways."[1]

"For thou must understand, that in Kingdoms and Provinces newly conquer'd, the Hearts and Minds of the Inhabitants are never so thoroughly subdu'd, or wedded to the Interests of their new Sovereign, but that there is reason to fear, they will endeavour to raise some Commotions to change the face of Affairs, and, as men say, once more try their Fortune."[2]

The period of intense contact and conflict between Rome and the city-states of Etruria (4th-3rd centuries B.C.) provides the chronological framework upon which to examine the major changes in the landscape associated with the second fundamental transformation of the Etruscan social and cultural systems. Throughout the 4th century B.C, the Etruscan city-states were growing in power within central Italy, and were seeing a substantial reorganization of the Archaic social system, which resulted in a number of new families coming to prominence in the region.[3] The period saw first Tarquinia, and then the pair of Volsinii and Vulci, head powerful anti-Roman alliances.[4] A number of the Northern cities,

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[1]Dyson 2003, 75.

[2]Cervantes, *Don Qiuxote* 1.3.2.

[3]Munzi 2001, 50.

[4]Munzi 2001, 50.

and the Southern Coastal city of Cerveteri, seem to have maintained hospitable relationships with Rome.

In little more than a century's time, Rome came to dominate all of these Etruscan city-states politically. In the territory of some Etruscan cities, the Romans would initiate massive programs of reorganization. In the territory of others, particularly the city-states of Northern Etruria, the landscape remained fundamentally unchanged down to the period of conflict between Marius and Sulla at the beginning of the 1st century B.C. In the same way that the initial Roman conquest had represented a massive change for some communities and almost no change for others, the Civil Wars of the 1st century B.C. differentially affected the cities of Roman Etruria and the rural landscapes and secondary centers associated with them. By the end of the 1st century A.D., however, Etruria was again a powerful and productive part of the empire, and was contributing to the formation of Roman policy and material culture. Unfortunately, data on the development of the landscape of Etruria for these centuries is notably diminished when compared with the documentation available for the period of Etruscan independence.[5] The evidence for the crucial period of the 3rd century B.C. is particularly dismal. The situation is even worse for the Late Republican and Imperial Periods (2nd century B.C. - 1st century A.D.), where if scholars include any discussion about Etruria it is usually a mere addition to the narrative as an epilogue to earlier events. Although there is a dearth of scholarship on this period, the transitions in question are some of the most fundamental changes that occurred in the Italian landscape before the end of the Roman Empire.

As in previous chapters, the task of this section will be to combine the extant survey data with studies of the social and cultural organization of the region in order to produce a

[5]Mansuelli 1979, 369.

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synthesis of the process of change at the level of the secondary center that accompanied the major events of the period. These types of sites demonstrate almost every conceivable historical trajectory associated with the processes that accompanied incorporation and were used as tools by the Romans in their efforts to establish dominance over Etruria. As a result, the history of sites in the middle of the settlement hierarchy will provide a dynamic view of the options available to local elites and the Roman state in a way that the experience of urban communities alone cannot express. These changes will have significant implications for patterns of change and continuity in the social and economic structure of both elite and non-elite Etruscans, and will reveal something of the lived experience of becoming Roman in Republican Period Etruria.

As discussed in the previous chapter it will be necessary to examine the question of the adoption of Roman cultural and social values in the face of political dominance from both the perspective of the Roman conquerors and local populations. Both Roman policy and local response were dictated by individual sets of political, economic, and historical circumstances that merged to create a varied mosaic of lived cultural change that resulted in the eventual integration of Etruria into the Roman Empire. Just as in the process of the formation of the Etruscan city-states, the transition to a Roman landscape cannot be viewed as a single trajectory followed throughout all Etruria. Instead, the experience of each city-state, each river valley, and in some cases each individual village community differed. It will be the task of this chapter to highlight some of these differences found between and within the major regions of Etruria, to explore the local factors and personal decisions that created divergent trajectories at the level of the village community, and to generalize about the process of political and cultural Romanization where warranted.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the point when Etruria entered into the process of forming a Roman identity is incredibly difficult to determine due to the long period of contact between the two regions, and the widely varying timeline of incorporation of the major Etruscan city-states into the Roman Empire. Veii, for example, began this process already with the conflict with Rome that began in the 5th century B.C., while the other major Etruscan cities of the South were compelled to react to Roman expansion only a century later.[6] In the case of the cities of Northern Etruria, the situation was completely different because of the relatively easy integration into the Republican system through the system of negotiated *foedera,* which allowed communities to maintain significant local autonomy.[7] In this region, the process of full integration was not truly completed until the events of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla.[8] In order to highlight the processes involved in the incorporation of various regions within Etruria into the Roman state, I will not follow a strictly chronological scheme, but instead will present the evidence for incorporation in a series of phases of expansion that share similar characteristics in terms of the choices available for indigenous inhabitants to adopt. Due to the process of the conquest, this type of organization will have some limited geographical correspondence as well.

In addition, notwithstanding the importance of the conflict between Rome and the Etruscan cities that dominated the 5th through 3rd centuries B.C., many of the changes that played out over this time were the result of changes in *mentalités* that saw their origins in the reassertion of elite urban power structures over the countryside in the 5th century B.C. In

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[6]Corsi 1998, 232-233.

[7]Harris 1965a, 289.; Harris 1971, 108-113

[8]Terrenato (1998b, 109-110) suggests that in the case of some Etruscan city-states local social systems were even preserved well into the Imperial Period. The implications of this will be discussed later in this chapter.

fact, in some areas, trends that are often associated with the new Roman reality of Etruria can be documented in the decades before the initial phases of conflict or incorporation.[9] As a result, the selection of any point from which to begin this study of the process of transition to Roman rule must be in some ways arbitrary. It will, by necessity, discuss developments that were the result of medium- and long-term trends already manifest in the highly dynamic culture of Hellenistic Etruria and which may have had little to do with the alteration of the political situation in the region, but rather that were part of the slow march of events beyond the temporal scale of human influence.

The First Encounter: Military Conflict and Restructuring of 4th Century B.C. South Etruria

The easiest moment from which to begin an account of Roman Imperialism is the fall of the first Etruscan city-state to Rome (Veii in 396 B.C.).[10] This event and its aftermath were indicative of the first stage of Roman Imperialism. Rome's response to the conquered landscape and people of Veii serve as an indicator of the initial stages in the development of Roman policy toward conquered people.[11] After a protracted siege, which Veii was unable to relieve by means of an appeal to the other Etruscan cities, the Romans captured Veii by undermining her fortifications.[12] Rome's annexation of the territory of Veii gave Rome undisputed control over the Tiber, and created a new frontier facing Etruria and the *Ager*

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[9]Corsi 1998, 231-232; Terrenato 1998b, 101. Haselgrove and Scull (1992, 12) have noted the same phenomenon in the landscape of La Tene Period Gaul.

[10]Cornell 1995, 309. This event marks not only a point of transition in the organization of the Etruscan landscape but also represents a new phase in the creation of the Roman state due to Veii's status as the first well organized city-state that Rome had fought and defeated.

[11]Rowland 1983.

[12]Cornell 1995, 312-313; Scullard 1967, 268-269. The failure of the other Etruscan cities to come to the aid of Veii is an indication, both of the Etruscan's acceptance of Rome's power on the lower Tiber valley, as well as of a lack of ethnic unity against a foreign invader.

Faliscus.[13]   Shortly after the annexation of the territory of Veii, pro-Roman partisans from Veii and her allies Capena and Falerii were granted citizenship and land allotments.[14] Nevertheless, it would be Capena and Falerii that would endure the thrust of the next Roman offensive. In 395 B.C., Rome captured the A*ger Capenas* and a year later forced the Faliscans into submission through the capture of Falerii Veteres, presumably with the backing of the newly enfranchised deserters. Whether the Romans chose to expand as a measure of revenge for the Capenate and Faliscan support of Veii, or because of the strategic importance of the towns, Rome was able to secure the area as a Northern outpost at the edge of formerly Veintine territory. The region was then solidified through the creation of a pair of colonies located at the formerly independent communities of Sutri and Nepi.[15] The restructuring of these native settlements is the first example of a policy of promotion for cooperative secondary centers that Rome would employ throughout the conquest, and which would represent a structural feature of the expansion.

A number of interesting patterns are revealed in the post-conflict landscapes surrounding Veii, and the Falisco-Capenate zone. Despite the harsh treatment of the city of Veii, there was a high degree of continuity in the countryside. Almost two thirds of the 5th century B.C. farmsteads remained in use during the succeeding century.[16] This high degree of continuity was likely due to the fairly lenient treatment of the inhabitants of Veii throughout the episode. The historical notices for the immediate aftermath of the sack of

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[13]Livy, A*b Urbe Condita* 5.30.8.

[14]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 6.4.4.

[15]See Harris (1971, 43-44) for a discussion of the controversy over the date for the foundation of these towns. I am of the opinion that there is little reason to doubt the origin of the Roman communities at Sutri and Nepi in the decades following the annexation of the *Ager Veientanus.*

[16]Kahane et al. 1969, 145-146; Potter 1979, 94; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 269.

the city indicate that a number of the residents of Veii obtained Roman citizenship.[17] In fact, with the urban center removed as an organizing force in the landscape, the medium-term process of centrifugal expansion of Veii, which had been going on since the introduction of a pattern of dispersed farmsteads at the beginning of the Archaic Period, reached its culmination. Roman settlers and newly dislocated and enfranchised Etruscans founded new farmsteads.[18] In the end, although the city of Veii did not regain its importance, its territory quickly became a valuable portion of the Roman countryside.[19]

This same medium-term pattern of expanded rural settlement is also documented throughout the *Ager Capenas* where Capena, Nazzano, and *Lucus Feroniae* functioned as administrative centers with little concentration of population.[20] At the Northern edge of this zone, the landscapes surrounding the pair of new colonies at Sutri and Nepi remained sparsely populated for most of the 4th century B.C. Only with the period of relative stability after the granting of a *foedera* to the Faliscans in 343 B.C. (allowing continued local administrative autonomy) did a similar development of rural settlement took place here.[21] This suggests that rather than newly founded colonies and conquered communities having a single blanket pattern of settlement, the inhabitants of each community directed their growth in consonance with largely local conditions and fears. Given the conditions of relative local autonomy granted to the inhabitants of the *Ager Faliscus*, it is unsurprising that

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[17]The number of Etruscans that were actually enfranchised is a matter of debate, but given the high degree of continuity in the occupation of farmsteads throughout this period I believe that it is highly likely that a number of Etruscan families, especially those living in the countryside, were given Roman citizenship and allowed to keep their property. Potter (1979, 94-95), Barker and Rasmussen (1988, 269), and Cornell (1995, 320) support this interpretation *contra* Harris (1971, 41-42).

[18]Ward-Perkins 1972, 874.

[19]Ward-Perkins 1972, 872,

[20]Jones 1962, 141-142; Jones 1963, 129.

[21]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 88 and Duncan 1958, 92.

there was a high degree of continuity in area throughout the 4th century B.C. The primary

type of settlement within the region remained the *castellum,* with a number of dispersed

farmsteads scattered throughout the countryside.[22]

The Roman conquest of Southern Tiberine Etruria did not result in a fundamental

reorganization of the Pre-Roman patterns of rural settlement, even in the territories of

communities brought under the direct control of Rome.   Around Veii, where there had

never been a tradition of nucleated settlement, dispersed farmsteads remained the rule and

the landscape saw little alteration from the already developing patterns of the *longue durée.*

In the *Ager Capenas,* where the landscape had been organized around a series of minor

centers without a primate urban community, no new cities were founded and the minor

centers continued to flourish with an increased number of Roman citizens. Finally, in the

landscapes around Sutri and Nepi, sparsely occupied during the Archaic Period, a

preference for urban residence as opposed to rural farmsteads appears to have remained

until the end of the 4th century B.C.   The major factor that altered medium- and long-term

patterns of settlement, marketing, and agricultural use stemmed instead from the

construction of the major Roman roadways in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Even when the

Roman roadways of Etruria were built, the majority of the village communities within

Southern Tiberine Etruria remained occupied for at least a further century, even in the case

of those villages that were now far from the main routes of transportation through the

region. So hard is it to alter settlement patterns that had been in operation for nearly five

hundred years.   Only after a century or more of isolation from the main routes of

communication did the traditional village structure of the region fall into a state of crisis

only to be replaced by a number of major road stations, at least six in the *Ager Capenas* and

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[22]Cambi 2004, 78.

territory of Veii. Such a lag in time is a reflection of the slow process of reorganization economic and social ties within the population of residents of village communities along with a conscious decision of natives to maintain their own identity rather than engage in the Roman economic network.

Confiscation and Continuity: Discrepant Experience in the Etruscan Landscape

The second phase of Roman expansion into Etruria began nearly a century after the first, beginning in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Military conflict and initial harsh treatment for the primary urban communities within the Etruscan city-states marked this second phase of expansion as Rome sought to create a stable situation in formerly hostile territory. During this period, Rome developed a series of methods for controlling conquered territory. The primary tools for managing this expansion and the resulting territory were the institutions of the *foedera*, the foundation of *coloniae*, and the confiscation of land incorporated directly into the Roman state as *Ager Romanus*.[23] No policy was employed in exclusion, and individual conquerors and sessions of the senate used each method on a purely case-by-case basis as individual circumstances dictated.

The confiscation of land was an important method of control over the landscape during the early phase of Roman expansion. In a number of cases, the Etruscan cities offered up to half of their territory as part of the final settlement of hostilities. The Roman state managed this land in two ways. Either a new community of citizens was set up as a colony to govern the territory as part of its hinterland, or magistrates governed the land directly as *Ager Romanus*. In the former situation, a new urban community comprised of Roman settlers (and sometimes displaced natives) acted as the fundamental organizing

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[23]Munzi 2001, 50.

force for the landscape including a substantial hinterland.[24]   Such colonies could be completely new sites, or could represent the reorganization of a pre-existing native community. The residents of colonies were granted Roman or Latin citizenship with their associated privileges consisting of economic and political advantages at Rome, and thus the residents of these communities displayed a great degree of loyalty to Rome. In the absence of a colony, a community with the designation of *praefectura* governed the confiscated land. The exact juridical rights of *praefecturae* are patently difficult to enumerate, but it appears that the elites within these towns, usually major secondary centers formerly under the control of an independent city-state, oversaw the management of the land under the supervision of a Roman official. These communities were comprised of natives, but Roman magistrates governed both the center of population and the rural hinterland.[25]   Another option was the viritane assignation of small plots of land in a newly conquered region via a process called *adsignatio*.[26]   The advantage of this solution was that cooperative native communities deemed worthy of reward maintained substantial control over their hinterlands, while at the same time the Romans could add a population of Roman citizens to the landscape.[27]

The final method of governance of land won in the conflicts of the third century was through a series of alliances with native communities called *foedera.* Some of the Etruscan city-states saw their hinterlands substantially reduced and a number of dependent village communities stripped from their jurisdiction under the terms of the *foedus.* For many of the

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[24]Salmon 1970, 14.

[25]Harris 1971, 150-151.

[26]Salmon 1970, 14.

[27]I believe that the importance of such settlement schemes has been greatly underestimated and that these assignations formed the basis of a great deal of Roman settlement across the landscape.

Northern cities, however, local elites negotiated favorable *foedera*.[28]   These contracts of alliance specified that the allied city was required to supply troops and taxes to the Roman state upon request, and to maintain a stable and productive landscape within the rural territory of the community. This led to a significant degree of autonomy for large sections of the Etruscan countryside and the preservation of the Etruscan social system.

This second phase of Roman conquest and incorporation had been ushered in by the bloody capture of Roselle, the first Etruscan city to fall to Rome since the capture of Veii. The sack of Roselle marked the beginning of a trend that would continue over the course of the next fifty years.[29] Volsinii, Vulci, and Tarquinia were subdued in the following decades and a significant portion of the territory of each of these city-states was confiscated.[30] The historical sources mention Rome active in Etruria again in 273-272 B.C. engaged in a conflict with Cerveteri, and in 265-264 B.C. against Volsinii. Here, the previous relationships of the cities to Rome seem to have dictated their fate. Cerveteri was incorporated into the Roman alliance with a grant of *civitas sine suffragio* (bought at the price of half of her territory), while Volsinii was destroyed and its inhabitants deported to a new non-defensible site a few kilometers from the old city.[31] The episode at Volsinii is a further example in a series of Roman interventions on behalf of embattled Etruscan aristocracies. Revolts at Arezzo (302

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[28]Terrenato 1998a.

[29]With the loss of Livy's narrative at this point the details of the campaigns from the battle of Sentinum until the eve of the 2nd Punic War are scarce in comparison to the preceding period. We do not know any of the specific circumstances of the fall of the Etruscan cities. Instead, only brief mentions of their reduction exist in the *Periochae*. The lack of a detailed narrative of the events surrounding the incorporation of the Etruscan cities into the Roman alliance may be one source of the harsh tradition that has grown up surrounding Rome's Mid-Republican Militarism. cf. Harris 1979 and 1984b. The summaries of the events do not reveal the internal conflicts within the Etruscan cities or show the class and factional divisions which existed in Etruscan society.

[30]Torelli 1986, 59.

[31]Cornell 1995, 320-322 and Harris 1971, 45-47 believe that this was the occasion on which the privilege was granted to the Caeretians despite the controversy in the sources. Scullard 1967, 274-275 concurs with this judgment, but does not discuss his reasons for doing so.

B.C.) and Volsinii (265 B.C.) were symptoms of the stresses in Etruscan social relations brought on by the conquest.[32] In the case of Volsinii, the embattled pro-Roman aristocratic faction was the beneficiary of the new urban arrangement.[33] The revolt of Volsinii should be seen as an internal development stemming from factional tensions within the city rather than as a direct test of Roman power. In 241 B.C., Falerii suffered the same fate as Volsinii. The Romans destroyed the city and transferred the population from the former site on a hilltop to a new location in the plain. The rebellion was short-lived and none of the Etruscan cities participated.

A number of trends can be recognized in the settlements reached in the aftermath of the conflicts that led to the incorporation of South Etruria into the growing Roman state. One particularly effective tool was the confiscation of territory, in many cases as much as half of the land associated with the former Etruscan city-states.[34] These confiscations were part of a strategic method for weakening the power of the old Etruscan city-states. If one looks at the later location of Roman colonies, and to a lesser extent the placement of Roman roads, it is clear that there was a preference for the confiscation of territory along the coast, and also along major transportation corridors, many of which had been in use as far back as the Orientalizing Period. By appropriating the coastal portion of the hinterlands of Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci, the Romans effectively isolated the former capitals of the Etruscan city-states from their dependent port communities.[35] Such a strategy would have

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[32]Potter 1984, 239.

[33]Harris (1985) treats the revolt extensively.

[34]There is clear evidence that this was the case for Cerveteri and Vulci. The same pattern appears to have been followed in the hinterlands of Tarquinia and Volsinii as well.

[35]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 265.

effectively ended Etruscan pretensions toward developing an international foreign policy.[36] In addition, Etruscan elites within the urban centers of Southern Coastal Etruria were cut off from control of access to wider Mediterranean markets, and the market in prestige imports upon which was founded the basis of elite material culture. This policy of confiscation led to Roman domination of access to the status-reinforcing goods that had served as symbols of wealth and power within Etruria for centuries. The precarious nature of the elite positioned atop a large and restless Etruscan serf-class (note the revolts of 302 and 241 B.C.) necessitated a degree of support in order to maintain this social order. Cut off from the traditional sources of goods used in materializing the social relations, Etruscan elites became dependent on Rome for access to both new and traditional forms of status reinforcement.[37] Access to the Roman *cursus honorum*, as well as the military might of Rome, were powerful factors in helping the Etruscan elite to maintain the *status quo*.

Rome did not choose to deprive the old Etruscan urban communities of their most productive agricultural lands.[38] In fact, the converse appears to have been true. The Romans actively promoted the agricultural economy, based on the collection and redistribution of staple products within the former city-states of South Etruria to the detriment of the old wealth-finance economy built on prestige goods. When the Etruscan city-states sent aid to Scipio for his invasion of Africa, the products contributed by the cities

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[36]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 265.

[37]Earle 1997; Turbitt 2000; Hickerson 1996; De Marrais et al. 1996.

[38]Torelli (1999, 5) and Barker and Rasmussen (1998, 265) argue exactly the opposite, but the evidence is clear that factors other than agricultural productivity were at work in the decision about what territory should be confiscated. The problem with the suggestion that the Romans were interested in depriving Etruria of its productive land is that the land marked out as the most productive is only so because of its access to effective modes of long distance transportation, particularly the Roman road network, most of which was only solidified a century after the confiscations.

of South Etruria were largely of an agricultural nature.[39] Yet at the same time, when native urban elites were forced into economic schemes based on the production of agricultural commodities, their lack of access to the structures of seaborne commerce made them dependent on the now Roman system of ports for the distribution of surplus. In a sense, Roman control of the coastal region created an economic bottleneck on the creation of wealth within Etruria. Nevertheless, the Etruscan elites remained in control of lands that could produce an abundance of grain suitable for supplying Roman troops and the growing metropolis.[40] The same period saw the *floruit* of the major Etruscan cities of the upper Tiber Valley such as Chiusi and Arezzo, due largely to their ability to produce substantial quantities of grain.[41]

The Romans further reinforced this system through the creation of a number of coastal colonies in communities formerly associated with the major Etruscan cities.[42] The injection of new residents into the region served to reverse the medium-term trend of economic downturn and population decline along the coastal fascia, initiated during the period of repeated predations ushered in by the conflicts over access to the Southern Tyrrhenian during the 5th century B.C., and which led to the sack of a number of coastal communities by the Syracusian navy as late as 384 B.C.[43] These colonies included Pyrgi (264), Alsium (247), Fregenae (245) and Graviscae (181), all flourishing Etruscan

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[39]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.45.13-20.

[40]Colonna (1985, 106-111) describes the role of Etruria, and especially Chiusi and Volsinii, in relieving famine in Rome during lean years during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. There is no reason to assume that this function for Etruria would have changed after the Roman conquest, nor to imagine that this type of agricultural production was limited to the cities of the Tiber (although the river did make for an attractive transportation route). See also Garnsey (1988, 169; 171; 178; 188-189).

[41]Braudel 2002, 205.

[42]The only possible exception to this statement may be the site of Cosa, but there is inconclusive evidence that there was a nearby Etruscan town.

[43]Cristofani 1983, 119.

communities. During the same period, a pair of new ports was founded along the coastal strip at Cosa (273) and Castrum Novum (264). These two colonies appear to have been replacements for nearby Etruscan communities razed during the conflict with Rome.[44]

Two processes were at work here. In some areas, pre-existing native communities and their populations were drawn directly into the system of Roman administration due to colonial foundations.[45] For these communities, incorporation represented a substantial boon in the severing of ties of dependency upon formerly dominant urban centers. These newly promoted sites owed their new status and loyalty to Rome. At the same time, the Roman state was creating a series of islands of Roman and Latin citizens directly dependent upon Rome for their continued security and well-being at crucial points in the Etruscan landscape. Access to new forms of prestige associated with the Roman structure of administration, and the associated symbols of social superiority was controlled closely by the Roman state, ensuring active cooperation for any native elite who wished to maintain or increase his status within the community.[46]

This process was manifested in a strong degree of continuity within major segments of the coastal landscape, particularly in the zones around the formerly Etruscan communities, such as Pyrgi and Alsium.[47] The landscapes around these two colonies were

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[44]Gianfrotta 1972, 18. These towns were La Castellina, a *castellum* in the territory of Cerveteri, and possibly Ansedonia, an Etruscan predecessor to Cosa.

[45]Torelli 1999, 4-5; Söderlind 2000-2001, 94-95; Terrenato 2005.

[46]Salmon (1970, 79-81) suggests that these colonies were anything but advantageous to those who enrolled due to the restrictions on movement placed on the colonists, but even Salmon is unclear on the length of these restrictions and whether there were exceptions for political office or voting in Rome. The degree to which the colonies, founded with the Roman rite, were a benefit to the settlers would also directly depend on the proportion of the native population that was enfranchised as part of the foundations and the role that the colony had in interacting with the native communities located alongside the *castra*. See Terrenato (2005), Bradley (2001) and Söderlind (2000-2001, 89-91) for the substantial native contribution to colonial settlements. .

[47]Enei 1995, 73.

not centuriated, and the already well-populated landscape was filled out with the addition of a number of small farmsteads during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[48] The productive regime already in place was merely intensified under the first century of Roman hegemony.[49] This type of continuity was not always the rule, however. Many segments of the landscape of Etruria experienced significantly divergent trajectories. In the case of the foundation of Castrum Novum and especially Cosa, the replacement of a nearby native community with a Roman one marked a significant disruption in the history of the landscape. Likewise in the territory of Vulci, there was very little continuity between the 4th and 2nd century B. C. landscapes.[50] The *castellum* at Ghiaccio Forte was destroyed along with the minor center at Saturnia, and the city of Doganella. In addition, the ports at Orbetello and Talamone spiraled into a period of depression, perhaps because of the newly founded colony at Cosa.[51] The new pattern of centuriation around this colony (occupying as much as 25% of the former territory of Vulci) was indicative of a completely new settlement system based on dispersed landholdings as opposed to the network of coastal villages that had dominated the region in previous centuries.[52] The only sites that maintained any degree of continuity throughout this period were all located at the very edges of the territory of

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[48]Enei 1992, 78-80; Enei 1995, 73.

[49]Enei 1992, 80.

[50]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 108-109; 145. They suggest that nearly half of the small farmsteads were abandoned by the middle of the 1st century B.C. See also Barker and Rasmussen (1998, 271).

[51]Perkins 1999, 37-38; Attolini et al. 1991, 144.

[52]Perkins 1991, 135; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 69.

Cosa.[53] It is even possible to trace the flight of displaced Etruscan natives in a series of new villages that appeared at the Eastern edge of the *Ager Vulcentis*.[54]

Vulci provides an instructive case study for the type of extreme disruption that could be seen in some areas of Etruria. Fifteen of the twenty secondary centers in existence at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. were abandoned within one hundred years. It is even more instructive to examine where the centers that did show continuity were situated. Nearly every site located in a defensible position went out of use. The five centers that did survive were located either in remote regions within the *Ager Vulcentis* or in the valley bottom / coastal plain. The discontinuity in the specific village communities seen in the landscape above did not represent a complete alteration of patterns of residence, however. The 3rd century B.C. was a period in which a significant number of new secondary communities were created as well. Nineteen new villages were added to the landscape, mostly in the area at the Northern edge of the territory of Vulci, near the source of the major rivers of the region.

The interaction between local communities and Roman officials led to the creation of a system of divergent experience at the level of the secondary center. In some cases, such as the ones encountered in the landscape around La Castellina where the site was razed to the ground and replaced by the colony at Castrum Novum, there was complete destruction of the old patterns of settlement and a replacement with an imported Roman system. This destruction was not limited to the coastal region. Ghiaccio Forte, in the territory of Vulci, also suffered a similar fate, only to be replaced by the colony of Heba in the following century. On the other hand, a number of communities, such as Pyrgi, retained a substantial

[53]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109.

[54]Perkins 1999, 38-39.

degree of prominence and saw great continuity in their settlement system due to what must have been a complex negotiation of a new status for the community at the time of the creation of the colony. This type of negotiation characterized not only the coastal strip where the solution was often melding local and Roman populations using colonies, but also dependent minor centers throughout the landscape of the former Etruscan city-states.[55] The existence of such a system, independent from the expediency of planting colonies, may be the reason that so few colonies were planted in Etruria during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[56]

Local populations within some dependent communities, usually those sites classed for the purposes of this study as minor centers, were left the opportunity to abandon their former primate urban center and fall in with the advance of Rome. It is clear that several communities took this opportunity, and as a direct result became favored in the Roman system by being removed from the control of the capitals of the old Etruscan city-states. The long-term trend that resulted from this decision was that a number of such native communities thrived, seeing a veritable boom in prosperity and wealth in the centuries following the conquest of Etruria. Tuscania, Norchia, Sovana, and Blera provide ready examples of this phenomenon.[57] Sovana, for example, saw a dramatic increase in population from the second half of the 4th century B.C. into the Roman Empire.[58] At Norchia and Tuscania, there was an expansion in the size of the sites and there is strong evidence for not only the continuity of elite Etruscan families, but also their enrichment and

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[55]Torelli 1999, 4-5; Söderlind 2000-2001, 94-95; Terrenato 2005, 10-11.

[56]Salmon (1970) although a bit dated still provides the best comparative information on colonization in different regions of Italy.

[57]Frederiksen 1976, 348; Colonna di Paolo and Colonna 1978.

[58]Cristofani 1981a, 50.

incorporation into the Roman scheme of government.[59] These sites, and not the major Etruscan cities, were the ones that appear to have been favored in the Roman administration of Etruria.[60] A number of these sites regained their autonomy, taken away when they were incorporated into the major Etruscan city-states at the end of the Archaic Period, perhaps due to the eagerness of the local elite to tap into the Roman system of social support that would allow them to secure their position.[61] The early grants of civic status to the residents of Bomarzo and Bagnoregio may reflect a similar trend, as does the early creation of the *praefecturae* of Saturnia and Statonia.[62] All of these communities lay on the fringes of the landscape of the various city-states of South Etruria, and were the least well integrated into their territorial structure, coming under true dominance only with the urban concentration of the 5th century B.C. Through this policy of promotion, Rome was able to remove additional sections of territory from the resource base of the Etruscan cities severing access to major communication routes. Thus, the Roman ability to appeal to native communities and fracture the territorial integrity of the Etruscan city-states aided in ensuring a peaceful Etruria by creating a Pro-Roman elite class fundamentally dependent on Rome for continued prosperity. These communities must have been bulwarks against the resurgence of the power of the urban communities that had led the old city-states.

Promoting elites in secondary centers and favoring these communities in the new organization of the landscape at the expense of formerly powerful city-states or tribal groups continued to be an important feature of Roman Imperialism. Parallels to this

[59]Colonna 1978; Colonna di Paolo and Colonna 1978; Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983; Sgubini Moretti 1991.

[60]Cristofani 1981a, 50.

[61]Munzi 2001, 51.

[62]Harris 1971, 150-151.

practice are well documented in the Western Provinces throughout the Triumviral and Augustan Periods. Under Augustus, a similar practice of selecting and promoting select *vici* can be seen in operation in the landscape of Samnium.[63] As Whittaker and Wallace-Hadrill have noted, much use was made of local nobles, particularly in village communities, and their role in forming and disseminating culture throughout the empire.[64] They were so successful in these operations that within a few centuries they were challenging the traditional elite class for primacy in the new social order.

> "So in Africa and in Gaul at first the Julio-Claudian implantation of colonial and urban bourgeoisies separated the elite culturally and religiously from the lower, poor classes. But then in the 2nd c. the social and urban order of the old *civitas* aristocracies was challenged by a new elite, many of them originating from secondary rural centers, and whose power derived from systematic exploitation of the rural poor.[65]

It is not surprising then, that this period in the Western Provinces was marked by a substantial number of dedications to the emperor Augustus, particularly in village communities.[66] This picture of the process in its mature form can help to understand the forces at work at its inception, during the conquest of Etruria.

These developments must be seen, at one level, as the result of Roman policy and the circumstances of the campaigns that led to the incorporation of this portion of Etruria into the Empire, but at the same time the fate of Etruscans residing in secondary communities was also in the hands these very elites. A number of secondary centers appear to have participated in the resistance against the Roman advance. These communities (La Castellina, Doganella, and Ghiaccio Forte provide the best examples), were destroyed and replaced. The Roman policy of confiscation dictated the future of other portions of the

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[63]Patterson 1997, 3.

[64]Whittaker 1997, 155; Wallace-Hadrill 2000, 290.

[65]Whittaker 1997, 160.

[66]Whittaker 1997, 156.

landscape as new colonies such as Cosa, Pyrgi, and Castrum Novum were set up. Some of these colonies caused significant disruption in local patterns of development, while others had relatively little impact on the landscape. On the other hand, a number of village communities were able to take advantage of the political situation of the conquest and improve their lot. Inscriptional evidence suggests that urban elites had been concerned about this possibility in the centuries surrounding the conquest and had attempted to bolster the degree of loyalty of these sites by engaging in a number of marriage alliances with elites located in village communities.[67] Nevertheless, the sites of the Clodia corridor appear to have gained independence from their former masters, and the elite classes in these settlements flourished with their new Roman backing.

But what was the attraction of the Roman system both for elites within secondary communities and in the major cities of the region? Surely, the colonists settled in Southern Etruria had an effect on the development of Etruscan culture, but it was not their presence alone that led to the radical transformation of certain segments of the Etruscan population and landscape. Instead, Rome had found a far more successful way to control the loyalty of the Etruscan cities.[68] In South Etruria, Rome used the precarious situation of the Etruscan social system to create a divide between aristocratic and popular factions. The organization of the Etruscan economy along the lines of a feudal mode of production necessitated a strong aristocracy for its maintenance. The 5th and 3rd century B.C. recession within South Etruria weakened aristocratic power over systems of dependence and land tenure. Rome was able to successfully step in and offer a degree of external support to those who wished to maintain the *status quo*. In exchange for giving up their ambitions toward an independent

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[67] Chiesa 2005 390-394.

[68] Harris 1971, 144.

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foreign policy and supporting Roman military initiatives with allied contingents of troops, Etruscan aristocrats, especially those living in secondary centers, were allowed to maintain or assume government of their own local affairs, furthering the Roman agenda. At the level of the dependent classes, this solution may have appeared ideal in that it allowed for continued access to the protections and benefits of patronage within the local community. Such an arrangement would have necessarily had a substantial impact on the development of relationships between Etruscan and Roman elites and secured the loyalty of Etruria as a whole.[69] As we have seen, even South Etruria, where nearly all of the Roman colonies were founded, fared well in the initial centuries of incorporation.[70]

The Third Phase of Colonization in Etruria

With the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., the process of colonization within Etruria had moved into a new phase. Although several colonies were planted in Etruria during this century (especially within the territory of Vulci), there appears to have been a far lower degree of retribution in the creation of the new landscapes. Particularly revealing is the history of the landscapes around the colonial foundations of Saturnia and Heba, although the region around the colony of Cosa remains helpful as well. In the case of both Heba and Saturnia, there was a substantial reorganization of the landscape associated with the introduction of centuriation, but the epigraphic evidence from both sites suggest that the new colonies included if not a majority, at least a substantial proportion of native Etruscans

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[69]Cornell 1995, 363; Pallottino 1991, 149; Harris 1971, 130-131.

[70]The Northern colonies at Lucca and Luni were founded as a result of the depredations of the Ligurians on Pisan territory throughout the 2nd century B.C. and were likely founded at the invitation of the Pro-Roman Etruscan city. Cf. Bruni (1998, 240-242) for a more detailed discussion of the historical context of the deductions of the two colonies.

in the citizenship roles.[71]   These colonies represented the end of a long trajectory of redevelopment of the landscape of the Etruscan city of Vulci that had begun with the destruction of the two *foci* of inland settlement of Doganella and Ghiaccio Forte at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. Over a century later, the natives who continued to occupy the landscape surrounding these two former sites integrated into the new communities. In essence, Rome had succeeded in eliminating a pair of powerful communities allied to Vulci, and a century later replaced them with a pair of independent sites whose ties were to Rome rather than the Etruscan city. Other residents of the *Ager Vulcentis* remained outside the Roman system of influence in territory beyond control of the new colonies. In the landscape to the North of Saturnia, a bustling village-based community centered on Poggio Semproniano continued to flourish throughout the Republican period in an organizational pattern that may date back to the Bronze Age.[72]   The expansion of this site during the Republican Period was most likely due to the conscious decision of natives to alter their geographic location rather than participate in the Roman colonial system.

Roman Roads: Sources of Stability and Reorganization of Territory

The second determining factor in the experience of Etruscans under the middle Republic was the creation of the Roman road system.   The major period of road building in Etruria was initiated with the construction of the *Via Aurelia*, a route connecting the communities of the coast in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.   This construction boom continued into the 1st century B.C. with the construction of a number of North-South routes

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[71]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 112-113. The same phenomenon appears to hold true for the composition of the refounded colony at Cosa during the first years of the 2nd century B.C. See also Barker and Rasmussen (1998, 271).
[72]Perkins 1999, 38-39; Attolini et al. 1991, 144, 151; Carandini and Cambi 2002, 109-110.

that provided a greater degree of communication between Rome and the landscape of the interior.[73] The layout of Roman roads functioned as a tool in the interaction between Rome and native communities. The line of a major Roman road could serve to reinforce the ties of an Etruscan site to the Roman order, or to isolate settlements, leaving them detached from the new networks of power and prestige found in the capital. The construction of roads and road stations put a new physical stamp of *Romanitas* on the landscape of Etruria, drawing sections of the landscape into the Roman orbit. In the same way that centuriation placed a stamp on the settlement pattern, the creation of the road network served to create framed sections of the landscape enclosed by manifestations of the power of the Roman state.[74]

The work of the South Etruria Survey in particular, has begun to reveal a number of preliminary patterns in the organization and execution of the Roman road system in Etruria. At its most basic level the creation of the Roman road system represented a fundamental reorganization of the old network of Etruscan routes of communication. Instead of the previous pattern of communications, which had served primarily to create links between the interior and the coast, the new Roman system reoriented Etruria away from the Tyrrhenian and instituted a North-South axis that connected the cities (both native and colonial) with Latium and the *Ager Romanus*.[75] This reorientation is unsurprising given the Roman policies of confiscation and colonization along the coastal strip, and represents

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[73]Wiseman 1970, 133-134. Wiseman supports traditional 241 dating for Via Aaurelia Vetus and suggests that 200 is instead Via Aurelia Nova under homonymous son as consul. Wiseman 1970, 136. The earlier road north from Arezzo (the northern terminus of the cassia) is explained as a result of a pre-existing track before the construction of the via cassia. The Cassia was likely built in 154a. Wiseman (1970, 137) argues for 187 and 185 for the construction of the Via Clodii north of Forum Clodii. The section to Sutrium was under Ap. or P. Clodius Pulcher as censor in 249 or 312.

[74]Purcell 1990, 14-20.

[75]Mansuelli 1979, 370.

another facet of the Roman technique of creating monopolies over the means of distribution and transportation.

Despite the relatively short span of time that separated the construction of the major roadways throughout Etruria there appear to have been multiple patterns at work in the decisions associated with the layout of the routes. The major roads within the region, the *Via Clodia, Via Cassia, Via Aurelia,* and *Via Flaminia* were all built during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The *Via Aurelia,* and V*ia Flaminia* represent one type of road layout. These routes functioned primarily as major trunk roads that provided links between Rome and the communities of Northern Etruria or the Po Valley. This group of roads rarely took into consideration previous systems of communication, and as a result, the routes bypassed many of the pre-existing communities.[76] Veii is a prime example of this phenomenon. All of the major roads that came through the territory of the Etruscan city bypassed the main urban center, which had been at the center of a major network of local roads in the Etruscan Period. Instead, a mere *diverticulum*, a small detour of the main routes, connected Veii to the Roman road network.[77] A similar situation existed along the route of the *Via Aurelia* where the road bypassed the powerful Etruscan cities of Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Vetulonia in favor of the coastal communities, many of which had been subject to the deduction of Roman colonies.[78]

The Roman state used a second series of roads, represented in Etruria by the *Via Clodia,* in order to foster the growth of a series of pre-existing Etruscan communities, all of which saw a *floruit* in the Roman period, and to connect them to Rome's markets and

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[76]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 140; Potter 1984, 139.

[77]Potter 1979, 104.

[78]Potter 1984, 139. Cp. De Rossi 1968.

services. The *Via Clodia* was a monument that linked the countryside of Central Etruria to the various minor centers occupying the eastern edge of the former territories of the major coastal city-states.[79] Specifically, the *Via Clodia* served to connect the West side of the Lago di Bracciano with the Etruscan centers of Blera, Tuscania, Norchia, Sovana, and Sutrium.[80] The communities that occupied this strip of land in Central Etruria occupied a key region for controlling the old networks of communication between the coast and the interior. As already mentioned above, many of these communities appear to have received *foedera* at an early date, and when freed from their former status as dependent communities within larger city-states, served to create an opportunity for native residents to link into Roman forms of patronage and political participation.[81] The *Via Clodia* then was a reward for communities that maintained a pro-Roman stance in the decades after the conquest when these sites were drawn increasingly into the Roman orbit. This reward was as much symbolic as it was economic. Its presence served as a constant visual symbol of the connection of these communities to Rome, and of their obligations to Rome in the new system.

The *Via Cassia* represents a middle case between these two extremes. In its South Etruscan incarnation, the road followed the pattern of the Aurelia and Flaminia, bypassing the major Faliscan and Etruscan centers within the region. Instead, in South Etruria the road favored the newly founded communities of *Vicus Matrini* and *Forum Casii*, both with Roman juridical status from their inception. Once the road continued to the North of Volsinii, however, it ran through the major Etruscan cities of Chiusi, Arezzo, and eventually

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[79]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 141.

[80]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 140.

[81]Munzi 2001, 51.

Fiesole.[82] It is not surprising, then, that the cities of Northern Etruria were much more successful in maintaining a major role in the settlement hierarchy throughout the Roman period when compared to their southern counterparts. The divergence in the pattern of construction between North and South Etruria may be a result of the significantly different circumstances involved in the conquest of Northern and Southern Etruria, a discrepancy considered later in this chapter.

Just as Rome had founded a number of new coastal communities with colonial status along the Etruscan littoral, a number of sites were brought into the Roman system as governmental hubs in the new administration of the countryside of Etruria. Romans founded some of these communities *ex novo* as colonies or more frequently as *praefecturae*, while others incorporated pre-existing communities that often received colonial or municipal status. Prime examples of this phenomenon include the foundation of two Roman *fora* along the *Clodia* and *Aurelia.* These communities, governed by Roman officials, were founded in order to control portions of the territory of the former Etruscan city-states that were crucial to the safeguarding of Roman interests along the new major communication corridors through Etruria. At the same time that these communities were growing along the roadside and controlling major portions of the territory of Etruria, a number of new village communities referred to as *stationes* grew up at key road junctions. Some of these communities appear to have been planned along with the roads, but the majority saw their inception in the final decades of the 2nd century B.C. and flourished throughout the Imperial Period. The key position of these new sites, along the major arteries through the Etruscan landscape, quickly made them rivals to the major Etruscan sites left off the main roadways. At another level, it is important to note that the period that

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[82]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 141.

was characterized by the great expansion of the Roman road network was also the period that saw the death of a number of *castellum* sites. In some cases the *castella* were destroyed to make the new road safer. In the territory of Fiesole, for example, twelve of sixteen *castella* were destroyed in the decades surrounding the construction of the Via Flamina Minora. In other cases, these *castella* were abandoned by their inhabitants due to a lack of access to the new systems of marketing and power represented by the roads. Surely, a great portion of the new population associated with the rise of the *stationes* beginning in the 2nd century B.C. was the direct result of the downturn in the fortunes of *castella* due to their lack of access to the road network.

The process of road building can be seen as analogous to the various methods by which Rome was able to order the organization of the post conquest landscape. Many of the major cities of the South, especially those that had suffered the confiscation of a significant amount of land, were further isolated by the decisions made when the new road networks were constructed. The major roads that ran through the territories of Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci bypassed the Etruscan urban centers. In contrast, a number of communities, both the new colonial foundations of the coastal region, and the string of cities in the interior along the *Via Clodia*, were rewarded through the construction of new roads that linked these communities into the new Roman world of which they were a part. Like the towns that had been favored in the South, the major trunk roads of the region linked many of the Northern Etruscan cities to Rome. Their inclusion in the road network may have been a direct result of the favorable terms under which these communities had negotiated their *foedera*.[83] Clearly, the decision of where to place a road within the

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[83]The conditions under which the Northern Etruscan cities and their territories were drawn into the Roman Empire will be discussed in the next section.

landscape, and what towns to connect were choices made in Rome by the senate and the magistrates in charge of the construction projects. Yet at the same time, the response of Etruscan communities to Roman rule and to the Roman conquest of the region also played a major role. The new road projects often included those communities that aided the Roman effort and which had been drawn into the Roman system. This is also true for new colonies situated on confiscated land where there was a need to link these new islands of citizens to the primate community at Rome. The major Roman roads bypassed communities that decided to engage in aggressive wars against Rome or pursued imperialistic policies of their own, such as Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Veii, as a direct result of these actions. At the same time, a series of new village communities bordering the major roads of the region, the *stationes*, had replaced a number of the now abandoned *castella*.

The Conquest in Northern Etruria

The fate of the cities of Northern Etruria is harder to determine. The lack of sources for the period, particularly the loss of Livy's second decade, has created a frustrating lacuna in information about the circumstances of their incorporation. Presumably, many of the Northern cities received *foedera* during the 3rd century B.C. There is no reason to believe that these pacts would have been formalized along lines that were substantially unfavorable to the Etruscans given the fact that none of the Northern Etruscan cities suffered a defeat at the hands of Rome.[84]   In the Etruscan North, the situation suggests an even higher degree of continuity than that seen in the *Ager Veientanus* and in the zones around the later colonies of Heba and Saturnia. The favorable terms under which the Northern cities had been drawn

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[84]Munzi 2001, 50. The exceptions to this statement include the two battles fought by the Etruscans as a collective force at Vadimon and Sentinum. The cities of Northern Etruria settled with Rome in the wake of thses conflicts rather than continue the fighting as was the case in much of Southern Etruria.

into the Roman alliance ensured that only a small portion of territory was brought under direct Roman control. In many cases, the Roman confiscated just enough land to build the major Roman trunk roads through the area, almost all of which included the major Etruscan cities, and in some cases the minor centers on their routes. Many Northern cities were drawn into relationships of dependence with Rome due to the creation of new ties as a result of the Roman road network.[85] Throughout the region, traditional patterns of land ownership and political dependency appear to have continued through the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. as patterns of village-based settlement continued to flourish alongside a slowly developing villa culture.

In the North, Roman colonization was less frequent and at any rate later. As a result, the promotion of village communities to municipal status played a far smaller role in the transformation of the landscape than it had in the conquest of Southern Etruria. It was not necessary to negotiate with elites in secondary centers since elites at the top of the hierarchy appear to have been eager to enter into alliances with Rome. As a result, the notion of a major reorganization associated with the process of incorporation during the early 3rd century B.C. is fallacious, nor does the period of the Punic Wars seem to be the destabilized era projected for South Italy by Toynbee.[86] In fact, many of the communities of North Etruria remained largely autonomous down to the 1st century B.C. Patterns of settlement in Northern Etruria continued on the long-term trajectory they had followed since the crisis of the 5th century B.C., largely independent of the developments going on in Rome and Southern Etruria. In contrast, the patterns that resulted from the events of the Social War and the conflict between Marius and Sulla would lead to a far greater degree of change in

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[85]Mansuelli 1979, 369-371.

[86]Frederiksen 1970-1971, 339-340.

the organization of both civic and rural landscapes of Northern Etruria than the events of the 3rd century B.C.[87]

Despite the relative level of independence of the Northern Etruscan cities, these communities along with their extensive rural populations participated in the development of the Roman state throughout the period of the Middle and Late Republic. As we already noted several cities, including Arezzo and Chiusi were sufficiently integrated into the social fabric of the Roman system to be included as stopping points on the Via Cassia. In addition, the city-states of Etruria, most notably Northern Etruria, provided exceptional help to the Roman state throughout its period of crisis during the Punic Wars, aiding in supplying the expedition of Scipio to Africa and fighting along side the Roman troops at key moments in the war.[88] In 203 B.C., we see the Roman fleet taking refuge in the harbor Populonia in order to wait out a storm that threatened to destroy the ships bringing aid to Scipio.[89]

It is necessary, then, to consider why the Northern Etruscan cities pursued so ardent a Pro-Roman policy, and to explore the social and legal mechanisms that cemented the relationship between these communities and the Roman state, especially as they concern rural stability and the overall settlement pattern. The answer lies in the nature of the

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[87]Frederiksen 1970-1971, 339-340. There are important exceptions to even this statement, as some communities, most notably Volterra, saw little reorganization of their territory even into the 1st century A.D. See Terrenato 1998b.

[88] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 23.17.11; 23.20.3 for the *Perusina Cohors*; 27.26.11 for Etruscan cavalry in Apulia; 28.45.13-20 for the Etruscan contributions to Scipio. Scullard (1980, 207 and 230-231) suggests that the presence of Roman armies in Etruria had more to do initially with stopping Hannibal from crossing into Central Italy than with securing the loyalty of the Etruscans. I believe that this assessment is correct and that a similar argument should not be dismissed out of hand for later phases of the war when the Roman legions in Etruria would have prevented the Carthaginian troops in Spain from joining with Hannibal as well as protecting Roman interests in Etruria. David 1997, 62, 66. The only exception appears to have been in the territory of Arezzo, where the Romans demanded hostages and sent a number of elites into exile. As Harris (1971, 140-144) notes the restlessness in Arezzo may have been the result of the exposed position of the city in relation to the army of Hasdrubal. Harris is also probably correct in his assumption that the example of Roman harshness to the aristocracy at Arezzo led to the rebellion of 196. I concur with Harris *contra* Scullard (1967, 277) that the rebellion was of Etruscan serfs rather than slaves in the Roman juridical sense.

[89]Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 30.39.1-2.

relationship between the native communities of Northern Etruria and their Roman counterparts. Rather than pursuing an aggressive policy of confiscation, colonization, and marginalization of primate communities as seen in Southern Etruria, the nearly exclusive basis of incorporation in Northern Etruria was the *foedera*.[90] As Terrenato has pointed out, the favorable circumstances under which natives had negotiated these alliances led to a situation where local elites were able to engage in a system of negotiated incorporation.[91] These agreements took the form of eliminating the ability of the Etruscan city-states to conduct any matters of foreign policy outside of the jurisdiction of the Roman state, while at the same time spelling out the military responsibility of Etruscan cities.[92] In exchange, Rome provided an additional level of stability for the social system by continually coming to the rescue of endangered elite factions. Rome rewarded the loyalty that the Etruscan aristocracies showed in 196 B.C. when a Roman army put down a serious rebellion of serfs in Etruria, guaranteeing the power of the Etruscan upper classes. Rome also intervened in the affair of the Bacchanalian cult in 189, seen by the Romans and possibly by their aristocratic Etruscan allies as a threat to established religion and government.[93] But this pattern of intervention was not new. The Roman state had actively pursued the maintenance of the Etruscan social system since the end of the 4th century B.C. when Rome intervened in the affairs of Arezzo in order to restore power to the elite *gens* the Cilnii. In exchange for this degree of stability, the Romans were able to govern Etruria through existing networks of power and patronage, ensuring an orderly landscape without the

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[90]Harris 1965a.

[91]Terrenato 1998a.

[92]Munzi 2001, 50.

[93]Munzi 2001, 49-50; Torelli 1986, 186. Torelli sees the hand of the Etruscan aristocracy behind the repression of the cult.

necessity of direct intervention. This maintenance of traditional networks of patronage and power led to a very stable landscape within Republican Period Etruria. In Northern Etruria, Rome's interaction was with communities at the urban level rather than in the South where Rome used the divisions easily created between primate urban centers and dependent village communities to help break apart the powerful Etruscan city-states. As a result, the dynamic changes that occurred at the level of the secondary center throughout South Etruria are largely absent, and the lifeways that had characterized the previous centuries prevailed in a more consistent fashion.

Within the territory of Volterra, for example, the *castellum* and the agro-town remained the major organizing factor within the landscape down to the time of Augustus, with several examples lasting into Late Antiquity. The 4th century B.C. saw a significant expansion of this type of site, while new *castella* continued to be added into the 2nd century B.C. It even appears that there was a continued trend toward the residence of lower level elites in these small fortified communities especially in the upper Cecina valley and the Val d'Elsa. At the same time, the Hellenistic period saw a significant increase in dispersed rural settlement in the form of small farmsteads and *fattorie*, which may have been functioning as the predecessors to the villa in the landscape of Volterra as early as the 3rd century B.C. Such a pattern of settlement suggests a continued strong elite system of control over the landscape. An expansion in the population holding tenancies or small interests in the countryside accompanied these changes. A similar pattern existed in the landscape around the city of Chiusi, where a new dispersed system of rural residential landholding coexisted with the continued prominence of a number of *castella*.[94] Within the region these *castella* continued to function as a defensive bulwark throughout the Hellenistic period, a pattern

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[94]Felici 2004, 307.

also echoed at Pisa.[95] Here too, there remained strong ties between elites residing in primary and secondary centers in the landscape and the newly expanded group of rural residents.[96] In the case of a number of the *castella,* the rural landscape around the sites was largely devoid of habitations, suggesting that the cultivators commuted from the secondary centers themselves.[97] A number of these sites consisted of an agglomeration of population in conjunction with a minor necropolis, and even in some cases a small sanctuary.[98] Evidence from these necropoleis suggests a long-term trend with the burying population within the region was expanding while at the same time the average burial was becoming poorer.[99] A number of clearly wealthy burials in *castella* located in Volterran and Chiusine territory containing prestige items with stylistic ties to the primary urban communities interrupted this trend. Throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., both the dispersed farmstead sites and the agglomerations of population within Chiusine territory dominated a series of routes of riverine communication in both the direction of South Etruria and towards the coastal littoral.[100] The period was not one of universal growth and prosperity, however. Three quarters of the sites in the region of Fiesole, were destroyed as a corollary to the construction of the *Via Flaminia Minora*. In the territory of Pisa, village communities were also suffering under the continued pressure of the Ligurian menace.

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[95]Felici 2004, 308; Bruni 1998, 204-205.

[96]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[97]Bottarelli 2004, 180.

[98]Bottarelli 2004, 184.

[99]Terrenato 2000, 42.

[100]Bottarelli 2004, 186-187.

The Social and Civil Wars: Fidelity and Instability

Etruria would remain quiet throughout the Social War as a loyal participant in the Roman alliance. The same loyalty shown throughout the Second Punic War marked Etruria's participation in the Social War. When other Italians (most notably Campanians and Samnites) began to agitate for full recognition as Roman citizens, Etruria did not take up the cause of *Tota Italia*.[101] The Etruscan response to the legislation of Drusus reveals the reasons for the Etruscan failure to participate in the Social War. At the most basic level, the Etruscans, who are said to have flocked to Rome to protest the agrarian legislation of Drusus, may have been reluctant to support his demand for universal citizenship for the allies.[102] The Etruscan failure to join in the rebellion may have also been a reflection of a number of ways in which the post-conquest experience of Etruria differed from the remainder of the Italian peninsula. Overall, Etruria, and especially Northern Etruria, had been the site of a relatively small number of Roman colonies, so that the Etruscans were not as acutely aware of citizenship differences among themselves and their immediate neighbors.[103] The relative lack of colonies may also have been the product of a relatively well-developed urban infrastructure in pre-conquest Etruria. In other words, the Etruscans maintained autonomy over a far greater portion of their landscape than many of the peoples in other regions of Italy, where civic society needed to be created *ex novo*. In addition, it appears that the maintenance of the traditional social structure of Etruria was more important to Etruscan elites than the benefits of Roman citizenship. The very citizenship

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[101]*Pace* Mouritsen 1998.

[102]See Sordi (1998) for the best treatment of the Etruscan reaction to the proposals. Cf. also Scullard 1967, 277; David 1997, 150. The Etruscan opposition to a universal grant of citizenship may have been either the result of the land reform and citizenship proposals being part of the same legislation, or because of a factional dislike for any proposal of the popular tribune.

[103]Harris 1971, 144.

sought by the rebels would have undermined the Etruscan social system through the pervasive distribution of new rights to a serf class that up to this point had remained in a state of semi-bondage.[104] Nevertheless, the Etruscans were granted universal citizenship because of their loyalty to Rome, a prize that they did not actively seek, and may not have wanted.[105]

If we look at the post-conquest history of Etruria, the region enjoyed a relatively favorable experience of Roman power. Roman imposition of colonies in the landscape was minimal apart from the coastal strip of Southern Etruria. Dislocations of people were relatively infrequent. The Romans destroyed few cities. Local autonomy was respected and class structures were maintained. Etruria's favorable experience would disintegrate over the course of the 1st century B.C. as the Etruscan cities supported, time after time, the losing side in the Civil Wars of the last few generations of the Roman Republic. In the conflict between Marius and Sulla, the Etruscan cities unanimously supported the Marian cause, and as a result, Etruria served as a theatre for much of the fighting.[106] The Sullan army sacked Talamone, a rallying point for the Marians.[107] Sulla and the Marian Papirius Carbo fought two battles at Chiusi, and another at Arezzo. Perugia, Populonia, Volterra, and Fiesole suffered substantial sieges.[108] At the end of this first great Civil War most of the Etruscan cities, many having never been taken by Roman soldiers, were reduced at the

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[104]David 1997, 150.

[105]The Etruscan cities would have received their grants of citizenship under the *lex Iulia* and the *lex Plautia Papiria* both issued in 89 or 90. Cp. Mouritsen (1998) for a counterargument.

[106]Harris (1971, 251) suggests that the appeal of Marius in Etruria was based on the Sullan faction's strong power base among the proletariat and populus as a whole. Etruscan aristocrats, precariously perched atop an oppressed underclass felt little sympathy with Sulla's designs.

[107]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 180.

[108]Harris (1971, 256-258) provides the best discussion of the events of the war.

hands of the Sullans. In addition, much of the coastal region, for so long a productive part of the new Roman system in Etruria, began to suffer the ravages of pirates. The flourishing colony of Cosa fell to these raiders never to regain the prosperity it had seen in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.[109]

Huge portions of the territories of these cities were confiscated and distributed to the Sullan veterans. These veterans were not included in the Etruscan settlements proper, but lived in separate military camps outside the walls of the old cities.[110] The *castella* of the regions suffered the heaviest penalty. In the territory of Chiusi eighteen of the thirty seven sites (48%) that were occupied in the 2nd century B.C. went into disuse before the introduction of Arretine pottery. Many of the aristocrats and small farmers alike fled Etruria and joined the pro-Marian movement with Sertorius in Spain; those who remained saw Sulla take the unprecedented step of revoking their civic rights.[111] The colonial foundations, far from providing a stable element of population to replenish the impoverished territories of the now defeated Etruscan cities, were a source of agitation and unrest. The soldiers settled in Northern Etruria did not integrate into the civic structure of the old cities. Constant conflict arose between the colonists and the original inhabitants. The social system that Rome had supported to her own advantage for three centuries was injured, but not yet dead. Many of the Etruscans forced off their land by the Sullan colonists flocked to the party of M. Aemilius Lepidus, who arriving at Fiesole with an army under instructions to put down a revolt against the colonial officials, sided instead with the

[109]Brown 1980, 74.

[110]Scullard 1967, 278.

[111]Cicero was a staunch supporter of the Etruscan aristocracies against these illegal and unprecedented moves by Sulla. The legal issues of the *Pro Caecina* center on these questions of inheritance and citizenship that arose from Sulla's settlements. cf. Harris 1971, 271-284.

dispossessed inhabitants.[112]   The cycle of rebellion and restoration, of conflict between

veterans and the original inhabitants, continued throughout the 1st century B.C.[113]   In the

middle of the century, Etruria, with its thousands of discontented veterans and dispossessed

Etruscans, provided the backdrop for the Catilinarian conspirators.[114]   The final act in the

saga of Etruscan participation in the Civil Wars occurred in the conflict between L. Antonius

and the forces of Augustus. The city of Perugia was the last Etruscan town to fall victim to

the Civil Wars of the Late Republic.[115]   This period, rather than the 3rd century B.C., when

the Etruscan cities first came into the Roman alliance, represents the period of the greatest

instability in terms of Etruscan political structures and the organization of the landscape

The Introduction of the Villa System and its Effect on Secondary Centers

It is against the backdrop of these changes that we should see the major period of

rural development associated with the rise of the villa. Clearly, the conglomeration of land

into the hands of a few individual proprietors was a significant long-term trend throughout

Etruria, but traditional accounts have overemphasized this transition, looking only at villas

to the detriment of other aspects of the landscape. Such consolidation was to be expected in

the unstable rural environment that must have followed the Civil War, where many natives

and failed Sullan colonists were reduced to such a state of poverty as to make it necessary to

sell their possessions. In the same environment, the most successful would have been able

to take advantage of the dire economic conditions and to acquire large pieces of land.   It is

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[112]Torelli 1986, 62; Harris 1971, 285.

[113]Harris 1971, 266-267.

[114]Harris 1971, 288-289; David 1997, 169.

[115]Cassius Dio 48.13.

important not to overestimate the effect that these structures had on the landscape of

Etruria. As Barker and Rasmussen argue:

> "…In Southern Etruria, such large-scale establishments cannot anyway have been common except in the coastal plains: elsewhere, as Potter has remarked, the bulk of the terrain is too broken and rugged to suit them."[116]

In fact, the relatively easily identified remains of villas bias the record, especially in areas

where archaeologists have not employed systematic survey techniques, toward the villa

mode of production. In reality, the landscape was a far more complex amalgam of villas,

farms, and villages.[117] As a result, there has been a trend toward exaggerating the amount

of land incorporated into the agricultural systems of *latifundia*.[118] In addition, the presence

of villas themselves reveals little about the way in which the landscape was used. Instead,

the connections between villas and smaller settlements reveal the nature of the social and

productive arrangements involved in the occupation of the landscape.[119] As Garnsey has

noted, the architectural correlates of the villa do not necessarily imply a substantial

contiguous plot of land centered on the residential and productive facilities involved.[120]

Instead of being single massive contiguous properties, many estates consisted of smallish

plots scattered throughout the landscape (as in the case of Pliny's landholdings), a strategy

that bolsters the economic resiliency of the agricultural endeavor.[121] Villas were not the

monolithic structures portrayed in the radical propaganda of the late 2nd and 1st century B.C.

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[116]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 273.

[117]van Dommelen 1993, 178. Hitchner (1989) has noted a similar phenomenon in survey data on N. Africa.

[118]*Pace* Harris 2007, 524-525.

[119]van Dommelen 1993, 183-184.

[120]Garnsey 1998, 95-96.

[121]Hopkins 1978a, 49.

land reformers, but were integrated into a landscape checkered with fields pertaining to the villa proper and belonging to smallholders.[122]

Nevertheless, within Etruria a new system based on a combination of extensive villa agriculture and urban small-holding came into being by at least the initial decades of the 1st century B.C., as some landowners were able to amass large conglomerations of property.[123] The largest and most impressive of these villas were part of the class of *villae maritimae* that lined the Tyrrhenian Coast.[124] These types of villas were often the richest ones in the landscape and often dominated the surrounding area.[125] Villas often served as central places in the productive schemes of the region, and in some cases served as hubs of manufacture for products such as amphora used to transport agricultural produce such as wine or oil.[126] Although these structures dominated large sections of the Tyrrhenian littoral, they did not always supersede the organization of the village. In the landscape of Volterra, and also perhaps that of Vetulonia, villages, many of which were founded in the Archaic Period, existed along side the new villas in the region.[127]

There was a continued trend toward commuter agriculture in the immediate environs of many of the new Roman colonies, as many urban residents engaged in agricultural production. The best evidence for this process comes from the landscape around the colony of Cosa. This zone of urban agricultural commuter farms appears to

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[122]van Dommelen 1993, 168-170.

[123]Harris 2007, 523-526.

[124]Dyson 2003, 21.

[125]Dyson 2003, 22.

[126]Dyson 2003, 22-23.

[127]Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 471-473; van Dommelen 1993, 179-183.

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have occupied ca. fifteen kilometers around the urban center of Cosa.[128] This region also

saw the introduction of a number of substantial villas with well-developed residential

structures, especially along the corridor of the Val dell'Albegna, where there appears to

have been the highest degree of dislocation of native inhabitants.[129] The territory of the *Ager*

Veientanus along with the Faliscan zone also saw a similar growth of this kind of

agriculture.[130] Here the deciding factor was the proximity of the sites to Rome.[131] Villas

clearly depended on the presence of the colony and its infrastructure as the central place in

the network of economic distribution. Outside of the major corridors of traffic within the

Ager Cosanus, the villa was still omnipresent, but the examples were not as sumptuous.

Many lacked the developed type of *pars urbana* found in the immediate vicinity of the

colony.[132] These structures, still located well within the centuriated landscape around Cosa,

were also tied into a network of dependence to the urban community.   In contrast, outside

of the zone of centuriation, where it became less profitable to travel to the field and back for

a day's work several villas emerged as central places in the settlement hierarchy, and

presumably dominated major sections of the landscape organizing production and

controlling distribution.   These structures were often positioned to take advantage of

heightened degrees of access to the system of transportation, boasting roadside, riverine, or

coastal locations.[133]

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[128]Cambi and Fentress 1988.

[129]Carandini and Cambi 2002, 146.

[130]Potter 1979, 122-123.

[131] Potter 1979, 123; Patterson 2004, 66.

[132] Carandini and Cambi 2002, 146.

[133] Cambi and Fentress 1988, 172-177.

Seeing the villa in such a role clarifies the nature and function of this type of structure and reveals the part that village communities also played in the economic system. Integrated into this same landscape were a number of agro-towns that appear to have functioned as similar points of concentration of goods and services as found in many villas. Such a system, with an alternative type of organization, demonstrates that this type of continuity of native lifeways and systems of patronage occurred both in marginal areas of the landscape such as the community found at Poggio Semproniano, and also at the borders of the territories of major colonial agglomerations. It is important to note that not every community saw the same trajectory of development as Cosa. The landscapes around Heba and Saturnia saw far fewer sumptuous villas, with many completely lacking *partes urbanae.* Instead, there was a strong degree of continuity among small farmsteads from the period of independence into the period of incorporation, something that had also marked the experience of the inhabitants of the *Ager Veintanus.* In these landscapes, the villas were all smaller and the village appears to have been the central organizing feature of the landscape. The development of the landscape around Tuscania appears to have mirrored that around Heba and Saturnia. Here there was little or no transition to the *villa* mode of production. Farms did get larger over time, but they were still evenly spread and represent smallholdings.[134]

In addition, beginning in the last decade of the 2nd century B.C. and throughout the succeeding century, rural residents founded a number of small village communities as central places at the edges of emerging city and villa dominated landscapes. Communities of smallholders who obtained access to goods and services not available at the level of the household through communal participation in the economic and social life of these agro-

[134]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 272.

towns exploited these areas effectively. An important function of such settlements was the centralization of facilities associated with the marketing of agricultural products.[135] The social status of these inhabitants is notoriously hard to pin down. Whether *coloni* or independent farmers inhabited these villages is an unanswerable question. Yet it appears that these small agro-towns, located in the interstices between municipal centers, functioned as an alternative to the system in which villas were the dominant organizing factor.[136] This alternative system of organization is also particularly well documented throughout the territory of the Etruscan city of Volterra, where such a scheme was retained even into the Imperial Period, on a far greater scale than slowly emerging villa system.[137] Here, outside of the coastal strip, which boasted a number of *villae maritimae*, the village both in its incarnation as an agro-town and as a *castellum* remained the organizing unit of population.

Etruria Under the Empire

By the time that the Augustan settlement had been reached, a number of the major Etruscan cities were in deep trouble, not to mention the secondary centers of the region. Throughout the Hellenistic / Republican Period, the countryside had grown at the expense of life in urban and village communities. From the 3rd to the 1st centuries B.C., there was a steady expansion in rural settlement and in materialized wealth in the form of the new type of rural residence, the villa. In some cases, the dearth of activity in agglomerated communities was a result of the isolation and impoverishment that followed the policies of

[135]Wolf 1966; Hodges 1988.

[136]The relationship between village and urban communities and the villa system of agriculture will be discussed in a later chapter along with the function of the above mentioned sites as organizing factors in the economic system of the Late Republic and Early Empire.

[137]Terrenato 1998a, 96-97 Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 472-475.

the confiscation and colonization. In other cases, it was the direct consequence of the choices of major Etruscan communities in the Civil War of Marius and Sulla. This crisis of urban and village life was only exacerbated by the imposition of Sullan colonies in the landscape. By the time of the Triumvirs, urban disaffection was tearing apart the Etruscan countryside. This disaffection was played out in the fighting associated with the Catilinarian Revolt anchored in the Etruscan landscape where both dispossessed Etruscan natives and failed Sullan farmers united in an attempt to get help from a discontented faction of the Roman elite in stabilizing the landscape.

Beginning in the period of the first Triumvirate and continuing into the second, a settlement was reached in Etruria that restored a balance to the now broken society and dying civic system. The period was one that saw the foundation of numerous colonies, the majority of which were sent out to the very communities that were hardest hit by these twin processes of depression: the Civil War, and unfavorable terms of incorporation. Such a list includes Florence, Volterra, Arezzo, Perugia, Roselle, Lucus Feroniae, Graviscae, Nepet, Pisa, Siena, Sutrium, and Veii.[138] The colonies planted under the First and Second Triumvirates were organized in a far different way than those of Sulla. Rather than setting up the colonies as a force of division and opposition to the traditional ruling structures, the new colonies struck a balance between the interests of Roman settlers and native residents of whom few remained. The Caesarian and Augustan colonies were not the separate structures that the Sullan colonies had been. Instead, they were located on the land of the old Etruscan cities in many cases and represented an attempt to bring the remnants of the Etruscan population into the sphere of Roman civic and political life.[139] In some measure,

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[138]Harris 1971, 306-311.

these colonies appear to have been an attempt to replace the old smallholders that had

disappeared in the aftermath of the Civil War with new ones.[140] This process accompanied a

new scheme of promotion in which a number of old Etruscan communities received

municipal status or were restored to their former legal positions lost in the aftermath of the

Sullan conflict. The Augustan period also saw a boom in the construction of civic structures

throughout Etruria such as the theatres at Volterra and Fiesole, or the Augustan aqueducts

at Vulci, Falerii, and Cerveteri.[141] In addition to granting municipal status to major cities,

under Augustus many of the minor centers of Etruria, which had been under the control of

larger city-states even down to this time, received municipal status and adorned with

substantial public buildings.

Along with this physical recovery came also a symbolic recovery. As Wallace-

Hadrill has suggested:

> "…it is perhaps worth considering some of the ways in which the late republic is
> marked by a collapse of the ability to define physically what being Roman consists
> in, and the reign of Augustus marks a new coherence of definition."[142]

Whittaker has even argued that there was no single Roman culture before this period.[143]

Although this statement contains a great deal of hyperbole, there is at least a bit of truth

contained therein. A negotiation between Rome and newly incorporated peoples over what

exactly Roman culture consisted in characterized the Republican Period. Whatever the state

of empire-wide culture was in the Late Republic, Etruria actively participated in the

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[139]Torelli 1986, 62.

[140]Garnsey 1998, 96-105.

[141]Torelli (1999, 201-203) attempts to minimize the building projects that took place in Etruria during the post-Social War period, but the list of monuments speaks for itself. I prefer the optimistic interpretation of Scullard (1967, 280) and Harris (1971, 314-317).

[142]Wallace-Hadrill 2000, 295.

[143]Whittaker 1997, 143.

formation of this new Roman Imperial identity disseminated across the Empire during the 1st century A.D. The Augustan period was one of substantial recovery in Etruria. The economy stabilized and the Roman system of competing smallholders and *latifundia* replaced the old Etruscan feudal system of production.[144] In addition, under the early Principate aristocrats from a number of old Etruscan families (many of whom had already begun to play the political game at Rome as early as the 2nd century B.C.) entered the senate and even attained the consulship.[145] In the early years of the Empire, Etruscans occupied the highest positions of authority in the new political order. Maecenas (the counselor of Augustus) and Sejanus (Praetorian Prefect under Trajan) were from Arezzo and Volsinii respectively. By the end of the life of Augustus, the transformation that had begun with the sack of Veii was complete, and men of Etruscan origins were participating in the decision-making processes associated with Rome's Mediterranean wide rule.

The 1st century A.D. saw a relatively stable landscape in Etruria. The majority of those *castella* and agro-towns that had survived the struggles of the Late Republic or had been founded in its aftermath continued into the 2nd century A.D. The first century B.C. was a particularly fruitful time for the foundation of new village communities. Only the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. and the 3rd century B.C. equaled the Late Republican Period in the number of new secondary centers sites founded. Particularly marked was the continued elaboration of the *stationes*, as the road network remained crucial to the provisioning of Rome from Etruria. Many of the minor centers of the region also continued to flourish as

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[144]Torelli 1986, 62.

[145]Torelli 1999, 44-45 and 51-52 provide and extensive list. The most important families are listed by Pallottino 1991, 161-162. The Perperna, Numisii, and Aburii entered the Roman senate already in the 2nd Century BC, while the Caesennii from Tarquinia, the Tarquitii from Cerveteri and the Volcacii from Perugia, the Caecinae from Volterrae, the Cilnii from Arezzo, and the Aconii and Rufii from Volsinii came into the senate in the course of the first century B.C.

fully municipal communities. In contrast, many of the old Etruscan cities were falling into a deep depression despite the efforts of the Augustan construction projects that had aimed at revitalizing these urban spaces. Overall, village communities were more resilient than the cities whose territories they had occupied. The transition to Roman rule nowhere meant the wholesale destruction of the village lifestyle, but rather it was a time of reorganization where villages reconfigured to take advantage of the new system of roads, and to occupy the segments of the rural landscape that were ignored by the old Etruscan cities and the new Roman colonies.

CHAPTER 9.
VILLAGES, VILLAS, AND CITIES:
LINKING URBAN AND RURAL SPACES

"The implication for archaeologists, especially those doing regional surveys, is that generally we should be looking toward far more complex, internally diverse and integrated model of land use for the Roman period than most of us have hitherto considered."[1]

Up to now, we have explored secondary centers in their temporal and geographic contexts. It is time to begin to generalize about some of the long-term structures that combined to produce the unique settlement hierarchy that characterized Etruria. Long-term themes that deserve discussion include agricultural regimes, the environmental background of the productive economy, networks of patronage and dependency, and shifts in residence rules over time. An evaluation of these themes will aid in moving beyond the appearance of the settlement hierarchy of Etruria, and begin to explore the way that the structures functioned. The analysis that follows is a decidedly economic reading of the trends underlying the formation of the Etruscan and Roman landscapes. Other readings of the information are possible, such as those that emphasize the symbolic aspects of the landscape. Unfortunately, concerns of space do not permit me to engage in the evidence supporting more than one reading.

The most surprising and impressive feature of the Etruscan landscape is the ubiquity of village communities. The vast majority of the archaeological literature describes Etruria as a land dominated by a series of large urban communities. Although these cities, and their

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[1]Foxhall 1990, 98.

descendents the Roman colonies, were important elements in the settlement hierarchy of Etruria, the region was dotted by more than five hundred secondary centers. Only a fraction of this total number of village communities were in existence at any given time, but they significantly outnumbered the major urban communities of Etruria in every period. This suggests that the traditional assumption that in areas dominated by cities, villages played little or no role in the life of the residents of the larger territory organized based on major city-states is fallacious. Instead, secondary centers existed alongside the major urban communities and played significant role in the social and economic regimes of the Etruscan city-states.

Village Communities as Part of the Productive Environment

An application of the rank-size technique to those sites whose size is listed in the published literature suggests a strong centralizing trend in the organization of the landscape.[2] A significant majority of urban communities occupied more than fifty hectares (See Figure 58). Below this level, a number of sites from six to fifteen hectares in size acted as minor centers. All of these communities were located at the fringes of the territories of the major Etruscan city-states. At roughly six hectares, the curve of the graph flattens significantly as the vast majority of the village communities occupied between one third of a hectare and three hectares. The prominent convex shape of the graph suggests that the sites at the bottom of the hierarchy were heavily dependent on the major urban centers of Etruria. Nevertheless, this fails to account for the role that the secondary centers played in

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[2]Cf. Hodder and Orton (1976, 69-73) for a description of the technique. The graph is attained by plotting the size of the settlements vs. their rank in the overall sample.

the productive regime. With the possible exception of Populonia and Vetulonia, the wealth

of Etruria was based on agricultural production. Elites in the Etruscan cities and

Figure 58. Rank Size Data for Sites with Published Sizes

Rank Size Distribution of Village Communities in Etruria
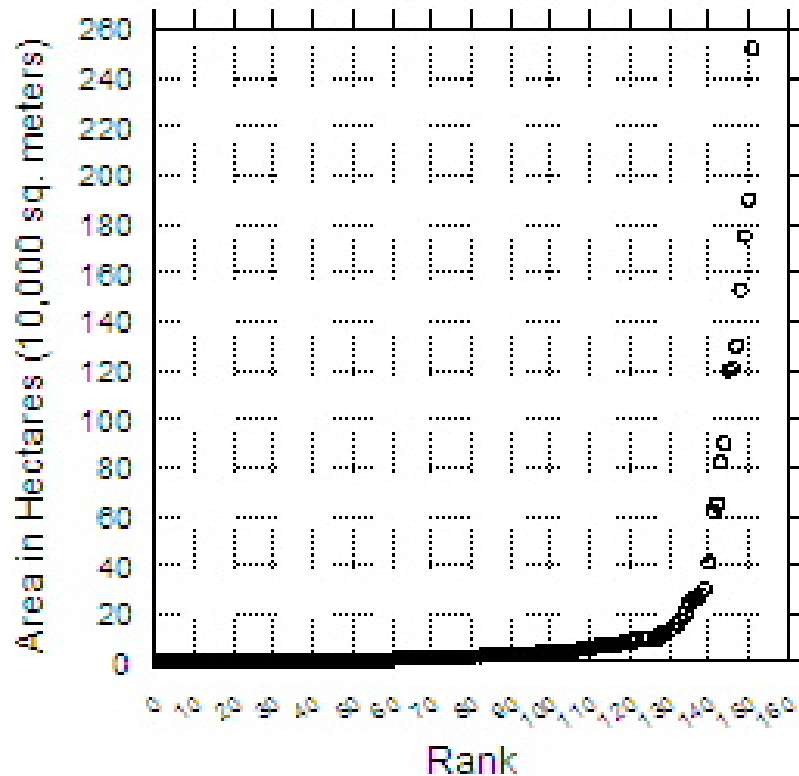
the Roman settlements fueled their lifestyles on the surplus derived from the cultivation of

the region. The cities, however, were only able to exploit a portion of their large territories

directly through the use of commuter farmers. Village communities provided an alternative

base for commuting farmers and allowed the cities to secure a far greater surplus due to the

larger area used to sustain urban centers.[3] Links of patronage and marriage between urban

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[3]Hodder and Orton 1976, 60-97. This whole category of sites is ignored in most economic histories of Etruria. The most recent treatment of Archaic and Republican Etruria, that of Morel (2007), contains not a single

and village-based elites, along with the ability of cities to provide luxury goods, and in some cases the means of agricultural production, created networks of dependency that drew this surplus into the urban communities.[4] Village communities played a significant role even once Etruria began to see the introduction of dispersed farmsteads. Many *castella* and agro-towns were the locus of production of metal goods, high quality ceramics, and textiles. After the introduction of dispersed farmsteads, these communities continued to serve as markets that allowed rural residents to acquire goods that were not manufactured at the household level.[5] As will be discussed below, isolated rural farmers maintained the same relationships of patronage and dependency with village-residing elites as prevailed in the Orientalizing Period.

Even in the Roman landscape, with a proliferation of urban communities and the introduction of villa agriculture, villages served as a major organizational node in the settlement hierarchy. Surely, the major defensive function of these centers was removed under Roman hegemony, but they were still an important part of the productive landscape. Even where the landscape was majorly reorganized due to the creation of new colonies, such as in the landscape around Cosa, villages were not eliminated from the settlement hierarchy. Although many of the villages in the territory of Vulci were abandoned along with the conquest, a new set of villages were founded outside of the centuriated area of the colony. The main agricultural districts were farmed from the city, but villages occupied a niche in which they were able to take advantage of resources such as timber from the

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reference to villages or secondary centers as site types forming a significant portion of the productive or consumptive landscape.

[4]
Chiesa 2005, 387-399.

[5]Patterson, 1997, 7; Whittaker 1990, 115.

mountains, and other silvacultural and pastoral productive schemes.[6] Villages served as redistributive hubs for these products as well as loci of exchange for the agricultural goods grown in the fields at the edges of centuriated territory, where villages were closer than the main urban center.[7]

The incorporation of lower order sites into the territory of higher-level settlements was done with the aim of improving the security of the subsistence system and of the territory as a whole.[8] The exchange was an imbalanced one with cities exchanging political, legal and specialist goods for food and labor.[9] Villages acted as cellular structures in a "Provision Principle" model where the countryside supplied commodities to the larger urban center. The central place, a city, drew its support from its own catchment, as well as from the surplus of the catchments of lower order sites.[10] In a number of contexts, scholars have identified a radius of fifteen to twenty kilometers as the extent of territory controlled by a market center, due to limits on transportation in a single day.[11] This distance appears to have prevailed in the spacing between the urban communities of Etruria and the minor centers of between six and fifteen hectares. Within the territory of Vulci, where the best evidence is available, all of the cities and minor centers were within the expected distance category of ten and fifteen kilometers between them.[12] Only Talamone and Doganella

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[6]Horden and Purcell 2000, 178-190.

[7]Patterson, 1997, 7; Whittaker 1990, 115.

[8]Bintliff 2002, 212.

[9]Bintliff 2002, 212.

[10]Bintliff 2002, 215.

[11]Bintliff 2002, 216-217; 221.

[12]Perkins 1991, 57.

violated this rule, but the former was most likely the port of the latter.[13] Within the region,

no area was more than ten kilometers from a minor center or city except the very

northwestern portion of the survey area, a zone heavily populated with smaller villages. A

smaller distance of about five to ten kilometers prevailed for the smaller *castella* and agro

towns in the territory of many of the city-states of South Etruria. Cambi and Fentress have

found that the placement of villages within the territory of the *Ager Cosanus* / Albegna

Valley, is usually more than 5 km from the major centers in the region.[14] This locational

preference is probably due to distance return considerations, which suggest that rural

workers can profitably work fields up to five kilometers from their homes. In Northern

Etruria, the distance was sometimes smaller, with sites in the region around Chiusi, Pisa,

and Fiesole, controlling cachements as small as two kilometers in radius.   Also important is

the role played by roads. Throughout the area of the *Ager Cosanus* / Albegna Valley Survey,

the major sites of the region were without exception located within five kilometers of a

major road.[15] When the territory of Vulci was reorganized in the Roman period, the colonies

were farther spaced than the Etruscan minor centers, and as a result, a new series of villages

and *stationes* occupied the gaps created in the Roman landscape in the Val d'Elsa and on the

costal strip.[16] Close location to a major center appears to have mattered more in the Roman

period than the Etruscan since the economy was more integrated with even goods used in

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[13]Perkins 1991, 57-58.

[14]Cambi and Fentress 1988, 175-176. The greatest abundance of villages are found on the coastal plain in exactly
the area where there was a gap in the landscape between Vulci and the minor centers of the region. They may
have acted as an alternative market structure in the absence of a minor center.

[15]Cambi and Fentress 1988, 176-177.

[16]Perkins 1991, 59.

daily life acquired in urban settings.[17] This was a direct result of the increasing degree of

specialization of the Roman economy when compared with the preceding Etruscan period.

The Social Dimensions of Residential Dynamics

As early as there is evidence for a significant population in Etruria, the landscape of

the region was characterized by a multiplicity of medium-sized settlements. Even after the

contraction in settlement that occurred as a corollary to the urbanization of Etruria, a

number of these communities continued to exist at the edges of urban territories. In the case

of Northern Inland Etruria, this contraction in the number of secondary settlements was less

pronounced, or even absent. From the beginning, these sites served as alternative loci of

power in the rural landscape. These communities began their life, some as early as the Final

Bronze Age, as centers dominated by a small group of elites residing in tandem with a

network of dependents. Beginning in the Iron Age, burials from the surroundings of

secondary centers show the presence of elites, marked out by the deposition of weapons in

burials. An elite presence in secondary centers continues to be the dominant trend within

the landscape down through the end of the Archaic Period throughout all of Etruria. With

the Orientalizing Period, a number of elite families began to construct monumental *tumuli*

and other conspicuous forms of burial to mark out their possession over significant portions

of the productive landscape. The construction of these types of monuments, such obvious

and concrete displays of the ability of the occupants to command labor and materials, is a

direct reflection of the power of the rural aristocracy.[18] In some communities, such as Veii,

secondary settlements did not accompany these rural burials. In the majority of cases,

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[17]Perkins 1991, 61.

[18]DeMarrais et al. 1996; Earle 1997.

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however, a significant portion of the Orientalizing elite chose to reside in secondary centers that had a closer connection to the portion of the landscape under their control.[19] This trend would largely continue into the Archaic Period.

Near the end of the 6th century B.C., the first symptoms of a major trend toward urban concentration of power were emerging. A new regime of conspicuous display on the part of urban aristocrats accompanied this power shift. Those elites who were resident in the major urban communities of the region, most of whose wealth had been disposed of up to this point in the construction of major monumental *tumuli* marking out parcels of ownership over the *suburbium*, began to channel their means into a new set of projects. In a number of cities, the last decades of the 6th century and the first ones of the 5th century B.C. witnessed the construction of the first major civic monuments such as temples and public open spaces.[20] Along with the explosion in building, urban communities were beginning to play a more important role in the organization and direction of the whole of the territory of the city-state. Where urban centers had formerly functioned as sacred central places where elites could acquire status-reaffirming goods or settle disputes, they now were functioning as the arena in which elites debated the major policies of state governance. The ability to activate one's own kinship and dependent networks was no longer enough, and as a result, there was a major shift in residential patterns throughout Etruria, primarily during the 5th century B.C. In response to the need to be present in the urban center, a number of rural-

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[19]As noted above, the presence of *tumuli* in the countryside around the city of Veii functioned to mark out rural territories in a system similar to that seen in the situation documented throughout most of Etruria, where such *tumuli* were accompanied by major settlements. The major cities of Etruria appear, rather, to have employed the Veian pattern solely in the regions that were farmed directly from the cities by commuter agriculturalists. In a number of cases the presence of these settlements is posited on the better documented evidence for the *tumuli*. In these cases, where there is not clear evidence for elite rural residence, we must be careful not to assume that these structures were linked with nearby habitations unless there is convincing documentation for geopedological processes that may have effaced the presence of the settlements.

[20]Many of the Northern Inland cities, such as Arezzo, Cortona, Perugia, and Fiesole only became truly urban in this period, likely as a result of the same processes which may have constituted an Etruria-wide trend.

residing elites made the decision to abandon secondary centers in favor of urban residences. During the 5th century B.C., there was an almost universal increase in the population of the urban centers of the region. In a number of the major cities of Etruria, scholars have commented on the new aristocratic set that arose at the end of the 5th century B.C. in evidence on burial inscriptions of the Hellenistic Period. That a new class of individuals rose to prominence in the wake of a significant shift in residence rules should not be surprising, however, since the 5th century B.C. represents the first time that many elite families plugged into the culture of competitive display that marked the urban centers. This increase in population was not only a result of elite relocations. At the same time, many landscapes in Etruria saw significant upheavals in the pattern of rural settlement as a high percentage of the secondary centers of the region were abandoned. Presumably, many of the dependents of the elite families who began residing in the cities had followed their patrons. Such a crowd of dependents would have been extremely useful in the competitive political environment of the 5th and 4th century B.C. cities.

The retraction of rural settlement was not a uniform trend across the Etruscan landscape. In several regions, the reorganization of the countryside came only with the 4th century B.C., and in others, no major reorganization would take place before the Roman period. Particularly stable landscapes can be found Fiesole and Chiusi. This remaining rural population was no longer organized in the type of elite-run secondary centers as documented for the Archaic Period. The majority of the upper classes had departed for the city. Land was either vacated and left to less labor intense regimes of production, such as pasturage, or the masses that did not accompany their elite patrons into the cities continued to farm it. Beginning in the 4th century B.C. and in many places continuing down to the end of the 2nd century B.C., the development of a landscape of dispersed farmsteads occupied

mostly by the lower classes complemented this elite departure. Such an expansion was a direct result of a weakening of the gravitational pull of the village communities that the elite classes formerly inhabited. When the opportunity to reside in close proximity to both a patron and to one's lands disappeared, many individuals chose to move out of the secondary centers of Etruria and to occupy small farmsteads located on the land they cultivated. The growth of the dispersed pattern of farmsteads did not prevent the growth of secondary centers throughout the Hellenistic Period, especially in the form of well-defended *castella*. Inscriptional evidence from Fiesole and Perugia shows that some of those residing in fortified outposts within the territory of the major city-states were members of the same families of the urban elites. The material wealth of these *castella*, in many cases nearly equal to that found in the urban centers, attests the prominence of the elite residents of these communities. Such lesser elites, and the centers in which they resided, formed an alternative place for farmers to obtain goods and services not available at the level of the household. Many of the new Hellenistic *castella* acted as major centers of production. These new secondary centers also provided nearby places of refuge for the lower classes that were now scattered across the landscape in exceedingly vulnerable isolated farms. In addition, the extensive ties fostered between the lesser elites living in rural secondary nucleated centers and elites in the major urban centers provided the rural lower classes with a route of access to powerful individuals who could look out for their interests in the urban government. By promoting some of the *castella* and minor centers within Etruria to municipal status a number of the lesser branches of the Etruscan elite were also promoted over their urban counterparts who had been dominant over them for centuries.

Within this regime of dispersed settlement, the natural vagaries of the environment and the effects of innate agricultural ability on the part of farmers led to the creation of a

number of larger farmsteads. In some cases, these farmsteads became the centers of small hamlets and agro-towns. Richer ceramic assemblages with more imports than their isolated neighbors characterized the larger farmsteads that served as the nucleus of these communities. These sites are particularly thick in the relatively sparsely populated zone of Central Etruria, but they can be found in other places such as South Etruria, and in the territory of Vulci. These sites, like their fortified counterparts, were often the locus of craft production, serving as an alternative source of procurement in opposition to urban centers. The level of material wealth in such centers, although richer than the surrounding dispersed farmsteads, did not approach the standards found in the *castellum* sites, or in the major urban communities. It does not appear that such communities represented an extension of elite power into the landscape, but rather looks like an alternative to it.

This type of agro-town remained an important feature of the landscape throughout the 1st centuries B.C and A.D. Some of these sites, particularly those closest to the new Roman network of communications received the juridical status of *vici,* and were the site of a newly integrated Roman class of rural low-level elites who participated in the euergetism, religious ceremonies, and economic system that accompanied Roman civic life in the Republican Period. The majority of these structures, however, continued to exist at the edges of the new intensified regimes of Roman production that were introduced in most cases in the aftermath of the Social War. In the territory of Vulci, these structures occupy areas that were farthest from the urban centers and the major routes of communication. There is little evidence for elite residence in these latter communities.

When elites did return to the countryside, it was often in the form of the villa. In certain areas, like the territory of Volterra, the elites that occupied the villas were the direct descendents of their Etruscan ancestors, while in other areas villas were the creation of a

newly settled Roman aristocratic class. The traditional division of the rural landscape into "Romanized villa zones" and "native village zones" does not reflect the situation on the ground in Etruria. In the aforementioned territory of Volterra, villages and villas existed hand in hand into the Middle Empire. Even in the territory surveyed in the Albegna Valley / *Ager Cosanus* project, portions of which are perhaps the most significantly disrupted landscape for which we have evidence, an equal number of villages were founded after the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. as were destroyed before this point. In addition, ca. 20% of the villages in the survey area present in the 4th century B.C. remained in use at least down to the end of the Republic, with ca. 10% continuing until at least the 3rd century A.D. This suggests that villas did not take over the roles of the village in the economic and social fabric of the countryside after the Roman conquest, but rather provide an alternative and complementary organizational element. In any case, villas were densest along the coast and adjacent to the Roman road network where they shared pride of place with a newly emerging type of site, the *statio* or road station.

Particularly in South Etruria, *castella* and agro-towns continued to exist, or were founded anew, in areas that were at the edges of the centuriated landscapes of the Roman colonies and in areas traditionally considered marginal for agricultural production.[21] The data from the *Albegna Valley / Ager Cosanus* survey suggests that families descended from the old Etruscan stock often dominated these villages, while the villas were predominantly in the possession of the new Roman settlers. The displaced settlers who were not universally included in the new settlement schemes of the colonies appear to have founded a number of the villages. We must be careful not to overextend this generalization, however. In the territory of Volterra, it is clear that both villas and village communities

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[21]Horden and Purcell 2000, 182-184.

remained dominated by ethnic Etruscans. A general rule appears to exist that where the landscape was significantly altered by the creation of colonies, village communities were forced into marginal zones, while in those areas that saw little Roman reorganization villages were more evenly mixed into the totality of the landscape. This latter situation was the case in the zone around Volterra and also in the territories of Populonia and Vetulonia.

Village communities were not just holdovers from an earlier pattern, or refuge settlements constructed in marginal zones by displaced natives. A number of new foundations sprung up during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. along the Roman roads of Etruria, particularly at major junctions in the system. These settlements are unfortunately some of the most neglected in the Etruscan landscape, and as a result, we do not know whether the elite classes or individuals further down the social hierarchy occupied these sites.[22] These settlements often functioned as marketplaces for the sale of agricultural goods and as waypoints for the provision of travelers. A number of these settlements are associated with the remains of villas, many of which contained extensive luxury quarters including bathhouses. Sanctuaries were also often a significant component in the arrangement of these communities.

Controlling the Etruscan and Roman Countryside

The countryside of Etruria underwent significant changes in terms of its organization from the Orientalizing Period down to the end of the Early Imperial Period. Along with these major shifts in residential trends, with elites at first occupying the countryside directly and then at a distance from urban centers, came major reorganizations of the social relationships that determined the ways in which the countryside was

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[22]A first attempt at the survey of one of the sites can be found in Potter (1999).

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controlled. In addition, the period was also witness to the weakening of a nearly exclusive

village-dominated structure, in which a landscape that was marked by a mixture of isolated

rural farmsteads and village communities became the rule. The reasons for this partial

transition to a landscape characterized by dispersed holdings can also be sought in the

transformation of social roles and a new balance in power relations between elites and the

dependent classes working the land.

Village communities of the *castellum* and agro-town types dominated the rural

landscape of Etruria during the Orientalizing and Early Archaic Periods. These villages

were often located in close proximity with substantial elite necropoleis that served as

repositories of the wealth of a now increasingly dominant elite class.[23] In many cases, major

tumuli stood as symbolic markers of the control of this class over the wider landscape.[24] A

number of these *tumuli* contained images of the deceased or of ancestors, such as at Ceri,

Casale Marittima, and in the territories of Vulci and Chiusi suggesting a powerful familial

connection to these tombs.[25] At the same time, even after these tombs ceased being active

loci of burial, many continued to be the site of rituals associated with departed ancestors.[26]

Many of these village communities had grown well beyond the bounds of a simple kinship

group by the end of the Orientalizing Period and it is possible to make some hypotheses on

how such settlements were organized.[27] Although these communities were clearly by the

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[23]Naso 2000, 123-126. Cf. Torelli (1984, 49-52) for this phenomenon in general beginning in the 8th century B.C. It is clear that the development of princely burials throughout the Orientalizing and Early Archaic Periods was not a phenomenon restricted merely to urban communities, but also was a feature of a number of secondary centers.

[24]Zifferero 1995; Menichetti 2000, 214-215. These structures were a tangible display of an elite family's control over the labor force and building material of the surrounding region and as a result was a tacit demonstration of the dominance of the burying family over the population and the landscape. Cf. Earle 1997.

[25]Naso 2000, 124-126; Menichetti 2000, 206-207.

[26]Menichetti 2000, 214.

elites comprising the burial populations of the necropoleis, there also existed a significant

dependent population, called *lautni* in Etruscan. The presence of a *gentilicial* element in the

Etruscan naming system suggests that this organizational principle was of a high degree of

importance in Etruscan society.[28] Before expanding on the function of these units, it is

necessary to spend a moment defining the structure under consideration. In employing the

term *gens*, I do not imply the existence of a familial relationship between all of the residents

of a given community, or even a majority of them, but rather suggest that powerful families

whose control included their immediate relatives, but also extended over unrelated

companions and dependents, dominated these communities.[29]

It appears that a relatively limited number of elite clans or *gentes* controlled

Orientalizing and Archaic Period village communities.[30] The leaders of these clans took on

primary roles in military and religious spheres of society.[31] These individuals also carefully

dominated rights over the productive and residential landscape based on extended kinship

relationships and networks of patronage.[32] Each *gens* or gentilicial leader commanded a

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[27]Torelli 1984, 76.

[28]Pallottino 1975, 134-136; Torelli 1984, 71-76. Cp. Smith (2006) for the most recent treatment of the *gens* in Roman society. The information for the Etruscans is far more fragmentary and is based almost solely on archaeology. Nevertheless, the record as seen in rural Etruria avoids a number of the major pitfalls into which Smith suggests that many of the reconstructions of the practice at Rome in later periods has fallen.

[29]Smith 2006, 157-160. The author notes the lack of longevity of these burial groups, restricted usually to about three generations in cases where we have sufficient evidence for determination. This represents a fundamental misunderstanding of the function of the monumental *tumuli* and chamber tombs constructed by these families. Even after the tombs had ceased to function as the burial place for elite families these structures remained important symbols of the family's domination of the region in which they were built. Continuity of power is not co-terminal with continuity of burial.

[30]Torelli (1984, 47-48) sees the domination of village communities by the heads of Etruscan clans as a continuation of structures embedded in the society of the Iron Age, when the village was the ultimate unit of socio-political organization.

[31]Menichetti 2000, 207-221; Torelli 1984, 47.

[32]Naso 2000, 111.

small brigade of men who served as their personal raiding band.[33] The iconography of war figures heavily in themes included on burial monuments and grave goods from the Orientalizing Period on, particularly in the form of parade weapons.[34] Because of their control over both the safest and most productive portions of the landscape via these warrior bands, Orientalizing and Archaic Period elites were able to force the remainder of the population into a situation of dependency for protection and access to the land. A symptom of this dependency was the ability of elites to siphon off an agricultural surplus from the land farmed by the lower classes in exchange for protection.[35] For many elites, the location of the major village communities of the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods along trade routes facilitated control over access to symbols of status from the larger Mediterranean world such as parade weaponry, imported vases, and oenological paraphernalia with which to reward loyal members of the social system.[36] This was particularly effective in the area of Southern and Coastal Etruria whose contacts with the Tyrrhenian were more active in this early Period, but a similar strategy appears to have become the case in the later period for Northern Interior Etruria as well.[37] The lack of security of the landscape of Orientalizing and Archaic Period Etruria allowed the elite classes who controlled the labor and weaponry

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[33]Drummond 1989, 99-100; Torelli 1984, 56-58; Cp. ILS 212 an inscription from Satricum set up by the companions of P. Valerius. A similar reconstruction is highly plausible for the events documented in the Francois tomb at Vulci. Cf. Cornell (1995, 135-141) for an interpretation. A cache of helmets with the Etruscan *gentilicium haspnas* at Vetulonia may represent a similar phenomenon. Cp. Massa-Pairault 2000, 262; Haynes 2000, 265.

[34]Menichetti 2000, 214.

[35]Torelli 1984, 53.

[36]Naso 2000, 111-123. Cp. Torelli (1984, 52-53) for the new types of wealth included in the burials of the period. Earle 1997; Hickerson 1996.

[37]Torelli 1984, 48.

necessary for fighting to build a monopoly on the military means of protection (and destruction).[38]

This military domination was further strengthened due to elite access to surplus and direct control over the land as part of an economic monopoly on the distribution of rights of usufruct.[39] Such a surplus, exacted from a dependent population, allowed elites to sponsor local craft specialists trained in metallurgy and ceramics to produce items for local consumption, thus reinforcing the cycle of control and reward seen to result over the control of trade networks.[40] The lack of small, isolated farmsteads throughout this period is likely a function of the heightened insecurity caused by the rivalries between elite groups in various village communities, which resulted in a degree of raiding. In addition, the *gens* dominated the agricultural economy, as each powerful clan leader assigned parcels of land to his relatives, fighting companions, and dependents.[41] This type of organization, with clan leaders having the right to assign dependents and relatives to groups of fields at their discretion, discouraged investment in crops with high initial labor costs such as vineyards and olive groves.[42] In Northern Etruria, this system of control, along with the structure of a landscape dominated by a wealthy elite class remained in existence down to the period of the Civil War of Marius and Sulla in some instances. The continued prevalence of families such as the Caecinae at Volterra and the Cilnii at Arezzo down into the period of the Late Republic and Early Empire confirm this assertion.

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[38]Earle 1997.

[39]Earle 1997.

[40]Torelli 1984, 55-56.

[41]Torelli 1984, 74. Cp. Capogrossi Colognesi (2000, 185-189) for an example of the process within the Roman State.

[42]Gilman 1981.

These structures of power at the level of the village underwent a significant process of alteration along with the drive toward urban integration seen in the South beginning in the 6th century B.C. and in the 5th century B.C. in Northern and Inland areas. As elites abandoned rural residence in a large proportion of village communities, many of these communities disappeared, while a minority continued in existence with a residential population comprised of lesser branches of elite families and the dependent classes. Likely, this retraction of elite rural residence was a function of the increasing desire for elites to engage in large-scale political events and military campaigns that exceeded the resources of an individual leader, his relatives, and dependents. The significant retraction of population from village communities was related to the need of aristocrats to use these same groups as support in the oligarchic political systems of Archaic and Classical Period Etruria. The same period saw a shift in expenditure away from elaborate burial displays and toward civic infrastructure such as the elaboration of religious complexes or the construction of city walls, markers of a new interest in engaging in the public sphere at the level of the city-state. In this new dynamic, with urban matters taking on a heightened importance relative to traditional networks of power in the countryside, two areas are in need of exploration. First, where did village communities persist, and second how was the remaining section of territory organized?

The first of these questions is rather easier to answer than the second. In Southern Etruria, village communities survived at the very fringes of the territories of the newly invigorated city-states. A number of communities actually flourished in the environment of the 5th century B.C. due to the urban centralization of Southern Etruria that led to less pressure on boundary areas. The sites that did continue to exist grew in complexity during this period and a number of the sites were able to assert their own importance in the

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maintenance of security over the borders of the territories of the larger city-states. Tuscania, Saturnia, and Sovana stand as excellent examples of this process. These minor centers were able to exploit their relatively strong position with regard to the larger cities of the coast and expand under the conditions imposed by urban concentration. Burials began to grow more expansive from the Late Archaic Period in these sites, and a cluster of elite families began to dominate the politics of these centers in a cooperative fashion.

The remainder of the landscape of South and Coastal Etruria, now largely devoid of secondary centers, was not completely abandoned. The end of the Archaic Period had seen a significant increase in the number of isolated farmsteads at the same time that the rural population was abandoning sites higher in the settlement hierarchy. This dispersed settlement pattern, a drastic change from the nucleated pattern that had come before, indicates a significant change in the way that rural land was possessed and farmed. In the previous era, villages had served as residential hubs for commuter farmers engaged in production across the landscape. The beginnings of dispersed settlement can be tied to a change in property rights that occurred at the end of the Archaic Period. When the majority of elites relocated into the major urban centers of the region their direct control over distant portions of the landscape faced serious difficulties due to their inability to supervise the economic practices of their dependents directly. At the same, the retreat of elites into the city, where their military might was channeled into the foreign policy of the city-state rather than directed at the neighboring villages, made the countryside a more stable place. It appears that these two conditions were the necessary precursors of the development of private agricultural smallholding. The creation of the *heredium*, a piece of property that

could be passed to heirs documented a similar process of the privatization of land ownership within the Roman state.[43]

The introduction of private property led to the large-scale introduction of grape and olive cultivation, as it was now worth the effort and investment to plant these crops, since there was assurance of continuity in landholding rather than the previous system, where farmers were at the mercy of patrons and kinsmen for an annual allotment of land.[44] This continuity also led to investment in domestic infrastructure, as a landowner could be assured that he would be able to inhabit any farmstead that he built on his property. This is not to say that the residents of these new dispersed farmsteads were not still heavily dependent on the upper classes for access to markets for surplus agricultural goods, supply of both luxury and utilitarian craft products, and access to participation in civic and religious rituals.

It is telling that dispersed farmsteads are far rarer in Inland Northern Etruria, where the drive toward an urban concentration of the elite classes was both later and less complete. As we have already noted, a much higher proportion of the village communities in the territories of Chiusi and Fiesole continued to be used down to the time of the Roman conquest. In these regions, where the possession of parcels of land remained unstable, grain rather than the delayed-return crops of olives and grapes, continued to be the major item of export down into the Imperial Period. The historical sources reveal a relatively conservative social structure in exactly these portions of Etruria, where a small number of families continued to dominate a large class of dependents tied to the land down to the time of the

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[43]Capogrossi Colognesi 2000, 232.

[44]This is not to suggest that these crops were introduced during the Late Archaic Period, but rather that their cultivation saw a quantitative quantum leap during this period in conjunction with the transition to more stable forms of land tenure.

Civil Wars between Marius and Sulla. These same classes figured prominently in the unrest in Arezzo in 302 B.C., in Volsinii in 265-264 B.C., and probably in the discontent behind the slave revolt of 196 B.C.

Throughout the Hellenistic Period, the village landscape remained vital to the organization of production. After the retraction of village settlement seen in the 5th century B.C., a number of new village sites were built throughout the countryside. These sites represented an opportunity for members of lesser branches of elite families to take over supervision of productive regimes and to manage the protection of the state. Inscriptional evidence from Tarquinia demonstrates the importance that elites placed on maintaining connections with prominent families residing in village communities.[45] Often urban aristocrats married daughters to the heads of these families in an attempt to create familial alliances that would ensure a high degree of direct influence over segments of the countryside.[46] Archaeologists have revealed evidence of similar connections between urban and village residing families in the territories of Fiesole and Perugia as well.

As we have already discussed, *castella* and minor centers played a significant role in the conflict between the Etruscan cities and Rome. They functioned as defensive outposts and places of refuge. A great many of them were destroyed during the period of the conquest or immediately after, especially in the confiscated territory. A second major group of these sites was destroyed as part of the process of pushing through the major Roman roads of Etruria. Conversely, these two traumatic events created a wealth of opportunities for the origin of new village communities. Once the Roman roads were pushed through Etruria, a number of new communities were founded along them in order to take advantage

[45]Chiesa 2005, 387-399.

[46]Chiesa 2005, 387-399.

of the new economic opportunities provided by the improved communications network. The territory of Veii, and the coastal region confiscated from the cities of Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci saw the bulk of the creation of these sites. At the same time, even in areas where village communities had been destroyed, new ones were founded at the margins of the territories of new communities. These communities provided refuge for natives fleeing from the new Roman organization of the landscape, but they were also vital to the new economy.

Combating Agricultural Instability: Storage, Diversification, and Patronage

Even once the middling and lower classes began to own property independent of the lands controlled by the powerful elite families of Etruria, the nature of Mediterranean agriculture conspired to maintain strict ties of dependency between the two groups. This is not to say that weather patterns are strictly deterministic of the social organization of Mediterranean societies, but rather that they constitute one of many factors operating at the level of the *longue durée* to direct human action along a series of possible courses. Weather patterns, and especially rainfall rates, are notoriously disparate even at a relatively local level.[47] Even opposing sides of a mountain ridge or river valley can receive significantly different amounts of moisture throughout the course of an agricultural season.[48] These underlying weather patterns create instability for farmers of single plots of land, whose crops have a significant chance of failure in any given year.[49] Agriculturalists within Mediterranean societies have developed a number of strategies for coping with this

[47]Halstead 1989, 71-73; Horden and Purcell 2000, 59; Garnsey 1989, 8-10.

[48]Horden and Purcell 2000, 59.

[49]Garnsey 1988, (10-14) gives rates of crop failure for various portions of the Mediterranean. Cp. also Horden and Purcell (2000, 59).

unpredictability, many of which served to strengthen rather than weaken the bonds between elite and dependent classes after the introduction of private property. One possible method of survival in such a landscape is the ability of a household or community to effectively store surplus in good years against those in which production fails.[50] Such storage could be direct (the preservation of crops within the household or community), indirect (the conversion of surplus agricultural stores into animals such as sheep or cattle that could be slaughtered at a later date), or social (the ability to activate relationships that allow individuals access to the surplus of others in times of need).[51]

Ancient subsistence agriculturalists of the kind that comprised the lower classes within village communities in Etruria must surely have employed all three types of storage, but it is the third type, social storage, that has the greatest implications for understanding local social systems both within secondary centers and across the landscape as a whole.[52] Of the options available, peasant agriculturalists may have sought to activate horizontal relationships before having recourse to vertical ones, as the debts produced in these exchanges did not carry the same weight of dependency.[53] Kinship networks provide an example of such exchanges. A passage from Dio Chrysostom's seventh oration shows the process in operation, albeit at a later date.

> "That daughter," he [sc., the peasant father] said, "was married long ago, and her children are already grown up. Her husband is a rich man living in the village." "So they are able to help you out with anything you lack, are they?" I asked. "We aren't short of anything," his wife answered. "They get game from us, whenever we catch anything, and fruit and vegetables. (They don't have a garden, you see.) Last year

[50]Halstead 1989, 73; Halstead and O'Shea 1982, 93.

[51]Halstead and O'Shea 1982, 93; Halstead 1989, 70.

[52]Cp. Halstead and O'Shea 1982, 93-94; Halstead 1989, 73-75

[53]Halstead 1989, 74-75.

we borrowed some grain, just for seed, but we paid it back to them as soon as the harvest was in."[54]

A second option in terms of activating horizontal relationships was to turn to social equals within the same, or another nearby village community.[55] These exchanges, and the expected future reciprocation that accompanied them, would have allowed the village to act as a social safety net for its residents. The largest dangers to this system are from a food crisis greater in scale than the village is able to handle on its own, and a failure of some individuals to reciprocate when called upon.[56] In the former situation, villagers likely activated the types of extra-local relationships as the one described above. Relationships between village communities must have been cemented because of ties of marriage and social obligation.[57] Vertical relationships of dependency likely grew out of the latter situation, in which a villager or group of villagers were repeatedly in need of aid and unable to reciprocate when called upon. This inability to reciprocate could lead to claims on the labor, political support, property, and even the person of the defaulting party.

These very claims were institutionalized in the Etruscan social system, with a class of dependent serfs (*lautni*) tied to the land under the control of wealthy landowning families.[58] Relationships of vertical dependence extended beyond individual village communities as well.[59] Particularly after the urban consolidation of the 5th century B.C., elites in both urban

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[54]Dio *Oration* 7.68-69 (quoted in Garnsey and Woolf 1989, 156).

[55]Wolf 1966, 78-79; Halstead 1989, 74.

[56]Halstead 1989, 74.

[57]Wolf 1966, 78-79.

[58]Massa-Pairault 2000. This process, coupled with the warrior ethic of Orientalizing period Etruscans, may explain the origins of the powerful elite families that dominated early village and urban communities along with control over much of the rural landscape.

[59]Wolf 1966, 86-88; Halstead and O'Shea 1982, 93-94.

and village communities actively cultivated close relationships in order to facilitate the redistribution of surplus from one area to another.[60] Maintaining these connections allowed elites to intervene on a larger scale because of their ability to call in resources from a greater geographic area, mitigating the effects of local, and in some cases regional, agricultural crises. As Garnsey and Woolf have noted:

> "The survival chances of the poor in antiquity, as in all historical periods, depended to a significant degree on the quality of their relationships with more fortunate members of their own society."[61]

As detailed above, dependent classes in Central Italy did have access to other means of ensuring their survival.[62] None of these was as pervasive and effective as ties to wealthy landholding families. For elites, the benefits of such a system extended beyond the mere survival of the dependent classes. It provided a means of controlling the labor and agricultural surplus of large segments of the population. The social debts accumulated as a result of their ability to intervene created the substantial backing these elites needed to play a dominant role in the politics of the city-state.

A second technique for risk reduction in an unstable agricultural environment like the Mediterranean is spatial diversification. As noted above, the primary determinant of crop failure or success is the highly variable amount and timing of rainfall in a given agricultural cycle. The extremely local nature of moisture patterns in the dissected landscape of Central Italy recommends an agricultural scheme wherein farmers cultivate geographically dispersed plots of land rather than single contiguous units.[63] The poverty of many rural cultivators would have restricted their ability to obtain a multiplicity of plots of

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[60]Chiesa 2005; Capecchi et al. 1992; Bruschetti 2002.

[61]Garnsey and Woolf 1989, 154.

[62]Garnsey and Woolf 1989, 155.

[63]Halstead 1989, 72.

land in different environmental and geographic situations. Documentation from around the Roman colony at Cosa, as well as in other regions of Etruria suggests that many plots of land were too small to provide for the subsistence of a single family.[64] In contrast, landed elite families often had direct control over widely scattered fields, at both a local and regional level. This spatial diversity ensured the success of at least a portion of the crops that large landowners cultivated, and ensured the stability of their agricultural resources from year-to-year. Control over widely scattered fields also allowed elites to engage in direct economic exchanges with the dependent classes. Those farming at or near the subsistence level could solidify their food supply with access to new fields obtained on the basis of tenancy or sharecropping arrangements.[65] These arrangements of tenancy quickly became institutionalized as relationships of patronage.[66] In this exchange, elite families alleviated the chronic shortage of labor documented for the Central Italian countryside, and acquired additional foodstuffs as rents. Relationships of tenancy based on sharecropping were also beneficial to the dependent classes because they often provided them with access to the often-expensive means of agricultural production, such as teams for plowing.[67] They allowed subsistence farmers the opportunity to dispose of excessive labor or recruit additional labor as the dictates of the family structure demanded.[68] The system was also highly advantageous for landowners as the peasant population was driven by necessity to

[64]Rathbone 1981; Foxhall (1990, 102) suggests that this is the ideal situation for a landscape geared toward tenancy or share-cropping arrangements.

[65]Foxhall 1990, 112.

[66]Garnsey 1988, 141; Foxhall 1990, 111.

[67]Foxhall 1990, 111-112.

[68]Wolf 1966, 65-66; Foxhall 1990, 104-106.

produce a sufficient quantity of produce for survival plus the rents and the amount needed

for seed and a replacement fund for goods needed within the household.[69]

Villas, Villages, Slaves, and Tenancy

The political propaganda of the last centuries of the Republic describes the

concentration of the landscape into the hands of a small minority of landowning families.

These sources add that the majority of smallholders were dispossessed, and that the

agricultural system shifted into a slave mode of production.[70] The same sources describe a

landscape populated with luxury villas and chained slave gangs. A number of modern

treatments of the Roman agricultural system have followed this narrative of development.[71]

Such studies make the crucial error of overestimating the gains to be had from economies of

scale in the landscape of Etruria.[72] River valleys, streams, and mountain chains dissected far

too much of the landscape for landowners to engage in cultivation on an industrial scale.[73]

Major *latifundia* existed only in the most fertile territory of Etruria, and only in areas along

the most major of the routes of communication through the region. The significant majority

of these sites were found within Etruria closest to the city of Rome in the *Ager Capenas* and

the territory of Veii.

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[69]Wolf 1966, 5-6.

[70]Cf. Harris 2007 for a recent account of the role of slave labor in the Roman agricultural economy of the Late Republic.

[71]Cp. the similar modern account of Sereni (1997, 31).

[72]Garnsey 1998, 136.

[73]Potter 1979, 134-135. The areas that saw this kind of industrial exploitation were those that were located closest to Rome or directly on the major transportation routes of the region where the unit cost for the movement of goods was low enough to encourage plantation agriculture.

Evidence from archaeological survey argues instead that the system of integrated tenant agricultural exploitation coupled with old and new forms of patronage continued to exist alongside the villa system.[74] A reanalysis of the ancient sources has even led some scholars to the conclusion that the presence of tenant farmers and smallholders was a necessary corollary for the villa.[75] This is echoed in the fact that Roman policy attempted continually to re-populate the landscape with smallholders at every level of the settlement hierarchy, from colonies, to villages, to dispersed farmsteads.[76] Survey data suggests that rather than automatically suggesting the presence of a slave economy, villas reveal rather a relationship of conspicuous consumption.[77]

Seasonal agricultural labor inputs varied drastically, with periods of high demand coming especially at harvest time.[78] The largest estates were then the ones in most need of a stable population of rural workers who could add to the labor pool at moments when increased inputs were desirable.[79] This suggests that there may have been a majority of free workers even sometimes on major *latifundia*. Even Cato, whose description of good agricultural practice includes the almost exclusive use of slaves (both chained and free), recognized the need for a free workforce of day laborers for the most labor-intensive or agricultural tasks.[80] His maxim about limiting workers to a single day of labor at a time should not be seen as a repudiation of the practice itself, but rather the logical progression of

[74]Van Dommelen 1993, 179-183; Potter 1979, 134-135; Garnsey 1998, 138-139; 109..

[75]Garnsey 1998, 94-96; 144-145; Hopkins 1978b, 9; Potter 1984, 240.

[76]Garnsey 1998, 137.

[77]Millett 1992, 2.

[78]Garnsey 1998, 94-96.

[79]Garnsey 1998, 109.

[80]Cato, *De Agri Cultura* 5.2-6.

Cato's program to maximize profits.[81] If an owner did not hire laborers day after day, they could not form a relationship on which to claim the benefits accrued by patronage. Nevertheless some landowners were content to incorporate native populations, some of which were resident in villages, into their networks of patronage. Wealth in landed was always the standard in both pre-Roman and Roman Etruria and even urban-residing elites made more money from their dependents than from engaging in long distance trade.[82] The vast majority of this wealth was to be found in the transfer of staple goods to those elites who held domain over large segments of the landscape, although rural clients were often noted as paying for legal or political services in kind as well.

Up to this point the development of the village landscape has been presented as very much a product of the interests of rural elites in maintaining stable systems of dependence and land tenure across the divide of the Roman conquest. It remains necessary to examine the response of the dependent populations to the changes brought about by the presence of the new administrative superstructure of the Roman state. Many elites followed a path of self-interest in engaging with the Roman conquerors of Etruria. The generals with whom settlements with Rome were negotiated provided a ready set of patrons that provided access to new Roman political opportunities and looked after the interests of newly incorporated native populations.[83] In many cases, this amounted to the surrender of relatively few of the traditional prerogatives of the Etruscan elite in exchange for an additional level of support for the entrenched social system. This support was not limited to military intervention, however. Given Rome's policy of planting coastal colonies, links with

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[81]Frederiksen (1970-1971, 333-338; 349-354) lays out this type of reading of Cato's text.

[82]Whittaker 1990, 112.

[83]David 1997, 48-52.

Roman patrons provided elites with the luxury goods that acted as symbols of their status and the substance of their rewards to dependents. These connections also led to increasingly wider networks of support for rural populations in times of crisis. Roman patrons, because of the expansion of the Roman state, were able to call on resources from throughout the Empire in times of crisis.

The same self-interest can be used to explain the relative lack of upheaval at the level of the dependent population of Etruria in the centuries surrounding the conquest. Ties of patronage and rights of usufruct were deeply entrenched in the social fabric of the Etruscan city-states. The type of quasi-feudal arrangements that had prevailed down to the time of the Social War, especially in Northern Etruria, did little to inspire dependent classes to innovate. Because of the relative lack of interest of the Roman state in interfering in local affairs, traditional structures remained the only safety net for Etruscan peasants. Within the new arrangements of the Roman state in Etruria the dependent population had vested interest in supporting the traditional elite classes because of their now increased ability to provide patronage services through newly activated relationships with a superstructure of Roman elites.[84] In areas were traditional elites had been displaced due to the creation of colonies, natives did not seek radically different solutions. The quasi-feudal ties of Etruscan serfdom were quickly replaced by the economically binding ties of tenancy after the decimation of the Etruscan elite in the wake of the Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla. Etruscan peasants, now enfranchised members of the Roman community were left to look for a Roman citizen who could fill the economic and social gap created by the absence of a strong Etruscan nobility.

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[84]David 1997, 48-52.

Especially before the Social War, dependent populations were tied into new Roman-dominated economic networks through the overlay of a new set of Roman patrons atop the traditional social structure. Etruscan peasants became Roman smallholders not due to any concerted plan of Romanization enacted by the Roman state, nor were they led into a new degree of *Romanitas* in emulation of their Etruscan superiors, many of whom had found a degree of social utility in participating in the new Roman system. Instead, they became Roman because access to the goods and services provided by traditional patrons was controlled in meaningful ways by the Roman state. Some of this domination of the staple and luxury goods economy was intentional, such as the creation of Roman coastal colonies that served to put access to overseas imports into the hands of Roman citizens. But a less intentional if more pervasive trend was occurring alongside the process in which Etruscan peasants and elites were becoming Roman. As the empire expanded throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., a flow of new influences and goods and styles became available to the residents of Italy. The adoption of these new styles had little to do with an attempt to become Roman, it was more about engaging in a new world of opportunity where it was possible for an Italian peasant to acquire goods from throughout the political agglomeration of the Roman empire. As always, access to these imported goods was predicated on their participation in markets in cities or villages, or as a direct response to the opportunities provided by Roman patrons. The evaluation of new styles by members of the native Etruscan community resulted in the particularly Etruscan version of the Roman culture manifested in the Augustan period. As Julian Steward has suggested:

> "When tribal acculturation under the influence of a modern nation is being
> examined, it is wholly inappropriate to view the process simply as the replacement
> of tribal behavior (the tribal pattern) by a national core of traits of individual
> behavior (the so-called national pattern). No individuals or groups of individuals
> carry an entire national pattern. They participate only in very specific portions of the

entire culture. They are members of a subculture which has a special relation to the national whole. The "assimilation" of any ethnic minority, therefore, means first that certain traits have been adopted from the subcultural group with which the minority had contact and second that certain aspects of the national culture have affected the minority culture to the extend of integrating it as a new subculture, that is, a specialized dependent part of the whole. The process of assimilation is by no means a simple replacement of native features by an entire national pattern. Just what traits are adopted to constitute the new subculture and how this is integrated into the larger sociocultural whole differ in individual cases.[85]

Integration and Stability in an Era of Increasing Social Complexity

Continuity in the village way of life in which many Etruscans participated, if not in individual village settlements, should not surprise us. The technique of employing local social structures as a tool to manage their empire is not a peculiarity restricted merely to the Romans. Such an arrangement is employed commonly as a technique in integrating more and more complex social units within a growing society.[86] As population increases within a social structure, adaptations must be made in order to prevent the community from fissioning.[87] Population size is often a predictor of the types of social arrangements present in any given community.[88] Yet, a different pattern prevails in the situation where an already complex society was incorporated into another political unit. In this case a new layer of organization is often overlaid on the pre-existing political structure. In such a situation native societies are taken on wholesale.[89] If we accept this maxim as a general rule, the Roman attitude to native village communities makes a great deal of historical sense. Villages were eliminated from the landscape only where they presented a direct danger to

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[85]Steward 1972, 46-47.

[86]Steward 1972, 50-51.

[87]Carniero 1967, 239-240.

[88]Carniero 1967.

[89]Carniero 1967, 238.

new Roman communities or the road network. Where they did not conflict with the limited Roman interest in altering the landscape of Etruria, they were retained. Even where they did impinge on Roman plans for the region, they were not eliminated from the landscape, but were instead incorporated into the new settlement scheme, often at the borders of newly organized areas where they could function to further exploit marginal territories at a significant distance from the primate urban communities. The structure of Etruscan serfs, living in village communities tied to elite families by vertical relationships of patronage, remained an important feature of the social landscape into the Roman period. Old regimes of land tenure were replaced with villa agriculture and the rise of isolated farmsteads. Even in this new landscape, villages continued to be associated with elite families. Now, instead of living with them in the major villages of the region, these communities began to be increasingly associated with villas and served to provide the bulk of the agricultural workforce. Other villagers, who were useful to the Romans in their political objectives and saw the utility of incorporation, saw their settlements promoted to colonial or municipal status.

Throughout nearly eight centuries of change from the Orientalizing landscape down to the end of the 1st century A. D., villages remained a vital part of the settlement hierarchy of Etruria. Few villagers shared an identical experience of state formation of the major Etruscan city-states, or incorporation into the Roman Empire. As detailed in the outset of this work, some villagers continued to live in the same communities as their ancestors five hundred years before the conquest. Others lived in newly founded villages at the edges of confiscated or reorganized territory. A final group made a full transition into Roman world of the cities. Yet, even these former villages were dependent on a network of their own secondary centers. Although village communities were a vital part of the Roman system, it

was the particular geographic and historical circumstances of the conquest and its aftermath that dictated which of the trajectories discussed above a village would follow.

Despite the considerable headway that can be made in penetrating the social and economic structures of the landscape of the village in the long- and medium-terms, it has still not been possible to reach the level of individual choice. This frustrating conundrum is largely the result of a lack of excavated sites of the village category. In order to further drive our understanding of village communities to take into account the agency of common individuals it will be necessary to excavated village sites at the level where individual households and neighborhoods can be seen. Only with this type of detailed study will it be possible to progress toward a level of detail that can help to move beyond the patterns ascribed at the level of social and economic classes contained within this dissertation.

APPENDIX: VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN ETRURIA

Village Name	Modern Location	Survey	Source	Period	Bibliography	Site Type	Size (ha)	City
Abbadia a Monastero	114.III.SW	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.SW 20; Torelli 114.238	6th-5th BC/ 3rd-1st AD	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 35; Tracchi 1971, 171-172; Valenti 1995, 300-301.	Agro-Town		Chiusi / Volterra ; Saena Romana
Ad Nonum	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR1	2nd BC		Minor Center / Road Station	12	Vulci
Ad Nonum	Ponte di Nona	South Etruria	Potter	3rd BC-5th AD	Potter 1979; PBSR (1961) 29:119ff.	Road Station / Sanctuary		
Ad Rubras		South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979	Road Station		
Ad Turres	Statua near Palidoro	Barrington	BA42	1st-Med	De Rossi 1968, 27-34; Enei 1991; 2001.	Road Station		Caere
Ad V	Tomba di Nerone	South Etruria	Potter	R	Potter 1979	Road Station		Veii
Ad Vicesimum	Madonna della Guardia	South Etruria	Capena (1)928688; BA42.	1stBC-5thAD	ItMiller 303; Jones 1962, 167; Fiocchi Nicolai, V. 1982.	Road Station		Veii
Affitti		Fedeli	Fedeli 333		Fedeli 1983, 419.	Agro Town		Populonia
Albiano	Minucciano	ASAT	Torelli 96.27	<R	Torelli 1992; Ambrosi and Formentini 1964, 5; SE 1966, 269, 299.	Castellum		Pisa
Algae		Melis and Serra	Melis and Serra 132	R	Melis and Serra 1968, 93.	Road Station		Tarquinia
Alsium	Palo	Barrington	BA43	ACHR	De Rossi 1968; Npauly; Caruso 1989; Castellano and Conforti 2001; Enei 2001.	Port / Colony		Caere
Ancarano		Perego; Judson-Hemphill	Perego	6th-H	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Schippa 1979, 210-211; Bruschetti 1986, 41-46; Manconi and de Angelis 1987, 17-28; Perego 2000, 19; Pallottino 1937; Brunetti Nardi 1981; Rendeli 1993, 411.	Castellum	4.4	Tarquinia

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Anguillara	Cassia-Clodia	South Etruria	Hemphill (94) 718599	7th BC-Medieval	Hemphill 1975, 128; Caruso, I 1994; Fugazzola Delpino et al. 2002; Hemphill 1970; Luttrell 1980;	Settlement / Villa		Veii
Aquae Apollinares	Bagni di Stigliano	Barrington	BA42	7th BC-4th AD	Del Chiaro 1962; Hodges 1995; Ziffero 1980; Gasperini 1976; Künzl 1992; von Falkenstein-Wirth 1997-1998.	Agro-Town		Caere
Aquae Caeretanae	Pian della Carlotta	Enei		1st BC-3rd AD	Enei 1995, 74-75; Cosentino 1990	Road Station		Caere
Aquae Populoniae	Caffagio	Fedeli	Fedeli			Agro Town		Populonia
Aquae Tauri	La Ficoncella			3nd BC-4th AD	Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 104.	Road Station		Caere
Aquaviva	Acquaviva	South Etruria	Potter, BA42	1st BC-4th AD	Potter 1979; Evrard 1962; Giardina 1971-1972; Baldeli 1995; Minetti 1997; Walker 1999.	Road Station		Veii
Artimino	Carmignano	ASAT	Torelli 106.82	ACH	Torelli 1992; SE 1966, 149; Steingraber 1983, 60; Artimino 1987.	Minor Center / Castellum	8	Fiesole
Axia	Castel d'Asso	Tuscania	Barker and Rasmussen	4th BC-2nd BC	Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 302-303.	Minor Center / Castellum	14	Tarquinia
Baccano		Tracchi	Tracchi 1971.4	4th BC-1st BC	Tracchi 1971, 154.	Road Station		
Baccano / Ad Baccanas	Baccano	South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979; Gazetti 1991; Gazetti 1990; Gazetti 1986; Gazetti et al. 1985; Johnson 2005.	Road Station		Veii
Badia	Monte Pelliccia	South Etruria	Capena (323) 972812	8th BC-	Jones 1963, 105-106; Cambi 2004; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Agro-Town, Villa	4.4	Veii

Balneum Regis	Cività near Bagnoregio	Barrington	BA42	Late 7th BC-R	RE; Schmiedt 1969; Cagiano de Azevedo 1976; Cagiano de Azevedo 1984; Cagiano de Azevedo 1974; Colonna 1978; Quilici 1989; Quilici Gigli 1974.	Castellum	2.2	Volsinii
Bandita Grande		Rendeli	Rendeli	7th BC-	Zifferero 1988, 100 fig. 1; Zifferero 1990.	Castellum	5	Caere
Barano	Bolsena	Tamburini	Tamburini	7th BC-6th BC / 4th BC-3rd BC	Tamburini 1998, 74-75.	Agro-Town?		Volsinii
Bassano								Volsinii
Bellora		Cecina		A	Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.			Volterra
Bengodi	Talamone	Cosa	TAL115	700-400 BC	Perkins 1999, 216; Somella 1967, 11.	Agro-Town	1	Vulci
Bettona		Ceniacoli 2002						Perugia
Bibona		Cecina		A	Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.			Volterra
Blera		Tuscania				Minor Center / Castellum	6.7	Tarquinia
Boietto	Ladispoli	Enei		6th-3rd	Enei 1992, 76.	Agro-Town	0.6	Caere
Bolsena	Bolsena	Tamburini	Tamburini		Tamburini 1998, 93-109.	City	65	Volsinii
Bomarzo	Piammiano	Judson-Hemphill	137.II.NW	Late 6th BC-R	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Baglione 1976; Gasperini 1994, 105-121; Gasperini 2001, 47-53; Gasperoni 2003; Gasperoni 2004, 264-301; Jensen 1976, 204-221; Munzi, 85-92; Orcchilupo 1998, 33-40; Scardozzi 2001, 109-124; Settis 1966, 17-26.	Castellum	3.1	Volsinii

Bora ai Frati		Bruni	Bruni	3rd-	Bruni 1998, 236.	Castallum		Pisa
Borro della Pisciole	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.24	7th-6th BC	Valenti 1995, 301-302.	Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi
Borro di Gagliano	Castellina in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.127-128	3rd-2nd BC / 3rd AD	Valenti 1995, 242-243.	Agro-Town/Villa		Fiesole
Bufalareccia		Perego	Perego	7th-4th BC	Toti 1976, 17; Zifferero 1990, 63 fig.82; Zifferero 1995, 346-347; Ermini Pani 1996, 128 n.25-27.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Calemala	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II 129.1.Rad25	1st BC-5thAD	Cambi 1996, 78; Cambi 1988; Cambi-de Tommaso 1988.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Calosine	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.7-15	Various	Valenti 1995, 293-298.	Floating Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi
Camaiore		Bruni	Bruni	6th-	Bruni 1998, 173.	Port		Pisa
Campassini	Monteriggioni	Siena III	Siena III		Nardini 2001, 137; Bartoloni 2001, 371-372.	Castellum		Volterra / Fiesole
Campi Rutiliani	Pienza	Siena VI	Part of Pienza?	2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 40-41.	Agro-Town / Large Complex / Villa?		Chiusi
Canino		Judson-Hemphill	136.II.NW		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Giroux 2002, 127-135; Massabo 1988-1989, 103-135; Quilici 1991, 13-20; Riccardi 1988-1989, 137-209.		3.4	Vulci
Capalbio	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 100	700-300 BC	Perkins 1999, 195; Carandini and Cambi 2002; Levi 1927.	Kiln / Agro-Town	0.8	Vulci
Capalbio	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 65.1	7th-3rd BC	Perkins 1999, 195.	Castellum	N/A	Vulci
Caprese Michelangelo	Caprese Michelangelo	ASAT	Torelli 115.4	<R	Torelli 1992; CA 115, 48 n.4-5.	Castellum		Arezzo
Caprona		Bruni	Bruni	5th-4th BC	Bruni 1998, 204-205.	Castellum		Pisa
Carbognano		Faliscus		8th BC-	Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins			Veii

Careiae		South Etruria	Potter	1st BC-3rd AD	Potter 1979; PBSR (1955) 23:63-64.	Road Station		Caere/Veii
Casa al Vento	Montepulciano 121.II.NW	Siena VI; Tracchi 1988b	Siena VI 121.II.57.	4th-1st BC/ 1st Adff.	Felici 2004, 40-41, 110-111; Tracchi 1988b, 64; Secchi Taurigi 1960, 461.	Necropolis / Castellum / Villa	0.72	Chiusi
Casa Beccanina	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.103.1	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 218 n. 125	Villa / Agro-Town		Populonia
Casa Brancazzi	Orbetello	ASAT	Torelli 135.55	1st BC	Torelli 1992; Ciampoltrini 1984, 149; Carandini 1985, 107.	Habitation		Vulci
Casa Campo di Chiara	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.107	HR	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 201 n.98.	Necropolis / Agro-Town		Populonia
Casa Campo di Chiara	Scarlino	Scarlino	Scarlino 98	7th BC	Cenci 1985, 201.	Agro-Town	1	Vetulonia
Casa Fonte al Cerro	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.134, 138.	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 184 n.34-36.	Villa / Agro-Town		Populonia
Casa Franciana		Fedeli	Fedeli 331	3rd BC-	Fedeli 1983, 418-419.	Agro Town		Populonia
Casa S. Ferdinando	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.57	2nd-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 223 n.143.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Casa Stella del Vignale	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.55	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 223 n.141.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Casa Vascio	Abbadia San Salvatore	ASAT	Torelli 129.74	R	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Settlement		Chiusi
Casa Voltole	Abbadia San Salvatore	ASAT	Torelli 129.91	<R	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Settlement		Chiusi
Casale Campettuzzi o Campettazzi	Pitigliano	ASAT	Torelli 136.55	R	Torelli 1992; Carandini 1985, 80; Maggiani and Pelegrini 1985, 108.	Pagus		Tarquinia
Casale Grascia	Pitigliano	ASAT	Torelli 136.49	R	Torelli 1992; Carandini 1985, 80; Maggiani and Pelegrini 1985, 108.	Pagus		Tarquinia
Casale Grotte		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; de Rossi 1968, 121-155.	Minor Center / Castellum	6	

Casale Marittimo	Casale Marittimo	ASAT, Cecina	Torelli 119.11	7th-1st BC	Torelli 1992; SE 1960, 441; SE 1961, 249; SE 1963, 171.	Fattoria and Agro-Town		Volterra
Casale Vascio	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II 129.1.Rad27	1st AD-Medioevo	Cambi 1996, 79	Agro-Town (Small)		Chiusi
Casale Voltolino	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II 129.1.Rad21.1	Roman	Cambi 1996, 74.	Agro-Town (Small)		Chiusi
Casalfrate	Castelnuovo Berardenga	ASAT	Torelli 114.230	4th-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 35.	Settlement		Arezzo/ Chiusi/ Fiesole/ Cortona
Casalvento	Castellina in Chianti	ASAT	Torelli 113.90	3rd-1st	Torelli 1992;	Castellum		Volterra / Arezzo
Cascia	114.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	114.IV.NW 193	4th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 112.	Road Station?		
Casiglia		Cecina		A	Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.			Volterra
Castallaccia di Massarosa		Bruni	Bruni	3rd-	Bruni 1998, 236.	Castellum		Pisa
Castel Campanile		Enei			Zifferrero 2001, 264.	Castellum		Caere
Castel Dannato		Rendeli	Rendeli	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, ??; Mengarelli 1938, 223; Mengarelli 1941, 347; Nardi 1989, 520 n.23.	Agro-Town		Caere
Castel Giuliano		Judson-Hemphill	143.III.SE		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Castellum	4.4	Caere
Castellaraccio, Monte Pisone	San Romano in Garfagnana	ASAT	Torelli 96.40	3rd-1st BC	Torelli 1992	Castellum		Pisa
Castellare	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321010.47	2nd BC-1st BC	Botarelli 2004, 87.	Agro-Town	1.17	Chiusi

Castellina del Maragone		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Bastinelli 1936, 450-475; Bastianelli 1981, 3-103; Gran-Aymeric 2005, 657-664; Lesky and Janie 2003, 605-609; Prayton and Fontaine 2005, 665-675; Wehgartner 2004, 77-84; Wehgartner 2006, 47-54.	Castellum	3.6	Caere
Castellina in Chianti	Castellina in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.139	6th-1st BC	Valenti 1995, 245; Cianferoni 1991, 31; Mangani 1985, 51.	Agro-Town		Fiesole/ Arezzo/ Volterra
Castello	Bolsena	Tamburini	Tamburini	7th BC-6th BC / 2nd BC-??	Tamburini 1998, 75-76.	Agro-Town?		Volsinii
Castello di Paurano	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III		Valenti 1999, 307.	Castellum		Volterra
Castellonchio				VR		River Port		Volsinii
Castelluccio di Pienza		Bianchi Bandinelli 1925		6th-1st BC at least	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 389-392.	Castellum / Necropolis		Chiusi
Castiglion Fiorentino	Castiglion Fiorentino 114.II.SE		Cherici 1992, n. 52	Archaic-?	Cherici 1992, 25, 73.	Castellum		Arezzo
Castiglioncello		Bruni	Bruni	3rd-	Bruni 1998, 233.	Port		Pisa
Castiglione del Lago	Castiglione del Lago	Barrington	BA42	ACH	Colonna 1976; Pagnotta 1984.	Castellum		Chiusi
Castro		Judson-Hemphill	143.I.SE	O-5th BC	Judson and Hemphill 1981,195-196	Minor Center / Castellum	10	Vulci
Castrum Novum	S. Marinella			264 BC-	Gazzetti and Stanco 1990, 104.	Colony / Port		Caere

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Cavone		Perego	Perego	7th-5th BC	Pallottino 1937, col.97 n.4; Romanelli 1943, 253; Novellone 1970, 5; Brunetti Nardi 1972, 75; Ciattini et al. 1972, 406; Gianinni 1983, 345; Cataldi 1986, 204 n.5; Torelli 1987, 131; Rendeli 1993, 411; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 173-174; Ermini Pani 1996, 126 n.8; Perego 2005, 44-45.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia
Cavriglia	113	Tracchi 1978	113.106	Roman	Tracchi 1978, 71-73.	Road Station / Agro-Town		Fiesole/ Arezzo
Celleno		Judson-Hemphill		Mid 7th-?	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Castellum	1.9	Volsinii
Cencelle		Perego	Perego	7th-5th BC / 2nd BC-1st AD	Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 45-46; Brunetti Nardi 1981, 166; Ermini Pani 1996, 127 n.13-15; Zifferero 1995, 546 fig. 4 n.4; Naso 1999.	Castellum / Agro-Town		Tarquinia
Cenninia		Tracchi 1971	Tracchi 1971.49	Etruscan / Roman?	Tracchi 1971, 169.	Castellum		Arezzo
Ceri				OAC	Brocato 2000, 464-469.	Agro-Town		Caere
Cerrachio		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Quilici Gigli 1976, 93.		2.1	
Cerreta	Gaiole in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.173	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 250-251.	Castellum		Arezzo / Fiesole
Cetamura	Castelnuovo Berardenga 114.III.SW	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.SW.120, Torelli 114.203	6th BC-1st AD	Torelli 1992; Tracchi SE 1966, 287; SE 1967, 257; SE 1968, 110; Tracchi 1978, 36 n.33; Valenti 1995, 329.	Castellum		Firenze/ Arezzo

Cetamura del Chianti	Gaiole in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.NE.182; BA42, Torelli 113.73.	3rd-1st	de Grummond 1999; de Grummond 1985; Pena 1990; Reich 1972; Reich 1973; Reich 1974; Reich 1980; Sowder 1984; Tracchi 1966; Marrinan 1994, Torelli 1992; de Grummond 1984; Valenti 1995, 253; Cianferoni 1994, 7; Mangiani 1986; Majnoni 1981, 110; Tracchi 1978.	Castellum		Fiesole
Cetona	Cetona	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925		Archaic	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 377-378.	Castellum		Chiusi
Chianciano Terme	Chianciano Terme	Barrington	BA42	Late 7th-2nd AD <	Rastrelli 1987; Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 392-404.	Castellum / Necropolis		Chiusi
Chiarentana	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.288	2nd-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 97 n. 146	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Chiarentana	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.291	4th-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 99 n. 153	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Chiarone	Capannori	ASAT	Torelli 105.120	5th/2ndBC-2ndAD	Torelli 1992; Mencacci and Zecchini 1981, 52-172; Ciampoltrini and Zecchini 1987, 53-56.	?Agro-Town, ?Road Station		Pisa
Chiarone	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR 9 and 24	900-200 BC	Perkins 1999, 210; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Minor Center / Castellum	6.24	Vulci
Chiesa di S. Leonardo al Frigido	Massa	ASAT	Torelli 96.105	R	Torelli 1992	Road Station		Pisa
Città della Pieve	Chiusi	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925		Hellenistic-Roman	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 421-428	Castellum		Chiusi
Civita d'Arlena		Barrington	BA42	7th BC-2nd BC?	Colonna 1973, 53-59; Bloch 1972.	Minor Center / Castellum	6.3	Volsinii
Civitalla d'Arna		Ceniacoli 2002		R	Rosi Bonci 2000.	Castellum		Perugia
Coleleccio	114.III.SW	Tracchi 1978	114.III.SW 38	4th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 39.	Agro-Town		Arezzo

Collano, Poggio Coarlotta	Castelfiorentino	ASAT	Torelli 112.13	6th-3rd	Torelli 1992; Mandera 1989, 369.	Settlement		Pisa/ Volterra / Fiesole
Colle dei Cappuccini	Sinalunga	ASAT	Torelli 121.119	6th-5th BC	Torelli 1992; Mazzeschi 1976, 89; Cherici 1987, 166 n.2.	Settlement		Arezzo / Cortona
Colle delle Carbonaie	Castiglione di Garfagnana	ASAT	Torelli 96.51-52.	4th-3rd BC	Torelli 1992; SE 1983, 428; Ciampoltrini and Notini SE 1985, 74.	Agro-Town / Necropolis		Pisa
Corchiano	Santa Maria del Soccorso	South Etruria	Potter, BA42	7th-3rd BC	Colonna 1990; Ambrosini et al. 1996; Ambrosini 1996; Ambrosini 1995; Arnaldi 1986; Cazzaella and Moscoloni 1976; Cozza and Pasqui 1981; Peruzzi 1990; Peruzzi 1964; Quilici Gigli 1993; Quilici Gigli 1991; Quilici Gigli 1989; Quilici Gigli 1989; Cambi 2004.	Agro-Town	2.5	Veii
Cornia	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 121.IV.46	3rd-1st AD	Valenti 1995, 368-369	Floating Agro-Town / Small		Arezzo / Fiesole/ Chiusi
Cosona (il Palazzo)	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena 121.III.336.3-11.	1st BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 199-201.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	0.352+	Chiusi
Cosona (la Pieve)	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena 121.III.335.2-7	1st BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 198-199.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
CP94. 12		Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 262.	Agro-Town	2	Tarquinia
Cretaiole	Pienza	Siena VI	Part of Pienza?	2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 40-41.	Agro-Town / Fattoria		Chiusi
Donoratico		Cecina		A	Terrenato and Saggin 1994, 470.	Castellum		Volterra
Fabbrica	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III 113.3.153	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1999, 225-226, 308.	Settlement		Volterra
Fabbrica	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III 113.3.158	1st BC-1st AD	Valenti 1999, 227-229, 308.	Settlement/Villa		Volterra
Fabrica								Veii
Farnese		Judson-Hemphill	136.I.SW		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.		4	Vulci

Farneta	Montecchio 121.I.NE	CATC	CATC 121.I.SE 4	Etr-Rom	Cherici 1987, 158-159.	Castellum		Cortona
Fattoria d'Alba		Fedeli	Fedeli 294	6th BC-2nd AD	Fedeli 1983, 397-399.	Agro Town		Populonia
Ferentium	Ferento			Late 7th BC-500BC / 3rd BC-5th AD	Mansuelli 1988, 63.	Minor Center / Colony		Volsinii
Figline	114.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	114.IV.NW 115	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 77-78.	Agro-Town		
Fiume Paglia	Abbadia San Salvatore	ASAT	Torelli 129.98-99	R	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Etruscan Agro-Town, Roman Farmstead		Chiusi
Fiume Paglia	Abbadia San Salvatore	ASAT	Torelli 129.101	?	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Etruscan Agro-Town, Roman Farmstead		Rusellae
Foce di Gello	Pescaglia	ASAT	Torelli 104.13	3rd-2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Mencacci 1973, 116; Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 154.	Settlement		Pisa
Fondaccio	Arezzo	ASAT	Torelli 114.224	RH	Torelli 1992; Rittatore SE 1938, 257; CA114.32 n.7.	Necropolis and Road Station		Arezzo
Fondaccio	Montefiascone	Tamburini	Tamburini	Late 6th BC-3rd BC	Tamburini 1998, 88-89.	Castellum		Volsinii
Fontanile dell'Olmo		Perego	Perego	7th BC-1st AD	Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 60-61.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia
Fontanile di Vaccherecchia	Monte Palombo	South Etruria	Capena (49)981638.	8thBC-5thAD+	Jones 1962, 153; Cambi 2004.	Necropolis / Castellum	0.7	Veii
Forum Aurelii	near Montalto di Castro	Barrington	BA42	HRL	De Rossi 134-135	Road Station		Vulci
Forum Cassii	S. Maria di Forcassi	Barrington	BA42	HRL	RE Forum Cassii	Road Station		Tarquinia
Forum Cassii	S. Maria di Forcassi	Barrington	BA42	2nd BC-RL	RE Forum Cassii	Road Station		Volsinii / Tarquinia
Forum Clodii	S. Liberato	Barrington	BA42	2nd BC-3rd AD	RE Forum Clodi 1	Road Station		Caere
Fossa di Stabiatello	Ager Veintanus	South Etruria	Ager Veintanus 55	7th-3rd AD	Ward Perkins 1968, 83.	Large Settlement		Veii
Fosso di Morlupo	Leprignano	South Etruria	Capena (38)977663.	4thBC-5thAD	Jones 1962, 149.	Villa / Settlement ?		Veii
Frascole	Dicomano	ASAT	Torelli 107.25	H	Torelli 1992	Necropolis, Castellum		Fiesole
Fratta	Montecchio 121.I.NE	CATC	CATC 121.I.NE 12	4th BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1987, 147; Fatucchi 1982, 324.	Castellum	>.36	Cortona
Freganae				HR		Colony / Port		Caere

Frosini	Chiusdino	Siena IV	Siena IV 120.4.86, 88.	3rd-2nd BC	Nardini 2001, 97-98.	Agro-Town / Fattoria		Chiusi
Gaggiola di Querciarossa	Castelnuovo Berardenga	ASAT	Torelli 113.145	CH	Torelli 1992	Necropolis w/ Settlement		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi
Gaggiole	Castellina in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.117 (108, 105, 106)	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 238-239	Agro-Town/Villa		Volterra / Fiesole
Gallese								Veii
Gamberaia	Trequanda 106.II.SE	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 121.140?	4th-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 84 n.130Tracchi 1971, 163; Fatucchi 1984, 5.	Castellum		Fiesole
Ghiaccioforte	Scansano	Cosa	FP 61.1; Torelli 135.11	700-300 BC; 200 BC-100 AD	Torelli 1992; NSA 1973, 31; Del Chiaro 1974, 385; Del Chiaro 1976; SE 1980, 564; Carandini 1985, 131; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Minor Center / Castellum	10	Vulci

Graviscae		Perego	Perego	6th BC-4th AD	Perego 2005, 65-67; Avvolta 1829, 95; Pasqui 1885, 519 n.3; Quilici 1968; Torelli 1970; Hanoune 1970; Moscati 1971; Torelli 1971; Torelli et al. 1969-1970; Brunetti Nardi 1972, 80-82; Boitani et al. 1973, 215-216; Torelli 1977; Brunetti Nardi 1981, 168; Shuey 1981; Giannini 1983; Staccioli 1983, 55; Steingraber 1983, 55; Boitani 1986; Bruni 1986, 24-25; Cascianelli 1991, 112; Cataldi 1993, 97-99; Rendeli 1993, 412; Corsi 1994, 21-22; Gentili 1999, 80-83.	Port / Colony		Tarquinia
Grinzano	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 88.6	200 BC-200 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Etruscan Houses	1.44	Vulci
Grinzano	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 88.3	200 BC-200 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Etruscan Houses	2	Vulci
Gromihnana	Coreglia Antelminellli	ASAT	Torelli 97.28	3rd BC	Torelli 1992	Castellum		Pisa
Grotelle		Perego	Perego	7th-6th BC	Avvolta 1829, 95; Pasqui 1885, 522; Pallottino 1937, col.23; De Rossi 1968, 123 fig.277-278; Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 31; Rendeli 1993, 412; Corsi 1994, 18; Perego 2005, 67-68.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia

Grotta Colonna	Monte Palombo	South Etruria	Capena (66)988637	8th-1stBC	Jones 1962, 155; Cambi 2004.	Agro-Town	0.7	Veii
Grotta Porciosa	Borghetto	South Etruria	Potter	8th-3rd BC	Potter 1979; Frederikson and Ward-Perkins 1957, 125; 172-174.	Castellum	2.9	Veii
Grotte di Castro	Grotte di Castro	Barrington	BA42, Tamburini	7th BC-4th BC / 3rd BC-6th AD	Tamburini 1985; Tamburini 1994; Tamburini 1980-1981; Biamonte 1997; Colonna 1974, Tamburini 1998, 68-72.	Minor Center / Castellum	20	Volsinii
Horta	Orte	Judson-Hemphill	137.II.NE	4th BC-R	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Minor Center / Castellum	8	Volsinii
I Bruciati (Molino del Santo		Tracchi 1969	Tracchi 1969.10	7th-5th BC	Tracchi 1969, 152-153.	Castellum		
I Montaroni	Morolo	South Etruria	Capena (165-172) 927735 etc.	4th BC-5th AD	Jones 1962, 173-174.	Floating Agro-Town		Veii
I Monti	Cassia-Clodia	South Etruria	Hemphill (143) 720621	7th-5th BC	Hemphill 1975, 127-128.	Agro-Town		
I Ricciotti	Montecchio 121.I.NE	CATC	CATC 121.I.NE 41	4th BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1987, 152.	Agro-Town?	0.5	Cortona
Il Casale	Val di Chiana	Orvieto-Chiusi	Harris 567513	1st BC-3rd AD	Harris 1965, 131.	Road Station		
Il Castellare	Arezzo 114.II NE		Cherici 1992, n. 22.	Etr?-Roman	Cherici 1992, 41.	Castellum? / Villa		Arezzo
Il Monticello	Castiglion Fiorentino 114.II.SE		Cherici 1992, n. 34	3rd BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1992, 71.	Castellum		Arezzo
Il Mosca	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.II.318	Roman	Felici 2004, 190-191.	Agro-Town	N/A	Chiusi
Il Palazzone	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.II.204.	1st BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 166-167.	Villa / Agro-Town	0.32	Chiusi
Il Poggio	Murlo	Siena V	Siena V 120.II.69-71, 124-126.		Campana 2001, 298-302.	Villa / Agro-Town	1	Central
Il Puntone	Montecchio 121.I.NE	CATC	CATC 121.I.NE 42	4th BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1987, 152.	Agro-Town / Villa?	0.5	Cortona
Il Tiro	Arezzo 114.II NE		Cherici 1992, n. 79.	3rd BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1992, 56.	Castellum		Arezzo
Imposto	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.114.3	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 200 n. 94	Settlement		Vetulonia
Imposto, Podere gli Orti di Scarlino	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.109.4	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 198 n.87.	Settlement		Vetulonia

Ischia di Castro		Judson-Hemphill	136.I.SW		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Castellum	4	Vulci
Isola del Migliarino	Isola del Migliarino	ASAT; Barrington	BA41, Torelli 104.76	ACHRL	Menchelli 1987, Torelli 1992	Kiln, Agro-Town		Pisa
Istine	Radda in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.239	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 290-291	Agro-Town		Arezzo / Fiesole / Volterra
La Befa		Siena V; ASAT	Siena V; Torelli 120.106		Campana 2001, 298-302; Torelli 1992, 309-310; Dobbins 1979, 58-60; Dobbins 1983.	Villa / Agro-Town		Central
La Casella		Tracchi 1971	Tracchi 1971.39	4th BC-1st AD	Tracchi 1971, 167.	Agro-Town		Volsinii / Cortona / Perugia
La Castellina		Maffei		7th-3rd	Gianfrotta 1972, 134-137; Maffei 1990, 164.	Castellum	3.5	Caere
La Castellina	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321100.151	1st BC.	Botarelli 2004, 114.	Agro-Town	0.3	Chiusi
La Ferriera		South Etruria	Potter	8th-5th BC	Potter 1979	Agro-Town		Sutri
La Montagna	Gradoli	Tamburini	Tamburini	Archaic	Tamburini 1998, 90-91.	Agro-Town?		Volsinii
La Piana	Siena	ASAT	Torelli 120.49	3rd-2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Mazzeschi 1976, 17; Cristofani 1979, 202 n.4	Agro-Town		Volterra / Arezzo
La Pietraia	113.I.SE	Tracchi 1978	113.I.SE 16	4th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 27.	Castellum		Arezzo / Cortona
La Poggiarella	Chiusdino	Siena IV	Siena IV 120.3.7-8.	7th-2nd BC	Nardini 2001, 51-53.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
La Selva	114.III.SW	Tracchi 1978	114.III.SW 81	1st BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 59; Tracchi 1971, 170.	Agro-Town		
Lago dell' Accesa	near Massa Marittima	Tuscania	Barker and Rasmussen		Perkins 1999, 223; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 310-311.	Castellum		Populonia / Vetulonia
Lago di Vico	Sutri	South Etruria	Sutri 692872, 692873, 692874.	1stBC-2ndAD	Duncan 1958,101-103.	Villa / Agro-Town		Sutri
L'Argento		Perego	Perego	4th/3rd-1st BC?	Brunetti Nardi 1981, 167; Rendeli 1993, 413; Perego 2005, 79.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia

Laviano		Bianchi Bandinelli 1925		Archaic	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 420.	Castellum / Necropolis		Chiusi
Le Casette	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II 129.1.Rad22.1	1st BC-1st AD	Cambi 1996, 75.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Le Cave	Fucecchio	ASAT	Torelli 105.137	<1stAD	Torelli 1992; Vanni Desideri 1985, 36.	Settlement		Pisa / Fiesole
Le Conie	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321050.35, 40.	7th-6th, 1st-2nd AD	Botarelli 2004, 83.	Agro-Town	0.54	Chiusi
Le Pici	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.88	2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 318-319.	Agro-Town		Fiesole
Le Pici	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.86	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 317.	Castellum		Fiesole
Lestra d'Asti		Perego	Perego	7th-6th BC	Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 115-117; Brunetti Nardi 1981, 167; Corsi and Pocobelli 1993, 22-27 fig. 31; Mandolesi 1993, 245-246; Corsi and Mandolesi 1995, 239; Mandolesi 1999, 178 n. 41.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Lo Smorto	113.II.NE	ASAT, Tracchi	Torelli 113.II.NE 77	R	Torelli 1992; Tracchi SE 1969, 162; Tracchi 1978, 24, n.7.	Settlement		Volterra / Fiesole

Luni sul Mignone		Perego; Judson and Hemphill	Perego	10th-Med	Perego 2001, 17-19; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Ostenberg 1962 313-328; Perego 2005, 83-85; Barbaranelli 1960-1961; Ostenberg 1961; Toti et al. 1961; Magrini 1962; Lukan 1962, 112-113; van Buren 1964; Ostenberg 1967; Ostenberg 1969; Somella Mura 1969, 48; Fugazzola Delpino 1976, 291-292; Fugazzola Delpino and di Gennaro 1986, 28-29; di Gennaro 1995, 17 fig 1C; Zifferero 1995, 544 fig. 2 n.1; Massi and Babbi 1996, 262-264; di Gennaro and Passoni 1998, 127 fig 1A.	Castellum	5.3	Tarquinia
M. Aquila	Monte Cornazzano	South Etruria	Capena (20-21)971714-972714	6th-1stBC	Jones 1962, 134.	Large Settlement		
Macchia del Monte	Massa Marittima	ASAT	Torelli 127.14	6th-1stAD	Torelli 1992	Settlement		Populonia / Vetulonia
Macialla	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.88	6th BC	Valenti 1995, 231.	Agro-Town (Medium)		Arezzo / Fiesole/ Chiusi
Maliana		Melis and Serra	Melis and Serra 148	R	Melis and Serra 1968, 98-99	Road Station		Tarquinia
Maltraverso	Poggibonsi	ASAT	Torelli 113.121	ACHR?	Torelli 1992; Mazzeschi 1976, 89.	Castellum		Volterra / Arezzo
Mariette di Sotto	Civitella in Val di Chiana	ASAT	Torelli 114.131	R	Torelli 1992; Rittatore SE 1938, 260; CA114.35 n.2.	Road Station		Arezzo
Martanum		De Rossi	De Rossi 176	R	De Rossi 1968, 141-143.	Minor Center / Port	30.1	Tarquinia

Massa Vecchia	Massa Marittima	Scarlino	Scarlino 232	1st BC-Med	Cenci 1985, 257-260.	Castellum	1.6	Vetulonia
Massarosa		Bruni	Bruni	6th BC-	Bruni 1998, 256.	Castellum		Pisa
Mencia	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 120.I.18	7th-5th BC/ 3rd-3rd	Valenti 1995, 343-344.	Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi
Mensanello	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III		Valenti 1999, 308.	Castellum		Volterra
Migliarini		Bruni	Bruni	7th BC-	Bruni 1998, 173.	Port		Pisa
Mollerata	Radicondoli				Nardini 2001, 137; Cucini 1990, 173-175.	Castellum		Volterra
Monistero	Castellina in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.133	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 243-244	Agro-Town		Fiesole / Arezzo/ Volterra
Montalto di Castro		Judson-Hemphill	136.III.SE	O-2nd BC	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Agro-Town / Replaced by Forum Aurelii	3.6	Vulci
Montauto	Pienza	Siena VI		2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 40-41.	Villa / Agro-Town		Chiusi
Monte Acuto di Umbertide		Ceniacoli 2002		B-5th BC		Castellum / Sanctuary		Perugia
Monte Alzato	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 297	700-300 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	N/A	Vulci
Monte Becco	Valentano	Tamburini	Tamburini	7th BC-Early 5th BC / 4th BC-2nd BC	Tamburini 1998, 92.	Castellum		Volsinii
Monte Bianco		Bruni	Bruni	5th-4th BC	Bruni 1998, 204-205.	Castellum		Pisa
Monte Carvoli	Rosignano Marittimo	ASAT	Torelli 111.19	<R	Torelli 1992; SE 1969, 274.	Castellum		Volterra
Monte Casale								Volsinii
Monte Casoli	Bomarzo	Baglione	Baglione	Pre-4th BC-Roman Imperial	Baglione 1976	Castellum	4	Volsinii
Monte Castel d'Ernia	Cortona 122.IV.NW	CATC	CATC 122.IV.NW 76	4th BC-1st BC	Cherici 1987, 202.	Castellum		Cortona
Monte Castellare di Asciano		Bruni	Bruni	6th-4th BC	Bruni 1998, 203.	Castellum		Pisa
Monte Castellare di San Giovane alla Vena		Bruni	Bruni	5th-4th BC	Bruni 1998, 204-205.	Castellum		Pisa

Monte Castrese, Lombrici	Camaiore	ASAT	Torelli 104.27	1stBC-2ndAD?	Torelli 1992; Ferri 1912, 389; Banti 1937, 186 n.115; Neppi Modona 1953, 66 nn.50-51; CA104.20 n.14-15	Necropolis / Castellum		Pisa
Monte d'Oro		Bruni	Bruni	5th-4th BC	Bruni 1998, 204-205.	Castellum		Pisa
Monte Furco		South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979			
Monte La Pera	Monte Palombo	South Etruria	Capena (56)955663, (83)956662	6thBC-5thAD	Jones 1962, 154.	Agro-Town		Veii
Monte Lieto	Stazzema	ASAT	Torelli 104.11	3rd-2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Antonucci 1964, 133; Antonucci 1970, 95; SE 1972, 309,359; Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 151; Maggiani 1984, 334.	Settlement		Pisa
Monte Lignano	Castiglion Fiorentino 114.II.SE		Cherici 1992, n.7	Archaic-?	Cherici 1992, 66.	Necropolis / Castellum		Arezzo
Monte Moggino	Greve in Chianti	ASAT	Torelli 113.8	H / R	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1971, 162; Tracchi 1978, 80 n. 121.	Castellum		Volterra / Arezzo
Monte Pelliccia	Via Tiberina	South Etruria	Capena (323) 972812		Jones 1963, 105-106.	Agro Town		Veii
Monte Petrognano				3rd-1st BC	Fatucchi 1992, 267-269.	Necropolis and Agro-Town		Arezzo / Chiusi
Monte Pitti		Fedeli	Fedeli 326	4th BC-2nd BC	Fedeli 1983, 414.	Castellum		Populonia

Monte Rovello		Perego	Perego	7th-3rd BC	Klitsche de la Grange 1885, 1886; Montelius 1895-1910, II.589-590 n.21-27; Colini 1909-1910; Ducati 1925, II.126; Bastianelli 1942, 241; Toti 1959, 16 figs.9-10; Peroni 1960, 362; Peroni 1961, 1.I.3,2 n.1-14; Toti 1964, 1967; Bietti Sestieri 1969, fig.1 n.5; Somella Mura 1969, 11; Brunetti Nardi 1972, 10-11; Biancofiore and Toti 1973; Boitani et al. 1973, 236; Maffei 1973; Vagnetti 1974, 668-669; Fugazzola Delpino 1975; Fugazzola Delpino 1976, 296; Toti 1976; di Gennaro 1979, 272-273; Fugazzola Delpino and Delpino 1979, 289-290 n.52; Brunetti Nardi 1981, 12; Gianinni 1983 394-395; di Gennaro 1986, 74-75; di Gennaro 1988, 72 fig. 9C; Domanico and MIari 1991, 71; Rendeli 1993, 423; De Grossi Mazzorin 1995, 17 fig.1A-B; D'Ercole 1995, 286; Zifferero 1995, 338-339; Zifferero 1995, 544 fig.2 n.8; Ermini Pani and Del	Castellum		Tarquinia

Monte Sagro	Massa	ASAT	Torelli 96.71	H	Torelli 1992	Castellum		Pisa
Monte San Silvestro	Ager Veintanus	South Etruria	Ager Veintanus 525	7th BC-5th AD	Ward Perkins 1968-65.	Agro-Town		Veii
Monte Sant'Angelo		Perego	Perego	7th-5th BC	Bastianelli 1942, 246; Boitani et al. 1973, 236; Zifferero 1990, 63 fig. 82 n. 7; Rendeli 1993, 423; Ermini Pani and Del Lungo 1996, 128 n.29; Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 96.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Monte Sant'Angelo		South Etruria	Potter	7th-5th BC	Potter 1979	Agro-Town		Veii
Monteaperti	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 120.I.22	6th-5 BC/1st BC-1st AD	Valenti 1995, 345-346.	Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Fiesole/ Chiusi
Montebenichi	114.III.SW	Tracchi 1978	114.III.SW 82	4th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 59.	Castellum		Arezzo
Montecalvario	Castellina in Chianti	ASAT	Torelli 113.91	?	Torelli 1992; Nicosia SE 1967, 280; De Marinis 1977, 106; Steingraber 1983, 82.	Castellum?		Volterra / Arezzo
Montecastelli	113.II.SW	Tracchi 1978	113.II.SW 56	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 48.	Castellum w/ Necropolis		Cortona / Perugia
Montedomenichi	Cavriglia 113.I.SE	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 113.I.SE 44	H / R	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 76 n.113; Tracchi 1971, 160-161.	Agro-Town		Volterra / Arezzo
Montefiascione		Tamburini	Tamburini	V / 6th BC / 4th BC-2nd BC	Tamburini 1998, 88.	Castellum		Volsinii
Montefolchi	San Casciano in Val di Pesa	ASAT	Torelli 113.16	R	Torelli 1992; AA 1937, 373; SE 1937, 345-356; SE 1939 375; Tracchi 1978, 49n.60.	Castellum		Volterra / Arezzo
Montelongo		Tracchi 1971	Tracchi 1971.57	1st BC-1st AD	Tracchi 1971, 171.	Agro-Town		
Monteluco - Montecalvo	114.III.SW	Tracchi 1978	114.III.SW 13-14	Etr-Rom	Tracchi 1978, 26.	Castellum		Arezzo
Montemasseto	Gaiole in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.143	7th-6th BC	Valenti 1995, 334-335.	Castellum		Fiesole
Montemuro	Gaiole in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.142	7th-6th BC	Valenti 1995, 334.	Castellum		Fiesole

Montemuro	106.II.SE	Tracchi 1978	106.II.SE 124	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 81-82.	Castellum		Fiesole
Monterado		Judson-Hemphill	Tamburini	6th BC-5th BC	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Tamburini 1998, 77-78.	Minor Center / Castellum	15.4	Volsinii
Monterano	Monterano	Barrington	BA42	8th BC-1st BC	Gasperini 1963	Minor Center / Castellum	9.5	Caere
Monteti	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 27	400-300 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	N/A	Vulci
Monti di San Andrea	Cassia-Clodia	South Etruria	Hemphill (52) 802639	7th BC-5th AD	Hemphill 1975, 125.	Settlement / Villa		
Monti Rognosi	Anghiari	ASAT	Torelli 115.13, 15.	H	Torelli 1992; CA115.49 n.10.	Castellum		Arezzo
Montiano		South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979			
Morelli	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.245	1stBC-1stAD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 72 n.89-95.	Settlement		Chiusi
Morranaccio	Pitigliano	ASAT	Torelli 136.67	R	Torelli 1992; Bianchi Bandinelli 1929, 16; SE 1939, 381; Carandini 1985, 80; Maggiani and Pelegrini 1985, 108.	Pagus	1	Tarquinia
Morticce di Mensanello	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III		Valenti 1999, 308.			Volterra
Mulino Bururicco	S. Casciano dei Bagni	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321140.157, 159-160.	6th BC-6th AD	Botarelli 2004, 120	Minor Center	7.44	Chiusi
Muracciole di San Andrea	Cassia-Clodia	South Etruria	Hemphill (139) 722611	7th BC-2nd AD	Hemphill 1975, 128.	Large Settlement		
Musarna		Tuscania	Barker and Rasmussen	O-R	De Cazanova and Jolivet 1984, 530-534.	Castellum	3.1	Tarquinia
Narce		South Etruria	Potter	B-4th BC	Potter 1979	Minor Center / Castellum	12.5	Veii
Nazzano	Civitas Spertnatum	South Etruria	Capena	8th BC-Modern	Jones 1963, 106-110; Cambi 2004.	Castellum	2.8	Veii
Nepet	Nepi					Minor Center / Castellum / Colony	17.5	Veii
Norchia	Orcla	Barrington; Judson and Hemphill	BA42	ACH	Colonna di Paolo 1978; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 191-196	Minor Center/ Castellum	10	Tarquinia
Ogliata Galoppatoio	Cassia-Clodia	South Etruria	Hemphill (65) 821579	7th BC-5th AD	Hemphill 1975, 125.	Settlement / Villa		

Orbetello	Orbetello	Cosa	ORB 122; BA41	700 BC-100 AD	ASAT 551; Perkins 1999, 208; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Minor Center / Orbetello	N/A	Vulci
Orcla	Norchia	Judson-Hemphill; Barrington	BA42	4th BC-2nd BC	Colonna di Paolo 1978; Barker and Rasmussen 1988, 314-315; Judson and Hemphill 1981, 195-196.	Minor Center / Castellum	10	Tarquinia
Orvieto						City	82	
Pagliano		Tamburini	Tamburini	1st BC-R	Bruschetti 2001, 339.	River Port		Volsinii
Palazzo Bandino	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.236	1stBC-2ndAD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 53 n.51.	Settlement		Chiusi
Palazzuolo	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR321060.118-119.	7th BC-6th BC, Roman.	Botarelli 2004, 105-106.	Castellum / Necropolis	0.13 (48.75 ha hilltop badly eroded)	Chiusi
Palmentello		Fedeli	Fedeli 310	2nd BC	Fedeli 1983, 407.	Agro Town		Populonia
Parlascio di Casciana		Bruni	Bruni	6th-	Bruni 1999, 830.	Castellum		Pisa
Paterno/Casanuova	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 121.IV.25-29	3rd-1st AD	Valenti 1995, 358-359.	Floating Agro-Town		Arezzo / Fiesole/ Chiusi
Pecora Vecchia	Follonica	Scarlino	Scarlino191	7th BC-6th BC	Cenci 1985, 241-242.		0.5	Vetulonia
Pian Castello	114	Tracchi 1978	114. 180	1st BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 107.	Castellum		Volsinii
Pian Cisterna		Tolfa		7th-	Zifferrero 2001, 265; Merlino and Mirenta 1990, 33.	Castellum		Caere
Pian Curiano		Merlino		7th BC-3rd AD	Merlino and Mirenta 1990, 33.	Castellum		Caere
Pian dei Mori	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321060.96	4th BC-2nd AD	Botarelli 2004, 100-101	Roman Castellum / Etruscan House	N/A	Chiusi
Pian dei Santi		Tolfa		7th BC-3rd AD	Zifferrero 2001, 265; Merlino and Mirenta 1990, 33.	Castellum		Caere
Pian della Colonna	Bomarzo	Baglione	Baglione		Baglione 1976	Castellum / Necropolis		Volsinii
Pian della Conserva		Tolfa		7th BC-3rd AD	Zifferrero 2001, 265; Merlino and Mirenta 1990, 33.	Castellum		Caere
Pian delle Gorghe	Stia	ASAT	Torelli 107.41&44	1stAD	Torelli 1992; Stia 1985, 40-46.	Settlement		Fiesole/ Arezzo

Pian di Stigliano		Tolfa		Late 7th BC-Late 6th BC	Naso and Zifferero 1985, 239-242.	Agro-Town		Caere
Pian di Vico	114.I-IV.SE-SW	Tracchi 1978	114.I-IV.SE-SW 166	R	Tracchi 1978, 100.	Agro-Town		
Piandisco	114.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	114.IV.NW 190	R	Tracchi 1978, 111.	Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Fiesole
Piane Pucci	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.235	2nd	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 88 n.120.	Settlement		Chiusi
Pianmiano	Bomarzo	Baglione	Baglione		Baglione 1976	Castellum / Necropolis		Volsinii
Piano Tondo	Castelnuovo Berardenga	ASAT	Torelli 114.195	7th-6th	Torelli 1992, 245; Tracchi 1968, 110; Tracchi 1978, 38 n.35.	Settlement		Arezzo
Piansano		Judson-Hemphill	136.I.SE		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.		3.3	Vulci
Piari	Vagli Sotto	ASAT	Torelli 96.70	7th-4th	Torelli 1992; Ciampoltrini and Notini SE 1985, 65.	Settlement		Pisa
Pieve Socana	Pieve Socana	Casentino; ASAT; Barrington	Stoddart, BA42	CH	Torelli 1992; Stoddart 1981.	Agro-Town / Sanctuary		Arezzo
Pitigliano	Pitigliano	Barrington	BA42	AH	BTCGI XIV 1-13	Minor Center / Castellum	6.8	Vulci
Podere Aquaviva		Fedeli	Fedeli 328	2nd BC-	Fedeli 1983, 417			
Podere Burburigo	S. Casciano dei Bagni	ASAT	Torelli 129.107	HR	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Etruscan Agro-Town, Roman Farmstead		Rusellae
Podere Campo Grande	Chianciano Terme	ASAT; Paolucci 1988	Torelli 121.207; Paolucci 24	2nd-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 48 n.24	Castellum	0.4	Chiusi
Podere Casa al Vento	Montepulciano	ASAT	Torelli 121.232	6th-5th BC	Torelli 1992; NSA 1890, 300; NSA 1892, 308; NSA 1895, 73; Bianchi Bandinelli 1926; CA121, 19 n.3; Secchi Tarugi SE 1960, 461; Paolucci 1988b, 64.	Settlement		Chiusi
Podere Casanuova	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.242	2nd-1st	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 84 n.111.	Settlement		Chiusi
Podere Casanuova	Pontadera	ASAT	Torelli 112.7	R	Torelli 1992 Pasquinucci et al. 1986, 40.	Settlement		Pisa

Podere Cascine	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.111	2nd-3rd	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 198 n.58.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere Caselle (Radicofani)	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321100.145-149; Torelli 129.76.	4th-1st BC	Botarelli 2004, 113-115; Torelli 1992, 520; Steingraber 1983, 93.	Castellum / Necropolis / Sanctuary	N/A	Chiusi
Podere Castellina	Montarrenti	Montarrenti	Montarrenti T77-6A (8)	8th-6th BC	Barker et al. 1985, 298.	Large Settlement	0.75	Central
Podere Cerretelli	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.203	R	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 41, 43 n.7.	Necropolis / Settlement		Chiusi
Podere Domine	113.II.NE	Tracchi 1978	Tracchi 113.II.NE.6	6th-3rd BC	Tracchi 1978, 23.	Agro-Town		Volterra / Fiesole
Podere Fabrica	Pienza	ASAT	Torelli 121.192	?	Torelli 1992; Mazzeschi 1976, 89.	Castellum		Chiusi
Podere Fonte all'Oppio	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.III.161.2, 348.	3rd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 147-148	Minor Center / Agro Town	10	Chiusi
Podere Fornace	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.261	1stBC-1stAD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 52 n.44-45.	Agro-Town / Fattoria		Chiusi
Podere Gabbiano	Chianciano Terme	ASAT; Paolucci 1988	Torelli 121.262	1stBC-1stAD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 63, 65 n. 75-76.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Podere Gello o Gelli	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.216	3rd-1st	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 45 n.12-13.	Agro-Town / Necropolis		Chiusi
Podere Il Fico	Follonica	ASAT	Torelli 127.91	3rd-1st BC	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 234 n.173; Balestri and Magagnini 1981, 74.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere La Pieve / Casa Il Plinio	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.99, 103, 105	1stBC-1stAD	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 214 n.118.	Villa and Agro-Town		Populonia
Podere La Rachina	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.125	3rd-1st	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 187 n.52.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere L'Allodola / Tinoni	Murlo	Siena V	Siena V 120.I.23 and 50	7th-5th BC	Campana 2001, 85-88, 100.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	0.875	Central
Podere Macchialta		Fedeli	Fedeli 327	3rd BC-3rd AD	Fedeli 1983, 415.	Agro Town		Populonia
Podere Mandorlo	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.III.107, 323.	3rd-1st BC	Felici 2004, 130.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	1.09	Chiusi
Podere Mura	Castelnuovo Berardenga 114.III.SW	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 114.232	1st BC-1st AD (5th?)	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 55 n.74-75; Tracchi 1968, 103-105.	Castellum		Chiusi / Volterra; Saena Romana

Podere Ornani	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.120	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 195 n. 79-81.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere Poggiolo	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII CTR 321024.61	1st BC-2nd AD	Botarelli 2004, 91.	Agro-Town	0.57	Chiusi
Podere Puntone, bivio Puntone Nuovo (Manliana)	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.141.3, 5.	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 180 n.29.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere Pupillo	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.119	AR	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 192 n. 68.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Podere S. Quirico e Pace	121.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	121.IV.NW 24-25	6th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 33.	Agro-Town		
Podere Sant'Antonio	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.II.187	6th BC, 3rd-1st BC, 5th-6th AD	Felici 2004, 160-161	Agro-Town / Villa	0.42	Chiusi
Podere Sant'Antonio		Fedeli	Fedeli 329	8th-5th BC	Fedeli 1983, 418.	Agro Town		Populonia
Podere Sassaia	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.290	2nd BC, 4th-5th AD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 100 n.157.	Agro-Town		Chiusi
Poggiale	Montecchio 121.I.NE	CATC	CATC 121.I.NE 46	4th BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1987, 153.	Agro-Town / Castellum	2.25	Cortona
Poggiarone	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 120.I.19	7th-6th BC	Valenti 1995, 344.	Agro-Town		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi
Poggio al Lupo		Fedeli	Fedeli 288		Fedeli 1983, 396.	Agro Town		Populonia
Poggio al Pino	Manciano	ASAT	Torelli 135.34	R	Torelli 1992; SE 1935, 434.	Settlement		Vulci
Poggio Bacherina	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.238	2nd-1st	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 87 n.117-118; Paolucci 1988b, 81.	Castellum		Chiusi
Poggio Camposicuro		Perego	Perego	7th-5th BC	Zifferero 1990, 62 tav.1; Rendeli 1993, 424; Zifferero 1995, 546 fig.4 n.1; Ermini Pani 1996, 126-127 n. 11.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Poggio Carbonaia	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.133.2	R	Torelli 1992; Francovich 1985, 185 n.44.	Settlement		Vetulonia
Poggio Castellaccia	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.III.11.	4th-1st BC	Felici 2004, 88.	Castellum / Agro-Town		Chiusi
Poggio Castellare	Civitella in Val di Chiana 114.2.NW	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 114.209	Hel-Rom	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1971, 165; Tracchi 1978, 61 n.86-87.	Castellum		Arezzo

Poggio Castello / Montepescini	Murlo	Siena V	Siena V 120.II.24-26, 72-73, 113, 117-118, 143-148.	7th-2nd BC	Campana 2001.	Agro-Town		Central
Poggio Castelsecco		Tolfa			Zifferero 2001, 265.	Castellum	4.5	Caere
Poggio Castiglione	Gavorrano	Scarlino	Scarlino 144-147	3rd BC-2nd BC	Cenci 1985, 223-227.	Agro-Town	1.6	Vetulonia
Poggio Civitate	Murlo	Siena V	Siena V 120.II.10	7th-6th BC	Campana 2001, 113-114.	Regia / Castellum	28	Central
Poggio Colla	Vicchio	ASAT	Torelli 107.12	7th-2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Warden et al. 2000.	Necropolis, Castellum		Fiesole
Poggio Del Duca, Tegolini	Gaiole in Chianti	ASAT	Torelli 113.135	R	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 44 n.48.	Villa / Agro-Town		Volterra / Arezzo
Poggio della Giostra	Arezzo	ASAT	Torelli 114.180	3rd-1st BC	Torelli 1992; NSA 1892, 380; CA114, 31 n.53; Fatucchi 1968-1969, 56; Cherici 1992, 43-44.	Villa/ Castellum		Arezzo
Poggio dell'Abate	Chianciano Terme	ASAT	Torelli 121.263	3rdBC-1stAD	Torelli 1992; Paolucci 1988, 58, 60 n.67-69.	Villa / Agro-Town / Necropolis		Chiusi
Poggio delle Civitelle a San Venanzo		Bizzari 2002				Castellum		Perugia / Volsinii
Poggio di Firenze	106.II.SE	Tracchi 1978	106.II.SE 127	7th-6th BC	Tracchi 1978, 82-83; Tracchi 1971, 163.	Castellum		Fiesole
Poggio di Granchio		Cecina			Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.	Castellum		Volterra
Poggio di Tor Ciminia		Perego	Perego	6th BC	Boitani 1973, 236; Bastianelli 1988, 77 n.65; Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 148-149.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Poggio Evangelista	Latera	Tamburini	Tamburini	6th BC-4th BC	Tamburini 1998, 91-92.	Castellum		Volsinii
Poggio Fuoco	Manciano	ASAT	Torelli 136.86	4th-3rd BC	Torelli 1992; Attolini 1982, 377.	Settlement		Vulci
Poggio Fuoco ?	La Campigliola	Cosa	LC 34.2	700-300 BC	Perkins 1999, 199; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Castellum	0.42	Vulci
Poggio Grillo	Radicofani	Siena VII	Siena VII Noti	2nd BC-2nd AD	Botarelli 2004, 20-24, 188.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	N/A	Chiusi
Poggio La Croce	Radda in Chianti 113.II.NE	Siena I; ASAT; Tracchi	Siena I 113.II.210; Torelli 113.85.	6th-2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 47 n.55.; Valenti 1995, 260-285	Castellum		Fiesole

Poggio La Guardia	Radda in Chianti	Siena I	Siena I 113.I.30	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1995, 206-207.	Castellum		Fiesole
Poggio Nebbia		Perego	Perego	4th BC-2nd BC	Ermini Pani 1996, 130 n.47; Perego 2005, 154.	Castellum		Tarquinia
Poggio Pago	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II 129.1.Rad0	Roman	Cambi 1996, 70.	Castellum		Chiusi
Poggio Quagliere				8th-5th BC	Perego 2001, 17-19.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia
Poggio S. Pietro		Tolfa		Mid 7th BC-6th BC / 3rd BC-7th AD	Naso and Zifferero 1985, 242-245.	Agro-Town		Caere
Poggio Sala		Tracchi 1969	Tracchi 1969.3	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1969, 148-149.	Castellum		Fiesole/ Arezzo
Poggio Siena Vecchia	Sovicille	ASAT	Torelli 120.80	<R	Torelli 1992; SE 1966, 270, 301; AA 1970, 302; Cristofani 1979, 201, n.6.	Castellum		Chiusi
Poggio Stoppiellino		Tracchi 1969	Tracchi 1969.7	1st BC-1st AD	Tracchi 1969, 150-151.	Castellum?		
Poggio Tondo	Castelnuovo Berardenga 114.III.SW	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.SW 116	7th-5th BC	Tracchi 1978, 38; Tracchi 1968, 110-112; Valenti 1995, 328.	Castellum		Arezzo
Poggio Tondo		Tracchi 1978	153	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 94-95.	Castellum / Agro-Town		Fiesole/ Arezzo
Poggione	121.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	121.IV.NW 34	7th-5th BC	Tracchi 1978, 34.	Castellum	1.4	Vetulonia / Populonia
Poggione	Orbetello	ASAT	Torelli 135.57	A	Torelli 1992; Celuzza and Regoli 1982, 35.	Castellum		Vulci
Ponte a Buriano	114.I.SW-114.II.NW	Tracchi 1978	114.I.SW-114.II.NW 169-172	4th BC-2nd AD	Fatucchi 1992, 270-271; Tracchi 1978, 101-103; Tracchi 1971, 153-154.	Agro-Town / Road Station		Arezzo
Ponte del Lupo		Enei		6th-3rd	Enei 1992, 76.	Agro-Town	0.8	Caere
Ponte del Ponte		South Etruria	Potter	8th-3rd BC	Potter 1979; Fredericksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 123-127.	Village	0.4	Veii
Ponte Nespino	Terme dei Gracchi	South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979; Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 81-87.	Road Station / Sanctuary		Veii

Pontignanello	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 113.II.29-31	3rd-2nd BC / 4th-5th AD	Valenti 1995, 216-217.	Agro-Town/Villa		Arezzo/ Cortona / Chiusi/ Fiesole / Volterra
Ponton del Castrato		Rendeli	Rendeli	7th BC-3rd BC	Gianfrotta 1972, 83; Rendeli 1993, 243.	Port / Colony (Castrum Novum)		Caere
Porcari di Lucca		Bruni	Bruni	A	Bruni 1998, 93.	Castellum		Pisa
Porciano	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.III.331.	1st BC-1st AD, 4th-6th AD	Felici 2004, 196.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	0.63	Chiusi
Porcignano	Gaiole in Chianti	ASAT	Torelli 113.136	R	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1978, 23 n.5.	Necropolis / Agro-Town		Volterra / Arezzo
Portiglione	Poggio La Guardia	Scarlino	Scarlino 16,19	1st BC-Late 2nd AD	Cenci 1985, 173-174; Balestri-Magagnini 1981, 65.	Agro-Town?		Vetulonia
Pozzi di Serravezza		Bruni	Bruni	6th-	Bruni 1998, 173.	Port		Pisa
Prato la Corte	Ager Veintanus	South Etruria	Ager Veintanus 5	BA-5th BC	Ward Perkins 1968, 20-21.	Agro-Town		
Pulicciano	114.IV.N	Tracchi 1978	114.IV.N 188-189	4th BC-2nd AD	Tracchi 1978, 110; Tracchi 1971, 156.	Agro-Town / Road Station		Fiesole / Arezzo
Puntone Nuovo (Manliana)	Scarlino	ASAT	Torelli 127.141.3	R	Torelli 1992; Balestri and Magagnini 1981, 65; Francovich 1985, 175 n.21.	Road Station		Populonia
Puntone Nuovo / Manliana	Poggio La Guardia	Scarlino	Scarlino 21	2nd BC-5th AD	Cenci 1985, 176.	Road Station		Vetulonia
Pyrgi				7th-Late		Port		Caere
Quarta della Vipera	Ager Veintanus	South Etruria		8th BC-	Carafa 2004, 47ff.	Agro-Town		Veii
Quarticciolo		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Quilici Gigli 1970.		3.1	
Querceta		Bruni	Bruni	6th-	Bruni 1998, 173.	Port		Pisa
Quercianella		Bruni	Bruni	3rd-	Bruni 1998, 253.			
Quintiana		De Rossi	De Rossi 178	R	De Rossi 1968, 143-144.	Port		Tarquinia
R14. 13		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 269.		0.49	Tarquinia
R24. 21		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 269.		0.7	Tarquinia
R34. 25		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 269.	Agro-Town	0.61	Tarquinia
R34. 9-11 (San Giusto)		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 269.	Agro-Town	0.54	Tarquinia

R54. 1		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 270.		0.8	Tarquinia
R94. 1 (Piano della Selva)		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 270.	Castellum?	3	Tarquinia
R94. 9		Tuscania	South Transect	7th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 270.		0.72	Tarquinia
Radicata	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 46	700BC-100AD	Perkins 1999, 195; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Kiln	1	Vulci
Radicofani	Radicofani	Siena II	Siena II RD103	Etruscan	Cambi 1996, 89.	Castellum		Chiusi
Rapale	Bucine 114.III.SW	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 114.219	4th BC-2nd AD	Torelli 1992; SE 1968, 106; Tracchi 1978, 76; Tracchi 1968, 106.	Castellum		Arezzo
Regis Villa / Regae	Le Murelle	Barrington	BA42	AHR	Morselli 1985; De Rossi 1968, 144-	Port		Vulci
Rignano		South Etruria			Cambi 2004, 79.	Agro-Town		
Rio Secco / Citta di Castello		Cenaicoli 2002		8th-6th BC		Castellum		Perugia
Rocca di Ceri		Enei		OAC	Brocato 2000, 464-469; Zifferero 2001, 264	Castellum		Caere
Rocca di Corvaia	Seravezza	ASAT	Torelli 104.4	3rd-2nd	Torelli 1992; Maggiani 1979, 98.	Castellum		Pisa
Rocca di Sillano		Cecina			Augenti and Terrenato 2001, 299.	Castellum		Volterra
Roccaccia		Judson-Hemphill	136.IV.NW		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.		4.4	Volsinii
Rofalco		Rendeli		ACH	Rendeli 1993, 206.	Castellum		Vulci
Romita di Asciano		Bruni	Bruni	A	Bruni 1998, 92-93.	Castellum		Pisa
Romitorio	Capalbio	Cosa	CAP 59	700-300 BC	Perkins 1999, 195; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Castellum	N/A	Vulci
Roselle						City	41	
Rota		Judson-Hemphill		7th BC-L	Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Castellum	1.9	Caere
S. Angelo	Campi Bisenzio 106	ASAT	Torelli 106.71	Roman	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1971, 166.	Agro-Town		Fiesole
S. Angelo	114.III.SE	Tracchi 1978	114.III.SE 86	Roman	Tracchi 1978, 61.	Agro-Town		
S. Casciano degli Bagni	S. Casciano degli Bagni	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925		Archaic-Roman	Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 378-383.	Castellum		Chiusi

S. Fedele a Paterno	Radda in Chianti	Siena I; ASAT	Siena I 113.II.230; Torelli 113.117.	5th-2nd?	Torelli 1992; Nepoti 1975, 394; Mazzeschi 1976, 49-55; Tracchi 1978, 46 n.52; Steingraber 1983, 84; Valenti 1995, 289.	Castellum		Fiesole
S. Maria del Giudice	S. Maria del Giudice	ASAT; Barrington	BA41, Torelli 105.123	7th-3rd BC	Torelli 1992; Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 202; Mencacci and Zecchini 1981, 48.	Agro-Town		Pisa
S. Maria dello Spino	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.II.97.1	3rd-2nd BC / 2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 126-127.	Agro-Town / Villa		Chiusi
S. Martino a Bòcena	Cortona 122.IV.NW	CATC	CATC 122.IV.NW 10	7th-6th / 1st BC-2nd AD	Cherici 1987, 192.	Castellum?		Cortona
S. Miniato		South Etruria	Potter		Potter 1979			
S. Quirico	Castelnuovo Bernardenga	Siena I	Siena I 121.IV.32-34	3rd-1st BC	Valenti 1995, 363-365.	Floating Agro-Town		Chiusi
S. Vito a Loppiano	Incisa 113.I.NE	ASAT; Tracchi 1978	Torelli 113.I.NE 4	4th BC-2nd AD	Torelli 1992; Tracchi 1971, 164; Tracchi 1978, 86.	Castellum		Fiesole
S. Vito in Versuris	121.IV.NW	Tracchi 1978	121.IV.NW 21-22	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 31.	Castellum		Fiesole/ Arezzo
San Giovenale		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Hannell 1962, 289-312.	Castellum	3.4	Tarquinia / Caere
San Giuliano	Barbarano Romano	Judson-Hemphill	143.III.NE	O-3rd BC	Judson and Hemphill 1981,195-196; Villa d'Amelio 1963, 1-76.	Minor Center / Castellum	8.4	Tarquinia / Caere
San Gregorio	Pienza	Siena VI	Part of Pienza?	2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 40-41.	Agro-Town / Fattoria		Chiusi
San Piero a Grado	Pisa	ASAT	Torelli 104.84.2	7th BC-4thAD	Torelli 1992; Pasquinucci et al. 1986, 20; Pasquinucci and Storti 1989, 7.	?Settlement, Temple, House, Church		Pisa
San Rocchino	S. Rocchino	ASAT; Barrington	BA41, Torelli 104.55	ACHRL	Cristofani 1975; Paribeni 1990, 69-96; Torelli 1992.	Pile Agro-Town		Pisa
San Rossore	Pisa	ASAT	Torelli 104.80.1	5th	Torelli 1992;	Necropolis, Habitation		Pisa

Santinovo	Colle Val d'Elsa	Siena III	Siena III 113.3.146	3rd-2nd BC	Valenti 1999, 221-222, 308.	Settlement		Volterra
Sarteano	Sarteano	ASAT; Barrington; Bianchi Bandinelli 1925	Torelli 129.19-28; BA42	9th BC-5thAD	Torelli 1992, 512-515.	Castellum		Chiusi
Sassaie	Pienza	Siena VI	Part of Pienza?	2nd BC-1st AD	Felici 2004, 40-41.	Agro-Town / Fattoria		Chiusi
Sasso di Furbara					Brocato 2000, 464-469.	Agro-Town		Caere
Saturnia	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 200.1; Harris, Torelli 136.1-6	500 BC-200 AD	Torelli 1992; Perkins 1999, 202; Minto 1925, 593-624; Carandini 1985, 132-136; Michelucci 1982, 16-48.	Minor Center / Praefecturae / Castellum	24	Vulci
Semproniano	Samprugnano	Cosa	SAM 22.1	400 BC-300 AD	Perkins 1999, 212; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Castellum	1.8	Vulci
Settefinestre	Orbetello	ASAT	Torelli 135.88	6th	Torelli 1992; Carandini and Ricci 1985, 57.	Villa / Etruscan Settlement		Vulci
Sinalunga, Colle dei Cappuccini	Sinalunga 121.I.SW	CATC	CATC 121.I.SW 2	7th-6th BC	Cherici 1987, 166.	Castellum		Cortona / Arezzo
Sitorni				3rd-1st BC	Fatucchi 1992, 267-269.	Necropolis and Agro-Town		Arezzo
Sorano		Judson-Hemphill	129.II.SW		Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197.	Castellum	2.8	Vulci
Sorbo	Ager Veintanus	South Etruria	Ager Veintanus (84) 852630	7th BC-3rd AD	Ward Perkins 1968, 28.	Settlement / Villa		Veii
Sovana	Sorano	Tuscania	BA42, Torelli 135.7-30	ACHR	ASAT 525-527, Torelli 1992	Minor Center / Castellum	7	Vulci
Statonia	Piammiano	Cosa; Barrington	BA42	HRL	Stanco 1994; Munzi 1995	Minor Center / Agro-Town / Praefecturae		Volsinii
Strozzacapponi				Late 3rd BC-1st BC		Agro-Town / Necropolis / Quarry		Perugia
Surrina	S. Lorenzo					Minor Center		Tarquinia
	Sutri Survey	South Etruria	Sutri 690807	R	Duncan 1958, 101	Large Settlement		Sutri
	Sutri Survey	South Etruria	Sutri 714781	R	Duncan 1958, 112.	Large Settlement		Sutri
	Sutri Survey	South Etruria	Sutri 725821, 720825	R	Duncan 1958, 116.	Large Settlement		Sutri
	Sutri Survey	South Etruria	Sutri 742792	R	Duncan 1958 121.	Large Settlement		Sutri

Sutrium	Sutri	South Etruria		>5thBC-5th AD	Duncan 1958, 66-77; Duncan 1964; Duncan 1965; Giuntella 1980.	Minor Center/ Castellum / Colony	7.5	Veii
T24. 22-23	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 262.		1.26	Tarquinia
T24. 3	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 262.		0.6	Tarquinia
T34. 14	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		0.75	Tarquinia
T34. 2	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		0.5	Tarquinia
T34. 21-22	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		5.25	Tarquinia
T34. 9-10	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		0.85	Tarquinia
T44. 21-22	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		0.5	Tarquinia
T54. 2-3,7-8.	Tuscania	Tuscania	North Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 260.		1.13	Tarquinia
T85. 11	Tuscania	Tuscania	East Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 264.	Sanctuary	1	Tarquinia
T89. 8	Tuscania	Tuscania	East Transect	6th BC-	Rendeli 1993, 264.	Agro-Town	0.8	Tarquinia
Tabellaria?		Melis and Serra	Melis and Serra 142	R		Road Station		Tarquinia
Tabellaria?		De Rossi	De Rossi 164	R	De Rossi 1968, 126.	Road Station		Tarquinia
Talamonaccio	Talamone	Cosa	TAL110.1=116	700-400 BC	Perkins 1999, 216; Somella 1967, 11; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Minor Center / Port / Castellum	12	Vulci
Tarquinia						City	121	
Terontola	Cortona	ASAT	Torelli 122.51	R	Torelli 1992; Arezzo 1988, 6.	Agro-Town		Cortona
Tifernum Tiberinum	N/A		Harris					Arezzo
Tolle	Pienza	Siena VI	Siena VI 121.II.54	7th BC-2nd AD	Felici 2004, 107-109.	Necropolis / Castellum		Chiusi
Toretta Vecchia (Turrita)	Collesalvetti	ASAT	Torelli 112.21	R	Torelli 1992; NSA 1889, 268; SE 1936, 376; Banti 1943, 67; Lopes Pegna SE 1952-1953, 397.	Road Station / Villa		Volterra
Torre dell'Isola		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Fredericksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 94.		2	Veii
Torre di Montegrossi	113.II.NE	Tracchi 1978	113.II.NE 11	E?, R	Tracchi 1978, 25.	Castellum		

Torre Valdaliga		Perego	Perego	8th-5th BC	Bastianelli 1939, 385-393 n.38; Mengarelli 1941, 345 n.2; Radmilli 1951-1952, 77-78; Barbaranelli 1956, 482-489; Melis and Serra 1968, 92-93; Capuani 1971, 59-63; Toti 1976, 36; Brunetti Nardi 1981, 89; Maffei 1981, 28; Maffei 1981; Maffei et al 1981, 325; Gianinni 1983, 444; di Gennaro 1986, 127; Bastianelli 1988, 255-257 n.115-117; Pacciarelli 1991, 169-170; di Gennaro 1992, 709 n.107; Rendeli 1993, 427; Toti 1993; Iaia and Mandolesi 1995, 27 n.41; Belardelli and Pascucci 1996; Ermini Pani and Del Lungo 1996, 123 n.67; Mandolesi 1999, 59-61; Perego 2001, 17-19; Barcelo et al. 2002, 57; Perego 2005, 178-179.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia
Torrente Minestrone	Abbadia San Salvatore	ASAT	Torelli 129.95	<R	Torelli 1992; Cambi and Tommaso 1988, 474.	Castellum		Chiusi
Tragliatella		Enei			Zifferrero 2001, 264.	Castellum		Caere

Travalle	Calenzano	ASAT	Torelli 106.37	BIOACH	Torelli 1992; SE 1930, 346; SE 1967, 256; Prosepettive dell'Archeologia Pratese 1974, 12; Archeologia e Territorio 1979, 5.	Castellum		Fiesole
Trevignano	Ager Faliscus	South Etruria	Potter	8th-5th BC	Potter 1979	Agro Town		Veii
Tuscania	Colle S. Pietro	Judson-Hemphill		10th BC-5thBC/4th BC-5th AD	Judson and Hemphill 1981,195-196; Quilici Gigli 1970.	Minor Center / Castellum	8.4	Tarquinia
Usigliano di Palaia	Pisa	Bruni	Bruni	6th BC-	Bruni 1998, 256.	Castellum		Pisa
Vada Volterranna	Vada	Barrington	BA41	HRL	Pasquinucci 1987, 116-118			Volterra
Val di Rosia	Montarrenti	Montarrenti	Montarrenti T77-4 (3)	7th-6th BC	Barker and Symonds 1984, 283-284.	Agro-Town	0.5	Volterra / Central
Valdicastello	Pietrasanta	ASAT	Torelli 104.18	2nd BC	Torelli 1992; Antonucci 1970, 96; SE 1970, 195, 253; Maggiani 1984, 337.	Settlement		Pisa
Valle Meleta	Pitigliano	ASAT	Torelli 136.33.6	R	Torelli 1992; Carandini 1985, 80; Maggiani and Pelegrini 1985, 108.	Etruscan Necropolis, Roman Pagus		Vulci
Vasanello								Veii
Vescovado	Murlo	Siena V	Siena V 120.I.57-60 etc.	7th-6th BC/4th-3rd BC	Campana 2001, 102-105.	Agro-Town / Fattoria	N/A	Central
Vico Marta	Talamone	Cosa	TAL 110.5	200 BC-1200 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	N/A	Vulci
Vicus Matrini	Cappanaccie			Road Station				Volsinii
Vignaccia		Perego	Perego	8th-5th BC	Magrini 1970, 10-11; Monaco 1970, 13-14; Brunetti Nardi 1972, 79; Rendeli 1993, 416; Mandolesi 1999, 177 n.39; Perego 2001, 17-19; Perego 2005, 186-187.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia

Vignanello	Vignanello	South Etruria	Potter, BA42	7th-1st BC	Steingräber 1981, 516-517; Ceccarelli and Ziaco 1980; Potter 1979	Village	2.5	Veii
Villa a Sesta	Castelnuovo Bernardenga 114.III.SW	Siena I	Siena I 114.III.SW 101; Torelli 114.215	7th-1st BC	Valenti 1995, 322; Tracchi 1978, 38 n.36.	Agro-Town		Fiesole
Virle	Marliana	ASAT	Torelli 105.22	<R	Torelli 1992; CA105(1929), 11 n.12.	Castellum		Fiesole
Visentium	Monte Bisenzio	Barrington	BA42	Bronze-7th BC / 6th BC-5th BC	Driehaus 1985, 59; Gasperini 1959; Pannucci 1964; Gasperini 1965; Raddatz 1975; Delpino 1982; Raddatz 1982; Fiocchi Nicolai 1992; Biamonte 1997; Naso 1997	Castellum		Tarquinia / Vulci / Volsinii
Visentium	Monte Bisenzio	Barrington	BA42	AHR	Driehaus 1985, 59; Gasperini 1959; Pannucci 1964; Gasperini 1965; Raddatz 1975; Delpino 1982; Raddatz 1982; Fiocchi Nicolai 1992; Biamonte 1997; Naso 1997	Minor Center / Colony		Volsinii / Vulci / Tarquinia
Vitorchiano		Judson-Hemphill			Judson and Hemphill 1981, 196-197; Gasperini 1989, 157-165.	Minor Center/ Castellum	7	Volsinii
Volpaia Vecchia		Tracchi 1969	Tracchi 1969.22	ER	Tracchi 1969, 162-164.	Castellum		Chiusi
	113.II.NE	Tracchi 1978	113.II.NE 52	4th-1st BC	Tracchi 1978, 46.	Castellum		Fiesole/ Arezzo
		De Rossi	De Rossi 152	6th BC-2nd AD+	De Rossi 1968, 123-125.	Agro-Town		Tarquinia

	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 272.2	200 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 203; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.26	Vulci
	Orbetello	Cosa	ORB 107	700-200 BC	Perkins 1999, 208; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.3	Vulci
	Pescia Fiorentina	Cosa	PF 118.2	200 BC-600 AD	Perkins 1999, 209; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Villa	0.35	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 54.6	200 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 201; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.36	Vulci
	Orbetello	Cosa	ORB 1	50 BC-100 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.5	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 99	700-50 BC	Perkins 1999, 202.	Agro-Town / Kiln	0.5	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 156	200 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 202; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Large Settlement	0.5	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 77.2	200-50 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Etruscan House	0.75	Vulci
	Marsiliana	Cosa	MAR 234	700-400 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.8	Vulci
	San Donato	Cosa	SD 141	700-200 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Necropolis	0.96	Vulci
	Marsiliana	Cosa	MAR 66	700-300 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	0.99	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 158	200 BC-200 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1	Vulci
	Pescia Fiorentina	Cosa	PF 34.1	200 BC-500 AD	Perkins 1999, 209; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1	Vulci
	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR 82.1	200 BC-600 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002; Dyson 75.	Agro-Town	1	Vulci
	La Campigliola	Cosa	LC 8	300 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 198; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1	Vulci
	La Campigliola	Cosa	LC 34.1	700-300 BC	Perkins 1999, 199; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Castellum	1.04	Vulci
	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR 58	700-50 BC	Perkins 1999, 211; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1.2	Vulci
	Orbetello	Cosa	ORB 65	50 BC-600 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1.3	Vulci
	Fattoria Pomonte	Cosa	FP 355	200 BC-100 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	1.4	Vulci
	Fattoria Pomonte	Cosa	FP 54	200 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 197; Carandini and Cambi 2002,	Agro-Town	1.5	Vulci

	Samprugnano	Cosa	SAM 51.1	200 BC-600 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	2	Vulci
	Marsiliana	Cosa	MAR 150.1	300 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 206; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Kiln	2	Vulci
	Manciano	Cosa	MAN 150.1-2	50 BC-100 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town / Villa	2	Vulci
	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR 80.1	400 BC-200 AD	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	3	Vulci
	Fattoria Pomonte	Cosa	FP 58	200 BC-200 AD	Perkins 1999, 197; Carandini and Cambi 2002,	Agro-Town	4	Vulci
	Pescia Romana	Cosa	PR 71	300 BC-1200 AD	Perkins 1999, 211; Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town	N/A	Vulci
	Talamone	Cosa	TAL 422.1	700-300 BC	Carandini and Cambi 2002.	Agro-Town		Vulci

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