FALERII NOVI AND THE ROMANISATION OF ITALY DURING THE MID-REPUBLIC

by
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ABSTRACT
WALTER FRANK MCCALL: Falerii Novi and the Romanisation of Italy During the Mid-Republic
(Under the direction of Nicola Terrenato)

According to ancient sources, Falerii Novi was founded by Rome in 241 BC following the unsuccessful revolt of the older Faliscan centre, Falerii Veteres. The circumstances of this encounter and the status of the new city have been questioned in recent years. Nevertheless, Falerii Novi emerged at the peak of pre-Augustan Roman expansion, a period which began following the dissolution of the Latin League in 338.

Excavation at the site is longstanding, but also sporadic and poorly documented. The most important investigation in recent years was the geophysical survey of the walled area undertaken in the late 1990s as part of the Tiber Valley Project. The result of this undertaking is a detailed and complete city plan illuminating many of the Falerii Novi's key architectural features including the forum, theatre, baths, and elite houses without the need of excavation. In 2004, Professor Nicola Terrenato and I initiated the Falerii Novi Project as an offshoot of this endeavour. For the last three seasons, our team has engaged in an architectural survey of the city walls that surround the site in an attempt to better understand their role in the city's larger urban scheme.

This dissertation attempts to reconstruct the urban horizon of Falerii Novi, drawing upon the full corpus of available data from the earliest excavations in the nineteenth century to the most recent surveys. In doing so, it identifies and clarifies a number of ambiguities within the geophysical plan. Second, it considers the role played by the city in the urban evolution that was ongoing throughout the peninsula during the mid-Republic. Finally, it seeks to better understand the political and martial circumstances surrounding the foundation of the city and its official standing in the newly organised *Latium adjectum*. This final discussion reconsiders the relationship between Rome and the local communities of Italy as well as the very nature of Romanisation itself, at least within the region of the ancient Faliscans.

To my wife Lee for all her support and endless editing. To Sophia for keeping me motivated when I most needed it.

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CHAPTER 1: RECONSTRUCTING THE URBAN HORIZON AT FALERII NOVI

A) Introduction

As Nevett and Perkins rightly note, the Roman Empire was founded on cities. Cities controlled and administered territories. Territories formed provinces. Provinces created Empire. For her part, Rome was the ultimate city capital at the head of a complex urban hierarchy.[1] No matter what its status, however, whether *municipium* or *civitas*, *colonia* or *oppidum*, each city within this network featured an equally diverse ensemble of prefects, aediles, and other urban officials. The maintenance of an urban Empire required a corresponding urban administration. This bureaucracy maintained the necessary conditions that transformed the occupants of the Empire from mere citizens into urban dwellers. Thus, the city dictated not only the appearance of the inhabited space but also its rules of governance and the behaviours of its citizens. It was more than a physical reality; it became a metaphor for Rome, her system of government, and her way of life. In fact, we could go so far as to say that the spread of Roman cities throughout the Mediterranean is tantamount to the spread of Roman culture.[2]

The most important component of Rome's early urban expansion within Italy was the establishment of colonies. From a narrow perspective, these centres served to alleviate the pressures that accompanied Rome's own urban growth. They re-established the landless proletariat and provided new homes for veterans, eliminating a large percentage of the unwanted population from the streets of Rome. From a broader perspective, colonies helped satisfy the larger military, judicial, commercial, and administrative needs that facilitated Rome's dominion over the Italian peninsula. They allowed Rome to pacify and administer hostile or previously hostile territories and to establish centres of trade and commerce. Ward-Perkins states simply that cities represented the point of contact between the ruler and the

[1]Nevett and Perkins 2000, 215. This sentiment is shared by Lomas (1997, 21).

[2]Speaking more generally, Whitehand calls the city a "cultural and educational resource of inestimable value" (1992, 2).

ruled. He goes on to suggest that the fall of the Roman Empire was equal to that of the fall of her cities.[3] Salmon agrees with this sentiment, stating that a study of Roman colonies is the most appropriate means of understanding Roman republican history because they chronicle the major conflicts and macro-historical changes experienced by Rome throughout the Republic, and in particular the fourth and third centuries.[4]

According to Ward-Perkins, the relevance of the city in the ancient world was not limited to the Romans. He states, "where city life on the Mediterranean pattern did not already exist, everything possible was done to create it."[5] By this token, the history of classical civilisation on the whole may be reduced to the history of the city. In this investigation, we can hardly explore the validity of this statement on such a grand scale. Instead, we will narrow our focus to a single city in Italy and identify its place within the urban history of Italy during the mid-Republic.

The focus of our attention is the site of Falerii Novi, located 60 kilometres north of Rome in the small rural community of Fàlleri within the region that was once home to the ancient Faliscans (Figure 1.1). The site rests on a relatively flat, wide plain, some 200 metres asl on the lower eastern slopes of Monte Cimino in the volcanic territory to the west of the Tiber Valley (Figure 1.2). This plateau slopes gently to the south and is defined along its southern border by a sharp fifteen metre drop at the Purgatorio river valley. Like many places in Italy, the land is composed of volcanic tufo cut by deep valleys. According to ancient sources, a new city was founded here by Rome in 241 BC[6] following the unsuccessful revolt of Falerii Veteres, modern day Civita Castellana. Polybius refers to this encounter as a πόλεμος ἔμφυλος (1.65.2), but as we shall discuss later in this investigation, the circumstances of this encounter are unclear.[7] We are also told that the foundation of the

[3]Ward-Perkins 1974, 8.

[4]Salmon 1969, 57. Lomas warns, however, that Roman cities exemplify the lives of the elites and are not representative of society as a whole (1997, 21).

[5]Ward-Perkins 1974, 8. Tomlinson (1992, 1) makes a similar observation, citing Aristotle. According to the Greek philosopher, urban convocation was the only acceptable way for humans to live. Mankind, or at least the civilised portion of it, was destined to live in cities and not in isolation (*Pol*. 1253a3).

[6]Given our focus on the mid-Republic, all dates in this investigation will be in the BC range unless otherwise noted.

[7]We will discuss the events surrounding the foundation of Falerii Novi in greater detail in Chapter 3.

new centre coincided with the laying down of a new trans-Italian thoroughfare, the Via Amerina, which served as the city's *cardo maximus*. The subsequent history of the site during the late Republic and early Roman Empire is unremarkable as the scattered references to it attest. Whereas the status of the original foundation remains a mystery, the city was granted *municipium* status following the Social War and became a colony under Gallienus (*Lib. Colon*. 217.5-6).[8] We are also told that Ovid's wife heralded from the city (*Amor*. 3, *Eleg*. 13). In the third century AD Falerii Novi suffered a profound socio-economic crisis from which it never recovered. Henceforth, it experienced gradual abandonment while its predecessor, Falerii Veteres, prospered. By the ninth century, the city was abandoned.

Falerii Novi was attacked and destroyed by the Normans in the tenth century, but was rescued from obscurity by Benedictine and later Cistercian monks. A monastic community was established after 1000 during the economic renaissance of the late tenth and eleventh centuries. These monks began to reclaim the surrounding area and constructed a large Abbey on the site complete with cloisters, residential buildings, and a fine church, the S. Maria di Fàlleri. The exact date in which the Cistercians took over the Abbey is unknown, although Cencelli and Sciosci tell us that Saint Bernard died at the site in 1153. In 1155, Adrian IV took the site under his protection. In 1392 the entire territory of Fàlleri was granted by Boniface IX to the Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia. In 1538, it passed to the Apostolic Chamber along with other feuds and was sold to Pierluigi Farnese. It returned to the Apostolic Chamber in 1786 at which time it was granted to the Comuné di Fabrica in order for local families to cultivate it.[9]

Regarding the city's more recent history, Di Stefano Manzella informs us that Falerii Novi was rediscovered as part of the Pontifical Government's pursuit to find sources of water for Napoleon's troops stationed in Rome.[10] In 1808, the *tenuta di Fàlleri*, which was

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[8]"Quae appellatur Faliscos, quae a III viris est assignata." Once again, we will discuss the status of the city and the difficulty in defining it later in this investigation.

[9]Much of this information on the later history of the site was discovered in a pamphlet entitled "Falerii Novi: A Pearl of the Past in the Municipality of Fabrica di Roma" and authored by Giuseppe Cencelli and Sandro Sciosci. This literature has made available by the Communé di Fabrica di Roma at the site itself in the medieval church.

[10]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 25-26. As we shall mention shortly, Di Stefano Manzella provides the only account of the activities undertaken at the site during the nineteenth century. As a result, we will rely heavily upon his work in this chapter.

the official title for the site of Falerii Novi and the area which surrounds it, was granted to the Polish Prince Stanislav Poniatowski in addition to an excavation permit.[11] Over the next decade, ownership of the property changed hands on multiple occasions. Excavation was ongoing, but became more sporadic throughout the reminder of the century and into the next.[12] Eventually, Falerii Novi became the property of a local family, the Mancini, and is currently the home of Gianlucca Mancini. The connection between Falerii Novi and the Mancini family is longstanding. In his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*,[13] published in 1848, George Dennis identifies a "simple but intelligent" shepherd by the name of Domenico Mancini who lived in nearby Civita Castellana and served as his guide for the site of Falerii Novi.[14]

Under its current tenure, the ancient city and archaeological site has been transformed into a farm for agriculture. Consequently, the excavated remains from decades of archaeological investigation, long since having been back-filled, are now hidden under fields of figs and corn. On the interior of the city, cultivation extends all the way to the edge of the large city walls that defended it in antiquity. The only surviving record Falerii Novi's long history of excavation is an open trench located to the east of the Abbey. This trench was opened by Gabriella Perina Begni on behalf of the Soprintendenza all'Etruria Meridionale between 1969 and 1975 and contains a host of architectural remains, which are slowly being hidden by years of neglect and natural accumulation (Figure 1.3). Outside the city walls, the fields to the north and west have been utilised for agriculture while a portion of the south side has been reserved as pasturage for horses. Also, a number of processed sheep carcasses in varying states of decay were deposited over the south wall at some point during the modern occupation of the site, although no shepherding activities are currently ongoing there today.

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[11]According to Di Stefano Manzella, this was not the only territory surrendered by the Camera Apostolica at this time. For the Poniatowski years at Falerii Novi, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 25-37.

[12]We will discuss the history of scholarship and excavation of the site in greater detail below.

[13]See Chapter 7 of this work, entitled "Falleri – Falerii (Novi)" (Dennis 1848, 129-150).

[14]Dennis 1848, 146.

Despite is current status as an agricultural centre, Falerii Novi still bears witness to its celebrated history. The site is dominated by the S. Maria di Fàlleri and its Abbey (Figure 1.4). The former has been preserved as a heritage site by the Comuné di Fabrica di Roma and is currently under renovation on its north side. The latter serves as the home of the Mancini family and his tenants. The conversion of the Abbey to a modern domicile has resulted in surprisingly few changes to its visible exterior. In fact, the only noticeable modern additions to the site as a whole include a number of animal pens, sheds, fences, and access roads.

In terms of ancient remains, the site is surrounded by massive fortification walls of *opus quadratum*. Although they are obscured on all sides by a thick band of vegetation, these walls dominate the urban horizon and are preserved in many places to their original height, having survived the installation of the modern farmstead relatively unscathed (Figures 1.5-1.6). Access roads were added on the east, west, and south sides of the farm to provide easier passage between the fields and pastures on the interior and the exterior of the ancient city. Often, these paths often took advantage of existing breaks in the fortifications. The west end of the *decumanus maximus*, for example, which enters the city through the west gate, has been cleared and levelled for public use while low terrace walls hold back the accumulated debris on either side (Figure 1.7). On other occasions, the wall appears to have been intentionally dismantled.

The fortification system features an intricate network of towers and gates, which are still visible today. Among these, the Porta di Giove, the primary west gate of the city, stands as the most recognisable and highly published feature at the site (Figure 1.8). On the south side of the city is another gate of significance, referred to as either the Porta Puteana or the Porta di Bove (Figure 1.9). In addition, we may observe large stretches of exposed bedrock along the south side of the city where the natural plateau was quarried back so as to be flush with the wall face. The resulting quarry trench separating the ancient wall and the river valley was not subject to cultivation during any period of occupation at the site. As a result, the natural debris is thickest on this side. Visible behind this dense wall of vegetation along the south side of the city and around the southeast corner is a series of caverns carved directly into the face of the bedrock. As we shall observe in the pages to follow, these caverns range from small shallow niches to full-sized chambers (Figure 1.10).

Aside from the inherent archaeological value common to all ancient sites, the city of Falerii Novi is relevant to the scholarly world for two reasons. First, it was founded during a period of heightened urban evolution within Italy. In fact, Falerii Novi was established at the peak of Roman urban expansion prior to the reign of Augustus. As we shall discuss in greater detail later in this investigation, however, the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the city are unusual and cannot be explained away simply as a product of Rome's colonial enterprise.

Zonaras (18.8), the twelfth century Byzantine scholar, tells us that the inhabitants of Falerii Veteres were forcibly resettled into a new Roman city, Falerii Novi, following their unsuccessful revolt because the site was deemed less defensible than its predecessor. Scholars such as Terrenato and Keay reject this account and challenge the traditional image of Rome as a purely militant entity, marching throughout the peninsula and stripping away regional identities by founding symbols of Roman authority. Instead, they entertain the possibility that the foundation of Falerii Novi was a cooperative effort between the Romans and local Faliscan elites, serving to strengthen the relationship between the two. According to this philosophy, the Romans were not suppressing the local Faliscan identity as much as the Faliscans were seeking to augment their status within Italy by willingly adopting Roman urban customs. By reconsidering the status of the city and the factors that led its foundation, we may gain important insight into Rome's interaction with the local communities of Italy.

Second, the investigation of Falerii Novi is important given the current state of the scholarly record. As we have noted already, the city was founded in the mid-Republic during one of the most extensive phases of Roman urban expansion throughout Italy. Very few cities from this period, however, have been subject to detailed archaeological investigation. Furthermore, no major Faliscan site from any period has *ever* been excavated. Over the last ten years, undertakings such as the Tiber Valley Project have attempted to compensate for this apparent oversight by engaging in intensive survey throughout the region in order to identify sites for future exploration. This venture, spearheaded by Southampton University and the British School at Rome, sought to provide the basis for a new understanding of

Roman towns throughout the Tiber Valley. Falerii Novi was selected as one of the centres for exploration, which took the form of an intensive geophysical survey.[15]

The end result of this undertaking is a complete city plan that reveals, without the necessity of excavation, such standard urban features as a forum, temples, bath complex, and theatre. It has also helped to identify a number of discrepancies in earlier plans of the city, which were based on a long history of sporadic, haphazard, and poorly documented excavations. Unfortunately, despite the completeness and clarity of the urban components within the geophysical plan, the phasing of the city is all but impossible to establish as each level is superimposed upon the other in a two dimensional plane. It is at this point that the Falerii Novi Project seeks to pick up where previous investigators have left off. This enterprise originated as an offshoot of the Tiber Valley Project and is directed jointly by Professor Nicola Terrenato[16] of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and me under the auspices of Dr. De Lucia and Ms. Laura Caretta of the Archaeological Service of Rome.

Our project consists of two main phases. The first, initiated in 2004, involves an architectural survey of the 1.7 kilometres of city walls that encompass the site. The second will entail the systematic excavation of key areas within the walled area. Our research goals are threefold. First, we seek to clarify ambiguities within the geophysical plan and to reconstruct the phasing of the city. Second, we wish to document the gradual reshaping of the physical environment that accompanied the process of urban development. At Falerii Novi, this landscaping takes a number of forms both inside and outside of the city. Of particular interest is the extensive quarrying that was undertaken around the south and southeast sides of the inhabited plain. Finally, we hope to gain a better understanding of the city's status and function in Roman Italy as well as its role in the urban development that was ongoing throughout the peninsula during the mid-Republic.

We will initiate our discussion with a consideration of the existing evidence from Falerii Novi, considering the full range of available data from the earliest excavations to the

[15]For the results of this innovative investigation, see Keay *et al.*, 2000. We will discuss the efforts of the Tiber Valley Project at Falerii Novi later in this chapter.

[16]Terrenato was a member of the geophysical survey team and contributed substantially to the survey of the extra-mural territory just outside the north gate of Falerii Novi.

most recent surveys of the site. We will attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the city in antiquity and to distinguish the various phases that are represented. Without the help of securely dated archaeological evidence, this process will prove daunting and our conclusions speculative. Nevertheless, it is our goal to gather together for the first time the full corpus of evidence for the city, as scant as it may be, and to develop a plausible urban model that will aid in the future exploration of the site. To help fill in the gaps within the data set, we will draw upon other cities founded during the mid-Republic as comparanda.

Once we have established our urban model for the city, we will consider the circumstances surrounding its foundation, its original status, and the role it played in the Romanisation of Italy during the mid-Republic. To facilitate this discussion, we will establish a study period that ranges from the dissolution of the Latin League in 338 to the foundation of Falerii Novi in 241. This century represents the greatest period of Roman colonisation in Italy prior to the reign of Augustus. Rome did not begin to establish her own colonies until she had been freed from the commitments of the larger league. Following the establishment of Falerii Novi, meanwhile, historical circumstances, most notably the First Punic War, greatly curtailed Rome's colonial enterprise in the peninsula. Thus, the period of 338 to 241 represents a manageable and complete period for investigation.

B) The History of Investigation at Falerii Novi

Excavation at Falerii Novi began in 1821 under Stanislav Poniatowski and his lead excavators, Ignazio Vescovali and Gregorio Castellani.[17] On May 21, 1825, the *tenuta di Fàlleri* was passed on to landowner Giovanni Paterni, a native of Narni. He examined the ruins adjacent to the abandoned church and discovered that many of the original marbles had been carried away by neighbouring villagers, who were using the site as a quarry for building materials. He sent numerous missives to the Camerlengato requesting permission to investigate the remains of the church and may have an acquired an official licence to dig inside it.[18]

[17]For more details on the excavations undertaken under Poniatowski, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 25-37.

[18]For a complete record of the actions of Paterni and the interactions between him and the Church, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 38-40.

Activity resumed again in 1829 after the rights to the property had been acquired by Count Antonio Lozano Argoli y Ortega. Lozano engaged in two seasons of excavation before work at the site ceased once again.[19] Throughout the remainder of the century and into the next, investigation at the site was sporadic. George Dennis makes reference to an excavation spearheaded by Angelo Iannoni Sebastianini around 1847 or 1848.[20] Sebastianini carried out subsequent research between 1859 and 1867, almost ten years after he first claimed tenure of the land. Finally, Adolfo Cozza, another visitor to Falerii Novi, notes that Francesco Mancinelli Scotti opened a series of test trenches at the turn of the century.[21]

Unfortunately, little in the way of supporting documentation, field notes, or site plans has ever been recovered from these early years while most of the excavated artefacts have found their way into private collections or onto the open market and are considered lost. Nevertheless, these campaigns are vital to our understanding of Falerii Novi. Not only do they represent the bulk of the archaeological activity undertaken at the site, they were unhindered by current farming activities.

In all, six plans were produced during the nineteenth century that bear witness to the scope of these early campaigns. The first of these, appropriately entitled *Pianta delle mura dell'antico Fàlleri coll'indicazione degli scavi eseguiti a tutto il 1823* was completed by Carlo Cazzaniga, probably in the same year (Figure 1.11).[22] It is very simple, with a single line used to delimit the city walls. It also highlights the three work areas from the 1822 season, although it gives no indication of what depth was reached, nor is there any trace of the roads or ruins that were discovered during the first season.[23] Abundant archaeological remains, conversely, are visible in the areas explored in 1823. These trenches represent a vast extension of excavated territory and are occupied by tracks of a street grid with orthogonal

[19]For more details concerning the 1829 and 1830 seasons, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 41-42.

[20]Dennis 1848, 138. For this next stage of investigation at Falerii Novi, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 46-47.

[21]Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 111.

[22]See Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 28 n. 11 for sources.

[23]The excavation trenches from 1822 take the form of blank circles within the walled area of the city.

intersections and the remains of buildings that have been assigned to habitation. To the south we see the west portion of a structure that was later, in 1829, recognised as a theatre.

Two plans were produced by the young architect Virginio Vespignani in 1831 during a visit at the end of the English excavation undertaken by Edward Dodwell (Figures 1.12-1.13).[24] Although dating almost a decade after the inaugural excavations, these plans provide the best record of all excavated areas since 1822, including the area around an apsidal building explored in 1823. They also make references to isolated monuments, including an amphitheatre and mausolea to the north and northeast of the city, and give the best tracing of the city wall complete with visible towers, gates, and access streets. Some captions were added to the second plan by an unknown hand following a comparison with the plan published by William Gell in 1834. According to Di Stefano Manzella, the greatest strength of these plans lies in the fact that they "provenga[no] proprio dagli scavi del 1821-1822 e non da saggi abusivi anteriori."[25] In other words, the work of Vespignani, in addition to that of Cazzaniga, serve as the best evidence for the excavations undertaken in the early years because they were based exclusively on the excavated remains.

Three more plans followed shortly after those of Vespignani. The first was that of the aforementioned William Gell, which can only be described as schematic and imprecise (Figure 1.14). The second was published by Luigi Canina in 1846 and is more faithful to the visible remains, but is not without error and lacking in exhaustive commentary (Figure 1.15). This plan is displayed at the site today on a large public board next to the open trench from the 1969-1975 excavations. Finally, in 1848, George Dennis published his account of *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. As part of this opus, the author drafted an updated plan that was more in line with Gell's (Figure 1.16). Whereas each of these plans offers a unique perspective of the city and provides information that is vital to our understanding of its urban topography, they lack collectively the precision and the attention to detail that make Vespignani's plans so valuable. They also do little to help reconstruct the full extent of the early excavations that had been undertaken up to their time.[26]

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[24]See Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 29 n. 13 for sources.

[25]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 31.

[26]We will consider these plans in greater detail below when we attempt to reconstruct the urban topography of Falerii Novi.

Given the restrictions of the available plans and the overall lack of documented finds from the early campaigns, we are dependent upon the written accounts of various travellers to the site, including both independent sojourners and those sent as ambassadors of the Camerlengato to oversee the various excavations. In many instances, these visits resulted in long, detailed descriptions of the city, its finds, and its state of excavation.

The first person to document his observations of Falerii Novi was Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464), who visited the site in May of 1462.[27] Within his account Piccolomini mentions a "monasterium" but says that overall the site was "verum sine monachis et habitatore." Thus, the author provides a good account of the site as it appeared before the modern farming installation. One of the most important descriptions that he provides for us is of the walls. According to Piccolomini, the "muri sunt ex quadrato lapide praealti sine calci adeo diligenter saxis ingentibus inter se commissis, ut vix queat iunctura discerni." Given the presence of this great fortification, the author refers to the city as a "magnum oppidum." Save for the church, a few offices, and a place to shelter horses, there is little else in the way of structures mentioned in this account.

Our next source of information comes from the account of Martin Smet, who discusses the epigraphy of the region, particularly from Civita Castellana. His original manuscript was destroyed in a house fire in 1578 and republished in 1588 following his death.[28] Although his inscriptions are generally devoid of extra commentary, the author does offer insight into the ancient landscape of Falerii Novi. One fragment in particular (*CIL* XI 3148a) mentions spoiled ornaments and fragments of marble columns as well as statues of Venus and Aesculapius, the former rendered in fine work and the latter in a cruder form. In terms of the city itself, the author mentions the circuit walls and a number of caverns. More precisely, he says that the "muri tamen pene integri et pleraeque cavernae vivo topho incisae adhuc cernuntur." He also mentions the presence of towers spaced 23 feet apart and an aqueduct built by Rome but with no remaining marks in the stone.

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[27]Piccolomini discusses his travels in book 8,6 of his *Commentarii*. Di Stefano Manzella provides the specific passage that relates to Falerii Novi (1979, 19).

[28]This text was published as part of *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam, liber. Accessit auctarium a Justo Lipsio* (Antwerp, 1588). For the portions of the text relating specifically to Falerii Novi, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 19-20.

Piccolomini and Smet provide a good starting point for the investigation of the city. Their accounts highlight the most dominant feature of site, the large fortification walls that ring the city, constructed of finely cut *opus quadratum* blocks and featuring towers at regular intervals. Smet implies that the "vivo topho" was exposed and pierced by a series of caverns. As we may observe at the site today, the wall system surmounts these caverns, and integrates the bedrock into its architectural fabric. In terms of urban amenities, we have only a vague description of marble columns, although the statues of Venus and Aesculapius may indicate the presence of cult places dedicated to two of the most important divinities worshipped at the Latin colony of Paestum.

Record of the earliest finds at the site was made by Alessandro Visconti in his dissertation, published in 1823.[29] In his opus, Visconti describes the circumstances surrounding the discovery of a large caché of silver in 1810 by a local farmer three miles from Civita Castellana in the area of Fàlleri. Visconti notes that the weight of the silver was more than one thousand ounces. He also claims to have personally seen some 400 works carried away by a silversmith, including a fine cup with an inscription of the maker under the edge reading M[arcus] MASCIAN[us] P[ondo] VII S[emis].[30] He ends his discussion by saying that many pieces were melted down, but does not describe which ones.

The next account of significance is a brief passage within a larger work published by Gaetano Maroni (1802-1883) in 1842.[31] This narrative has an advantage over those of Piccolomini and Smet in that it followed ten years of excavations at the site and describes the remains that were unearthed during this period, many of which are no longer available for inspection today. In this text, Maroni mentions the Roman theatre excavated between 1829 and 1830, an associated *piscina*, and the presence of various ruins between them. He also accounts for a Temple of Augustus, two tumuli, and the remains of an earlier temple below the abandoned Abbey. In addition, he documents a number of statue fragments, including one of Livia I in the form of Concordia and others of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

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[29]This text may be found in Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 32 with references.

[30]Di Stefano Manzella notes that the cup may be found at the Museo Nazionale di Napoli, sala 82, vetrina 17 (1979, 32).

[31]This account may be found in the *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* XIII, p. 288 s.v. "Civita Castellana." For a copy of the passage, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 20-21.

The most useful account of the site topographically and archaeologically is provided by Adolfo Cozza.[32] Although only two pages in length, this document is particularly important because it was composed in 1903 following the full series of excavations undertaken in the nineteenth century, including the most recent test trenches opened by Francesco Mancinelli Scotti in October and November of 1898. We will discuss many of Cozza's observations, particularly those dealing with the city's street plan, later in this chapter.

We should also add to our list of contributors, Edward Gerhard, the secretary of the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*. Gerhard had assumed responsibility for the nineteenth century excavations and often oversaw the work personally. Consequently, we have at our disposal a number of detailed reports that describe the most important discoveries from Falerii Novi during each season, including the best surviving description of the theatre and its main architectural features.[33]

These plans and written accounts represent the majority of our reliable data for Falerii Novi prior to the geophysical survey of the Tiber Valley Project. Unfortunately, they remained lost, unpublished, or scattered for many decades. We are in debt to Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, who, in 1979, gathered together the available evidence from these early years in his *Falerii Novi negli Scavi degli Anni 1821-1830*.[34] In addition, Di Stefano Manzella scoured the Vatican archives and brought to light a number of relevant documents, including correspondences between the Camerlengato and the various holders of the *tenuta di Fàlleri*. Furthermore, he discovered records of sale, inventories from private collections, and museum invoices that represent the only record of many of the most important items that were recovered from Falerii Novi and the surrounding region throughout its long history of excavation.

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[32]This text is reproduced by Di Stefano Manzella (1979, 21-24). Cf. his references on p. 21 n. 5.

[33]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 35 n. 25. The account of Gerhard was published in the *Bullettino* in 1829. For the complete reference and a copy of the text of Gerhard see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 43-45.

[34]Di Stefano Manzella followed up this effort in 1981 with "Regio VII. Etruria. Falerii Novi" (*Supplementa Italica* 1: 101-176), which includes a brief summary of the early excavations at the site in its introduction. Prior to the work of Di Stefano Manzella, we were reliant upon Pasqui (1903) who provides a much earlier summary of the nineteenth century excavations, but does not include a detailed plan.

As part of this investigation, Di Stefano Manzella drafted his own plan of Falerii Novi, striving for the first time to reconstruct the urban layout of the city based in part on the data he had gathered from the nineteenth century campaigns and in part on a recent analysis of basalt blocks from the site (Figure 1.17). This plan is more daring in its reconstruction of the urban layout of Falerii Novi. The orthogonal grid proposed by Di Stefano Manzella, however, has come into question in light of the most recent results from the geophysical survey of the Tiber Valley Project. Nevertheless, the reconstruction offered by the author was the first of its kind for Falerii Novi. Still today, many authors, including those of the Tiber Valley Project, adhere to his system of labelling walls, towers, and gates.[35]

In the early twentieth century, work was almost non-existent at Falerii Novi. In 1957, Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins released their article "The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern Ager Faliscus." The authors dedicate a large portion of their study to the course of the Via Amerina and the various structures that were required to facilitate its passage north and south of the city.[36] In addition, they catalogue the access roads that exited the city, while mentioning briefly the general arrangement of the urban grid.[37] Included in this brief discussion is a basic city plan that highlights the known gates and the position of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* (Figure 1.18).

A decade or so after this publication, archaeological activity resumed at the site. As we mentioned earlier, a trench was opened to the east of the basilica of Santa Maria di Fàlleri by Gabriella Perina Begni between 1969 and 1975. The data recovered from these campaigns have yet to be fully published.[38] Nevertheless, Begni brought to light a large edifice with foundations in tufo and traces of paved streets, including a portion of the *decumanus maximus* (Figure 1.3). Finally, a series of excavations was undertaken in and around the Abbey by the Soprintendenza during the period of its restoration.[39]

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[35]Of note, the surveyors of the Tiber Valley Project incorporate Di Stefano Manzella's wall plan into their own geophysical plan of the city (Keay *et al.* 2000).

[36]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 73-128.

[37]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 156-162.

[38]See Brunetti Nardi 1972.

[39]Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 111.

In 1979, the same year that Di Stefano Manzella released his groundbreaking work, Potter published an analysis of the survey data recovered from the *Ager Faliscus* as part of the larger South Etruria Survey. This enterprise was initiated by Ward-Perkins in the 1950s and 1960s to trace the settlement history of the *Ager Veientanus* and its environs from the earliest occupation of the region. As Potter notes, this study represents one of many to have been undertaken in the region.[40] Consequently, we have numerous period maps for the area of south Etruria, complete with evidence for larger settlements, smaller villages, individual farms, and successive road systems.

As part of this larger opus, Potter, like Di Stefano Manzella, provides a summary and interpretation of the most recent data that were available for the city of Falerii Novi and offers a conservative plan based on all existing evidence (Figure 1.19). He also analyses the development of the city as part of the larger regional settlement system, considering such revolutionary factors as population size, settlement density, and urban impact. Thus, while offering little on the known urban scheme of the city, Potter provides an excellent outline of the urban and rural climate in which the city existed.

Through most of the 80s and 90s, interest in Falerii Novi waned. Few studies offered more than a basic account of the historical circumstances surrounding the foundation of the city and a brief glimpse at its visible features. De Lucia Brolli provides one of the most complete examples of such a study, including both a description of the site and its monuments as well as a survey of the necropoleis that surround the town and line the Via Amerina.[41]

One of the more informative studies from the last two decades is that of Flower, who published her interpretation of an inscribed breastplate that was captured from Falerii Veteres in 241. This cuirass was first published in 1986[42] but received little subsequent

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[40]Potter notes that the area of south Etruria is one of the most studied in modern scholarship (1991, 191). He acknowledges in particular Ashby (1927), Ward-Perkins (1962, Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1968), and Castagnoli (*et al.* 1986) for their contributions to our understanding of the region. He himself, meanwhile, has published a number of works on the area, including *A Faliscan Town in South Etruria* in 1976, *The Changing Landscape of Southern Etruria* in 1979, and a good portion of his more general *Roman Italy* in 1987.

[41]De Lucia Brolli 1991.

[42]Zimmerman 1986, 37-42.

scholarly attention.[43] Although the archaeological context of the artefact is unknown and its authenticity questionable, the interpretation of this breastplate may shed light on the events of 241, which remain a matter of speculation. According to Flower, the armour was not seized on the battlefield following the destruction of Falerii Veteres, but was taken as booty from the home of a family of consequence and later inscribed with the names of the ruling consuls.[44] Although this theory remains contested, it managed to excite scholarly debate regarding the unusual circumstances of the encounter between the Faliscans and Rome. This renewed interest in Falerii Novi was carried over into the new millennium with the publication of one of the most important and innovative studies of the site to date.

C) The Tiber Valley Project and the Geophysical Survey of Falerii Novi

In 1997 and 1998, Southampton University and the Tiber Valley Project surveyed the site of Falerii Novi as part of a larger investigation into the topography and internal organisation of cities within the Tiber Valley. This larger survey area extended from Portus at the mouth of the Tiber to the area of Orte in the middle. Within this broad territory, surveyors sought to identify existing nucleated settlements. Among these, certain representative sites were selected for a more detailed geophysical survey in order to establish the basis for a comparative analysis between the various types of sites identified within the survey area. Falerii Novi proved to be an ideal candidate for intensive geophysical survey because it offered a broad expanse for exploration with few impediments. Likewise, it provided complete limits to the urban environment as noted by the presence of its city walls.

Although we generally refer to the work of the Tiber Valley Project at Falerii Novi as a geophysical survey, three types of surveys were undertaken at the site; the first was a detailed topographic survey, the second involved use of magnetometry, and the third was a typical surface collection.[45] First, the surveyors used a standard Leica Total Station to establish a network as would be expected for any survey project. Next, visible topographic features, both natural and artificial, were mapped in relation to this grid. These features were

[43]Not surprisingly, one scholar who was interested in this unique inscription was Di Stefano Manzella (1991, 1-16).

[44]For the complete study, see Flower 1998, 224-232.

[45]For an outline of the various survey techniques used at Falerii Novi, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 5-9.

superimposed upon a contour map of the site, which was rendered by taking spot heights at regular intervals (Figure 1.20).

Within the survey network, a second grid was established, which consisted of 371 squares, 30 by 30 metres in size, each of which was examined individually using a magnetometer.[46] Not all the area of the city could be surveyed. In the end, the surveyors were able to cover 90 percent of the walled area, or 27.8 hectares, as well as another 1.8 hectares outside the city to the north. This plan was made complete by the addition of the walls as they were published by Di Stefano Manzella in 1979 (Figure 1.21). The results of the geophysical plan were converted into an interpretive plan, in which visible walls and streets were delineated wherever possible. The resulting *insulae* were labelled and interpreted individually.[47] Areas that could not be surveyed, including the church, the church yard, the Abbey, and the open trench from the excavations of 1969-1975, were superimposed. The final result was a uniquely detailed and intensive plan of subsurface features within the walled area of Falerii Novi (Figure 1.22). Streets and *insulae* were clearly evident while many known structures, including the theatre in the south, came alive for the first time in decades.

Despite the detail and the quality of the plan, the surveyors have identified three problems with the interpretive process.[48] First, all stratified levels are superimposed into a single plane and not delineated chronologically. Second, subsurface features are not equally visible given variations in surface conditions and the extent to which the ancient structures were altered in antiquity. Third, some shapes are more easily identifiable than others. Even in areas of high visibility, only structures with recognisable forms may be identified. Variations in building layout, particularly among small, well-packed structures, make pattern recognition difficult. Thus, larger houses with distinctive plans are easier to identify than smaller ones. In the end, the surveyors admit that their interpretive plan is "unidimensional and tells us little about the chronology, architectural detail or function of the buildings

[46]For a detailed look at the processes involved in the magnetometry survey, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 9-11.

[47]See Table 1 (Keay *et al.* 2000, 8) and figure 8 (Keay *et al.* 2000, 10) for the location and identification of interpreted *insulae*.

[48]Keay *et al.* 2000, 9, 11.

revealed."[49] Consequently, they have left their data open to public scrutiny in the hopes that specialists from various fields will come forward and answer some of the many questions that their survey has posed.[50]

Finally, the surveyors engaged in a systematic surface collection.[51] Pottery and other distinctive surface remains were amassed in the hope of establishing a basic chronology for the site and possibly even determining the functions of specific buildings identified within the geophysical plan.[52] A single surveyor used a computer linked to GPS to note the distribution of various classes of materials identified at the site. As a functioning farm, Falerii Novi was particularly well suited for this type of activity. In 1998, following the initial interpretation of the geophysical remains, areas of known buildings were resurveyed and distribution maps for the various classes of material were produced. This more intensive survey was important because it allowed surveyors to ask very specific questions about the chronology and construction techniques of individual buildings.[53]

According to the surveyors, "this innovation allows [them] to associate ceramics and architectural fragments with specific buildings, and thus assists in assessing the chronology and character of individual structures."[54] Of course, the primary purpose of the geophysical survey was not to provide definitive answers, but to raise questions and promote subsequent investigation into the city and its layout.

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[49]Keay *et al.* 2000, 6.

[50]For the Tiber Valley Project as a whole, see Keay and Millet's site, *Roman Towns in the Tiber Valley* at http://www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/tiber%20valley/tv.html. This page is hosted by the University of Southampton and contains links to the geophysical survey results from Falerii Novi in addition to pages concerning the methodology of the survey, the preliminary results of the larger project, and the future goals of the investigators.

[51]Keay *et al.* 2000, 70-75.

[52]The surveyors look to earlier studies as precedence, identifying in particular those of Walker 1985 and Rodriguez Hidalgo *et al.* 1999 (Keay *et al.* 2000, 70).

[53]For the methods employed, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 70.

[54]Keay *et al.* 2000, 7.

D) The Falerii Novi Project

The Falerii Novi Project, as an offshoot of the Tiber Valley Project, builds upon the efforts of the surveyors. As we mentioned at the outset, the project consists primarily of an architectural survey of the city walls that surround the site. Because it is so well preserved and highly visible, the enceinte at Falerii Novi has been the centrepiece of most descriptions of the site from the sixteenth century onward. In each case, the image is the same: well constructed walls of large cut stones with a network of gates and towers, and caverns carved into the south side. More recently, scholars have looked into the architectural form of the walls and have attempted to draw parallels with other fortified cities. Salmon, for example, observes that the walls at Falerii Novi were constructed of local tufo and compares them with the Servian wall and the circuit at Cosa, although the latter is polygonal.[55] Hammond also draws parallels with the Servian wall and characterises the ashlar system, complete with its gates and towers, as a symbol of Hellenistic defensive architecture.[56] Most studies, however, provide little more than a cursory consideration of the wall's appearance and its basic architectural features.

No publication yet exists that attempts to reconstruct the city gates, provide a definitive number of towers, or understand the relationship between the circuit and the southern tombs. Likewise, no serious attention has ever been given to the presence of mason's marks, areas of repair, or the effect that the construction had on the physical environment. In short, the city walls at Falerii Novi have received very little scholarly attention when compared to the activity that has taken place within them since the early nineteenth century.

The only study to address the city walls at Falerii Novi in any significant detail is the geophysical survey of the Tiber Valley Project.[57] Although offering no reconstruction based on new data, the surveyors modified the plan of the walls as they were published by Di Stefano Manzella in 1979. Most notably, they identified an ambiguous gap in the northern wall as the true north gate. The arch to the east of this gap, originally identified by Di

[55]Salmon 1982, 173.

[56]Hammond 1972, 228.

[57]For the complete discussion of the walls, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 86-87.

Stefano Manzella as the north gate, was interpreted as a secondary pedestrian pathway.[58] Furthermore, the surveyors make some interesting observations regarding the chronology of the city wall, its relationship with the reconstructed city plan, and the effects of the wall construction on the physical terrain.

This page long analysis represents the only study of significance to address one of the best surviving examples of mid-Republican defensive architecture in Italy. To fill this void, the Falerii Novi Project initiated an architectural survey of the walls, focusing especially on the south side of the city where drastic remodelling of the site occurred in the form of extensive quarrying. The project began in August of 2004 as a volunteer programme. In 2005 and 2006, we operated as a fully credited field school through Saint Mary's University, Halifax, although volunteers were also employed in 2005.[59] As expected, the majority of our team from year to year consists of students and novices, few of which have any background in archaeology. This lack of experience presented more than a few difficulties as new team members needed to be trained each year in the use of the Total Station and AUTOCAD as well as basic archaeological principals relating to surveying. We were aided greatly by Greg Baker, the head technician at the Maritime Provinces Spatial Analysis Research Centre. MP_SpARC also provided us with our hardware, including a 700 series Leica Total Station and electronic Distometer.

We were also at a disadvantage given the nature of the site itself. As we have observed already, Falerii Novi sits on a flat plain that slopes gently to the south before falling off sharply at the Purgatorio river valley (Figure 1.2). The extensive quarrying that occurred along the south side in antiquity had a profound impact on the natural terrain. Unfortunately, the exact nature and overall extent of these modifications to the site are unclear given the dense growth that obscures the wall face on all sides. On the south side of the city in particular, an area that was not subject to cultivation in any period of occupation, this vegetation is thicker, contains an excessive quantity of large trees, and extends outward from

[58]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins also show two entrances in the north wall but label them both simply as north gates (Figure 1.17).

[59]Ten volunteers were solicited through the AIA field opportunities website.

the wall farther than on any other side. In some places this vegetation spans the entire gap between the wall face and the river valley.[60]

Despite the inexperience of our team and the hostility of the local conditions, we were able to survey both faces of the wall on all sides, with the exception of the interior of the northwest corner and a short section of the east side where the wall course could not be discerned. We met with the greatest success on the problematic south side where we engaged in a more detailed survey during our second and third seasons. Unfortunately, the final plan as it appears here is not as detailed as we may have hoped but instead is rendered schematically (Figure 1.23). Nevertheless, we were able to identify existing towers, gates, and gaps wherever they appeared in the circuit. More importantly, we have attempted to distinguish the bedrock from the masonry in order to better recognise the relationship between the wall and its natural setting and the reshaping of the physical environment that accompanied the process of urban development.[61] It is in this respect that the project met with its greatest success.

Given our status as a surveying project, we were restricted from removing any objects from the site. Nevertheless, we have made some dramatic finds over the past three seasons in an architectural context. During our first season, we discovered a mason's mark carved into the face of a tower in the northwest corner of the city, just to the north of the west gate. This mark took the form of two Vs and may provide insight into the chronology of the circuit (Figure 1.24). It is very likely that subsequent marks will appear once we have completed a more substantial cleaning of the wall face.

Our greatest discovery to date is that of a previously unpublished gate on the south side of the city, which we dubbed the 'Abby Gate' after the volunteer who first discovered it (Figure 1.25).[62] At present, the function of this gate remains a mystery, located as it is between the primary south gate and the postern gate. In addition, it does not seem to

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[60]The geophysical surveyors agree that the state of the vegetation at the site represents one of the most serious impediments in the study of the walls (Keay *et al.* 2000, 86).

[61]We will analyze this plan more thoroughly below.

[62]The Abby Gate is not associated in any way with the Benedictine Abbey on the site. Furthermore, to better clarify our nomenclature, at no point in this investigation will we discuss a gate associated with the medieval Abbey.

correspond to any of the urban streets as they appear on the geophysical plan. In 2006 we narrowed our focus onto the city gates, particularly those on the south side, in the hope of better understanding their role in the urban scheme of the city. Over the course of the season, we engaged in a detailed stone by stone survey of the primary south gate, the Abby Gate, and both sides of the Porta Puteana. We also surveyed a variety of the tombs on this side, including one of each type that we had identified during the previous season. The resulting digital images of the tombs were less compelling than those of the gates but will provide a solid basis for future exploration of the tombs in the seasons to follow.

At present, we have barely scratched the surface of our research goals. Nevertheless, we have gathered sufficient evidence to begin drawing some preliminary conclusions regarding the form and function of fortification system, complete with its gates and towers, and its relationship with the street layout. We will reserve our discussion on the city walls until after we have considered the urban layout of the city. Only then can we begin to understand the role that they played in the larger urban scheme of Falerii Novi.

E) The City Plan of Falerii Novi

As we have stated on several occasions already, we are fortunate to have at our disposal a detailed and seemingly complete plan for Falerii Novi complements of the recent geophysical survey undertaken by the Tiber Valley Project. This plan, however, is not a definitive statement in that it is still open to interpretation. Consequently, it should not be seen as a replacement for earlier evidence, but should be treated as another piece of the larger puzzle, albeit a valuable one, that contributes to our understanding of the ancient city. Thus, we will take into account all of the available evidence in our own reconstruction, beginning with the earliest archaeological activity at the site.

Our most detailed account of the urban layout at Falerii Novi is provided by Adolfo Cozza, who describes an orthogonal grid system based on primary and secondary streets intersecting at right angles.[63] More specifically, the author tells us that the city wall held four gates positioned at the extremities of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*. This account immediately brings to mind a cruciform arrangement. Likewise, Frederiksen and Ward-

[63]This text is provided by Di Stefano Manzella (see 1979, 22-23).

Perkins suggest that the interior of the city was divided into four main quadrants by intersecting axial streets that corresponded with the four main gates of the city. The Via Amerina ran north-south, serving as the *cardo maximus*, and was intersected at a right angle by the *decumanus maximus*, which linked the Porta di Giove in the west with the east gate. This arrangement is clearly displayed on their accompanying plan (Figure 1.18).[64] They offer no further comment, however, on subsidiary streets.

Cozza fills in details of the larger grid by describing a series of streets, 2.8 metres wide, paved with basalt blocks and featuring *umbones*, *scansaruote*, and sidewalks rendered in tufo. Furthermore, he says that the streets were arranged "a grandi intervalli," implying that they delimited large *insulae*. He also recognises streets running in the direction of the *cardo* near the 'Amerina gate' and in the direction of the *decumanus* near the centre of the city at the crossing of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* where he supposes the forum to have been. The text suggests that Cozza did not actually witness the forum or a central intersection. Instead, it describes "il luogo dove si *suppone* fosse il Foro."[65]

It is also possible that Cozza is describing another intersection altogether. Throughout his account he mentions two areas where streets are clearly visible. We must assume that one of them was the large trench excavated in 1823, which is clearly marked in the plans of Cazzaniga, Vespignani, and Canina (Figures 1.11-1.13, 1.15).[66] Within this trench, we can witness documented archaeological evidence for a regular network of streets, at least in the limited area just north of the theatre. The second plan of Vespignani reveals the greatest extent of this plan, which appears to consist of a broad east-west street (labelled street A for the benefit of this investigation) that meets a north-south street (street 2) at a T intersection (Figure 1.26).[67] The excavation area ends here so it is unclear if street A carries on eastward beyond this intersection.

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[64]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 155. The authors credit the work of Pasqui (1903, 14-19) in their reconstruction.

[65]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 23.

[66]We will refer to these plans on many occasions throughout this chapter. In addition, we will also note the plans of Gell, Dennis, Di Stefano Manzella, Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, Potter, and that of the geophysical survey (Figures 1.14, 1.16-1.19, 1.22).

[67]This plan is exactly the same as Figure 1.15, with the addition of labels that help clarify the current reconstruction.

Street A is located in the same general position in each plan and has the same basic orientation, running slightly northwest to southeast. Some discrepancy, however, may be witnessed in its exact placement. In each plan, street A runs just south of the west gate and its access road. Nevertheless, given its somewhat skewed orientation, it comes very close to the gate when extended in a westerly direction. In the plan of Canina, it lines up exactly while in the Cazzaniga plan it comes close enough to assume it would meet the access road on this side. Only in the Vespignani plans does it not actually come close enough to the west gate to assume a relationship between the two.

There are two other difficulties in associating street A with the west gate. First, we may observe in the plans of Vespignani and Cazzaniga that the western access road seems to have a diverse orientation from street A in that it runs southwest to northeast.[68] If street A were to meet the west gate, it would create a fork immediately inside the city with streets running to the northeast and the southeast. Second, in the Vespignani and Cazzaniga plans, the western access road is considerably wider than street A.[69]

These observations lead us to one of two possible conclusions. First, street A is the *decumanus maximus*. If this is the case, we must assume that the plans of Vespignani are simply incorrect or that street A deviates drastically in its course somewhere in the unexcavated area to the west. We would also have to account for the differences in width and orientation of the western access street. The second possibility, and the one that seems more reasonable, is that the western access road is the primary *decumanus*, street A is the first subsidiary *decumanus* to the south, and the location of the excavation area in the plans of Cazzaniga and Canina is incorrect. This situation seems more plausible, particularly for the plan of Canina, who struggles more than the others with scale and exact topographical placement. From this point forward, we will refer to street A simply as a *decumanus*.

The second plan of Vespignani allows for further comment on the distribution of subsequent *decumani*. As was stated above, this plan demonstrates the broadest excavation area. If we look to the northern edge of the large trench, we see what appears to be a second *decumanus* (street B) that is in line with the eastern end of the western access street. Since

[68]The Canina plan does not include any of the urban path of the western access road.

[69]On the Canina plan, they are roughly equal, but it is unclear if the author is indicating anything more than the presence of the roads themselves.

only the southern edge of this street is visible, we are unable to determine its full width to see if it is comparable with that of the western access road. In the plan of Canina we may find a trace of a similar road at the northernmost point of the excavation area. The brief line of this street, if it is another *decumanus*, is also in line with the west gate. Thus, the two *decumani* in the plan of Canina seem to converge onto the same point, again suggesting a possible fork just inside the west gate. In the Vespignani plan, conversely, the two *decumani* are exactly parallel. It is the opinion of this investigator that Vespignani reveals the southern edge of the *decumanus maximus* (street B), as well as the first subsidiary *decumanus* to the south (street A). We must still be willing to admit, however, that the *decumanus maximus* takes a southern turn in the west in order to pass through the west gate. This situation is not unheard of and was witnessed 60 years earlier at Alba Fucens (c. 303)[70] where the original *decumanus* took a bend at both ends to reach gates in the northwest and the southeast (Figure 1.27).[71]

We may also add that neither street A nor street B lines up with the eastern gate, or at least the position of the gate as it appears in the plan of Canina.[72] Here, the east gate is located to the south of the excavation area and well south of the west gate. If we interpret this access street as another primary *decumanus*, we may observe that Falerii Novi, at least on the basis of the early plans, featured an urban scheme not unlike that of Cosa (c. 273) and Alba Fucens with a number of misaligned principal streets that were united by the forum (Figures 1.27-1.28. In fact, this plan is reminiscent of most Latin colonies from the mid-Republic.[73] Castagnoli cites the city of Falerii Novi as a typical example of this style of plan along with Norba (c. 342) (Figure 1.29), Alba Fucens, Cosa, Beneventum (c. 268), and Modena (c. 183).[74] In each of these plans, the forum acted as the fulcrum that integrated the primary *decumani* and *cardines* into a single unit. If this was the case at Falerii Novi, the position of

[70]Dates in parentheses following city names refer to the foundation date of that particular city.

[71]We will discuss the urban layout at Alba Fucens in more detail later in this investigation.

[72]Neither Vespignani nor Cazzaniga account for a gate on the east side. Gell and Dennis do, but they do not attempt to accurately reconstruct the city streets or excavated areas.

[73]We will discuss the typical plan of a Latin colony later in this investigation.

[74]Castagnoli 1971b, 96-100. Modena is an interesting case. As a citizen colony founded in the second century, it seems out of place among Latin colonies of the mid-Republic. Nevertheless, Castagnoli observes that the urban scheme here is characterised more by long narrow blocks that were rendered in an antiquated manner (p. 98).

the forum is unclear since there would be at least one secondary *decumanus* between the two primary ones.[75]

We may also comment on street 2, which meets street A in the form of a T. In each plan it extends in both directions, north and south, from street A. Its orientation, however, is variable. In the Vespignani plans, it is exactly perpendicular to street A, running northeast to southwest. In the Canina plan, the angle of street 2 is less pronounced and its path seems to bend slightly in the north to become more regular. Finally, in the plan of Cazzaniga, it runs almost exactly north-south, thus creating slightly obtuse and acute angles within the subsequent *insulae*. In each case, the same orientation has been applied to street 1, running parallel to street 2 to the west. Vespignani's second plan shows the greatest extent of this street which appears to have been excavated to an equal length to its eastern counterpart. As was the case with street A, neither of these streets line up with primary gates in the north or south. Consequently, neither represents the *cardo maximus* or, more importantly, the Via Amerina. Instead, we may refer to these streets simply as *cardines*.

An interesting observation may be made regarding the position of street 2 in the second plan of Vespignani. The path of this street lines up with a secondary access road that passes through the city wall to the immediate south. No other plan, including those that followed in the twentieth century, has any indication of a gate or an access road at this location. Furthermore, another gate here between the south gate and the Porta Puteana to the east, both of which are present on every plan, seems unnecessary.[76] Furthermore, the line of this eastern *cardo* is interrupted by the theatre. In each plan the street encounters the theatre at a point just to the east of its central axis.[77] We might also observe that the eastern *cardo* in the Cazzaniga plan would meet the southern wall in almost exactly the same position as

[75]Dennis distinguished a possible location of the forum roughly in the middle of the city at the position of L. It would seem, however, that this location is a best guess based on the location of the gates. We may ignore the plan of Dennis with respect to the urban grid as it is unlikely that the winding dotted lines that seem to indicate roads are anything more than the product of an overly active imagination.

[76]We will discuss the validity of this designation of Vespignani, and the gates on the whole in our reconstruction of the city wall to follow.

[77]For the Cazzaniga plan, which was drafted prior to the full excavation of the building, we must extrapolate the theatre plan to reach this conclusion.

Vespignani's extra gate.[78] As we have mentioned briefly already, we discovered a gate at this location in the 2005 season. Whereas the urban function of this portal remains unknown, the arrangement of minor streets lining up with secondary gates is another common feature of Latin colonies from the mid-Republic and is most visible at Paestum (Figure 1.30).

The *decumani* and *cardines* at Falerii Novi also allow us to make observations regarding the *insulae* of the orthogonal grid. The two *cardines* provide the length or width of the *insulae*, depending on whether or not they were distributed in a *per strigas* arrangement as they were at Cosa, Norba, and so many other cities taking the form of Latin colonies at this time.[79] Helping us to better understand the insular system is the second plan of Vespignani. Given the presence of a second *decumanus* to the north (street B), this plan actually contains a complete *insula* that appears to be rendered *per scamna* and not *per strigas* as we might have expected. As well, this *insula* does not have the characteristic long thin shape as witnessed at earlier plans such as Alba Fucens or Paestum.

Squat *insulae* were not completely absent among the Roman cities of Italy. The very early Latin colony of Norba, for example, reveals *insulae* of similar proportions at the eastern end of the *decumanus* where it meets the southern high place (Figure 1.29).[80] Similarly, squat city blocks are also visible on the terraces that climb the northern high place. The dimensions of the *insulae* here, however, were constrained by impediments of the terrain, a situation that did not exist at Falerii Novi, at least not in the centre of the city. We may also consider many of the *insulae* at Volsinii following its second foundation in 264 (Figure 1.31). Here we find a number of unevenly spaced longitudinal axes. Many of the city blocks between them take on squat dimensions. We might also add that they were distributed in a *per scamna* arrangement if we consider the longitudinal axes, which were close to running north-south, to be *cardines*. The overall plan at Volsinii, however, is more reminiscent of the Latin colonies of Suessa Aurunca (c. 313), Venusia (c. 291), Grumentum

[78]The same observation cannot be made for the plan of Canina but, as we have already observed, this plan cannot be trusted in terms of scale or the exact topographical positions of its features. In addition, Cazzaniga has a tower at this point instead of a gate. Many plans feature a tower here, including the first of Vespignani.

[79]A *per strigas* layout features rectangular *insulae* arranged in such a way that their long sides are parallel with the *cardo maximus*. In a *per scamna* layout, the *insulae* run in the opposite direction.

[80]Looking at *insulae* P through T, we see a gradual shift in the dimensions of the city blocks from long and thin to short and squat.

(c. 264), and Aesernia (c. 263). Each of these cities featured a few evenly spaced longitudinal axes running generally north-south, with a number of lesser *decumani* running parallel to them creating long, rectangular *insulae* (Figures 1.32-1.35). In no way does the plan of Falerii Novi, which seems to be based on a hierarchy of intersecting streets, correspond to these city plans. Volsinii demonstrates a middle ground between the two types, but is not an ideal source of comparison with Falerii Novi from a purely urban perspective.

Sommella agrees with this sentiment. He draws comparisons between the two cities in that they both served to replace earlier centres that had revolted. Nevertheless, he describes Falerii Novi as being of the "classic" system of crossing axes in a defensive system that was not influenced by the orthogonality of the site. Conversely, he observes that the new Volsinii, which he calls Bolsena, was situated on the narrow spine of a hill flanking Lake Bolsena. As a result, it did not have an orthogonal plan from the outset and was not associated with any major thoroughfare until the end of the second century with the addition of the Via Cassia, at which point the city was reorganised.[81] In short, the two cities share certain qualities with respect to the circumstances of their foundation. As far as their urban layout is concerned, however, they were two very different animals.

The closest comparison to the layout that we have reconstructed for Falerii Novi may be found at the Latin colony of Cosa (Figure 1.28).[82] Cosa has traditionally served as the prototype for all Latin colonies of the mid-Republic. Here we find a number of primary streets linked by the forum, while the associated *insulae* were rectangular and distributed in a *per strigas* arrangement. Although mostly regular, some eccentricities are visible. Street 6, one of the primary *decumani*, did not skirt the forum, but pierced it at the mid-point of its

[81]Sommella 1988, 57.

[82]A large amount of scholarship has been dedicated to the Cosa over the last 25 years. The excavation of the site was undertaken by the American archaeologist Brown with additional work by the American Academy of Rome (Brown 1951, Brown *et al.* 1960, Brown 1980, Brown *et al.* 1993). The work of Brown was picked up more recently by Fentress (1994, 2000a, 2000b). In addition, Dyson and Perkins are responsible for groundbreaking surveys in and around the area of the *Ager Cosanus*, providing a solid background on the rural context of the city (Perkins 1999). See in particular Perkins' contribution to *Paesaggi d'Etruria* (Carandini *et al.* 2002, 69-89, 93-102). For a more thorough history of scholarship, complete with references, see Taylor 2002, 59-61. Cf. Ward-Perkins 1958, 115-116, Salmon 1969, 29-39, Castagnoli 1971b, 98, Hammond 1972, 229, Stambaugh 1988, 255-259, Sommella 1988, 71-72, Bruno and Scott 1993, Gros and Torelli 1988, 140-142, and Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 262-265. For ancient descriptions of the site, see Rutilius *de redith suo* I.285-286, Pliny *N.H.* 3.51, Fasti *Triumph.ad an*. 280, Strabo 5.2.8, Tac. *Ann*. 2.39, and Verg. *Aen*. 10.168. Among these Strabo and Tacitus provide the best descriptions of the city.

short side. On the southwest side of this street we find *insulae* that were more squat than the others. In the eastern corner of the city, between streets Q and R, we find an *insula* that is both squat and laid out *per scamna*. Such an orientation would also apply to the entire row of *insulae* on this side of the forum to the northeast of street 6, if street 7 were extended. In fact, the forum itself is oriented *per scamna* rather than *per strigas*.

Likewise, at Falerii Novi, the early plans suggest that the forum was positioned between two primary *decumani*, as indicated by the positions of the primary east and west gates. The evidence also suggests that another, secondary *decumanus* ran between them. Consequently, the resulting urban grid may resemble that of Cosa. If this is indeed the case, we are justified in suggesting that only those *insulae* that were present along the central east-west band on either side of the forum were squat and *per scamna*. As was the case at Cosa, the rest of the grid may very well have featured longer, narrower *per strigas insulae*.[83]

Finally, we must also mention Cozza's description of an oblique stretch of road that deviates from the uniform grid and follows a diagonal course towards the northeast gate.[84] We have no other record in the surviving documents for such a street. We may assume, therefore, that it was discovered during an excavation that was undertaken after 1846 and the drafting of Canina's plan. This description raises an interesting observation with regard to the city's access roads. In the two plans of Vespignani, the western access road runs almost exactly east-west. The two roads entering from the south, one from the Porta Puteana and the other from the mysterious gate to the west of it, run almost perfectly north-south.[85] Because of the oblique orientation of the urban grid as a whole, however, the access roads and the urban streets are misaligned. Irregularity may also be observed for the northern and north-eastern access roads in Vespignani's second plan, each of which adheres to its own orientation. If the urban streets exit the city at these points, they must stray from the overall orientation of the urban grid resulting in oblique lines and drastic bends in their paths.

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[83]The Romans appear to have fixed the inconsistency caused by streets piercing the forum by the time of the foundation of Parma in the early second century (Figure 1.37). We will discuss this urban scheme in greater detail later in this chapter.

[84]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 22.

[85]In the second plan we see that the south gate is bypassed in favour of the gate to the east of it. We will address this arrangement later in the context of the city wall.

This situation is less pronounced in Cazzaniga's plan. Here both the *cardines* and the southern access street run precisely north-south. The western access road, however, demonstrates a converse orientation to that of the *decumanus* allowing for the possibility of an oblique street running towards the northeast gate. Cozza adds that along this stretch other streets were visible, dividing the central portion of the city into irregular *insulae*. Again we have no record of such an arrangement in the existing plans, so we can only speculate about the shape, irregularity, and location of these *insulae*.

In the end, we may draw a number of conclusions regarding the city plan of Falerii Novi based exclusively on the earliest data from the site. First, the city appears to have had a regular orthogonal grid in the style of mid-Republican Latin colonies such as Cosa and Norba. The grid was based on the intersection of a number of primary streets that entered through four principal gates and met at the forum. The forum served as the fulcrum of this plan as the primary *cardines* and *decumani* did not run gate to gate. We may also observe that in at least in one instance, a secondary street lined up with a secondary gate. The primary streets were wider than the secondary ones, possibly 2.80 metres in all if Cozza is to be believed, and featured sidewalks, *scansaruote*, and *umbones*. All were likely paved with basalt while sidewalks were of local tufo. Despite the regularity of this grid, there were areas of irregularity associated with the unique orientation of the access roads that entered the city through its primary and secondary gates.[86]

The efforts of Keay, Millett, Poppy and the others involved in the Tiber Valley Project, to whom we shall refer henceforth as the surveyors, have supplemented this urban model dramatically. One of the strengths of the magnetometry readings undertaken at Falerii Novi was the clarity of the subsurface city streets and the *insulae* they defined (Figure

[86]Compare our initial reconstruction with the plan of Di Stefano Manzella (Figure 1.17), which was based on the very same evidence we have considered thus far. The author agrees that street B (Figure 1.26) represents the *decumanus maximus*, although he adjusts the orientation of the street to accommodate a straight path through the west gate. He also shifts the east gate to the north allowing the *decumanus maximus* to run gate to gate. The two ends of the *cardo maximus*, conversely, are misaligned and meet at the forum. Of particular interest is Di Stefano Manzella's rendering of the northern access street, which enters the city at an irregular angle and encounters the forum at an oblique angle. In fact, all the *insulae* in the northeast corner skewed just as Cozza had suggested. As we mentioned earlier, this model has been rejected in light of the more recent evidence offered by the Tiber Valley Project.

1.21).[87] The resulting plan varies somewhat from our initial image of the city in that it features a cruciform arrangement with a primary *decumanus* and *cardo maximus* meeting at the centre of the city (Figure 1.22). The *cardo maximus* served as the urban component of the Via Amerina while the intersecting *decumanus maximus* linked the primary lateral gates to each other and to the Via Amerina. As we suggested, the lesser streets do not create regular *insulae* throughout the entire city. Those in the north, northeast, and south vary dramatically in both their size and shape. In the north, this irregularity is caused by an oblique street that deviates from the primary urban orientation and wanders to the northeast just as Cozza observed.

The most regular area within the plan is visible in the centre of town where the minor streets conform to the orthogonal pattern that was established by the central intersection. The first *decumani* to the north and the south of this intersection are spaced 40-45 metres on either side the *decumanus maximus*. The course of these streets is clear in the west as far as the medieval church. Their course beyond this point was conjectured despite a lack of clear evidence. Generally, all the subsidiary *decumani* in the geophysical plan are clearer in the eastern half of the city. The next *decumanus* to the north of the *decumanus maximus* is located 90 metres from the first, resulting in a second row of *insulae* that is almost twice as long as the first. Similarly, the second subsidiary *decumanus* to the south is 80 metres from the first.

Beyond the second northern *decumanus* is an irregular street that originates at the northwest corner of *insula* V and runs diagonally toward the northeast gate. Beyond this is the intramural territory just inside the northern fortification wall. Below the second southern *decumanus*, meanwhile, are a third and a fourth, which are spaced at intervals of 65 and 62 meters respectively.

Considering next the *cardines*, the surveyors again observe that they are clearest in the eastern half of the city, while west of the Abbey, they either disappear or cannot be recognised. To the south of the city, the Via Amerina is accommodated by a land bridge

[87]For the interpretation of the street grid, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 82-85. The surveyors were also aided by the distribution of basalt samples at the site, which they believe to be good indicators of paved roads. In particular, basalt remains confirmed the location of certain streets, including the one that ran along the northern boundary of the forum. Basalt blocks are still visible on the northern and eastern sides of the 1969-75 excavations (pp. 70-72).

spanning the quarry trench before it enters the south gate to become the city's *cardo maximus*.[88] The southern track of the street was clearly marked in the magnetometry survey by a lead pipe while the 1969-75 trench reveals basalt blocks from the easternmost edge of its central portion. To the north, the *cardo maximus* deviates slightly from its regular course in order to access a misaligned north gate. The extent of this irregularity is unclear due to the spoil heaps from the excavations of the nineteenth century. The majority of the other *cardines* are regular, separated from each other by a distance of around 60 metres. Nevertheless, the eccentricity of the *cardo maximus* has prompted the surveyors to conclude that the street grid and circuit wall are not contemporaneous.

Just inside the eastern wall, the surveyors distinguished another irregular street running south-southeast from the northeast gate and meeting the *decumanus maximus* 40 metres inside the east gate. South of this point, the street snakes about towards the Porta Puteana. Another irregular *cardo* in *insula* III, meanwhile, runs askew of the main orientation for a brief distance before disappearing under the church. Its course to the south of this point is lost. Admittedly, the west side of the grid is difficult to interpret because of the presence of modern and medieval structures. Nevertheless, the surveyors have reconstructed this street in such a way that it follows a similar course to that of the eastern intramural street and, if projected, would meet the point where Dennis and Di Stefano Manzella mark another minor gate in the southwest (Figures 1.16-1.17).[89]

The final area of irregularity identified by the surveyors within the urban grid is that of the forum itself. The surveyors place the forum to the immediate east of the *cardo maximus*, straddling the *decumanus maximus* for a distance of three *insulae*. Thus the entire forum area is equal to two rows of three *insulae*. To accommodate this placement, parts of the *decumanus maximus* and the first minor *cardo* to the east were suppressed.

Based on this reconstruction, the surveyors have made a number of conclusions regarding the chronological phases of the city.[90] First, they believe that original foundation

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[88]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 102.

[89]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (Figure 1.18) and Potter (Figure 1.19) feature a gate in the southwest, but in each case, the position of this portal does not line up with the western intramural street as it appears in the geophysical plan, or at least not the proposed extension of it. Instead, the authors place the gate farther to the west at the point of a large gap in the wall, which we will discuss in greater detail later in this chapter.

[90]Keay *et al.* 2000, 82-85.

consisted exclusively of the regular *insulae* distributed around the primary central intersection. The initial rows of *insulae* measured 40-45 by 60 metres and were laid out on either side of the *decumanus maximus* with two blocks to the west of the Via Amerina and five to the east. Additional rows were added to the north and to the south of these. The blocks to the south measured 80 by 60 metres while those in the north were slightly longer at 90 by 60, although the surveyors admit that their northern boundary is difficult to trace. Overall, the original grid consisted of four rows of seven *insulae* and an area of 460 by 275 metres. This area was enclosed on the north, west, and east sides by the irregular intramural roads that denote the course of the original pomerium.

This reconstruction does not account for the deviant course of the Via Amerina. The surveyors offer many causes for this irregularity. For example, they suggest that an unfavourable omen may have dictated the disjointed position of the north gate once the wall was added. They also suggest the possibility that the gate and northern stretch of the wall existed before the northern portion of the *cardo* was built, although they do not personally support such a reconstruction since it implies that the northern stretch was later than the southern one.[91] In the end, the surveyors propose an alternate sequence. They believe that the Via Amerina was laid out first. Next, it was crossed by the *decumanus maximus*, and the 28 original *insulae* were defined. As evidence, the surveyors observe the small building on the east side of *insula* XVI, identified as a temple, that is oriented in harmony with this original layout (Figure 1.36). Next, the pomerium was traced along the irregular path of the intramural streets, while still respecting the position of the temple in the northeast corner. They add that many of the tombs in the river cliffs along the south edge of the city date to this early period or possibly even predate the city.

Next, they suggest that the street grid was expanded to the west and a Capitolium was placed on the highest point of the city just inside the eventual west gate.[92] Shortly afterwards, the city walls were erected and a number of tombs were carved into the bedrock

[91]Keay *et al.* 2000, 82-85. Cf. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (1957, 190-191), who also consider and reject this theory.

[92]We will consider the so-called Capitolium later in the chapter.

along the south and south east sides of the city.[93] This period also saw a realignment of the Via Amerina and the formalisation of the intramural streets to the north and east. The final stage witnessed an expansion of the city to the south, filling in the areas just inside the walls.

The surveyors admit that this reconstruction is tentative, offers no firm chronological sequence, and features some uncertainties, including the chronology of the tombs and their relationship with the city. Nevertheless, the cornerstone of this interpretation is the belief that the city walls date to a later period than the original third century foundation. The surveyors believe that this chronological shift has serious repercussions on our understanding of Republican fortifications since it involves a temporal realignment of what they refer to as "one of the fixed points commonly used for the dating styles of urban defences."[94] They admit, however, that the construction techniques of the wall are still Republican and that it may well have been added shortly after the initial foundation of the city.[95]

This urban model is the first of its kind to be generated for Falerii Novi and bears witness to both the detail and the elusiveness of the geophysical plan. Nevertheless, while we applaud the success of the Tiber Valley Project, we must also make a few objections with regard to the proposed layout of the city and the sequence of its development. According to the surveyors, the original *insulae* were laid out along the *decumanus maximus* at half the size of those to the north and south, but they offer no explanation as to why. The reason may correspond with an alternate foundation sequence. It is more likely that an overall insular scheme of 80-90 by 60 metres was established for the central area of the city, and was oriented according to cardinal points. The corresponding grid consisted of three rows of seven *insulae*, each of equal or nearly equal size, laid out along a path that was reserved for the Via Amerina. They were arranged in a *per strigas* alignment and distributed in such a way that two *insulae* of each row lay to the west of the Via Amerina and five to the east. The area of the forum was then chosen. In order to create a central communal area, the forum piazza was oriented east-west and filled the two *insulae* to the immediate east of the Via Amerina along the middle strip of *insulae*. Later, the third *insula* to the east was incorporated

[93]We will discuss the alterations to the site that resulted from the insertion of this wall later in this chapter.

[94]Keay *et al.* 2000, 85. Here the authors mention in particular Ward-Perkins 1979, 20-24.

[95]Here the surveyors cite the work of Lugli 1957.

into the forum area creating a longer, narrower, and more centrally located public space. The *decumanus maximus* was then added in line with the long axis of the forum, although slightly to the north of centre. This placement of the *decumanus* cut the middle row of *insulae* roughly in half resulting in smaller units on either side. Given the slight northern placement of the *decumanus*, the *insulae* to the south were somewhat larger than those in the north.

We may observe a similar urban system at the later town of Parma (c. 183) (Figure 1.37).[96] Here the *decumanus maximus* pierces the long side of the forum which is oriented north-south and not east-west. The *decumani* on either side create *insulae* that are 60 metres north to south. The next principal *decumani* on either side are separated from the last by 125 metres, while a third is located to the south at an equal interval. The area to the north and south of the *decumanus maximus*, combined with the width of the street itself, maintains the 125 metre insular length and a modular unit of 125 by 108 metres on which the orthogonal grid was based. Thus, the *decumanus maximus* pierced one of these units without compromising the overall scheme. The same situation exists at Falerii Novi for the heart of the urban grid.

As far as the phasing of the city is concerned, it is first necessary to state the fundamentals on which our particular understanding of the city plan is based. To begin with, there is no reason to place any undue credence on the claim of Zonaras (8.18) that the original Falerii Novi was meant to be less defensible than its predecessor. The city was founded from the outset on a major Roman highway at the very end of the first Punic War and only 23 years before the invasion of Hannibal. Rome had already suffered through the invasion of a significant foreign power during the Pyrrhic Wars and although she emerged the victor over the Carthaginians in 241, she must have suspected that subsequent invasion was a real possibility. As a result, it seems highly unlikely that the original city was not furnished with a city wall that was at least equal to the standard that had been set for fortifications by the mid-third century.

Furthermore, we need not think that variations in insular size are in any way indicative of chronological disparity. Although based on common orthogonal precepts, earlier and contemporaneous cities boasting orthogonal grids were renowned for their

[96]Sommella provides a good thumbnail sketch of Parma (1988, 79-81). Cf. Castagnoli 1971b, 104-108 and Rossignani 1975.

variations in insular dimensions. The one exception is the city of Paestum, although here the *insulae* added by the Romans in the eastern portion of the city mirrored the regularity of the scheme to the west, established centuries earlier as part of the Greek colony of Poseidonia (Figures 1.30, 1.38). In fact, the layout of the original phase at Falerii Novi as proposed by the surveyors is irregular in its regularity and more reminiscent of the later Roman colonies of the early second century, such as Luca (Figure 1.39), Luni, and the aforementioned Parma (Figure 1.37).[97]

Likewise, a deviation in the course of the Via Amerina should not be seen as being particularly noteworthy, nor is there any need to create elaborate theories to explain the circumstances of this irregularity. There are many examples of similar misalignments among the cities founded in the mid-Republic. We may note a similar bend in the northern extremity of the *cardo maximus* at Suessa Aurunca (Figure 1.32) and the snaky course of the longitudinal axis at Aesernia (Figure 1.35), although admittedly the eccentricities in both instances were products of the natural terrain.

At Alba Fucens we see a curvature of the *decumanus* at its southwest end as it approaches the southern high place and the area of the amphitheatre (Figure 1.27). The primary *decumanus* that facilitated the original southeast gate, meanwhile, was bent to the north to follow a depression in the terrain. The main *decumanus* to the northwest, as well as the one beside it, also bends towards the south to meet the gate on this side. Finally, the street exiting the northeast gate is curved and irregular throughout, despite passing through a primary portal.

At Paestum we may observe that neither the *cardo* nor the *decumanus maximus* are aligned with the primary gates of the city, a situation that is most clearly illustrated in the plan of Sommella (Figure 1.40). The reconstruction of the urban grid at Paestum, however, is based primarily on aerial photography and not excavation, while the exact relationship

[97]The policies for Latin and citizen colonies were changed after the Second Punic War (Salmon 1969, 74). By the late Republic, and especially during the early Principate, Rome's political situation demanded more Roman citizens abroad. As a result, citizen colonies were reconsidered and rendered more in the style of Latin colonies. More specifically, they featured reduced military obligations and larger land grants. These new Latin/citizen colonies were established anywhere in the ever-growing Roman world. They served to remove excess population, such as those established by the Gracchi in Tarentum and Carthage, or to re-establish veterans, such as Sulla's colony at Pompeii and Caesar's colonies in Spain, Carthage, and Corinth (Stambaugh 1988, 246).

between the streets and the north and east gates is unknown.[98] Another problem involves the chronology of the walls at Paestum. Torelli believes that the west half was Greek and the east, Roman. One could argue, therefore, that the misalignment of the gates and the primary axes was a result of the later insertion of city walls, just as the surveyors have suggested for Falerii Novi. This explanation, however, does not account for the misalignment of the north and south gates, both of which fall within the boundaries of the original Greek city. Furthermore, one could also argue that if the gates and their alignment were Greek, they cannot serve as Roman precedents.

In the end, we have no resolution on the matter. Instead we may observe that the Romans demonstrate no hesitation in altering the course of their principal urban streets within a preconceived plan. The surveyors are correct, however, in their observation that there are many reasons for such a misalignment of the north gate, including ill omens and even simple practicality.[99] We also cannot reject the simplest explanation, that the surveyors and town planners made a error in judgement.

With regard to the plan as a whole, it seems unlikely that the intramural streets identified by the surveyors represent the original pomerium of the city. First, the streets do not completely enclose the *insulae* that supposedly comprised the original city. The southern portion of the western intramural street may indeed carry on to the south towards a southwest gate but there is no southern boundary. In fact, the eastern road extends well beyond the southern boundary of the central *insulae* without any evidence for a western turn.[100] It is unlikely that the Romans would have preserved the irregular alignment of this boundary on three sides and not on the fourth.[101] Furthermore, the streets do not meet at sharp, clearly defined corners. The northern intramural street carries on past the western one to reach the western boundary of the city. In the northeast corner, meanwhile, the streets intersect instead

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[98]For a good summary of the Roman colony of Paestum, see Greco 1986, Greco and Theodorescu 1987, Sommella 1988, 94-96, Pedley 1990, 113-129, Gros and Torelli 1988, 142-144, and Torelli 1999a and 1999b.

[99]We will discuss the Roman foundation procedure and the host of auguries it contained in the following chapter.

[100]We believe that the street carried on farther to the south than the surveyors have allowed.

[101]This observation will ring true in light of our discussion on the sanctity of boundaries in the following chapter.

of converging at a clear corner as the surveyors propose. A close inspection of the wall in this corner reveals that there are also two gates and not one as the geophysical plan suggests. The second gate is positioned just around the corner from the first on the north side of the city, and is in line with the northern end of the eastern intramural street.[102]

Another key point of our own interpretation of the city plan is that, for the most part, the irregular streets end at gates. The eastern intramural street follows an irregular course that links the Porta Puteana with the aforementioned unmarked gate in the northeast corner. The northern road extends from the other northeast gate to a point on the north wall where *insula* II is separated from *insula* III. A close inspection of the magnetometry data from the vicinity suggests that the street does not peter out at this point, but follows the wall course into *insula* II, at which point it disappears (Figure 1.22).[103] It is not out of the question that the intramural street followed along the interior face of the northern wall all the way to the nearby northwest gate, especially when considering that none of the other city streets accessed it. Finally, as was noted by the surveyors, the irregular western street in *insula* III appears to be in line with the area denoted in early plans as a southwest gate. The northern end of this street, which meets the northern intramural street at a T intersection, represents the only occasion in which an irregular street does not pass through a secondary gate.

Nevertheless, our overarching model still stands that the plan at Falerii Novi was based upon a grid of intersecting primary streets that pass through principal gates superimposed upon a network of irregular streets, which were furnished with secondary gates. In fact, the irregular streets are the only other paths to be furnished with gates in the entire city.

Finally, we must account for the new gate that we discovered during the 2005 season, the Abby Gate, and consider its relationship with the urban grid. As we noted earlier, the second Vespignani plan (Figure 1.13) reveals an unusual situation in which the Via Amerina approaches the area of the primary south gate, then turns to the east to follow a path along the wall before entering into the city through an otherwise unrecognised entrance between

[102]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (Figure 1.18) clearly identify both gates in the northeast corner. Dennis, meanwhile, makes reference to a second minor gate in the northeast corner (Figure 1.16), while the plan of Potter (Figure 1.19) plan features a gap at this position of each gate, although he only identifies one of them.

[103]For a close-up of this street at its relationship with the city wall, see the upper right hand corner of Figure 1.69.

the south gate and the Porta Puteana. This unidentified gate is positioned at a point corresponding with the central axis of the theatre. On the geophysical plan, no such gate is marked, nor does any street within the city seem to correspond with its proposed location. In 2005, the Falerii Novi Project team found this gate buried deep in the thorny overgrowth that obscures the wall on all sides (Figure 1.25). We also observed that the primary south gate had been blocked up from the inside, presumably at a time when the ground level inside the city was equal to the bottom of the gate. We propose that this blockage occurred prior to the insertion of the new gate and well before the insertion of the medieval church.

We will discuss both of these gates in greater detail later in the chapter as part of our consideration of the city walls. At present, we need only observe that at some point in antiquity the plan of Falerii Novi was altered in such a way that the Via Amerina ceased to serve as a primary urban thoroughfare. Instead, the southern half of the primary north-south axis was shifted to the east so as to pass through the back door of the theatre complex where it presumably stopped. This situation is unique in that the primary *cardo* in the south was no longer accessed directly by a city gate, but merely ended at the south wall. Furthermore, we may also observe that the new gate, for reasons to be explained later, is somewhat narrow for a primary portal and is considerably smaller than the Porta Puteana. It is possible that when the overall scheme of the city was altered, the Porta Puteana became the primary entrance, or more likely exit, on the south side while a new emphasis was placed on the Porta di Giove in the west.

At this point, we may now fully document our own urban model and phasing for Falerii Novi. This new sequence is based upon an acceptance that the site on which the city was founded in 241 was already home to an earlier Faliscan settlement, or at least the convergence of unpaved Faliscan paths. According to this supposition, the majority of the tombs that pierce the bedrock along the south side of the city also predate the foundation. In fact, it was the presence of these pre-existing tombs and Faliscan paths that dictated the choice of the site for the new Faliscan centre. Unfortunately, there exists no archaeological evidence for the original phases of the city, while the tombs, potentially the best indicator of the early chronology of the site, have never been investigated in any significant way.

Nevertheless, Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins agree that "one cannot exclude the possibility that Falerii Novi superseded some earlier Faliscan settlement on the same spot."[104]

This theory is also dependent upon the belief that the Romans were working together with the Faliscans in this urban endeavour. Instead of punishing the citizens of the older Falerii Veteres, the Romans chose to reward the local Faliscans with a new city on a site that had significant meaning to them. This situation compels us to interpret Polybius' πόλεμος ἔμφυλος (1.65.2) as more of a social uprising than an actual revolt against Rome. A similar situation may be witnessed earlier at Volsinii. Here, in 265, Rome quelled a slave revolt and a new city was established on a nearby location. Sommella interprets the conquest and re-establishment of Fregellae in a similar way, suggesting that the new city served as a symbol of Roman dominance and benevolence.[105] We will discuss the circumstances of this conflict in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Once the new site for Falerii Novi had been chosen, the Romans set about planning a city within the constraints of the earlier Faliscan streets on the north, east, and west. The Purgatorio river valley, meanwhile, served as a natural boundary to the south. This area was pierced by the Via Amerina and the initial *insulae* were laid out according to the alternate method described above. Thus, the earliest component of the scheme was the Via Amerina which was laid out, or at least the path of it established, before the city was planned. This theory also explains why only two *insulae* of each row could be situated to the west of the Via Amerina and five to the east. We may add that the auguries that accompanied this layout were taken from the highest point of the site, just inside the west gate to the north. This rise, which is clearly visible in the topographical model of the Tiber Valley Survey (Figure 1.20), is analogous to the Arx at Cosa or possibly even the northern sanctuary at Paestum. Not surprisingly, as we shall soon observe, this rise also hosted a Capitolium.

Next, as part of the original planning phase, the area to the south of the city was scanned. Given the natural boundary formed by the river valley, the Romans were limited in the dimensions of the southern *insulae* and opted for two rows of squatter city blocks. Certainly there exist many examples from orthogonal towns of the mid-Republic of *insulae* of irregular dimensions just inside a city boundary. Finally, the area was surrounded by a

[104]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 162.

[105]Sommella 1988, 31.

pomerium, which generally followed the course of the earlier Faliscan streets on the north and east sides. This boundary was extended in the west to capture the high place, although the situation in the west is difficult to understand in the geophysical plan because of the obscuring presence of medieval and modern installations. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain, as the surveyors observe, that the *decumanus maximus* spanned the entire length of the city. In order to create a more favourable grade for this thoroughfare, the southern face of the western high place was trimmed back, thus allowing the *decumanus maximus* to exit through the west gate on a level plane. Minor gates were added in the northwest, northeast, southwest, and southeast to accommodate the pre-existing Faliscan streets at points where they encountered the pomerium. In this way, the older streets took precedence over all others except the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*, which formed the basis of the orthogonal grid.

Finally, we suggest that the quarrying of the south side trimmed back the available area of the urban plain on this side resulting in slight irregularities in the shape of *insulae* LXI and LXII. At a later date, possibly at the moment in which the theatre was added, the plan was altered and the south gate abandoned in favour of a new access point slightly to the east. It is unlikely that this new gate was a primary portal, and so precedence was given either to the Porta di Giove or the Porta Puteana for reasons to be explained later in this chapter. This alteration is unusual in that it effectively severed the urban path of the Via Amerina, which was modified to pass through the theatre complex leaving the intramural streets in the southwest and the southeast as the only direct north-south routes within the city.

F) The Urban Components of Falerii Novi

Having established a tentative model for the city plan and phasing of Falerii Novi, we may now attempt to identify the primary structures that filled the grid. This process is even more problematic than our reconstruction of the street plan given the complete absence of stratified archaeological data. Nevertheless, our primary goal is to examine all of the available evidence and to create a plausible working hypothesis that we can compare with contemporaneous urban centres and use as an guide for future exploration of the city.

According to the contour model designed by the Tiber Valley Project surveyors (Figure 1.20), the natural plain on which Falerii Novi rests is not exactly flat, but features an east-west ridge that runs through the centre of the town, falling away to the north and south.

The highest point lies just north of the west gate. The ridge rises again slightly at the east gate. These natural features had a strong influence on the urban layout of the city. As we shall discuss below, it is likely that a Capitolium was added to the western high place. The forum, meanwhile was placed in the saddle between the two inclines along the central ridge. The city planners also made use of the slight hollows on the southern side of the ridge. The deepest of these offers access to the Pergatorio river valley via the Porta Puteana. To the west of this is the area of the theatre, which utilised a natural hollow for its *cavea*. An understanding of the natural terrain, therefore, serves as an ideal staring point for the reconstruction of the city and its primary urban features.

As expected, the most dominant feature of the urban horizon within the earliest records of the city is the theatre, which is prevalent on almost every plan.[106] Both Cazzaniga and Vespignani remain faithful to the excavated remains, which feature what appear to be sections of the lower seats of the cavea and the vaults that supported the upper tiers (Figures 1.11, 1.13). The second Vespignani plan may reveal evidence of lateral passageways and the corner of a *scaena*. Canina reconstructs the theatre in full, showing it in a complete but speculative form (Figure 1.15).[107] The plans of Gell, Dennis, Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, Potter, meanwhile, depict the theatre as a series of curved lines, again underscoring their schematic nature (Figure 1.14, 1.16, 1.18-1.19).

In each case the theatre is located in the southeast portion of the city near a large recess in the southern course of the urban circuit. In the plans of Vespignani and Cazzaniga, it straddles the western inside corner of the recess; in the plan of Canina, it is shifted to the east. In all three plans, the eastern *cardo* (street 1, Figure 1.26) meets the theatre at a point just east of its central axis while the western *cardo* (street 2) brushes the western edge of the *cavea*. In the second Vespignani plan, an extension of street 2 would miss the *cavea* completely. In the other two, the theatre almost touches the edge of the street. Because the theatre did not respect the established urban grid, we may assume that it was not an original feature of the city. Two neighbouring *insulae* might have been merged to accommodate the

[106]Only the first plan of Vespignani does not include the theatre, although it is rendered in great detail in the architect's second attempt.

[107]We will discuss the appearance and architecture of the theatre later in this chapter.

new this addition,[108] a situation that was not uncommon in the Roman world for theatres and amphitheatres alike. At Alba Fucens and Venusia (Figures 1.27, 1.33) for example, two *insulae* were merged to accommodate the insertion of an amphitheatre, while three were combined at Grumentum (Figure 1.34) and likely also at Paestum (Figure 1.41).[109] Only at Volsinii do we see an amphitheatre that is contained within the lines of the urban grid (Figure 1.31).

Another important observation may be made regarding the position of the theatre. At Parma (Figure 1.42), Suessa Aurunca (Figure 1.32), and Minturnae (c. 295) (Figure 1.43), theatres were located outside the city walls, as was the amphitheatre at Luca (Figure 1.39). At Alba Fucens (Figure 1.27), Venusia (Figure 1.33), and Grumentum (Figure 1.34) amphitheatres were located inside the city, but were placed peripherally.[110] The amphitheatre at Herdonia straddles the eastern boundary of the town, which divides the building into two halves (Figure 1.44). At Falerii Novi, the theatre is located in the southern portion of the town, but not as close to the exterior wall as it could have been. In fact, it is nearer to the forum area than it is to the southern boundary of the city. Once again, this situation is not without precedents. Ostia (c. 4th C, Figure 1.45) and Alba Fucens (Figure 1.46) both feature theatres on or near their fora. At Paestum, meanwhile, we find an amphitheatre invading the area of the Greek agora just to the north of the Roman forum (Figure 1.41).

In addition to the theatre, a small semicircular structure is marked on the plan of Canina and the second plan of Vespignani between the Abbey and the large excavated area to the east of it. Gell and Dennis both indicate the presence of nondescript ruins in the same general location, but offer no other details.[111] Whereas none of these plans offer any insight into the appearance or the function of this building, the written account of Cozza describes a "muro a pianta semicircolare quasi nella forma di abside, che trovasi quasi in centro."[112]

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[108]In the reconstructed plan of Di Stefano Manzella (Figure 1.17, 1.64), four *insulae* have been merged for the insertion of the theatre.

[109]Unfortunately, much of the theatre lies under a modern highway, Stradale 18.

[110]This same situation is also visible at *Ferentum* with regard to the location of the theatre and the amphitheatre.

[111]In Dennis' plan, unlabelled ruins are labeled with a K.

[112]Quoted in Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 21.

Likewise, Edward Gerhard makes reference to a little circular building in the vicinity of the theatre.[113] According to Gerhard, a number of terracotta objects were discovered in the vicinity of this structure, including a female figure with a pendant of grape clusters and twelve antefixes of Victory in the form of a priestess of Bacchus. Given the fixation on Bacchus and grapes we may suggest that the round structure was dedicated to the worship of this deity.

Furthermore, Gerhard describes briefly two statues of Silenus sitting on the back of a tiger with a goatskin on its head. According to the author, these figures were of mediocre design but were decently preserved. One featured breasts and recalled the Hermaphrodite of Napoli. The other made a perfect companion with a raised chest and a robust, squat form.[114] In keeping with the theme of Bacchus and his retinue, we must also mention the discovery of a seated Faunus statue that was recorded in the archives of the personal estate of Count Antonio Lozano Argoli y Ortega, who acquired the rights to the *tenuta di Fàlleri* in 1829 and conducted his own excavations thereafter.[115] There is no way of confirming that this statue was taken from the site, nor can we assign it to any particular public building. Nevertheless, the presence of Selinus and Faunus, whether associated with this semi-circular structure or not, maintains an affiliation with Bacchus.

Returning to the urban topography of the city, Vespignani and Cazzaniga add a tiny rectangular building just inside the primary west gate, on the south side. Whereas its function is currently unknown, the structure is reminiscent of the *horreum* inside the northwest gate at Cosa (Figure 1.28). Gell and Dennis, meanwhile, identify ruins to the southeast of the aforementioned circular building without providing any elaboration regarding their appearance. The only other record of urban structures within the early plans are the small tightly packed structures that line the excavated streets in the plans of Cazzaniga,

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[113]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 35 n. 25. For the complete text of Gerhard see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 43-45.

[114]It is possible that these statues were sold on the open market and ended up in the Campana collection. An early catalogue makes reference to many objects from the site of Falerii Novi, including a "Sileno dormiante. Statua al vero, che servì di fonte versando l'acqua dall'otre su cui riposa" and "altro Sileno giacente in varia attitudine." Once again, we can thank Di Stefano Manzella for his efforts in cross-listing these early reports from the site with contemporaneous catalogues and records of sale (1979, 44-45).

[115]For a complete list with sources and full discussion of these finds, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 45.

Vespignani, and Canina. Although the form and function of these structures as they appear within the plans are impossible to decipher, we may observe that the remains in each are remarkably similar and represent one of the few areas of congruency between all three plans.

To gain another perspective on the urban structures of Falerii Novi, we may return to the written descriptions of the site and, to a lesser extent, the incomplete record of known finds. Accounts of actual buildings are rare but do exist. As we have noted already, Gaetano Maroni identifies a *piscina* in the vicinity of the theatre, a Temple of Augustus, an earlier temple under the Abbey, and two tumuli, although these must have been extra-urban.[116] No other reference is made to any particular public structure of interest, although Maroni does mention scattered ruins between the theatre and *piscina*.

More evidence for public monuments may be gleaned from the objects recovered from the site and its vicinity. For example, there is record of a marble altar discovered by Giovanni Paterni that featured the inscription *memoriae*/*Victoriae* and was decorated with a large medallion featuring the head of Medusa and a meander pattern with similar decorations.[117] This object is both interesting and elusive. We have already witnessed a connection with Victory in the proposed Bacchus shrine above. Likewise, the catalogue from the famed Campana collection reports a "quasi mezza figura trovata nelle ruine di un teatro dell'antica Faleria Etrusca" as well as a "Vittoria o divinità alata in mezzo a due leoni rampanti."[118] One could assume that this altar represents another connection with the goddess Victory. Likewise, one might speculate that it pays tribute to a great military victory, such as the one that resulted in the foundation of the new city. Di Stefano Manzella, however, notes the funerary implications of the inscription. In this scenario, "to the memory of Victory" refers to a deceased female. If the author is correct, this altar offers very little to the urban reconstruction of the city, particularly since burials and their monuments were not associated with an urban environment. Nevertheless, this alternate interpretation does not diminish the presence of the goddess within the city or her connection with the god Bacchus.

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[116]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 20-21.

[117]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 39-40.

[118]This description is reminiscent of an antefix at the Louvre as witnessed by Di Stefano Manzella (1979, 44-45).

We have already used the sculptural evidence described by Smet to suggest the presence of cult places to Venus and Aesculapius. Although there is no additional evidence for the former, there was an image of Aesculapius, in addition to a female torso, sold to Duke Pierre-Jean-Louis Blacas d'Aulps by Ignazio Vescovali, who acted as the primary surveyor of the site from 1821 to 1823 on behalf of Poniatowski. Gerhard also witnessed from this same period a figure of Diana holding dogs. Years later, a statue of Diana was listed in the private collection of Lozano.[119] There is no way of confirming that these accounts describe the same statue. Nevertheless, they do allow us to suggest the possibility of a cult place to the goddess. Additional support for this claim may be found in the figure of Endymion with a dog, also discovered in the private collection of Lozano. The connection between Diana and Endymion is well founded in the ancient record (Pliny *N.H.* 2.4.43) and their love became a popular subject for painters and poets alike in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Dogs, meanwhile, are traditionally associated with the goddess Diana.

The private collection of Lozano also brought forth a statue of Mercury in addition to the one of Faunus mentioned earlier. Ovid connects Diana to Faunus. Many Greek sources, meanwhile, suggest that Pan was the son of Hermes and that he followed in the retinue of Dionysus. Thus, the Faunus figure may lend support to cult places dedicated to Diana, Mercury, Bacchus, or none of these. He also adds to the rustic overtones suggested by the presence of Diana, Bacchus, and Endymion. Unfortunately, we cannot confirm that the figures in the Lozano collection were actually taken from Falerii Novi, although there is a strong possibility that they were given the Count's association with the site.

Di Stefano Manzella describes another figure of interest for which we have corroborating, albeit circumstantial evidence tying it to Falerii Novi. The author discovered a record of sale for a colossal marble statue of Fortuna with a cornucopia that was sold to Berlin in 1842 by the Lozano estate.[120] This figure is reminiscent of a colossal woman rendered in Luni marble and holding a cornucopia that was recorded by Gerhard during the Lozano campaigns. According to Gerhard, the face of this figure was a portrait and the statue was meant to represent an imperial woman of some prestige in the guise of Fortuna or

[119]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 45.

[120]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 45.

Concordia.[121] Maroni, meanwhile, describes a figure of Livia I as Concordia in his description of the site published in 1842, the same year that the supposed Fortuna figure of Lozano was sold to Berlin.[122] It is possible that all three accounts refer to the same statue. If so, we may add a connection with the goddess Concordia and also the Augustan regime.

With regard to the latter, there is much support for Augustan influences in the sculptural and the epigraphic record at Falerii Novi. As we discussed earlier, Maroni accounts for a temple of Augustus. Gerhard, meanwhile, reports seeing heads of Augustus and young Tiberius as well as a statue of Germanicus from the excavations of Lozano.[123] It is unknown if this Germanicus was Nero Claudius Drusus, the son of Augustus' wife Livia, or Julius Caesar Claudianus Germanicus, his son, brother to Claudius and father to Caligula. If he was the former, we could assume a connection with the figure of Livia as Concordia. If he was the latter, we might associate him more with the other successors of Augustus discovered at the site, including the bust of a young Tiberius and the figures of Gaius and Lucius Caesar described by Maroni. Adding to the strong imperial atmosphere at the site are statues of two consuls from the Lozano collection while a record of sale reports that Vescovali sold the figure of an unknown Emperor with a Medusa cuirass following the 1823 excavations.

A few other pieces may be added to our list of known finds from Falerii Novi, but they do little to enhance our view of the urban topography of the site. The Campana collection, for example, featured half of a female figure from the theatre at Falerii Novi. Gerhard, meanwhile, mentions a plated statue and a robust male. Lozano talks of a nondescript colossal figure while his estate included a gladiator statue on a square base. Unfortunately, these statues tell us nothing of the structures which may have housed them, if they were associated with any architectural element at all. In fact, none of them, even those directly associated with Falerii Novi, demand the presence of an accompanying public structure since many elite houses featured substantial collections of art that were intended for private display. Furthermore, we cannot be certain that the statues discussed here were

[121]For the complete reference and a copy of the text of Gerhard see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 43-45.

[122]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 20-21.

[123]We have made several references to the accounts of Gerhard and Maroni as well as the items of the Lozano and Campana collections throughout this chapter already.

intimately connected with any specific element of the urban topography whatsoever, public or private. At present, we can only speculate.

Evidence for the private sector is even more sparse. One of the few surviving documents from the Poniatowski years is a little pamphlet of barely fifteen pages that was published in Rome in 1821.[124] It mentions a marble fountain of high quality dedicated to Neptune that was discovered in a residence at Falerii Novi. The date here is problematic as excavations at the site did not begin until December of 1821, leaving a small window of possibility for the discovery and publication of this fountain. One must assume that the document, of unknown authorship, was retro-dated at the behest of Poniatowski and that the villa and the fountain were discovered during the excavation of 1821-1822. Although no other record exists for this structure, the pamphlet intimates the presence of a high status residence at Falerii Novi. The description is vague enough, however, that we cannot be sure if the fountain, if it indeed existed, was part of an urban or rural residence. According to the South Etruria Survey, the *Ager Faliscus* featured villas on a large scale in the Late Republic. The presence of wealthy elites is also supported by the substantial hoard of silver discovered in 1808 as recorded in the dissertation of Visconti.

Cozza provides more detail of the urban houses at the site, identifying three distinct architectural phases.[125] The earliest structures were of tufo and peperino cubes. These were superseded by walls of *opus reticulatum*. The most recent stage appears to have been one of less architectural refinement in that it featured walls *opus incertum* that incorporated elements of all previous phases. Cozza also makes mention of a travertine threshold with *repagula*, pavements of *opus signinum*, and a rough mosaic of white and black tesserae. This description by Cozza allows us to reconstruct urban dwellings of the highest status to match the great extra-urban villas implied by the South Etruria Survey and Poniatowski's fountain. The presence of elite houses also supports our earlier suggestion that many of the sculptural pieces discovered at Falerii Novi and its surrounding territory may have been associated with private collections rather than specific public monuments.

[124]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 31.

[125]Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 23.

In the end, evidence for urban components from the earliest data is sparse and our conclusions can only be considered speculative at best. Fortunately, the recent efforts of the Tiber Valley Project have added to this model immensely.

One of the areas that could be identified easily within the geophysical data was the forum. As we noted above, the forum occupies the *insulae* to the immediate east of the Via Amerina, on either side of the *decumanus maximus*. Those making up the southern half of the square take up a greater total area because the *decumanus maximus* pierces the forum just to the north of its central axis. The surveyors also note that, despite its clarity, the area of the forum square demonstrates the most evidence for change and is one of the most difficult areas to interpret.[126] The actual forum piazza was comprised of *insulae* XXI, XXII, XXXII, and XXXIII while subsidiary buildings to the east were found in XXIII and XXXIV (Figure 1.47).[127]

According to the reconstruction offered by the surveyors, the forum area consisted of six *insulae*, three east-west by two north-south, and a total area of 190 by 90 metres. The surveyors observe that this plan is longer and narrower than most contemporaneous cities in Italy. Evidence for the suppressed street near the eastern end of the forum, however, suggests that the forum piazza was more condensed in an earlier phase. Even if this is not the case, long narrow plans are not unheard of, as may be witnessed at Alba Fucens and Paestum (Figures 1.30, 1.48).[128] We may also observe that among the cities founded in the mid-Republic, the dimensions of the forum were based strictly on the open piazza and not the peripheral buildings that projected from it. In fact, most fora in their original form were devoid of structures and consisted of nothing more than an open piazza. Consequently, the forum at Falerii Novi is not as unusual as the surveyors have suggested. As evidence, we may observe that only the *cardo* separating XXI from XXII and XXXII from XXXIII appears to have been suppressed. The same cannot be said for the next *cardo* to the east, which defines the eastern boundary of the forum piazza and separates the square from the buildings to the east. We must agree with the surveyors, however, who observe that the

[126]For a full discussion on the forum area, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 79-82.

[127]For a detailed discussion of these *insulae* in particular, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 35-39.

[128]For a brief but informative consideration of Roman fora, see Gros 1996, 210-211, figs. 244-247.

whole vicinity, given its location on the ridge, must have been designated as a public area from the outset.

Based on the evidence from the geophysical survey, the surveyors have reconstructed a large open space flanked on its long north and south sides by *tabernae* that opened directly onto the forum square. Two groups of eleven *tabernae*, separated by partitions and backed by a single continuous wall, spanned each long side. These larger groups flanked lateral entrances that were positioned on the suppressed street between *insulae* XXI and XXII and *insulae* XXXII and XXXIII. The *tabernae* were generally equal in size at 5 by 12 metres, although the ones located at the ends of each unit were slightly wider than the rest. The openings onto the forum also coincided with the intercolumniations of an internal portico. It is possible that these flanking *tabernae* were part of the original forum, as was the case at Paestum (Figure 1.41).[129]

The *tabernae* were regular throughout with a few exceptions. For example, in *insula* XXI[130] the party wall separating the third and fourth *insulae* from the west end is not visible. In *insula* XXXIII,[131] the three easternmost *insulae* appear to have been replaced by a circular structure of unknown function measuring seven metres in diameter. We will discuss the possible identification of this structure later in the chapter.

Straddling both the north and south entrances at the mid-point of the long sides, positioned just in front of the gaps between the groups of *insulae*, are two unique structures. The northernmost was of travertine or marble and measured seven metres east to west by four metres north to south. Its southern counterpart takes the form of a closely spaced pair of hexagonal features and measures nine metres east to west by four metres north to south. Both have been identified as arches, although the surveyors freely admit that the forms of both are unclear, while there exist no parallels for a hexagonal arch. Difficulty also lies in the observation that both structures appear to be associated with lead pipes. Given the presence of these pipes, the surveyors also allow for the possibility that the structures were fountains.

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[129]As comparative evidence, the surveyors choose the somewhat more obscure examples of Empúries, Feurs, and Clunia (Keay *et al.* 2000, 81). For these cities, see Gros 1996, 221-223.

[130]For this *insula*, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 35.

[131]For this *insula*, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 39.

At the far eastern end of the forum piazza, another matching pair of structures may be identified. The first of the two is located at the east end of *insula* XXII.[132] It sits in front of another entrance to the forum along the *cardo* separating XXII from XXIII. The identity of the structure, which is triangular in form, is currently unknown. It measures seven metres per side and is made of marble or travertine. A lead pipe enters *insula* XXIII from the north and approaches the structure, perhaps implying that it was a nymphaeum or fountain. The surveyors also allow for the possibility that it is a triangular arch that demarcated a corner access, although they admit that direct parallels with such a structure are non-existent. They also suggest that its unusual form in the magnetometry readings may be an indication that it was robbed out or ruined. To the south in *insula* XXXIII, occupying a comparable position to that of the triangular building in XXII, is a rectangular structure measuring roughly 6 by 3 metres and made of travertine or marble. Again, it seems to mark the southern entrance at the eastern end of the forum and has been interpreted as an arch. Unlike the other three possible arches in the forum area, this one is not associated with any water supply.

According to the surveyors, the presence of four lateral entrances is unique while the arches that elaborated them, if this identification is correct, were probably later additions. Unfortunately, the entrance from the Via Amerina at the west end of the forum lies under the spoil heaps of the 1969-1975 excavations. Nevertheless, the surveyors reconstruct an axial entrance from the Via Amerina, which took the form of simple propylaeum (Figure 1.49). Such an entrance would have served as a monumental opening from the principal street while masking the misalignment of the temple on the long axis of the forum. We will discuss this temple and its placement shortly. The remainder of the west side featured a wall with fronting colonnade that screened the square from the street.

The eastern end of the forum occupied *insulae* XXIII and XXXIV, although the two may be considered a single unit since the road separating them was suppressed and covered by a temple. As we have already stated, the axis of this temple did not correspond with the path of the *decumanus maximus*, but sits just to the south of it. It is, however, on axis with the forum square and respects the primary orientation of the city. The temple measures 50 by 22 metres and faces west, opening directly onto the forum square. Its front steps project westward from the podium onto the line of the *cardo*, which separated the public buildings

[132]For this *insula*, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 35-38.

from the main piazza of the forum. Four columns are visible across the front of the temple while the surveyors allow for a second row in front. The geophysical signatures suggest that the steps and columns were of travertine or marble.

As far as the internal layout is concerned, the temple appears to have had a single cella, possibly with a back room or porch separated from the main room by a pair of columns. The form of the cella is unclear because later constructions have obscured our view of the exterior walls. A pair of columns in the rear suggests to the surveyors that the temple may have been peripteral in an earlier phase (Figure 1.49).[133] Such an arrangement demands seven columns down each side if the spacing between them was constant. It seems very unlikely, however, that a temple of such significance in a Roman city would be peripteral. Surrounding colonnades were Greek and thus were completely inappropriate at the head of a Roman forum.

Conventionally, a temple in this position would be a Capitolium, although the plan as it appears in the geophysical data does not reveal any of the necessary requirements for such an identification. In addition, a larger temple identified by the surveyors inside the west gate on the highest point in the city is a more likely candidate for a Capitolium. Instead, the surveyors propose that the temple was dedicated to the imperial cult.

There were two lateral buildings flanking the forum temple. To the north was a rectangular structure measuring 35 by 22 metres with a possible porch to the west. The interaction between this structure and the temple is clear. Nevertheless, in light of their strong relationship with each other, it is likely that the two buildings were active simultaneously, although they may not have been erected at the same time. The surveyors have also observed that the primary axis of the building is on line with the triangular structure in *insula* XXIII.

In terms of its internal layout, the surveyors have divided this building into a central area with flanking halls of unequal size on the north, south, and east sides (Figure 1.49). The building also seems to have been supplied with water, as indicated by the presence of a lead pipe that runs down the *cardo* behind the forum and turns west to meet the northeast corner. The surveyors were able to gather no additional information on the structure, with the exception that it was made of travertine or marble. They deduce that it was a public building

[133]Keay *et al.* 2000, 81.

of some importance because of its prominent position, but give no other indication of its function.

We agree that the structure was important to the overall scheme of the forum. Its interpreted form, however, is questionable. Looking to the original magnetometry data (Figure 1.50-1.51), we observe another internal wall inside the building delimiting a small square at the west end between the lateral aisles. In addition, the front of the structure appears to be apsidal. The curved wall continues inside the building creating a round structure. The small western room is centrally located within this circle as if it was part of the same phase. Finally, we may reconstruct a porch that projects outward from the front of the building to a point equal to the front of the stairs of the temple. At this distance, the porch may actually meet the odd triangular structure in front of the building.

When considered together, these various components result in an unusual structure. It is more likely, however, that we are looking at several phases of buildings superimposed upon each other. Consequently, we need to consider each individually. Circular structures are common among Roman cities and represent the key architectural component of a comitium. The cities of Alba Fucens (Figure 1.48),[134] Cosa (Figure 1.52), and Paestum (Figure 1.41)[135] all feature comitia in their fora as would be expected for Roman colonies. In each case, circular steps are enclosed by square walls while a rectangular curia projects off the rear (Figures 1.53-1.55). According to the magnetometry results, the walls of the north building appear to extend back directly out of the circular component. The dimensions of this rear extension, however, seem too long for a curia given the precedents established in earlier examples.

Instead, we may observe that the lateral aisles of the northern building are superimposed onto the circular structure as if they predate or follow it. The aforementioned porch, meanwhile, is narrower than either the circular or rectangular structure, suggesting that it was associated with the latter and not the former. We must also account for the lead pipe that serviced the rectangular structure. The arrangement of long enclosed aisles supplied by a water pipe is reminiscent of the catchment basins at Cosa, which were eventually

[134]In this figure, the comitium is identified by the letter F.

[135]In this figure, the comitium is identified by the number 8.

elaborated architecturally. More intriguing is the observation that these reservoirs are contiguous to the walls of the neighbouring comitium while on the opposite side, we find a basilica (Figure 1.52, 1.56-1.57).[136]

At Falerii Novi, the surveyors have identified a large rectangular structure with an encircling colonnade to the south of the temple in *insula* XXXIV. The building faces west and opens onto the forum. Its entrance is marked by three columns between the temple steps to the north and a square structure that fills the southwest corner of the *insula*. The size of this smaller building is approximately 10 by 12 metres, which makes it roughly equal in size to two *tabernae*. Likewise, it is divided into two rooms, one to the north and one to the south.

Returning to the larger structure, geophysical anomalies suggest that it was built of tufo or brick. The larger open space inside was delimited by columns. As well, the surveyors have reconstructed an internal rectangular room, which they believe dates to a later period. The surveyors identify the structure as a large basilica, measuring 47 by 30 metres, which is not outside the range of possibilities for municipal basilicas dating to the early Principate.[137] Although this identity seems secure, the surveyors observe that tripartite fora of the western Empire traditionally featured a basilica at the opposite end of the square from the temple. Instead, the basilica at Falerii Novi was added to the south of the temple and took the form of a simple aisled hall with a western entrance. This observation suggests to the surveyors that the forum is typologically earlier and more in line with the traditional Italian fora of the first century BC. Given the similarity in the placement of the basilica in the forum at Luni, meanwhile, the surveyors suggest a common date in the first century AD for its addition at Falerii Novi (Figure 1.58).[138]

The surveyors conclude that the nature and purpose of the buildings flanking the temple are unclear. They suggest that originally porticoes lined the sides and back of *insulae* XXIII and XXXIV (Figure 1.49). The closest parallel they are able to draw for such an

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[136]For sources on Cosa, see n. 82 above.

[137]For a look at Roman basilicas, see Gros 1996, 235ff.

[138]For more on Luni, see Frova 1973 and 1977, Rossignani 1985, Sommella 1988, 79, and Gros 1996, 215 fig. 254. Terrenato (2001), meanwhile, discusses the city in his study of the process of Romanisation in Etruria. Ward-Perkins (*et al.* 1986) looks at the city briefly in his report on the field survey undertaken within the *Ager Lunensis*.

arrangement is the first phase of the planned forum at Empúries, dating to around 100, although in this instance the temenos is defined by a cryptoporticus.[139] They also point out the imperial forum at Clunia, where the emphasis on structures surrounding the temple is minimal.[140] Although no trace of such a porticus is evident in the geophysical plan, the surveyors look to the small building in the southwest corner of *insula* XXXIV that had been interpreted above as the vestiges of earlier *tabernae*. They believe that this structure reflects the width of the earlier porticus, and that all surviving traces now lie below later alterations. The surveyors conclude that "the overall layout and details of this forum are unique, although it is clearly within the tradition of the late Republican and early imperial fora within Italy and the western Empire."[141]

Whereas this reconstruction lies within the parameters of the available data, we disagree with a number of its key elements. To begin with, we observed earlier that the inaugural forum probably consisted of a large public square devoid of internal structures, and surrounded by *tabernae*, much like the original forum at Paestum (Figure 1.41). It is not likely that *tabernae* ever lined the short eastern side, especially given the position of the small building in the southwest corner of *insula* XXXIV. The small two room building, which the surveyors interpret as the remains of earlier *tabernae*, sits on the east side of the *cardo*, separating the eastern structures from the forum square. The flanking *tabernae*, conversely, are all contained within the forum square itself.

At prior cities such as Alba Fucens, Cosa, and Paestum, we may observe that the earliest structures on the forum were administrative and consisted primarily of small pits that supported wooden structures associated with voting booths or counting tables (Figure 1.59).[142] Water supply was also an issue in the early forum at Cosa, while all three cities featured a comitium complex early in their history, even if not as part of their original foundation. Unfortunately, we have little evidence for any similar structures at Falerii Novi. Whereas the surveyors observe a truly imperial organisation in the forum, they also allow for

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[139]Aquilué *et al.* 1984.

[140]Gros 1996, 223 fig. 268.

[141]Keay *et al.* 2000, 82.

[142]Voting aisles are visible between the trees at the southeast end of the forum at Cosa (Figures 1.52, 1.56-1.57). Notice also the multiple levels of holes along the north edge of the forum at Paestum (Figure 1.41)

the possibility that the square was renovated significantly at some period during the occupation of the site. We also must consider the possibility that Falerii Novi had no such structures. Given our overall uncertainty of the city's status, we do not know which elements were deemed mandatory for the maintenance of the community. As we shall observe in the Chapter 3, the city had a Senate suggesting at the very least that it could also have contained a curia and comitium.

We have suggested already that the forum featured a circular structure in association with a long rectangular building that was furnished with a water pipe. These elements were reminiscent of the comitium and catchment basin complex at Cosa. Looking at the earlier Latin colony, we find on the same side of the forum an associated temple, basilica, and *carcer* (Figures 1.56-1.57). Likewise, on the east side of the forum at Falerii Novi, we find a temple, a basilica, and a small building of unknown function in the southeast corner of *insula* XXXIV. One could draw parallels between the two arrangements. The surveyors, conversely, offer no reasonable interpretation for the rectangular building north of the temple nor do they recognise a circular structure in the vicinity. We must be careful in our conclusions at this point, however, and recognise that there are major difficulties in drawing direct parallels between the two cities, especially when considering that the status of Falerii Novi is still in doubt. In addition, we must agree with the surveyors that the forum has a distinctively imperial feel for which we must also account.

To help elucidate the appearance of the forum, we look to the small structure in the southeast corner of *insula* XXXIII. The building replaces three *tabernae* that were originally part of the row. The building was around 17 by 12 metres. The diameter of the inscribed circle, meanwhile, was somewhat less at around 7 to 9 metres. The surveyors offer no interpretation for this structure. We have observed already that a circle inscribed within a square is commonly associated with a comitium. If this identification is correct, we may interpret the visible circle as the lowest floor level, from which circular steps radiated outward to fill the square. Based on this reconstruction, we may reconstruct a circle of 12 to 15 metres in diameter.

A comitium of this size was small for contemporaneous Roman cities but not outside the range of possibilities. The largest comitium among the cities within our study period may be found at Paestum (Figure 1.54-1.55), measuring 23.68 meters in diameter. The smallest

was at Cosa, which was 16.2 by 17.5 metres (Figure 1.53). Likewise, the comitium at Alba Fucens was around 17 metres in diameter (Figure 1.48). At Cosa and Paestum, however, the comitium complex sat in the middle of the long side of the forum, while at Alba Fucens it was located at the head. Also, in each case, the comitium was accompanied by an associated curia building. The inscribed square at Falerii Novi is tucked away in the southeast corner of the square with no recognisable structures around it.

Again we may turn to the colony of Paestum for clarification. Here, the original comitium was placed within the line of *tabernae* in the middle of the long north side of the forum square (Figure 1.41). Later, a portion of the comitium was dismantled for the addition of a temple, possibly to Fortuna or Bona Mens (Figures 1.60-1.61).[143] The comitium was moved, according to excavators, to an area on the south side that is not entirely recognisable at present. If we compare the situation at Paestum to that at Falerii Novi, we can hypothesise that the original comitium sat at the head of the forum in a position that is somewhat reminiscent of the comitium at Alba Fucens, although at Falerii it is not centrally placed on the short side. Furthermore, the diameter of the reconstructed circle is around 22 metres, which is more comparable to the large comitium at Paestum. At a later date, the east side was renovated. A temple was centrally placed on the east side while the comitium complex was moved to a new location that was closely associated with the third major addition to the forum, the large basilica. Thus, whereas we have no curia building, we do have a nearby place of assembly.

The key in interpreting the general period of this renovation lies in the identification of the temple which sat at the head of the forum. The surveyors note that this structure is typical of forum temples from the Principate and suggest that it was dedicated to imperial cult. Likewise, Maroni identifies a Temple of Augustus on the site. Whereas he provides no indication of its location, a position at the head of the forum would be a logical choice. As we discussed earlier, the idea that this temple was ever peripteral is illogical, especially when

[143]For a good description of this temple, see Brown *et al.* 1993, 256. Generally scholars date the structure to 200 (Richardson 1957, 49-55, Krause 1976, 56ff, Coarelli 1985, 99ff., Greco 1986, 83). Greco notes, however, that there is little comparable evidence to give a precise date (1986, 86). As for patronage, Greco insists that the temple must have been important enough to invade the comitium precinct. For this reason, the edifice is often dubbed in Classical literature the Capitolium of Paestum. (Greco 1986, 85-86). It is also associated with Fortuna or Bona Mens, while on a few occasions, it is referred to as the *Tempio di Pace*. Generally there is no consensus as to the divine patronage of this temple. For general sources in Paestum, see n. 98 above.

considering the prototype on which fora of this variety were based. Once we eliminate the possibility of a peripteral structure, we can also rule out the idea that the area behind the forum buildings to the east was significant in any way. Keeping with this imperial forum theme, we may agree with the surveyors that the associated basilica is irregular in that it was not positioned opposite the temple. The overlapping walls of the lateral structures may also be problematic. The surveyors suggest that they were built after the temple, which stood as the lone forum building save for the lateral *tabernae*.

It is also possible that the basilica preceded the temple. At Cosa we find a basilica dating to the middle to late second century sitting directly beside the comitium on the northeast side of the forum (Figures 1.56-157, 1.62). So too did the basilica at Falerii Novi sit beside the comitium at Falerii Novi, positioned in such a way as to leave a narrow entrance to the piazza from the east side. As for the identity of the small structure in the southeast corner of *insula* XXXIV, we could propose a *carcer* or *aerarium* given its reduced size and position on the forum, again using Paestum and Cosa as precedents. The *carcer* at Paestum was located beside the comitium and behind the *tabernae* on the north side of the forum (Figure 1.41), while at Cosa, it was also affiliated with the comitium complex. Furthermore, Livy says that every city had a prison (32.26.17-18; 26.15.7-8) while Vitruvius tells us that the prison should be located by the forum (5.2.1).

If we accept this interpretation, we may add to our Republican forum at Falerii Novi, supplying it with *tabernae* in its original stage and a catchment basin, comitium complex, and *carcer* over the course of the mid-Republic. Finally, a basilica was added nearer to the end of the Republic. In the early Empire, a temple dedicated to imperial cult, possible even to Augustus himself, was added to the east side of the square in the area reserved as an entrance to the forum. The comitium was moved to the southeast corner near the basilica and was replaced by a large rectangular structure of equal size to the temple. The small room within the basilica may have been added at this time, possibly to serve as a senate house within the communal assembly place. After the south gate had fallen out of use, the western entrance to the forum was made more monumental through the addition of a propyleum, while arches were placed at all lateral entrances. We will offer an alternate identification for these arches later in the chapter. Finally, at some point in time, either in the late Republic or early Empire,

the interior of the forum square was ringed with a colonnade, an addition that may have coincided with the insertion of the western entrance.

We must reiterate that the reconstruction of the forum proposed here is highly speculative. Nevertheless, its viability becomes more likely when we compare it to the layout of the forum at Luni (Figure 1.58). Here we find a large open space with a temple positioned in the centre of the short north side. Directly beside the temple to the east is a large basilica. The temple is identified as a Capitolium while the basilica may have doubled as an imperial temple, as indicated by the imperial sculpture discovered inside. On the opposite end is a building of unknown function with internal columns, flanked by two smaller buildings. On the west side we see a small curia and on the east, another unknown structure. Along the long west side, *tabernae* opened onto the forum piazza.

The similarities between the layout at Luni and that proposed for the forum at Falerii Novi are self evident and vital to our interpretation of the city. First, the model at Luni provides comparison for the integration and placement of similar buildings along the forum square. More specifically, it features a temple flanked by a basilica and a government office in line with lateral *tabernae*. Second, it provides a home for the temple of Augustus as well as the numerous imperial statues, particularly those of Augustus and his family, in the basilica. Third, it adds to the potential building programme that was ongoing at the site in the early Principate. Finally, it contributes to the idea that the city represents a middle ground between Latin colonies of the mid-Republic and later cities founded in the second century and beyond.

Looking to the south of the forum, in *insulae* LIV and LXI (Figure 1.63),[144] we discover the second most important public area identified within the city: the theatre complex. The geophysical survey revealed the outlines of the structure, in addition to an associated portico to the south, but there is some ambiguity in the layout as a result of soil accumulation and damage caused by the exposure of the excavated material for almost a century. Fortunately, the geophysical data for the theatre was supplemented by evidence from earlier plans, a description by Gerhard, and RAF aerial photos from 1944 (Figure 1.64).

[144]See Keay *et al.* 2000, 54-58; 75-79 for the complete reconstruction of the theatre complex.

Based on a preponderance of this evidence, the surveyors have yielded a complete plan of the theatre, which adheres to most other Roman theatres of the late Republic.[145] They observe that the orchestra and the *cavea* of the theatre were constructed to take advantage of the hillside and valley. The bottom third of the seating was carved directly into the slope of the valley while the upper two-thirds were supported by vaults. Among the piers associated with the vaults, they were able to identify radial pairs that formed a semicircle with a radius of 37 metres.

To the east and west, piers carried these vaults above the lateral streets, presumably allowing pedestrian access along the sides of the theatre. Similar pedestrian arcades have been identified at Rome in the theatre of Marcellus and in another at Ostia,[146] but admittedly, parallels for construction over an actual street are rare. The plan of Vespignani also allows for vaulted passages providing access to the orchestra between the *scaena* and the *cavea*.[147] No evidence, however, was visible for a *proscaenium* or *scaenae frons*, although the surveyors believe that the latter must have been large since its southern wall encroached upon the street to the south. This reconstruction is very much in line with the description of Gerhard, who identifies seven circular steps of the *cavea* and continuous porticoes. He goes on to say that the *cavea* was of a "considerable circumference" but does not tell us the actual dimensions. He does say that the overall width of the structure surpassed 200 Parisian feet, or 64.96 metres. Likewise, if we measure the distance between the two furthest piers on the geophysical plan, we arrive at a width of around 68 metres. Finally, Gerhard informs us that the structure was constructed of peperino and not local tufo.

Somewhat surprisingly, the surveyors include a small rectangular structure, 14 by 4 metres in size, to the north of the theatre behind the *cavea*, just to the east of its central axis. This layout is reminiscent of the Temple of Venus Victrix in the Theatre of Pompey at Rome (Figure 1.65).[148] There is no supporting evidence for this addition in the plan of Vespignani

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[145]For a discussion of Roman theatres, see Bieber 1961, 167-222 and Gros 1987, 319-346.

[146]The authors look to Böethius and Ward Perkins 1970, figs. 83 and 107.

[147]Here the authors use Fiesole as an example (Bieber 1961, figs. 656-657), but a number of possible examples exist.

[148]Gros 1996, 281-282.

or the description of Gerhard, nor does it appear in the geophysical survey data. In fact, the only evidence for this layout may be found in Canina's reconstruction (Figure 1.15). It is possible that this unusual addition is based on the belief that since the theatre dates to the late Republic, it must conform to the Roman archetype established by Pompey. Nevertheless, we conclude that the presence of the small rectangular structure on the *cavea* is unlikely if for no other reason, a complete lack of supporting evidence.

Moving on to the porticus, we first observe that the street separating *insulae* LIV and LXI was lined on both the north and south side by walls creating a pedestrian pathway. To the south of this, within the *insula* itself, another wall marks the northern boundary of the porticus. Unfortunately, visibility here is low given the depth of the buried structures and modern ploughing activities.[149] According to the surveyors, the probable entrance to the porticus was midway down the eastern side opposite the entrance to the baths in *insula* LX. They explain that the entrance on this side "was presumably a necessity given the close proximity of the city wall to the south."[150] They also suggest that the entrance, although added for necessity, was elaborated to create a strong architectural effect. More specifically, the alignment of the porticus and bath entrances created a strong perpendicular axis to that of the theatre itself.

In terms of date, the surveyors note that this layout of theatre and *porticus pone scaenam* is common among theatres from the late first century BC and into the early Empire.[151] The surveyors believe that the two main areas were not erected at the same time, but that the porticus slightly antedated the theatre. The closest parallel to this arrangement is the theatre complex at Volaterrae, which dates between the end of the first century BC and the early first century AD.[152] Here we find a theatre attached to a porticus featuring a square layout similar to that at Falerii Novi. Both, meanwhile, may contrasted with the more elongated plan witnessed at Pompeii.[153] Recent difficulties in the chronology of Pompeii,

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[149]Keay *et al.* 2000, 55.

[150]Keay *et al.* 2000, 79.

[151]As we suggested earlier, this date may have influenced the reconstruction of the theatre.

[152]Torelli 1993, 260-262.

[153]Bieber 1961, fig. 605.

however, prevent us from using the city as a reliable source of comparable data.[154] Nevertheless, the surveyors suggest that the theatre and porticus at Falerii Novi date to the early Principate. As evidence, they cite an Augustan building inscription (*CIL* XI 3090) that has been interpreted by Di Stefano Manzella as referring to the reconstruction of a theatre at Falerii. The authors also note the fine collection of imperial sculpture that was recovered during the early years of excavation at the site, particularly in the area of the theatre.[155]

We agree that, despite the proposed relationship between them, the theatre and porticus were constructed at different times for two important reasons. First, there is no concrete evidence to suggest that the porticus in *insula* LXI suppressed the street to the west. This assumption is based on a need to create architectural unity between the porticus and theatre. It seems more reasonable that a street separated the baths and the porticus. This path would have allowed easier access between the public areas in the south and the forum area. It also explains the east entrance to the bath complex, which opened onto the street and features a single column. Furthermore, we propose that the entrance to the porticus was on the west side, just opposite the bath entrance, and not on the east. The only significant difficulty with this interpretation is the lack of an eastern boundary for the western portico. The surveyors admit, however, that the area is not highly visible. We should also observe that the southern portion of the portico narrows in an easterly direction as a result of the oblique path of the wall. Thus, the porticus also served to mask the irregular shape of the *insulae* on this side.

Second, the layout of the theatre complex, the presence of a *cavea* temple notwithstanding, suggests a date closer to the late Republic at a time when the city achieved *municipium* status. The theatre may serve as a symbol of this change of status. We can also propose two phases for the theatre, particularly if we accept at face value the idea of an Augustan reconstruction as implied in the inscription of Di Stefano Manzella above. According to this theory, the original theatre was added in the early first century BC and was

[154]The traditional belief that, following the Samnite raids of the fifth century, a number of quarters at Pompeii were expanded in the Greek style, has been held for years. Recent excavations, however, have revealed that very little if any of the visible remains at Pompeii existed before the second and first century BC. A good example of the more traditional interpretation of the evidence from Pompeii is provided by Laurence 1994. For the most recent interpretation of the available evidence, including sources, see Bon and Jones 1997. Given the present controversy surrounding the chronology of the site, we will avoid Pompeii in this investigation as much as possible, since any conclusion on the origin and development of its city plan would be hazardous and require more discussion than we can allow for here.

[155]See Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 53-63.

later enlarged and supplied with a porticus, possibly at the same time that the forum was being remodelled. Again, the high density of Augustan statuary and epigraphic evidence supports a massive building programme at the city at this time. If any other structure was added onto the north boundary of the *cavea* as Canina suggests, it would likely have been at this time, although it seems improbable that any such addition ever existed given the current evidence or lack thereof.

Insula LIII is located to the immediate west of the theatre (Figure 1.63).[156] The street defining the eastern edge of the *insula* was overbuilt by the theatre. In the western half of the city block, the surveyors have reconstructed two domiciles facing the street, although they admit that only the northernmost can be identified with any certainty as being an atrium house. More interesting is the wall that bounds the other three sides of the *insula*, creating a large enclosed space in the eastern half of the city block with a possible entrance in the southeast corner. It is unknown if this space is associated with the theatre or the houses.

To the south of this block and to the immediate west of the porticus in *insula* LXI is *insula* LX.[157] As with the *insula* above it, the surveyors believe that the eastern road was suppressed by later architecture, in this case the west wall of the porticus. We have questioned this interpretation already. A lead pipe runs from the northwest corner down the street before entering the *insula* midway along its western frontage. This pipe may help us to identify the function of the *insula*, which is densely occupied throughout with the exception of a courtyard along the northern side. The northern boundary of the square is defined by a continuous colonnade that encroaches upon the street. The thickest series of rooms occupies the southern side of the *insula* while a single wing projects north into the open courtyard. To the east and west are lesser rooms that may well have faced the open central space. The wing and southern rooms are of greater interest. The surveyors identify magnetic anomalies which they interpret as hypocausts. Consequently, the surveyors interpret this area as a public bath complex with the principal rooms lying to the south and a *palaestra* to the north, into which extends the main suite of heated rooms. Likewise, a bath complex was added at Volaterrae, but in this instance it was placed within the porticus that accompanied the theatre.

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[156]See Keay *et al.* 2000, 54 for *insula* LIII.

[157]See Keay *et al.* 2000, 55 for *insula* LX.

In the northeast corner of the *insula* is a large rectangular building, measuring 13 by 29 metres. The size and location of this structure near both the bath and theatre complex suggests that is served a public function. Its exact relationship with either, however, is unclear as it seems to exist independently in the square. Its southern boundary marks the midway point of the *insula* as well as the northern edge of the entrance to the complex. This entrance features a single column, which was probably meant to front the street and not to separate the bath complex from a contiguous abutting porticus as the surveyors have suggested. Columns are also visible inside the northeast building. Two were placed at the midway point of the western wall of the large chamber and a third was located in the centre of the entrance separating it from the small sequence of rooms to the west. No entrance from the street is visible.

We may also comment on the two irregular *insulae* that lie to the south of the porticus and bath complex.[158] The evidence from the geophysical plan is difficult to interpret in this heavily ploughed area, but the surveyors see a series of *tabernae* that face the street in *insula* LXV. LXVI is more obscure, but the remains of a building or possibly an enclosed courtyard are visible.

Finally, we must discuss the relationship between the Abby Gate, the porticus, and the public areas in the vicinity of the theatre complex. The reconstruction that follows is based on the assumption that the Abby Gate is contemporaneous with the porticus since it does not correspond with any internal street. Instead, it seems to have been designed from the outset to access the theatre complex. If we follow the Via Amerina from the south, we cross the Purgatorio river valley and the quarry trench via the land bridge and approach the city wall in the area of the south gate. We then turn and follow an eastern path and enter the city through the Abby Gate at the interior west corner of the great recess in the south wall. This entrance takes us directly into the porticus area, which acts as a courtyard for all incoming travellers from the south (Figure 1.97). Upon exiting the porticus through its western entrance, we can walk straight into the baths, turn south into the irregular *insulae* just inside the south wall, or turn north and walk towards the forum, which would be visible from this point given its elevated position along the central ridge. This route accesses the forum at the southeast entrance along the street separating the piazza from the eastern buildings. As we

[158]Keay *et al*. 2000, 58.

approach the forum, we immediately encounter the proposed arch that defines the entrance and the only one of the four that is not furnished with a water pipe. In the forum, we have access to the northern stretch of the original *cardo maximus*, which runs along the western edge of the piazza, as well as the western path that leads to the Capitolium. Thus, the new southern component of the *cardo maximus* was lined with public monuments from the Abby Gate to the forum, although it did not access the southern gate directly. This theory may also explain the unusual thickness of the street in the geophysical plan (Figures 1.22, 1.97).

This reconstruction supports our earlier claim that the overall scheme of Falerii Novi was transformed from one that was progressive to one that was more traditional. As we noted above, the original plan featured a cruciform arrangement that was unlike other cities of the Latin colony variety but foreshadowed the new Roman colonies of the second century, such as Luni, Luca, and Parma. With the eastern shift of the primary south gate and the southern portion of the *cardo maximus*, we are left with two misaligned access roads that are united by the forum. As we have noticed above, such an arrangement was typical of Latin colonies throughout the mid-Republic. In short, the new plan is an archaism that is more reminiscent of the past than it is a portent of the future.

We also begin to see another pattern developing at Falerii Novi. In the south we find a theatre, porticus and bath complex. To the north, along the same central axis, we encounter the forum. Upon exiting the city via the north gate, this public atmosphere was maintained. The surveyors suggest that the northern extension of the Via Amerina was lined with mausolea, while an amphitheatre may be seen a short distance to the northeast.[159] Although the layout of the amphitheatre is unknown, fragments of an inscription (*CIL* XI 3112) dating to after 89 BC[160] suggest that it was built sometime prior to the later first century AD. More importantly, the area beyond the north gate contributes to the idea that the city of Falerii Novi featured a central strip of public monuments much like Alba Fucens, Cosa, and Paestum.[161] Support for this theory may be witnessed in the areas to the immediate north and south of the forum.

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[159]For the survey results from the extramural territory to the north, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 64-69, figs. 43-46.

[160]Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 119.

[161]We will discuss the urban arrangement at these three cities in greater detail in the following chapter.

Insulae XLIII, XLIV, and XLV bridge the gap between the forum and the theatre complex (Figure 1.66).[162] Of these, *insula* XLIII is the most interesting in that the north half is dominated by a large open space with traces of buildings along the eastern edge. Although visibility here is poor, this absence of buildings suggests to the surveyors that the reservation of space was intentional and that the area may have served as a *macellum* or simply another public square. Its location at the corner of the Via Amerina and forum suggests that it was an area of importance. To the south of this large open courtyard is a pair of long buildings, side by side, running east-west for the entire width of the *insula*. The surveyors have interpreted these buildings as houses based on the atrium construction at the western end of the southern building. We may add that the eastern end of the northern house resembles a peristyle with adjacent rooms.

Likewise, the surveyors have interpreted another pair of houses with the same orientation in the southern half of *insula* XLIV to the east. The northernmost reveals a distinct peristyle arrangement, while a typical cruciform layout may be discerned in the southern house. To the north, there is no large open space but rather a maze of walls and structures. The surveyors believe that these face the northern street, which separates the *insula* from the forum. This orientation hardly seems likely given the presence of a wall spanning the northern boundary of the square. This wall, along with the back wall of the *tabernae* in XXXIII create a bounded pedestrian walkway. Furthermore, the entrance to this large complex is on the *cardo* leading from the public complexes in the south to the forum.

Insula XLV is more complicated. It is densely packed with walls and rooms but without evidence of houses. As well, a lead water-pipe is visible along the northern street, entering the *insula* on this side. The surveyors describe a geophysical anomaly near the northern end of the north-south street line at the eastern side of the *insula*. Consequently, they reconstruct a drinking trough or similar item of street furniture as may be witnessed at Pompeii.[163] The surveyors reconstruct houses in the southern half of the square and, in particular, an atrium mid-way along the west side. They also identify a well head in the

[162]For these *insulae*, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 39-42.

[163]Laurence 1994, pl. 3.3

north.[164] This interpretation seems to be based more on the need for continuity between *insulae*. It is equally possible that the city block featured public monuments, but unfortunately, the area is not particularly clear. According to the surveyors, the general obscurity of the survey data in this vicinity may identify it as the excavation area from 1823 as noted in the plans of Vespignani, Cazzaniga, and Canina.

In the end, we observe an extension of the public sphere to the south of the forum. *Insula* XLIII features a large open area that is accessed from the forum and the Via Amerina. Along the new southern access street, meanwhile, we find flanking public monuments in the northern halves of XLIV and XLV. In the remaining spaces we find elite style housing that may not have had any public function but which would have served as visual urban foci along the southern routes between the forum and the theatre.

To the immediate north of the forum are *insulae* VI, VII, and VIII, while to the north of these are the irregular *insulae* formed by the oblique intramural street leading to the northeast gate. *Insula* V, meanwhile, lies on the west side of the Via Amerina opposite VI to the east. Beginning with V (Figure 1.67), the surveyors recognise three or four large private dwellings, a conclusion that is supported by data attained from a series of unpublished excavations in the area. According to the surveyors, these excavations unearthed domestic structures with mosaics.[165] To the east, on the opposite side of the Via Amerina, is *insula* VI.[166] The buildings here are aligned with the standard orthogonal orientation of the town despite the slight eastern deviation of the Via Amerina. As well, the surveyors note that the large buildings in the north of the block extend into *insula* XII, as if the two had been merged. They interpret these buildings as three large east-west houses with entrances on the Via Amerina. We agree that the northern and southern houses feature peristyles at their eastern ends. The problem with this reconstruction lies in the area between them. There is no clear definition of a house layout while the total area seems far too great for a single domicile. Nothing of significance was located in the tiny trapezoidal *insula* XII to the north.

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[164]Keay *et al.* 2000, 42.

[165]For more on these campaigns, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 17-18.

[166]Keay *et al.* 2000, 19-20.

To the east of *insula* VI is VII (Figure 1.68).[167] Once again, the structures in the northern half of the city block span the boundary separating it from *insula* XIII behind. In the south, a bit of lead piping is visible on the east side before it turns to enter XXII to the south. Within the *insula* are two enormous structures, side by side and oriented east-west. As expected, the surveyors have identified them as houses. The southernmost had its entrance in the west with a line of shops separating the domestic areas from the street. The house to the north is less clear but the surveyors draw parallels to a house in a similar spot in *insula* VI. We may add that the small *insula* XIII contained little evidence of significance.

Finally, in *insula* VIII, to the east of VII, the surveyors reconstruct large residential buildings, distinguished by an oblong peristyle near the southeast corner and another larger square peristyle to the south, midway along the western edge of the *insula*. They admit that the western half of the *insula* is obscure, but they assume that the scatter of walls represents the fronts of the houses with western entrances. They also suggest the possibility of a smaller structure to the south of the large square peristyle that could be an atrium house with an eastern entrance. In the northeast corner is a small structure of unknown function with a possible apse. Finally, the slightly larger trapezoidal *insula* XIV to the north was not absorbed, but featured a well head and structures that face onto the south street with an enclosure behind.

The scheme of the central area of the city, according to the surveyors, is one of public monuments interspersed with large elite style domestic structures. Supporting these conclusions were the data acquired through the field walking survey, the third variety of survey undertaken on the site. As we noted earlier, it is the belief of the surveyors that the overall distribution of finds reflects areas of greatest significance. As expected, the greatest density of GPS points was located around the central forum and the buildings to the immediate north and south. A larger proportion of finds was also recovered in the southeast section of town, where recent ploughing had contributed to a greater visibility of survey items. The church, modern farmhouse, and other associated disturbances, meanwhile, prohibited extensive surveying west of the Via Amerina.

In terms of specific classes of archaeological material, the surveyors noted that white marble was common in the forum, particularly in the area of the basilica and temple at the

[167]For *insulae* VII and VIII, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 21.

east end. Both white and coloured marbles were recovered to the immediate north and south of the forum in the vicinity of the elite residential housing. Similar patterns emerged for other high status finds, most notably fragments of statues and inscriptions. Pottery remains, however, were less compelling as Roman fine wares were discovered throughout the walled area. Nevertheless, late imperial sigillata chiara C and D were most common in the areas to the north and south of the forum, again implying that they were the principal areas of activity from the fourth to sixth century AD.[168]

A more detailed sampling was taken in the area of the forum. Mosaic tesserae were discovered within the area of the *tabernae* and in one house to the south of the forum. This more intensive survey also suggests that tufo was the most common material used for wall construction throughout the forum and the houses to the south. Evidence of marble veneers was also common, but in lower quantities than may have been expected, while wall plaster and travertine were rare. The pottery samples recovered from the survey did little to enhance the surveyors' understanding of the function of the various buildings and rooms around the forum, but they did help to refine the overall chronological parameters of the city. Republican and early imperial materials were present in most of the survey squares while late imperial wares were common in the southern half of the forum, underscoring a persistence of activities there in late antiquity.[169]

Despite these discoveries, the identification of many of the structures around the forum as houses, particularly in the north, is questionable if only because of their massive size. We can observe open squares that may represent peristyles, but without secure archaeological data, there is no way of distinguishing these so-called houses from workshops, potter's quarters, union lodges, brothels, or even subsequent bath houses. Nevertheless, even if the large structures to the north of the forum are houses, our reconstruction of a central strip of public monuments is maintained. Houses of such enormous size would have served as visual foci and transcended their role as mere domiciles. As well, it is possible that the owners had a number of clients throughout the town and countryside and may even have rented out front rooms as shops. In either case, their houses would have been areas of social activity and interaction.

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[168]For the distribution of these and other survey items, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 70-73.

[169]For more on pottery finds and chronology, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 74-75.

If we compare the houses in this central strip with those throughout the remainder of the city, we find that no others compare to them in terms of their size and complexity. Unfortunately, there is little visible evidence for domestic architecture west of the Via Amerina. In the east, the surveyors recognise a number of smaller houses, but note that they are less easily defined than larger ones. Furthermore, they seem to follow their own unique pattern. Of particular interest, the surveyors identify a series of houses divided north-south along the stretch from *insula* XVI to LVI (Figure 1.22). This arrangement varied significantly from that of the larger houses in the centre of town, which were almost exclusively oriented east-west with western openings and a regular allotment of three houses per *insula*. The surveyors suggest that the contrasting layouts and orientations may reflect disparity in social classes or they could relate to different settlement phases.

Next, we must address the cultic topography of the site. We have discussed already the temple that sat at the head of the forum. In addition, we mentioned in passing the small single cella temple located just inside the northeast gate and the possible Capitolium inside the west gate. Among these the Capitolium was the most important given its position on the highest point of the city. The plateau just inside the Porta di Giove, designated *insula* I by the surveyors,[170] may have been augmented artificially at the time of the city's foundation (Figure 1.20, 1.69). As well, it seems to have stood outside the general framework of the urban grid as no subsidiary *cardo* or *decumanus* crossed the area. The surveyors refer to the area as a large temenos. Given its height above the urban plain and its general isolation within the urban system, we may compare it to the Arx at Cosa.

The area also seems to have been a focus of modern activity. As we mentioned earlier, the portion of the *decumanus maximus* passing through the Porta di Giove has been cleared for public use. Consequently, the south boundary of the western high place is retained by a modern stone wall. On the top of the plateau sits a modern pump house made of reused Roman materials, while the magnetometry readings reveal a section of lead pipe leading into it. In terms of ancient remains, the only feature of significance revealed within the survey was a large structure, roughly 23 by 33 metres, oriented north-south facing the *decumanus maximus* with stairs on the south side. Its designation as a Capitolium is based on

[170]For this *insula*, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 11-14.

the presence of three *cellae* in addition to its elevated position and massive size. The surveyors admit, however, that such a layout is not restricted to Capitolia and that many parallels exist from the first to third century.[171]

We have already discussed the importance of this area in the foundation of the city suggesting that it was designated a sacred area from the outset and that it served as host to an augur's platform. The later addition of a large temple with the typical tricella layout was the next the next step at Cosa, with a possible intermediate temple in between the two. The Capitolium at Cosa has been dated to the second century, sometime between 190 and 125 (Figure 1.70-1.71).[172] The second century also witnessed the addition of Capitolia at Minturnae and Paestum, depending on our interpretation of the small temple that invaded the comitium precinct of the latter (Figure 1.60-1.61).[173] Capitolia also followed at Terracina (c. 329), Grumentum (c. 264), Spoletium (c. 241), and Luni (c. 177). There is no reason for us to think that the structure at Falerii Novi is anything but a Capitolium and that its addition was a second century venture. Since it was not added onto the forum, as was the general rule among later towns such as Luni, we have to assume that it was erected prior to the overall reworking of the forum area.

In *insula* XXVII, just inside the west gate to the south of the *decumanus maximus*, the surveyors have identified what they believe is another temenos containing a temple facing east, although the remains here are obscure (Figure 1.72).[174] If this identification is correct, we may observe a special emphasis on the west entrance of the city. The Porta di Giove is also the most elaborate gate at the site and the most widely recognised feature of the city in modern literature. It features peperino for its principal arch stones and a carving of a face, traditionally believed to be Jupiter, on the keystone. It is our belief that these are later

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[171]In particular, they look at Gros 1996, figs. 134 and 140.

[172] Salmon (1969, 35) provides a synoptic yet detailed look at the Capitolium. Both he Scott (1986, 75) date the building to the first half of the second century. Torelli, meanwhile, suggests a date in the second half of the century (Gros and Torelli 1988, 140) while Stambaugh sticks with the mid-third century (1988, 259). See the studies of Brown (*et al.* 1960) and Taylor (2002) for a thorough study of the temples at Cosa and their chronology. For general sources on Cosa, refer to n. 82 above.

[173]See n. 143 above for sources.

[174]Keay *et al.* 2000, 29-31.

additions and that the gate became the primary portal following the blockage of the south gate. We will discuss the west gate in greater detail below.

These observations may help us to refine our tentative phasing for the city. According to our proposed model, the western Arx was an original component of the city and featured an augural platform or possibly even an early predecessor to the Capitolium. The Capitolium followed in the second century. When the city achieved *municipium* status, the theatre precinct and baths were added. At this time, or shortly afterward, the south gate was blocked and the new Abby Gate was added providing access to the principal public area in the south. As part of this larger urban programme, the west gate achieved pre-eminence and was elaborated with peperino decoration. Finally, a smaller temple precinct was added just inside the west gate to the south to balance the Capitolium in the north.

We may also elaborate on the temple that was erected just inside the east gate, north of the *decumanus maximus* in *insula* LXXI (Figure 1.73).[175] The surveyors reconstruct a narrow prostyle temple facing south, much like the Capitolium. The scale of the structure, however, is much less at 9 by 24 metres. It sat within a larger courtyard that was accessed from the south via an entrance marked by a pair of columns. To the south of the *decumanus* was a rectangular structure, 15 by 10 meters, adjacent to the *decumanus maximus*. A large square, 26 meters on all sides, was located farther to the south. The function of these buildings is unknown, but their association with the temple suggest they were public and possibly part of a larger complex.[176]

The addition of temple complexes at both ends of the city in line with the long axis of the forum might suggest that the town planners were attempting to create a second line of public monuments perpendicular to the first. Supporting this claim is the identification of baths in *insula* XXXV and *tabernae* in XXXVI.[177] Unfortunately, the area to the west of the

[175]Keay *et al.* 2000, 26-28, 46-47, figs. 31-32.

[176]Keay *et al.* 2000, 46-48, figs. 32-33.

[177]More specifically, the surveyors identify what they believe could be hypocausts in the *insula* immediately behind the basilica, allowing for a bath complex associated with the basilica, but the evidence is not conclusive. The same may be said for the row of rooms to the east of this in XXXVI (Keay *et al.* 2000, 43, 46-47, figs. 31-32).

forum is difficult to reconstruct because of medieval and modern alterations. As a result, we may draw no definitive conclusions with regards to this secondary axis.

Next, we must address the buildings along the northern and eastern intramural streets, or more specifically, between them and the outer wall. Because of their location just inside the city walls, these *insulae* are irregular in shape and demonstrate a contrasting arrangement from the overall grid system. Along these paths, the surveyors reconstruct a sequence of temples with their backs facing the city wall. Three are located at the heads of the streets separating *insulae* IV and V, XIII and XIV, and XIV and XV (Figures 1.74, 1.68, 1.36). We may also add to this list the aforementioned temple in the northeast corner of XVI, which sat at the head of the road separating *insulae* X and XI (Figure 1.36). All four of these structures, in addition to the Capitolium and the smaller temple just inside the east gate (Figure 1.73), faced south and were placed in prominent positions. The temple to the south of the west gate, meanwhile, faced east while the one at the head of the forum, the only divine structure not located on the periphery of the urban plain, faced west. Despite their alternate orientations, these final two examples maintain the pattern of religious structures placed in prominent positions throughout the city.

The surveyors make two important observations regarding the temples to the north. First, they follow the line the intramural streets, which the surveyors interpret as the pomerium of the original city. Second, they would have been prominent visually when looking from the central ridge of *decumanus maximus*. Based on these two observations, the surveyors believe that that the path of the old pomerium was preserved as a sacred way that ran from the Capitolium inside the west gate, along the northern pomerium line, around the temple near the northeast corner, and down the eastern intramural street before exiting the Porta Puteana in the southeast. They believe that this path formed the urban component of the procession between Falerii Novi and the Juno Curitis sanctuary adjacent to Falerii Veteres. They note in particular epigraphic evidence which supports the later stages in the route (*CIL* XI 3126), which is mentioned also by Ovid (*Amor*. 3.13). Additional evidence for this hypothesis may be witnessed in a nineteenth century inscription that places a priest of Juno Curitis at the site.[178]

[178]*CIL* XI 3100. Cf. Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 118.

Additional evidence for this processional route may be witnessed in the great terraced complex just inside the Porta Puteana. In *insulae* LXIV and LXVIII, the surveyors have reconstructed a series of broad terraces that served to alleviate the sharp slope from the city centre to the river valley (Figure 1.75).[179] More specifically, they observe an upper, middle, and lower terrace on which massive structures were erected. Whereas it is unclear what function these buildings served, the surveyors believe that the use of terraces, presumably linked by ramps or stairs, is reminiscent of the great Hellenistic terraced structures at Palestrina.[180]

As for the deities associated with these processional temples, the surveyors note inscriptions alluding to Magna Mater, Isis,[181] and Auxil[ium].[182] Furthermore, they acknowledge the presence of Diana and Aesculapius among the materials recovered from the nineteenth century excavations. We also considered the possibility of sanctuaries dedicated to Diana and Aesculapius, adding the strong possibility of others to Bacchus, Concordia, and Victory.

Finally, the surveyors consider the placement of the northern temples at crossroads and suggest an association with the *lares compitales*. Whereas they do not pursue this association in any great detail, they do propose that the temples may have served as symbols of *vici*, although they admit that the closest inscription to this effect was discovered four miles away (*CIL* XI 3079).

This connection with the *lares compitales* is particularly compelling and deserves greater attention. According to Varro (*de L.L.* 6.25), the *ludi compitales*, also referred to as the *ludi compitalicii*, involved annual sacrifices at the place where two or more streets met in honour of *lares compitales*. The festival, which traditionally dates back to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (Dion.Hal. 4.14.3-4, Pliny *N.H.* 36.70), was undertaken by officials referred to as *magistri vici*. Thus, the *ludi compitales*, with their accompanying shrines and temples located at the crossroads, were associated the definition of neighbourhoods, or

[179]Keay *et al.* 2000, 59, 62-64 figs. 41-42.

[180]Keay *et al.* 2000, 64. Here the surveyors cite Gros and Torelli 1988, fig. 60.

[181]*CIL* XI 3123. Cf. Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 121.

[182]Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 126 n. 1.

vici.[183] As Dionysius of Halicarnassus implies, the Romans believed that the division of their city into *vici* dated back to the monarchy. It was until the second Punic War, however, that the *vici* were made official and placed under the administration of aediles and, at the local level, the *magistri vici*, who were drawn from lower class citizens within each neighbourhood. The festival may have originally involved games, but these were abandoned in 68 or 64[184] as the influence of the *vici* was suppressed.[185] The festival itself ceased to be celebrated during the Civil Wars but was later revived by Augustus (Suet. *Aug*. 31, Ovid *Fast*. 5.128-148).[186]

Between 27 and 7 BC, as part of his programme to resurrect to the *vici*, the Emperor donated statues to certain neighbourhoods. These statues reflected Augustus's own religious affiliations. Included were images of Concordia and Pax, while in 10 BC Augustus restored a crossroad, or *compitum*, and donated a statue of Mercury, which was appropriate given the god's association with boundaries and finances. In 7 BC, the status of the *vici* was fully restored. At this time, Augustus divided the city into 14 regions and 265 official *vici*. He also mandated the annual election of *magistri vici*. It is possible that this move served to integrate the lowest classes in the government system, particularly since the position had become quite attractive to freedmen.[187]

As part of these reforms, the *lares Augusti* were erected at all 265 streets in Rome while the *lares compitales* were pushed aside. It is unknown if this legislation was enacted as Augustus the *Pontifex Maximus* or Augustus the consul. In other words, it is unclear whether Augustus was attempting to officially substitute the *lares* of the state with the *lares* of his

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[183]For the best consideration of the *vici* of Rome, see Lott 2004. For the definition of *vici*, see pp. 12-17.

[184]See Cicero's charge against Piso for celebrating the games in his consulship of 58 (*in Pis*. 4). In another reference, we notice that the festival was still held even if the games were not (Cic. *ad Att*. 2.3). See Treggiari 2000, 169-172 for more on this legislation.

[185]Lott dedicates the second chapter of his book (2004, 28-60) to a consideration of Roman neighbourhoods in the Republic, considering all facets, including the role and election of officials, the religious role of neighbourhoods, and the political significance they held.

[186]Chapter three of Lott's work (2004, 61-80) considers the period of transition from Republic to Empire including the suppression and eventual restoration of the festival and status of the *vici*.

[187]For a complete look at the reforms of Augustus to neighbourhoods, their officials, and their status, see Lott 2004, 81-127.

household or if he was seeking to better regulate the census of 8 BC and to tie the various communities to himself personally.[188]

Although an interesting discussion for its own merit, we are more interested in the appearance of the *lares compitales* in cities throughout Italy. Laurence notes that the city of Pompeii began to take on a truly Roman form after its deduction as a colony in 80 BC.[189] He suggests that this transformation represented an effort on the part of the local elites to ingratiate themselves with Rome. Eventually, they sought a relationship with the Emperor himself. Laurence suggests that the locals at Pompeii went so far as to suppress the worship of the *lares compitales* in favour of the *lares Augusti* and thus mimicked the internal division of Rome. The former were placed at the boundaries of *vici* while the latter were located inside the neighbourhoods themselves. Finally, Laurence notes that the placement of fountains in the city promoted cohesion and local identity among the various neighbourhoods, each of which had its own water source.

If we accept the possibility that the northern temples at Falerii Novi were associated with, or possibly even an elaboration of the traditional *lares compitales* shrines, can we also propose that Falerii Novi, like colonial Pompeii, was divided into *vici*. Furthermore, we might also speculate that the city adopted the *lares Augusti*, and so took on a truly Roman demeanour in terms of its internal social division. As support, we observe that the so-called *lares* temples at Falerii Novi are placed at peripheral intersections and not in the middle of the city. According to our hypothesis they were originally associated with the older *lares* cult but were later moved to lateral positions to denote the boundaries of neighbourhoods. Although we have no concrete evidence for internal shrines, we do have references to statues of Mercury and Concordia, both of whom were associated with the *lares Augusti*. Also, at Ostia, a *compitum* on the Piazza de Lari sits directly across from the House of Diana and may have been home to the freedmen and slaves sitting as *magistri vici*.[190] Certainly a

[188]Taylor (1931, 181-195) originally suggested that Augustus made the public worship of his personal household gods official. Gradel (2002, 115-139) denies that the worship of the *Lares Augusti* was officially part of the state cult. Lott, meanwhile, believes that the epithet of *Augustus* only applied to a few selected gods and that the worship of the Emperor's household gods was not made mandatory at any time (2004, 110).

[189]Once again, we will not address the appearance or chronology of the city prior to the first century.

[190]I acquired this information from the Topographical Dictionary of Ostia, which may be found online at http://www.ostia-antica.org/dict.htm.

connection between Diana, a goddess of the Aventine, and the *magistri vici*, an office reserved for lower classes, support the presence of a *vicus* system at Falerii Novi.[191]

According to the urban reconstruction offered above, we have evidence for three such peripheral temples, with the possibility of another at the head of the road separating XV from XVI.[192] Likewise, the temple located inside the northeast gate straddles the *cardo* separating *insulae* X and XI. Thus, we have evidence for at least four temples in sequence, separated by the Via Amerina and the north gate, each of which sits in a prominent position at the head of a *cardo* leading to the centre of town. Likewise, we have four unidentified structures in the forum that have been identified tentatively as arches serving to elaborate the four lateral entrances to the piazza. Three of these were furnished with water via lead pipes. If we think of them as fountains rather than arches, then we may draw a additional parallels with the *vicus* system as it appeared at Pompeii with its series of neighbourhoods defined by peripheral shrines to the *lares compitales*, central shrines to the *lares Augusti*, and individual fountains.

At present there exists no concrete evidence to support this hypothesis. Subsequent investigation will aid in the interpretation and reconstruction of the internal division of Falerii Novi. Nevertheless, if such an arrangement was adopted at Falerii Novi, we have evidence of integration, particularly at the time of the Principate. Conversely, if we choose to interpret the route of the intramural streets as a processional way, one that encompassed the town and linked it with the traditional gods of the Faliscans and Falerii Veteres, we may observe continuity and individuality rather than absorption. We may also choose to think of the area as a combination of the two, with peripheral *lares temples* serving as the backbone of a sacred way.

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[191]We will discuss the relationship between Falerii Novi and the Aventine in Rome in the following chapter.

[192]The surveyors recognise that this building sits at an intersection and that it carries on the sequence of structures identified as temples, but they do not identify it or discuss it in any significant detail. Its layout is as likely to be a temple as the building to the west of it, identified by the surveyors as the third temple in the sequence (Keay *et al.* 2000, 20, 25-25, figs. 17-18). In fact, the northern boundary of the city featured many structures that crossed *cardo* lines. Notice in particular the structure separating *insulae* II and III (p. 13 fig. 10). Once again, this structure is barely acknowledged by the surveyors, possibly because it lies outside the western intramural street and does not fit into the reconstruction of a sacred pomerial way.

In the end, we must agree with the surveyors when they conclude that the geophysical plan of Falerii Novi represents the most complete picture of a Roman urban layout in the scholarly record, rivalled only by those of Pompeii and Ostia.[193] So complete are the data, in fact, that the surveyors, and we in their wake, have been able to make a number of observations regarding the character of the city without the aid of archaeological investigation. The surveyors rightly conclude that the city was densely occupied throughout with a full range of public amenities.[194] We have not been able to address them all in this investigation, but even a cursory examination of the reconstructed plan shows that the quantity of visible features is immense.[195] The two main areas of public activity were the central forum area and the theatre complex to the south. These were surrounded by private houses, the largest of which were placed in close proximity to the city centre. We have also observed a prominent north-south strip of public monuments that is reminiscent of earlier Latin colonies. Finally, we notice that the city is encircled by temples along the northern and eastern boundaries of the town from the Porta di Giove to the Porta Puteana. This arrangement is unusual, but allows us to speculate on a number of possible motives and ideological priorities behind them. With little more to add to this discussion, we may turn away from the city plan and consider the walls that surrounded it.

G) The Walls of Falerii Novi I: The Circuit

For the sake of convenience, we will divide our discussion of the city walls at Falerii Novi into four parts. First, we will consider the course of the wall as it appears in previous city plans and compare it with the most recent model created by the Falerii Novi Project. Second, we will look at the towers that fortify the circuit. More specifically, we will catalogue the existing, visible towers and attempt to reconstruct their number and exact positions based on previous accounts and first-hand observations. Third, we will look at the gates of the city and

[193]For more on the conclusions of the surveyors, see Keay *et al.* 2000, 87-91.

[194]See Keay *et al.* 2000, 89 Table 2 for a summary of the public buildings that have been interpreted at the site.

[195]For example, we did not mention the potential *castellum aquae* in *insula* II or the evidence for the corresponding aqueduct it facilitated (see Keay et al., 12-14, figs. 9 and 10). Also, we avoided the possible *horti* in the east within *insula* LXXI (Keay *et al.* 2000, 26-28 figs. 19-20).

discuss their relationship with each other and with the city plan during each of the phases we reconstructed earlier. Finally, we will examine the landscaping that accompanied the installation of the wall in antiquity. As an extension of this last topic, we will consider also the tombs that pierce the bedrock along the south side of the city and around the southeast corner. We will discuss in particular the relationship between the tombs and the quarrying that occurred at the site in antiquity.

We will not, however, engage in any detailed architectural discussion nor will we attempt any comparative analysis of construction types, materials, stone sizes, wall dimensions, etc. Instead, we will examine the wall solely in the context of Falerii Novi and reserve any comparisons with other urban centres for our general discussion and conclusions.

Once again, we have at our disposal a number of plans and written descriptions of the site dating back to the earliest visitors to the ancient city. With the wall still standing and available for inspection today, one might think that our dependency on these early accounts would be greatly diminished. Their value remains high, however, for two reasons. First, they predate the installations associated with the modern farm. Second, given the extensive archaeological activity that was ongoing during the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that many of these accounts date to a time before the walls had become so badly overgrown or when the they had been at least partially cleared for the sake of the excavations. As we have noticed over the past three seasons, the amount of natural debris that is produced at the site even during a single year is substantial.

The early site plans will be especially important in the current discussion. Generally, the shape of the city is the same in each plan: a rough triangle with a narrow west end opening up to a broad eastern side. The south side is more irregular in its course because it follows the river valley. The primary disruptions in the path of the wall on this side include a large recess just east of the centre point[196] and the bulbous face of the bastion in the southeast corner. The general shape of the site is best viewed in the satellite image provided by *Google Earth* (Figure 1.76).[197] As this image demonstrates, all the plans have generally achieved a representative course for the walls except for those of Gell and Dennis.

[196]As we will mention later, this area was labelled the 'bee field' by our survey team given the presence of a modern apiary (Figure 1.111).

[197]This image also reinforces the presence of dense vegetation on the south side of the city.

Logic dictates that the most accurate of the ten plans available to us would be that of the Tiber Valley Project given the fact that the surveyors, while not concerning themselves specifically with the wall, attempted to cover all of the urban plain with their magnetometers, including the territory along the interior of the perimeter on all sides. The only areas that were not surveyed include the church and the churchyard, a narrow strip along the inside of the east wall and in the vicinity of the northeast corner, the area immediately inside the Porta Puteana, and a few other scattered inaccessible points, most of which were associated with modern structures. The portion of the perimeter that is most underrepresented is a southern stretch from the third tower east of the Porta di Giove to the south gate. For the most part, the remainder of the circuit was encountered from the inside, allowing us to reach some important conclusions regarding the course of the ancient city walls.

Beginning on the north side, we notice that the wall in the geophysical plan runs generally in a north-easterly direction (1.22). The only significant deviation from this course occurs between the north and the northeast gates. This stretch appears to curve inward resulting in a distinct concavity. This irregularity is evident also in the plans of Di Stefano Manzella, Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, and Potter (Figures 1.17-1.19) but is absent in all those that preceded them. In the nineteenth century plans, the north wall is either perfectly straight or bows slightly outward for its entire course. Admittedly, the plan of Canina demonstrates a slight concavity in the area that should logically be the northwest gate, although the author places the gate farther to the east.

The course of the east and west wall demonstrates very little irregularity between the available plans. The narrow west end consists of three straight planes beginning from the west end of the aforementioned concavity in the north. The central stretch, that which contains the west gate, is not exactly straight but bows outward slightly in the centre. Only Gell and Dennis offer variations on this model. Canina, meanwhile, prefers to round off the entire west end rather than render it in straight planes.

Looking to the east wall, all of the plans feature a sharp northeast corner. From here the wall follows a straight path toward the southeast for one third of its total course. It then deviates sharply to the southwest, resulting in a strict north-south route. Finally, at the three-quarters point, the wall bows out and curves around the east face of the bastion in the southeast corner. This general route is consistent in almost every plan. Even Gell and Dennis

depict the first bend in the east wall, if not realistically, although they are missing the convexity of the southeast bastion. The only noticeable variation among the plans is the degree of curvature at the point of the bastion. The earlier plans demonstrate a greater propensity for straight planes while the later plans prefer a rounder contour.

This consideration of previous plans served as an ideal starting point for the most recent architectural survey undertaken by the Falerii Novi Project. Before we even began our work, we had a good idea of what to expect in terms of the general shape of the city on three sides based exclusively on consistency between the plans and the satellite image. As expected, the points taken during the inaugural season were consistent with the general shape of the walls on the north, east, and west sides as they appear on the geophysical plan. In most places, in fact, they were exact (Figure 1.77). The only place where we show any significant variation from the geophysical plan lies in the middle of the east side. Whereas the geophysical plan, and all other plans for that matter, feature a straight central stretch of wall running north-south, ours bows outwards slightly. If we compare our survey points with the raw magnetometry data, we discover that our wall course follows the edge of the survey area more so than the reconstructed wall course (Figure 1.21). This deviation reflects the degree of erosion that has occurred on this side of the city.

At the mid-point of the circuit on the east side we begin to see the effects of the ancient quarrying in that the wall rests upon a sheer face of bedrock that rises well above the exterior ground level below. In similar instances, we surveyed both faces of the wall from inside the city. Over the centuries, however, the upper courses of the wall at this point, as well as the edge of the urban plain itself, have toppled or become buried in debris. Consequently, both wall faces were either inaccessible or indiscernible from the inside and the outside of the city. Extensive cleaning and excavation of the wall in this area is necessary if we are to accurately reconstruct the course of the circuit along the east side.

Congruency between the various plans ends on the south side of the city, which is the most difficult of the four to understand for reasons we have mentioned already. First, this side runs parallel to the river valley resulting in a very irregular course. Second, it was subject to extensive quarrying in antiquity. Third, the land to the south of the wall was never cultivated, hence the natural debris has never been cut back (Figure 1.78).[198] In fact, the plan

[198]The state of the south side as a whole is clearest in the satellite image in Figure 1.76.

of Dennis indicates that almost half of the southern wall face was already obscured by overgrowth by the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the prohibition in Italy against removing trees over a certain diameter during the summer months makes the clearing difficult, as do the restrictions on the amount of physical labour one can expect from students and volunteers and a limited tool budget. Adding to the difficulty on this side is the fact that the geophysical survey was not able to approach the interior face of the wall for at least a third of the total course. As a result of these impediments, we were much more in the dark with regard to the course of the wall on this side.

Generally, all of the plans begin with a long straight stretch of wall that runs southeast from the western curve to the position of the south gate at almost a 315 degree angle. Here the road makes a distinct bend, wandering more towards the horizontal before reaching the west corner of the large recess. The only area of incongruence among the plans up to this point lies in their interpretation of a large gap that separates the western turn from the remainder of the southern circuit. The insertion of the modern farm destroyed a large section of the wall here. In the geophysical plan, the surveyors have reconstructed an interior corner (Figure 1.22).[199] In doing so, they seem to be compensating for the fact that the wall ends on either side of the gap are misaligned. More specifically, the wall to the east of the gap lies farther to the south than that of the western side.

In all the other plans, the walls carry on without incident, with the exception of a slight concavity at this point. The plan of Potter attempts to reconcile these two points of view by featuring a much sharper concavity at the point of the gap. We could assume that the nineteenth century plans have the upper hand in that presumably they were drafted at a time before the wall was dismantled. The modern structures at the site, however, favour the reconstruction of the geophysical plan. The west side of the gap consists of an eight foot stretch of repair wall featuring irregular courses of small stones with some evidence for mortar and pottery pieces inserted as chinks (Figure 1.79). This wall curves slightly to the north and meets a retaining wall, which maintains the course suggested by the surveyors. At its eastern end, the wall encounters a modern farming structure that appears to surmount ancient remains (Figure 1.80). The foundation of this structure runs due south from the east

[199]Not surprisingly, the only other plan to feature this reconstruction is that of Di Stefano Manzella (Figure 1.17). The plan of Dennis, meanwhile, features a corner that projects out rather than in.

end of the retaining wall and completes the reconstructed course marked by the dotted line on the geophysical plan.

Furthermore, we must be wary of trusting the earlier plans outright, particularly in areas where we witness an existing gap. None of the plans prior to that of Di Stefano Manzella, nor even that of Potter, which was published the same year, reveal any gaps in the wall whatsoever except at the positions of gates.[200] Whereas we have no way of knowing the state of the wall's preservation in the nineteen and early twentieth centuries, we believe that it was not entirely whole given the descriptions by early travellers of an *almost* complete circuit. If gaps did exist, they were not marked on the early plans and we can only assume that portions of the wall course were interpolated.

Returning to the southern course, all of the available plans contain the large recess to the east of the south gate and the bulbous southern face of the southeast bastion. The exact nature of these features, however, is not consistent in terms of their location and scale. In the geophysical plan, the back wall of the large recess wanders to the northeast and the side walls flair outwards from it. The easternmost of the two lateral projections also features a crook. This recess is followed by a short section travelling southeast as expected, with a slight bend in the middle. Next, we observe a second shallower recess with a back wall travelling southeast. The eastern projection of the recess marks the starting point of the bastion on this side. This arrangement is featured on both plans from 1979 as well as those of Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins and Canina. The others offer variations of the same general pattern. There are also minor discrepancies in the shape of the bastion, which ranges from very narrow in the plan of Cazzaniga to wide in that of Canina. The second plan of Vespignani also puts a hitch in it.

Generally, our data points from 2004 season are consistent with the geophysical plan around the west side of the city and along the south side up to the gap (Figure 1.77). Unfortunately, we could do nothing to reconstruct the gap itself because there is nothing there for us to survey. From this point, our data begin to deviate from the geophysical plan. From the area of the gap to the large recess east of the south gate, our points wander back and forth along the same general path as the geophysical survey, but are consistently shifted

[200]On the one hand, the plan of Potter (Figure 1.19), in addition to that of Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (Figure 1.18), feature the aforementioned gap. On the other hand, both plans identify this break in the wall as the location of the southwest gate.

more to the south. This stretch corresponds with an area that was inaccessible to the geophysical surveyors from the interior of the city. Within the large recess, an area that the surveyors could approach from the inside, we are again in agreement with the geophysical plan, although poor visibility prohibited us from taking as many points as we had wished. Finally, our points in the area of the Porta Puteana correspond well with the geophysical plan, but we were unable to achieve any clear wall lines around the large southeast bastion.

This overall lack of consistency in our data points for the south wall forced us to reconsider our surveying process. First, we realised that to be successful in our venture, we needed to engage in a much more substantial cleaning of the south side of the city, targeting specific points along the wall and clearing potential lines of site between the wall face and the Total Station. Second, we noticed that, because the landscaping on the south side was so irregular, the students and volunteers were often unsure if they were shooting wall or bedrock, or if the bedrock they were shooting was part of the fortification or naturally occurring. This latter issue was particularly relevant for the area of the southeast bastion. Consequently, we devised an entirely new system of labelling points and revised our method for shooting them.

With these changes in place, we dedicated our second season strictly to the south side of the city. We increased the size our team substantially, and added a number of volunteers, most of whom had participated in prior archaeological projects. In addition, we augmented our tool budget. In the end, we were able achieve much greater success along the south side of the city, not just in terms of the general wall course, but also the distinction of landscaping features and the identification of towers and gates. Consequently, our new points replaced those of the previous season, which served strictly as a supplement.

As our final results indicate, the course of the south wall is generally in line with that of the geophysical plan with a few variations (Figure 1.81).[201] Because they only approached the wall from the inside, however, the surveyors do not allow for any landscaping or alterations to the physical terrain. Consequently, our plan provides substantial supplementary data that demonstrate the changes that occurred to the physical site through the insertion of the wall. We will discuss the primary features of this landscaping in greater detail below.

[201]At present we have arrived at a basic schematic rendering of the wall course with a simple demarcation of various key features including the gates (in red), the most visible and preserved towers, and the two land bridges (in green). A much more detailed version is currently being prepared for publication.

H) The Walls of Falerii Novi II: The Towers

Despite the high degree of preservation of the city walls at Falerii Novi, it is difficult to discern how many towers originally existed at the site due to poor visibility, natural erosion, and alterations to the wall as a result of ancient and modern activities. Normally, we would lean upon previous plans to help illuminate the issue. Unfortunately, however, there is no consensus among the early investigators with regard to the number of towers at the site.

In the earliest plan of the city, Cazzaniga records fourteen towers in all. Vespignani includes 38 in his first plan and 45 in the second. The general arrangement established by Vespignani appears to have served as the basis for subsequent works. The plan of Gell, which up to this point has been of limited value in our reconstruction of the city, records a similar number of towers on the north, east, and west sides. On the south side, unfortunately, his plan is far too difficult to understand. Dennis, meanwhile, allows for 46 towers, but his alternative arrangement is questionable when compared to recent survey data. The same observation may be made for Canina, who accounts for around 42 towers.

In all, we may observe a range of 38 to 46 towers among the nineteenth century plans, disregarding the 14 of Cazzaniga. Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins account for 45, thus maintaining the traditional count. Potter, meanwhile, was more cautious in his estimation, allowing for only 33. The most significant alteration to the traditional model of Vespignani was made by Di Stefano Manzella. Not only does his plan include all visible towers, but it attempts to reconstruct those which are no longer extant. Consequently, he offers us a range of 49 to 63 towers, all of which are clearly numbered (Figure 1.17). This arrangement became the new standard and has served as the basis for all subsequent investigations into the city, including that of the Tiber Valley Project.

For our part, the Falerii Novi Project attempted to confirm as many of the existing towers as possible using Di Stefano Manzella's plan (Figure 1.82)[202] and the first plan of Vespignani (Figure 1.12) as guides.[203] We began at the Porta di Giove, moving north and

[202]For the sake of convenience, we used the geophysical plan on the understanding that it represented an updated and more accurate version of Di Stefano Manzella's walls.

[203]In our opinion, the first plan of Vespignani records what the author could see in 1831 without any extrapolation.

east until we reached the northeast corner, at which point we turned south to examine the east side. Next, we returned to the west gate and travelled south and east along the south side of the city until we reached the tip of the southeast bastion. We realised that many of the towers might not be fully preserved, so we focused our attention on the base of the wall and the bedrock, looking for any outward projection that may indicate the presence of a tower. In many places, we found that a cutting in the bedrock represented the only existing evidence for the presence of a tower in antiquity. We also recognised that we had to get as close to the wall as was physically possible because of the abundance of overgrowth. Unfortunately, we were unable to do so in some instances.

Beginning first on the west side of the city, we recognised immediately the two towers flanking the Porta di Giove and the three that span the northwest corner, all of which are well preserved and highly visible.[204] Next, Di Stefano Manzella notes the point at which the aqueduct entered the city from the northwest and met the *castellum aquae*, later reconstructed by the surveyors in *insula* II. The arrangement is somewhat unusual as the aqueduct appears to have surmounted another tower.[205] In reality, this tower is a pier, which stands independently of the wall but could easily be confused for a projection of it (Figure 1.83).[206] Likewise, both Vespignani and Cazzaniga record a short northward projection of the wall at this point, just west of the northwest gate.

To the east of this pier, the geophysical plan includes a short stretch of wall followed by a gap for the northwest gate. In reality, a modern path enters the city at the point of the pier in an arrangement more like that proposed by Cazzaniga and Vespignani. No evidence for the actual gate remains, although traces of ancient paving stones suggest that the modern path followed the course of the ancient street that entered the city through the wall at this point.

The area between the northwest and the north gates is heavily overgrown. This lack of visibility is unfortunate since the north side as a whole offers some of the most complete stretches of city wall on the entire site. In many places the circuit is preserved to what

[204]Once again, see Figure 1.5.

[205]Tower 5, Figure 1.17.

[206]We have also marked the presence of the aqueduct in the vicinity of the northwest corner.

appears to be the its original height (Figure 1.6). The best preserved tower in the area is that which flanks the north gate to the west.[207] Evidence for another is tucked away behind the natural debris at the halfway point between the two gates.[208] These were the only two examples that we encountered west of the north gate, although Di Stefano Manzella includes two more, both presumably extant, between them. Whereas we were unable to find traces of these extra towers, we accept the possibility that they existed in antiquity, even if they are not as preserved as well as Di Stefano Manzella would have us believe.[209] Likewise, the reconstruction of four additional towers to the east of the northwest gate[210] seems reasonable. Thus we concur with Di Stefano Manzella and his reconstruction of eight total towers between the north and the northwest gates. Vespignani reconstructs nine in his second plan, but this total reflects the author's need to balance the nine towers between the north gate and the northeast corner.

This count of nine towers to the east of the north gate is generally accepted on most plans of the city. Not surprisingly, the area is one of the best preserved and highly visible. It also reveals evidence for recent repair work as indicated by the presence of modern cement. With very little effort we were able to account for all nine towers, evenly spaced along the circuit, many of which were preserved almost completely.

On the east side of the city, Vespignani includes 15 towers while Di Stefano Manzella accounts for 17 and reconstructs another. Unfortunately, the architecture becomes increasingly difficult to understand on this side because of the heavy overgrowth and deep quarrying. In fact, we are still unable to find the east gate. Consequently, the five towers in the centre of the east wall, two to the north of the east gate and three to the south,[211] are all but invisible under the current conditions at the site. Clearly the plans of Vespignani and Di Stefano Manzella were drafted at a time when this area was more visible.

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[207]Tower 13, Figure 1.17.

[208]This tower is located at number 10, Figure 1.17

[209]Vespignani does not include these extra towers in his first plan implying that they were not visible in his time.

[210]These are labelled towers 6 to 9 on Figure 1.17.

[211]Towers 28 to 32, Figure 1.17.

Fortunately, we were able to account for most of the remaining towers on this side. Deep quarrying did not allow us to approach the wall from the exterior of the city. Many of the existing towers were visible from the inside where the higher ground level provided better access, although we were still somewhat restricted from investigating too close to the edge for safety reasons. In the end, we accept Di Stefano Manzella's reconstruction for the east side of the city, even if we were only able to identify only 10 of the 17 towers that he apparently witnessed. In fact, we are willing to accept his count of 39 towers from the west gate to the tip of the southeast bastion, although we do not acknowledge the pier carrying the aqueduct into the city as a tower. Vespignani came very close to this number, accounting for 37 towers on the three sides.[212]

As we stated earlier, in the summer of 2005 we focused our attention on the south side of the city, which had repeatedly proven itself to be the most problematic throughout our investigation and presumably also all those that preceded us. Not only did the course of the south wall vary significantly between city plans, no two plans featured the same number of towers on this side. Vespignani allows for nine widely spaced towers including the two to the south of the west gate. Di Stefano Manzella, meanwhile, allows for a range of 14 to 23.

We began with a more substantial cleaning of the area. We then renumbered the towers on this side as they appear on the geophysical plan, beginning with the first tower to the south of the west gate (Figure 1.84).[213] Next, we set about looking for any visible evidence for tower construction, sticking as close to the wall as was possible. The two towers south of the west gate and that which follows around the southwest corner, towers 1 to 3 on the geophysical plan, were highly visible and unquestionable. Both Vespignani and the geophysical plan account for the next existing tower, number 6, which is located to the east of the large gap in the wall, discussed earlier. The gap itself, however, was a problem area. The geophysical plan, as was noted earlier, reconstructs an internal corner at this point based presumably on the arrangement of modern installations that follow a similar pattern.

[212]Our plan (Figure 1.23, 1.81) does not attempt to show all the towers that we discovered at the site. Instead, it displays those that the students and volunteers were able to survey successfully, although the south side does include most of the existing examples. Once again, a more thorough and detailed plan will be produced for publication.

[213]Once again, we used the geophysical plan as our guide primarily out of convenience, but recognised that the surveyors borrowed heavily from the reconstructions of Di Stefano Manzella in their own rendering of the walls, gates, and towers.

Likewise, they reconstruct two extra towers, numbers 4 and 5, one at either end of the gap. Earlier plans, including that of Vespignani, allow for a straighter course and no extra towers. Given the wider spacing between towers on this side, a single tower is sufficient between 3 and 6.

Our next discrepancy occurred in the vicinity of tower 10. Here, where the geophysical plan features a tower, we discovered a land bridge, much like that which carried the Via Amerina across the quarry trench (Figure 1.113, 1.135). There is no evidence for a tower on top of this land bridge, just as there is seemingly no use for the land bridge itself. The situation is equally unclear in the plans of Vespignani. In his first attempt, the author marks the land bridge, but does so in such a way that it projects outward from a tower. In the second plan, the tower remains but the land bridge is gone. As far as we are concerned, there is no evidence for a tower in the position of number 10, nor does there need to be one. Instead, we suggest that one tower only separated 8 and 11, centrally located between the two in the area marked as a gap on the geophysical plan.

Next we arrive at the south gate, which is flanked by towers 11 and 12 on the geophysical plan. Both of these sit atop a bedrock plateau and are not easily visible from the ground.[214] Vespignani includes tower 11, the more visible and complete of the two, but not 12, which is poorly preserved. Moving to the east, the geophysical plan reconstructs two towers, numbers 13 and 14, along the stretch separating the south gate from the large recess. Vespignani features the first of these, implying that it was the only one of the two that was extant, at least in his time. In 2005 we found both of these towers with minimal effort, but extensive cleaning was necessary to make them visible from the ground (Figures 1.85-1.86). Furthermore, we observed that tower 14 is shifted slightly to the west while traces of another unmarked tower, which we labelled 14b, is located just to the east of it. We may correct the geophysical plan, therefore, by confirming the presence of 13 and 14 and adding a possible reconstructed 14b.

One of the major difficulties in interpreting this particular area lies is the fact that the quarrying appears to have been undertaken in multiple phases. As we have discussed already, a new path was added along the wall face linking the south gate with the Abby Gate, as is indicated on the second Vespignani plan. This path ran along a series of bedrock plateaux,

[214]See Figures 1.99-1.102 for the towers flanking the south gate.

well above the ground level below. Towers 13, 14, and 14b sat directly on top of these plateaux with no indication of their presence from the ground.

Tower 15 sits on the outside western corner of the large recess. It is clearly marked on both the geophysical plan and that of Vespignani and is highly visible from the ground because of its dominant position. On the Vespignani plan, it is not marked in the typical way but appears as an unusual swelling of the wall, not unlike the tower at the tip of the southeast bastion. In fact, tower 15 sits high above ground level, while the bedrock beneath splays outward to create a rugged and highly fortified point in the defensive system much like the southeast bastion. Also of interest is the observation that while the plateaux linking the east gate to the Abby Gate have worn away at this corner of the recess, a series of connected chambers allows passage through the bedrock on which the tower 15 sits (Figure 1.87).

Next on the geophysical plan, we see three towers across the back wall of the recess, numbers 16 to 18. Of these, only 16 is marked as being extant while the other two have been reconstructed. Vespignani includes this tower on his first plan, but shifts its position slightly to the east in the second. This alteration was necessary to account for the new access road that entered through the Abby Gate. Presumably, the implication is that a tower once existed in this location, but was eliminated with the insertion of the new gate. This scenario does not explain, however, why the tower is marked as extant on the geophysical plan. In reality, the only evidence of a tower may be found in the centre of the back wall of the recess at the general position of number 17.[215] Furthermore, it is unlikely that any other tower was needed given the presence of towers 15 and 19.

Tower 19 may be paired with number 15 in that it guarded the eastern outside corner of the recess. Like 15, it incorporates the bedrock below in such a way as to create a formidable defensive structure. Just east of this tower, the height of the bedrock dips creating a natural slope down to the level of the river valley at the point of the Porta Puteana. Consequently, tower 19 served a dual function. In addition to protecting the eastern corner of the recess, it guarded the west end of a short stretch that separated it from the Porta Puteana. At the other end of this wall section was tower 20, which sat much closer to the level of the quarry trench. Although both are highly visible today, Vespignani marks tower 19 but not tower 20.

[215]This was the least preserved of all the known towers at the site with the exception of 14b.

To the east of the Porta Puteana, the level of the bedrock rises substantially and reaches its peak at the southeast bastion. The geophysical plan adds two more towers along the south face of the bastion, but given the height of the masonry above ground level, these would only be visible from the inside. Unfortunately, given the extensive overgrowth in the area, the state of erosion, and the dangers of approaching the edge of the urban plain at its highest point, these towers are almost impossible to discern at present. Nevertheless, we are willing to accept their existence if for no other reason because they balanced those on the eastern side of the bastion.

In the end, we may conclude that the plan Vespignani is mostly accurate in its portrayal of the existing towers on the south side of the city. It is lacking tower 12 to the east of the south gate, towers 14 and 14b beyond this, and the towers along the south face of the southeast bastion. Vespignani rightly accounts for tower 13, however, which is marked on the geophysical plan as being non-extant. The geophysical plan, conversely, attempts to reconstruct all the towers at the site, including those that no longer exist. Whereas we generally accept the reconstruction of the towers on the south side, we have some reservations. First, we suggest that only one tower existed between 3 and 6 and another between 8 and 11. Second, we allow for the presence of a single tower along the back wall of the recess in the position of number 17, and not three. In addition, we assert that both towers 13 and 14 exist as does the possibility of another between 14 and 15. Thus, we allow for 19 to 20 towers on the south side and 58 to 59 around the city as a whole. This count also maintains the unique relationship between the gates and the towers to be discussed shortly. Only with more substantial cleaning by a more professional team may we arrive at a more accurate count.

I) The Walls of Falerii Novi III: The Gates

In the earliest plan of the city by Cazzaniga, we find six gates (Figure 1.11). As would be expected, primary gates were located in the south and west at the ends of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*. The north gate, meanwhile, appears as a small gap in the wall with only traces of an access road exiting the city at this point. Missing is a corresponding gate in the east. Two subsequent gates are recorded in the north which correspond to Cozza's description of gates at the northeast and southeast angles. The one in the northwest is the

most substantial of the two and features a wide access street. In the south, meanwhile, there is a gate in the area of the Porta Puteana.

Vespignani adds to this model. His first plan (Figure 1.12) is unclear with regard to gates, but it definitely shows the Porta di Giove in the west, as well as the principal north gate. Between these is a gate at the northwest angle. Likewise, access roads are visible entering all three. In the south, we find evidence for the land bridge which carried the Via Amerina across the quarry trench, thus alluding to another gate here even if it is not explicitly marked. There is no evidence whatsoever for gates at the northeast angle or the east side.

On the second plan (Figure 1.13) we see some drastic changes. First, access roads entering the west and north gates were made permanent, while another was added at the northeast corner. The road entering the northwest corner, however, has been removed, although the gap in the wall remains. In the south another road enters the city via the Porta Puteana while in the southwest we see on the interior of the city what appears to be traces of a road meeting the city wall from the inside. This point along the wall is noted in other plans as being the location of a gate. The east gate remains non-existent.

Of greater interest is the unusual situation of the south gate. Here, the road crossing the river valley and quarry trench via the land bridge does not pass through the south gate. Instead it makes an eastern turn and travels along the wall before entering the large recess and accessing the city at a point where, in the first plan, a tower once sat. This tower was shifted to the east to make room for the new road. Thus, Vespignani provides evidence for eight possible gates: three primary ones, excluding the east gate, four secondary ones, and one in the position of the Abby Gate that is not accounted for in any other plan.

Likewise, Dennis notes eight gates, labelled A through H (Figure 1.16). This list includes the seven gates of Vespignani, minus the Abby gate with the addition of the east gate and corresponding access road. The position of gate C is interesting in that it appears to be located in the middle of a large recess. One might assume that this is a representation of the Abby Gate. Closer inspection, however, show that it is positioned at a point where the bedrock level slopes down and must, therefore, represent the Porta Puteana. As well, it seems unlikely that Dennis would include the Abby Gate and not the Porta Puteana, one of the most highly visible and well crafted architectural components of the city wall. Other points of

interest may be found at lower case *a* and *b*. Lower case *a* is noted as a hole in the wall[216] at the general location of the northwest gate, which, admittedly, looks like a gap given its current state of preservation. Dennis already marks a gate in the northwest, however, at position G. If lower case *a* is the northwest gate, we can only assume Dennis is accounting for an extra entrance between the north and the northwest gates. If location G is the northwest gate, lower case *a* must represent a nondescript gap in the wall, from which there are plenty to choose.

Also, at lower case *b*, we find a reference to a small, partially filled gate. This point marks the area where we had earlier noted the northernmost end of the eastern intramural street. Dennis is one of the few authors to account for this second gate. The plan of Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins represents the most obvious exception as they mark both gates in the northeast corner (Figure 1.18). Potter, meanwhile, places brief gaps at the location of both gates in the northeast, but only labels one of them (Figure 1.19).

Most other plans feature a variation on the model of four primary and four secondary gates, while the Abby Gate and the extra one in the northeast go unnoticed. This idea of eight gates was also stressed by Cozza, who accounts for four primary gates and four secondary ones in the positions indicated by Vespignani.[217] The only problem area lies in the vicinity of the southwest gate.

The geophysical plan, making use of Di Stefano Manzella's model of the walls, features seven gates but mentions the possibility of the eighth in the southwest corner. Although they offer no other hard evidence, they present the strongest circumstantial case for its existence in this location.[218] First, they note that Di Stefano Manzella places a postern gate here.[219] Second, they suggest that a gate in the southwest offered a good balance to the Porta Puteana in the southeast. Third, like the Porta Puteana, the reconstructed gate in the southwest sits at a point where the bedrock level dips to meet the Purgatorio river valley. Finally, both the Porta Puteana and the reconstructed southwest gate line up with the reconstructed southern extremities of the east and west intramural roads. We have also

[216]The original legend has not been included with this figure.

[217]For the Cozza reference, see Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 21-22.

[218]Keay *et al.* 2000, 9, 49-51 figs. 33-34.

[219]This gate is labelled number 108 on Figure 1.17. Cf. Di Stefano Manzella 1979, figs 11 and 13.

stressed this relationship suggesting that the irregular intramural roads were provided with secondary gates in order to emphasise pre-existing Faliscan paths that may or may not have been part of any earlier settlement.

Over the last three seasons, we found conclusive evidence for nine gates at Falerii Novi: three at the ends of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*, four at the ends of the pre-existing Faliscan roads, the Abby gate, and the pedestrian walk-way in the north, identified by Di Stefano Manzella and the geophysical surveyors. We found no evidence for the primary east gate, but we allow for its existence amidst the hostile overgrowth that obscured the central portion of the east wall. We also accept that a gate existed at the point of the gap in the southwest corner. Not only is a gate marked here in almost every plan, but it supports our reconstruction of pre-existing Faliscan paths being provided with minor entrances. Thus, we have raised the total number of gates at the site to eleven.

The west gate, also known as the Porta di Giove, is by far the most highly published monument at the site (Figure 1.8, 1.88-1.89). It was large in scale and featured an exceptionally well crafted arch consisting of a keystone and nine arch stones on either side. The arch was provided with its own decorative framework consisting of a continuous projecting ridge in the form of a curved cornice. Above the keystone is a central antefix featuring a head, which has been traditionally interpreted as Jupiter. The face, however, sports no beard suggesting that it should be associated with another divinity, possibly Juno. Horizontal bands at the bottom of each end of the arch, meanwhile, give the illusion of piers beneath, which stand six courses high.

Also of interest is the unusual wear pattern of the west gate. More specifically, the north side of the gate has worn away to a higher degree than the south side (Figure 1.89). Some of this damage may be due to excessive plant material growing along the wall, but this explanation does not account for the lack of wear along the bottom two courses. Likewise human contact may also have escalated the erosion process, but this theory does not account for the highest levels of wear. A local guide informed us that a modern wooden awning had been erected at the site during his lifetime, projecting from the front of the west gate. Unfortunately, he was somewhat incoherent in his description of the feature and the circumstances surrounding its construction. Nevertheless, traces of modern wood squeezed sporadically between the wall courses support this claim. These were discovered on both

sides of the gate, however, undermining the idea that any modern construction resulted in the uneven wear pattern.

Our local source also confirmed our own suspicions that the west gate featured two different stone types. The sides of the gate, like the remainder of the wall itself, was made of local tufo. The arch, meanwhile, consisted of peperino, which was traditionally reserved for areas of high pressure. It is also likely that peperino was employed for some of the upper courses of the wall and the piers of the arch. Given the irregular staining of the wall combined with the bleaching power of the sun, visual observation is not sufficient to make any definitive conclusions regarding stone use. Only petrographic analysis can tell us how much of the surrounding wall consisted of peperino. Nevertheless, we may conclude at present that the gate, as it stands now, served as a primary entrance into the city. The use of peperino, meanwhile, might suggest a second phase in the wall construction, an idea that will play an important role in the interpretation to follow.

The Porta Puteana is similar to the Porta di Giove, but is smaller and less elaborate (Figures 1.9, 1.90). The arch consisted of a key stone with six arch stones on each side. Below this were five wall courses acting as piers. No other elaboration is visible. The gate is unique in that it provided access to a vaulted passageway that sloped upward into the city (Figure 1.91-1.92). The width of this passage as it is preserved today is somewhat greater than that of the gate itself. In addition, the side walls of the passageway acted as retaining walls against the higher soil levels on either side. Cuttings are visible on the interior faces of the third and fourth arch stones on the east side (Figure 1.93). These were presumably made for the insertion of the walls of the passageway. They also suggest that the passage may not have been completely covered or possibly that it featured a flat roof as opposed to a vaulted one, although such an arrangement seems unlikely. Whereas the idea of a covered passageway is more logical, we must hold off on our final judgements until excavation or at least a more thorough cleaning may be undertaken.

Our understanding of the Porta Puteana may help to refine our view of the urban structures in the immediate vicinity of the gate. According to the available evidence, this passage was subterranean or at least partially covered by earth to the east and west. This reconstruction eliminates the possibility of a bottom terrace to the east of the gate in *insula* LXVIII (Figure 1.75). Instead, the middle terrace was the lowest level. These plateaux must

have progressed along the descent of the terrain, following the path of the so-called processional route along the eastern intramural road. The relationship between these terraces and the higher ground levels to the immediate east and west of the passage is uncertain. The dotted lines along the sides of the reconstructed terraces in the geophysical plan may represent the retaining walls that supported the sides of the passage leading through the Porta Puteana. Furthermore, this descent may add chthonic connotations to the proposed processional path that ringed the city.

Over the course of the last three seasons, we were able to identify most of the other gates around the city, some of which contributed to our understanding of the city planning and phasing of the city. Beginning with the primary entrances, we have already discussed in great detail the Porta di Giove. At the other end of the city, the east gate was impossible to distinguish, hidden as it was behind some of the thickest and densest foliage at the site (Figure 1.94). We were also unable to identify the north gate, although a modern path with traces of paving stones passes through a gap in the wall at a point that presumably served as the primary northern entrance (Figures 1.95-1.96). We were also identified the smaller opening to the east of the north gate that Di Stefano Manzella had originally identified as the main entrance (Figures 1.97-1.98).[220] The opening was much smaller than the gap of the north gate, justifying its designation by the geophysical surveyors as a lesser pedestrian walkway. In light of its reduced size, we also do not exclude the possibility that the opening served some defensive role much like an artillery emplacement.

The only other primary gate that we were able to distinguish besides the Porta di Giove was the south gate. In our first season, we thought we had identified the position of the south gate at the head of the westernmost land bridge, which we believed carried the Via Amerina across the Purgatorio river valley. Unfortunately, we were unable to find definitive traces of the portal itself. In the following season, we discovered the second land bridge to the east and the Via Amerina that it serviced. Once we had made this correction, we were able to recognise the south gate more easily. Our initial difficulty in identifying a gate here lay in the fact that the opening is very poorly preserved and appears to have been blocked up in antiquity (Figure 1.99). Furthermore, tower 11, which flanks the gate to the west, is visible but highly damaged (Figure 1.100), while tower 12 to the east is almost completely missing.

[220]Cf. Number 72, Figure 1.17.

As a result, the entire area resembles any other poorly preserved stretch along the circuit, with the possibility of ancient repair work accounting for the unusual appearance of the blocked gate.

The south gate is different in terms of its construction from the Porta di Giove and the Porta Puteana, at least according to the available evidence. It sits directly between two towers and is distinguished on each side by a thin strip of wall that acts as a door jamb (Figure 1.101). These narrow jambs are damaged, but may have been less so in 1997 since the geophysical team observes that they were clearly visible at their time.[221] It is unknown how the top of the gate was formed as only the sides remain intact. One of the stones making up the eastern jamb is curved and may represent an arch springer. The arch, if it existed, must have been a light construction given the slender width and thickness of the sides. In addition, the size of the opening is much less than that of the previous two examples, providing just enough room to facilitate two men abreast comfortably. These observations seem highly irregular for a portal that was destined to serve as a primary access point for a major Roman highway.

At some point in antiquity, the south gate was blocked up. There is evidence for six courses in all of regularly laid stones, possibly reused from a collapsed portion of the wall itself. These stones were added from the inside and extend beyond the lateral limits of the gate on both sides (Figure 1.102). We have already discussed the implications of this blockage on the city plan considering in particular the alternate route of the Via Amerina and its new entrance into the porticus of the theatre.

This alternate entrance, recorded by Vespignani alone, was discovered in the summer of 2005. Most of the Abby Gate, which sits at the position of tower 16 on the geophysical plan, was buried in its present state (Figures 1.25, 1.103-1.104). Visible were the key stone and two complete arch stones on each side with traces of a third. The presence of this gate is important in our interpretation of the city because of its perceived role in the shift of the primary north-south axis of the city. We must also be willing to admit, however, that our theory, although a strong possibility, is speculative and that evidence exists within the gate itself that seems to undermine our reconstruction.

[221]Keay *et al.* 2000, 83.

First, access to the gate from the exterior seems overly winding and possibly even treacherous for a primary city gate and the high traffic volume it facilitated. Second, the gate appears to be too small for a major access point. If the lines of the gate are extrapolated based on the current evidence, the opening seems far too narrow for excessive human traffic and possibly even narrower than the south gate. Third, the Abby Gate provides a rear entrance to the theatre porticus and is not directly associated with any urban street whatsoever even if we accept the alternate reconstruction proposed earlier (Figure 1.103). Finally, one could also suggest that the gate, with its elevated position, takes advantage of both the terrain and the force of gravity, as if it were some kind of ancient of sluice gate. Although none of these alternate scenarios are strong enough to alter our working hypothesis, we must nevertheless be willing to admit the possible objections to our interpretation of the gate.

In terms of lesser gates, we have identified already the Porta Puteana. The corresponding gate to the southwest no longer exists, but we have accepted its existence based on the evidence cited above. Similarly, we could not find a trace of the gate in the northwest, although we did find an entrance point for a modern path at the point where the aqueduct entered the city and, once again, accepted its existence (Figure 1.105). Finally, we mentioned already the existence of two gates in the northeast corner, each of which corresponded to the end of an intramural street. These gates were similar in appearance and generally resembled smaller versions of the Porta Puteana in that they were unadorned arched entrances that provided access through lesser passages.

The north entrance in this corner presents an unusual situation. Dennis describes it as being partially filled in. This is an accurate description of the gate, seeing as it is almost completely blocked in its present condition (Figure 1.106). The fill stones were laid in the ancient way and featured large, well cut stones of *opus quadratum*. These stones were tailored to fit the rounded top and narrow bottom corners of the opening (Figure 1.107). There is some evidence for mortar here but it is unknown if it was part of the original fill material or if it was added later as part of a restoration programme that is evident all along the north side of the city. Modern repair work is present just to the west of the gate at a lower level, implying that restoration was an issue in this vicinity in particular (Figure 1.108).

Likewise, the corresponding gate around the northeast corner contains evidence for restoration, possibly as part of the same programme.

Unlike its northern partner, the east gate in the northeast corner was not blocked and still provides passage into the city, although the route is partially obscured by natural accumulation (Figure 1.109). Our original theory has both gates in use at the same time as a means of emphasising the pre-existing Faliscan streets. Both look to have been part of the same phase and it is unlikely that one replaced the other. We may also observe that both are small in scale, much like the pedestrian walkway to the east of the north gate. Consequently, neither was intended for heavy traffic. Nevertheless, two gates at such close proximity to each other were impractical. It is possible, therefore, that one of them, the least useful of the two, was eliminated. Given the quality of the cut stones in the fill, we assume that this blockage occurred very early on in the history of the city.

The surrounding growth was far too thick to discern any road that may have accessed this gate from the outside, although the surveyors mention its existence. More specifically, they observed that the quarrying in this corner of the city cut through the access road. The existing path, however, does not appear to have been diminished in any way, save for the current natural vegetation at the site. It is our theory that the quarrying occurred at the same time as the erection of the walls and the initial foundation of the city. As a result, it is unlikely that there was a path leading into the city prior to the erection of the walls unless we accept a continuation of the pre-existing northern intramural street beyond the limits of the city boundary.

In all, we have accounted for eleven gates at the city.[222] We have already discussed our interpretation of these primary and secondary entrances in relation to the phasing of the city plan, but we may review them here and supplement our model. The primary gates in the west, east, and south were flanked by towers. The northern gate had a tower close on its west side, while to the east was a smaller pedestrian walk-way and then a tower. These four gates represent the original principal access points for the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* and were likely all equal in size and appearance in their original forms. Five minor gates were present in the northwest, southwest, southeast, and both sides of the northeast corner. These

[222]The general location of all eleven are marked in red on our schematic wall course (Figure 1.23).

corresponded with minor pre-existing Faliscan roads. Of these, the Porta Puteana was the largest and most elaborate, taking the form of a subterranean passage that served as the end of a potential sacred way to the temple of Juno Curitis.

At some point, the northernmost of the two northeast gates was blocked up, probably out of general disuse or perhaps even for safety precautions. At a later time, the south gate also fell out of use. Consequently, the southern portion of the Via Amerina was shifted to the east and provided with an alternate access point that led directly into the porticus behind the theatre. This shift drastically altered the character of the urban layout, as we noted earlier. We tentatively dated this alteration to the same period as the installation of the theatre and porticus in the early first century. A rise in the pre-eminence of the west gate accompanied this shift in the south entrance. The most elaborate addition to the portal at this time was the face above the keystone, which we might compare to the sculpted heads on the Porta all'Arco at Volaterrae (Figure 1.110).[223] The two flanking temples just inside the western entrance, meanwhile, may also denote a shift in importance to the west side.

We conclude that the tower and gate system at Falerii Novi was extensive and featured work of the highest quality. This evidence lends extra credence to the belief that the city, from its outset, was a product of a cooperative effort between the Romans and Faliscan elites for the purpose of creating a new administrative centre for the region. This theory is dependent upon the idea that the wall dates to the original phase of the city. To help us consider this idea more extensively, we must consider the changes that were made to the physical site through the installation of the fortification wall and their temporal implications.

J) The Walls of Falerii Novi IV: Landscaping

As we have observed throughout this chapter, the landscaping at Falerii Novi takes a number of forms. Inside the city a series of progressive terraces were created in the vicinity of the Porta Puteana to provide broad, flat plateaux for construction and to enhance the final urban stop of the procession that travelled along the sacred way.[224] The same observation may be made for the area inside the south gate in *insulae* LVIII and LIX, where terraces were added

[223]The addition of the theatre and bath complexes also connects the city the with Volaterrae.

[224]Keay *et al.* 2000, 59, 62-64 figs. 41-42.

to help alleviate the sharp grade at one of the city's principal portals.[225] Just inside the west gate in *insula* I, meanwhile, the area of the high place was augmented artificially through terraces.[226]

Outside of the city, landscaping primarily took the form of quarrying. The first study to address these alterations to the physical terrain was that of the Tiber Valley Project.[227] We have already mentioned many of the observations made by the surveyors. For example, they note that the southern face of the city wall was built on the edge of a cliff over-looking the Purgatorio river valley and that much of the ground on this side was quarried back so as to be flush with the wall face. They add that quarrying occurred also along the east side except at the point of the east gate where a causeway was retained. This quarry trench cut across the northeast gate eliminating the access road at this point. South of the east gate and around the southeast corner, the quarry ploughs through a rise in the natural terrain. As a result, this corner rises like a huge tower, which we have dubbed the southeast bastion. The surveyors see a similar situation south of the west gate, although the results are much less dramatic. On the north side the effects of landscaping are less obvious. The ground in front of the walls on this side was cut back for a considerable distance in order to create a level surface. As a result, the walls stand on a quarry edge that is masked by masonry.

The surveyors believe that this quarrying served two functions. First, it made the walls seem more impressive and created a more dominant view of them, particularly from the south.[228] Second, it alleviated the need for construction materials by offering a good source of stone close at hand. Finally, they note that many of the tombs carved into the cliff face along the south side of the city were cut by the quarry trench, leading them to the conclusion that the tombs date to a time near or just following the foundation of the city but prior to the erection of the city walls. The surveyors admit, however, that an intensive

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[225]Keay *et al.* 2000, 49-54 figs. 35-36.

[226]The results of these transformations are visible in the contour model of the site rendered by the Tiber Valley Project (Figure 1.20)

[227]Keay *et al.* 2000, 86-87.

[228]See Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (1957, 102) who discuss the course of the Via Amerina as it enters the city from the south.

exploration of these tombs is necessary in order to better date the walls and to establish a more concrete chronology for the city and its various urban phases.

Although only a page or so long, this brief description is the only study to address the landscaping at Falerii Novi and the effects that the installation of the walls had on the physical environment. Generally, we accept the observations made by the surveyors with regard to the quarrying along the north, west, and east sides. A careful inspection shows that the ground in the front of the city was levelled for a great distance while the quarrying becomes more substantial as one travels south and east. We believe, however, that the landscaping on the south side is far more complex than the surveyors have suggested in their brief description and requires additional attention here.

We initiated our visual analysis of the south side of the city in 2005. We began at the Porta di Giove and continued south and east, stopping at the large bastion that constitutes the southeast corner. To facilitate our progress, we divided the south side into six smaller zones, each distinguished by arbitrary yet universally recognisable features. These included 1) the Southwest Corner, 2) the Horse Field, 3) the Sheep Graveyard, 4) the Bee Field, 5) the Porta Puteana, and 6) the Southeast Bastion (Figure 1.111). The Horse Field consists of a pasture for the farmer's two horses and is separated from the Southwest Corner by a modern fence. The Sheep Graveyard was distinguished by the presence of processed sheep carcases. It is separated from the Horse Field by the first land bridge and extends to the western end of the large recess. The Bee Field is so named for a modern apiary and consists primarily of the large recess, but includes also the short stretch of wall that separates it from the Porta Puteana. The Porta Puteana area entails the smaller inset between towers 20 and 21 (Figure 1.84). The Southeast Bastion and the Southwest Corner are self explanatory. This arrangement allowed us to divide our team into different groups, each targeting a specific section of the wall, yet still working within a common, overarching framework.

Almost immediately, we discovered that the nature of the landscaping was not homogeneous throughout the survey area. Nevertheless, some common trends did emerge. In the areas of the Northwest Corner and the Horse Field, the walls and towers are very simple, consisting of masonry that either sits at ground level or on a very narrow base of bedrock, which was quarried back so as to be flush with the wall face. Bedrock constituted a very

small percentage of the wall's face at the west end (Figure 1.112).[229] This percentage increased dramatically in an easterly direction, due partially to a downward slope of the quarry trench and partially to an upward slope of the ground level. The southeast corner of the site marks the point at which the quarry trench reaches its lowest level while the bedrock plateau rises to its apex. As we have noted several times already, the bedrock below was quarried in such a way as to take the form of a tall bastion. More specifically, it bulges outwards creating a slightly convex south face. In addition, it flares outward from the top to the bottom, creating a steep, and virtually insurmountable slope. Although enough of this bastion remains preserved for us to discern its overall shape, the bedrock is severely weathered and in some cases large chunks of it have fallen away.

The surveyors note that pure convenience should have dictated that the eastern boundary be moved more to the east, thus avoiding the great challenge of quarrying through this rise in the ground level. Elsewhere the city planners took advantage of a dip in the bedrock at the point of the Porta Puteana and possibly also at the southwest gate. In both instances, the level of the ground level sinks abruptly to that of the river valley, creating ideal locations for postern gates. The southeast bastion, conversely, represents a concerted effort on the part of the city planners to modify the natural environment and enhance the urban product.

Another example of landscaping on the south side of the city may be witnessed in the two large outcroppings of bedrock that extend outwards from the wall for several meters. We have referred to these features throughout this investigation as land bridges and assume that they were intentionally preserved to span the deep quarry trench between the city walls and the river valley. During the 2004 season, we erroneously identified this first of the two as the land bridge that carried the Via Amerina across the deep gulf of the quarry and the Purgatorio river valley (Figure 1.113). There were two serious problems with this hypothesis. First, it was relatively short and ended abruptly. Second, it did not line up with the assumed position of the south gate, as indicated on the geophysical plan. In the following season, our suspicions proved justified as we were able to distinguish a second land bridge that was more suited to the position of the south gate and that provided a longer and much gentler grade for

[229]See Figure 1.10 for an example of integrated bedrock with a small niche carved into it from the west end of the south wall.

the Via Amerina. In fact, it was the identification of this land bridge that helped us to distinguish the south gate (Figures 1.114-115).

Between the two land bridges, in the area of the Sheep Graveyard, the masonry of the wall sits directly on top of bedrock as expected. In this instance, however, the bedrock takes the form of a large stepped plateau, on which the aforementioned sheep carcases were scattered. Plateaux of this variety are common throughout the Sheep Graveyard and the Bee Field. At times they become more complex, as may be witnessed just east of the second land bridge where we discovered three and often four levels of plateaux.

Based on the existing evidence, we have speculated that originally a single plateau was present on either side of the south gate and around all three faces of the Bee Field. Following tower 19, the level of the bedrock dips substantially. Consequently, these bedrock shelves peter out just west of the Porta Puteana and are completely absent in the area of the South East Bastion. The terrain was altered by the installation of the Abby Gate. More specifically, the plateaux between the south gate and the Abby Gate were converted into a path that was made more concrete through retaining walls (Figure 1.116).[230] The general confusion in this area became amplified by the addition of a modern access road, which follows the ancient path for a short distance before leading upward to enter the farm through the gap in *insula* LXV (Figures 1.117-118). To make this path viable, a new retaining wall was created that utilised and altered the older one servicing the ancient path. The insertion of this modern road resulted in the creation of another level above that of the ancient path, which in turn sits above the level of the quarry trench. The lowest ground level, meanwhile, is stepped downward in an easterly direction. In the end, we may observe multiple superimposed levels, all of which are obscured by overgrowth and natural accumulation.

The last type of landscaping witnessed at the site takes the form of carved openings of various sizes cut into the exposed face of the bedrock along the south side of the city and around the southeast corner. They are referred to as tombs in most literature and have been mentioned in passing throughout this chapter. We have divided these tombs into three categories. The first consists of tall, narrow niches which extend under the city for a short distance (Figures 1.10, 1.119). Those of the second group are similar to the first, but are

[230]This image, one of the earliest to be rendered from our survey data, has labelled the Abby Gate a "Stone Arch Feature."

smaller, shallower, and often semicircular in shape (Figure 1.113, 1.20). Niches of the second variety are much more plentiful than those of the first. They also appear to have been more extravagant, as indicated by the traces of painting that have survived in a few of them. No archaeological material remains inside tombs of either type.

Tombs of the third type are much larger and resemble cuboidal or nearly cuboidal chambers, large enough to hold several individuals. These fall into three distinct categories. The first consists of large, open-faced chambers such as those that sheltered the horses in the area of the Horse Field (Figure 1.121-1.122). The second features small, narrow openings that access larger chambers behind (Figure 1.123). Often, entrances are near to the ground or are semi-subterranean and just large enough for a single person to crawl through (Figure 1.124). In some instances, the already narrow entrances are restricted all the more by natural accumulation. The final group is similar to the first in that it consists of large open faced chambers. These chambers are unique, however, in that they utilise masonry to create narrow doorways and windows (Figure 1.125-1.126). In some cases, the interior face of this masonry is plastered.

Despite the variations between them, the large chambers of all three types demonstrate common characteristics. First, they all had large cuboidal interiors. There is evidence for one round chamber located well under the city, but this is the only known variation from the pattern (Figure 1.127).[231] Second, multiple chambers are often interconnected and accessed from openings at different points in the wall. Sometimes these rooms adjoin directly to each other (Figure 1.128). In other instances, chambers are separated by long, narrow horizontal passageways accessed by vertical, rectangular shafts (Figures 1.129-1.130). These shafts feature grooves carved directly into their side walls, allowing passage up and down. Third, most chambers contain installations of one variety or another carved directly into the bedrock of the walls or floors. Deep horizontal grooves or shelves are often hewn into the side walls (Figure 1.131). Also prevalent are shallow basins resembling beds carved into the floor. These basins are commonly between 5 and 6 feet long and are

[231]This image is a rough sketch of a round chamber and the network of tunnels connected to it. Unfortunately, the passages were deemed too unsafe for exploration by students. This image is currently our only record of this network.

located in a corner of the chamber (Figure 1.32).[232] Finally, many of these chambers contain substantial ceramic remains, primarily fragments roof tiles and large storage vessels, although a few sherds of fine ware were also recognised. Unfortunately, we were not permitted to remove any samples for study. No other physical remains outside of modern rubbish were discovered.

Without proper archaeological investigation, we are unable to achieve an absolute chronology for these chambers. According to the surveyors, all the tombs around the outside of the city date to the earliest phases of the Roman city or possibly predate it. When the city walls were added, the resulting quarry cut across and damaged many of them. We have suggested that the tombs at Falerii Novi are much earlier than the third century. After the city was founded, these tombs were maintained and others were added. According to our working hypothesis, tombs that predated the site show evidence for having been cut and often required maintenance in the form of masonry. Those that were added after the insertion of the wall reveal no evidence of damage or repair, but are complete and pierce areas that had already been subject to quarrying. Although we are not prepared to make a definitive statement at this time, it is possible that some tombs added after quarrying were also repaired and maintained throughout the occupation at the site, again revealing evidence of masonry.

Finally, we must also address the niches that riddle the exterior face of the exposed bedrock along the southern face of the city and around the southeast corner. We were fortunate enough to consult with Francesco Quondam, the primary excavator of the necropolis of Falerii Veteres, located along the Via Amerina, a few kilometres to the south of Falerii Novi (Figures 1.33-1.34).[233] Here, Quondam showed us many examples of niches carved directly into the bedrock on either side of the sepulchral street, some of which were painted. According to the excavator, these niches were imperial tombs, dating to the middle to late periods. At this time, noble families wished to demonstrate their wealth but were restricted in terms of space. As a result, richly painted niches were carved into the exposed

[232]Cf. Figures 1.121 and 1.122 for more examples.

[233]These two images were taken from a pamphlet published by the Gruppo Archeologico Romano entitled "La Via Amerina a la Necropoli Meridionale di Falerii Novi."

face of the bedrock between the large chambers from earlier periods, creating a great honeycomb appearance.[234]

Our evidence supports the interpretation that the shallow niches antedate the foundation of the city. More specifically, we observe that niches were carved along the sides of the land bridges and within areas that had been previously quarried (Figure 1.135). If the hypothesis of Quondam is correct, and we have no reason to believe that it is not, the small niches are of less importance to our understanding of the Republican city than are the larger chambers. Nevertheless, they supplement our understanding of the chronology of the site.[235]

We may conclude this section by observing that the landscaping on the south side of the city served four functions. First, it augmented the fortification walls. By lowering the exterior ground level and incorporating the bedrock into the very fabric of the architecture, city planners were able to create a much taller and more visually impressive fortification system. Nowhere is this process more visible than at the southeast corner of the city where the bedrock was quarried in such a way as to create a large, defensive bastion. Second, at two points along the circuit, areas of bedrock were reserved and took the form of long flat land bridges projecting southward across the deep gulf of the quarry area. One of these served to mediate the grade of the Via Amerina as it exited through the south gate. Third, in the central areas of the circuit, in the vicinity of the Sheep Graveyard and the Bee Field, we find large broad plateaux, or groups of plateaux, below the level of the masonry that take the form of broad artificial steps. The function of these plateaux is currently unknown except for that which carried the path leading from the south gate to the Abby gate.

Finally, the vertical faces of the exposed bedrock served as host to a number of small niches and larger chambers, which served as tombs from the various period of occupation at the site. Many of the large chambers predate the foundation of the city and refer back to the original Faliscan occupants. Others straddle the mid-third century and typify the style of tombs employed during the mid-Republic. The painted niches, meanwhile, are imperial in date and fall outside the boundaries of our study period.

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[234]Quondam's work is still in progress. For a study of the necropoleis that line the Via Amerina, see Caretta *et al.* 1995.

[235]At present we have broken no new ground with respect to the tombs and their position in the relative chronology of the site save for the observation that some tombs seem to predate the walls while others antedate them. We cannot stress enough the need for future exploration and excavation of these tombs.

K) Conclusion

Over the course of this chapter, we have attempted to update the urban model of Falerii Novi in light of the full corpus of archaeological evidence that is available to us, highlighting in particular the most recent data acquired from the surveys undertaken by the Tiber Valley Project and the Falerii Novi Project. Di Stefano Manzella engaged in a similar analysis in 1979, but his plan focused more on the street grid of the city than its overall urban horizon. In addition, he did not have access to the most recent survey data. The geophysical surveyors offered a new version of the city in 2000 based on their magnetometry readings. They admit, however, that limitations exist within their reconstructed plan and that their conclusions are not definitive. They also do not take into account the full range of data from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, they welcome others to offer their own interpretations of the geophysical data in the hopes of refining their image of the city further.

Based on our understanding of the available evidence, we suggest that Falerii Novi was founded as a fortified urban centre from the outset, complete with a city wall and a complex system of gates and towers. The central forum served as the heart of the ancient city and the most important public area in the urban scheme. The forum square was empty and unadorned in its original phase, but was systematically built up throughout the Republic and revitalised again in the Principate. Similar urban phases may be witnessed throughout the city as a whole. More specifically, as we will discuss in Chapter 3, the city experienced significant renovation after the Social War and during the reign of Augustus.

Public architecture was laid out to the north and south of the civic centre creating a central swath of public amenities, including a bath complex, open courtyards, and large elite houses. The most important element along this strip, aside from the forum, was the theatre complex to the south. A secondary axis of public structures may have existed running perpendicular to the first. A large Capitolium and a secondary temenos complex flanked the interior of the Porta di Giove in the west while another sacred complex was added just inside the east gate. Unfortunately, much of the architecture in between is undecipherable in the geophysical plan save for the forum. It is also possible that these religious monuments represent stops along a sacred way that ran from the west gate, along the northern and eastern intramural streets, and out the Porta Puteana. In fact, the presence of at least eight temples suggests that sacred architecture was a high priority at the city.

In the end, we have reconstructed a city that was teeming with public amenities and private architecture of the highest order. Although detailed and complete, however, our urban model, like all those that precede it, is based on spotty evidence. Only through systematic archaeological excavation may we confirm many of the components that we have laid out in this chapter.

We can speak with greater confidence of the urban layout of the city. Falerii Novi was orthogonal and cruciform from its conception, with principal streets running gate to gate and crossing at the forum. In a later phase, the southern portion of the *cardo maximus* was shifted to the east and exited the city through the porticus of the theatre complex.[236] The two misaligned halves of the *cardo maximus* were united by means of the forum, which acted as the fulcrum of the urban scheme. Thus, in its original form, Falerii Novi was innovative and looked forward to the arrangements of later Roman colonies founded at Parma, Luni, and Luca in the early second century. Its renovated state, conversely, demonstrated qualities of earlier Latin colonies of the fourth and third centuries, such as Norba, Alba Fucens, and Cosa. Thus, we may think of the plan at Falerii Novi as a hybrid of the two styles and not a typical example of either.

This last observation, that Falerii Novi, at least according to our reconstruction, resembles a Latin colony, is important in our understanding of the city and its role in Roman Italy during the Republic. Certainly the presence of a comitium, Capitolium, basilica, and a range of public amenities imply Roman status for the city, if not explicitly colonial. We have also noticed a number of other urban qualities at the site that are typical among Latin colonies of the mid-Republic, including a *per strigas* arrangement and a central swath of public monuments. At present, however, we are unable to conclude whether or not Falerii Novi was founded as a Roman colony, that is under the auspices of augurs and the supervision of the *triumviri* and land-surveyors.[237] Nevertheless, the city of Falerii Novi, whether founded as a colony or not, played a significant role in the ongoing urbanism of Italy during the mid-Republic.

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[236]Although it was provided with a new gate, the street was no longer linked directly with a primary city entrance. This arrangement is unusual when compared to the Roman cities founded throughout the mid to late Republic.

[237]We will consider the status of the building in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In the following chapter, we will build upon this discussion and consider the city's role in this ongoing urban sequence. To facilitate our discussion we will look in greater detail at the foundation procedure of Roman colonies. According to Ward-Perkins, "colonies were the practical school in which the Roman architects learned their craft and they must have embodied the most progressive ideas of the day."[238] Thus, Roman colonies demonstrate the principles on which all Roman towns were founded and serve as the best source of comparison with Falerii Novi, its status notwithstanding. At the very least, therefore, we can consider whether or not the city was based on the same general urban principles that guided most other Roman urban centres throughout our study period of 338 to 241 BC. This consideration of foundation procedures and urban principles will aid us in our consideration of the status of the original city which will ensue in the final chapter.

[238]Ward-Perkins 1958, 121.

CHAPTER 2: FALERII NOVI AND THE ROMAN URBAN EXPERIENCE

A) Introduction

As we noted in the last chapter, the hundred or so years between 338 and 241 were important for the development of the ideal Roman city plan, or more precisely, two plans. When Rome initiated her own colonial enterprise following the dissolution of the Latin League, she established Latin colonies to administer broad territories throughout the peninsula, usually at great distance from the Capital, and citizen colonies to guard the coast. As we will soon see, each variety had its own unique plan and ideological meaning. Many scholars believe that Roman land-surveyors and city planners attempted to recreate these plans as faithfully as possible despite variations in the physical terrain and the particular circumstances of each foundation. According to Rykwert, "no other civilisation…had practiced as the Romans did during the Late Republic and the Empire, the imposition of a constant, uniform pattern on the towns, on the countryside, and also on their military establishments with almost obsessional persistence."[239] This priority of replication deviated from the urban traditions of the Greeks and Etruscans for whom urbanism was more an exercise in the adaptation of basic urban guidelines to varying natural terrains. One could characterise the evolution of the Roman plan, therefore, as the growing imposition of a Roman prototype on the physical environment. Stambaugh sums up the relationship between the city and its terrain by stating that while the Greeks considered their ecology as an element of the urban landscape to be exploited, Rome imposed artificial human factors on a neutral environment.[240]

If we were to briefly summarise the history of the urban form in Italy, we could state that the Prehistoric cultures of Italy initiated a number of rustic traditions that accommodated

[239]Rykwert 1976, 62. Here, the author is commenting on a period that lies outside our study period. Nevertheless, we shall see that this observation is not out of place for colonies of the mid-Republic. According to Bracken, this pursuit to dominate and control the environment represents Rome's attempt to manage and regulate society (1981, 11).

[240]Stambaugh 1988, 247. Likewise, Ward-Perkins states that the Roman system consisted of "drawing board answers which impose order upon a site rather than seeking to elicit it from the site itself" (1974, 33).

the foundation of sedentary agricultural communities. The Greeks added philosophy, science, and the regularisation of the orthogonal form. The Etruscans converted these philosophical urban behaviours into a standardised set of divine rituals that dictated the process of city foundation.[241] Finally, the Romans rationalised these rituals into a practical set of urban procedures that formed the basis of a new vocation and the introduction of a new class of professionals. In short, the Romans added land-surveying.

B) The Roman Land-Surveyors

Roman land-surveying became a strong priority among the Romans once they initiated their own colonial enterprise and, like all colonising cultures, experienced a need for equal land division.[242] The process of colonisation required meticulous planning, careful surveying, and purposeful supervision.[243] During the Republic, we attribute much of this activity to *gromatici*, *mensores*, or *agrimensores*.[244] These individuals were supplanted during the Empire by professional architects, who were important to the foundation process and trained to be true specialists.[245] According to Vitruvius (1.31), architects, and one would have to include the *agrimensores* that preceded them, were required to be well-versed in such diverse disciplines as music, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy. This observation implies that Roman land-surveyors and engineers had to be aware of Greek philosophical ideas and various aspects of the Etruscan cosmology. On a more practical level, they also had to be familiar with the specifics of defensive, religious, and public forms of architecture. This

[241]Unfortunately, we do not have the time in this investigation to discuss the urban development of the various pre-Roman communities that emerged throughout the peninsula from the first sedentary communities of the Neolithic onwards. Such an investigation, however, would serve as a valuable counterpart to our own, particularly with regard to the development of universal urban priorities over time.

[242]At the end of the last chapter we quoted Ward-Perkins as saying that colonies offered Roman land-surveyors the best opportunities to hone and apply their skills (Ward-Perkins 1958, 121). In a later work, the author will say that, given the military nature of Roman colonies, the opportunities for rational planning were slim and that colonies served more to redistribute land (1974, 27). Nevertheless, he still admits that the military engineer and land-surveyor will rise to the forefront during the Republic.

[243]The best source for the foundation of new colonies, particularly from a social and legal perspective, is offered by Salmon 1969, 19-28.

[244]Ward-Perkins 1974, 27.

[245]Robinson 1992, 14.

tripartite division of the public sphere is reminiscent of the tripartite division of Hippodamus.[246]

There is much to be gained from a consideration of Roman land-surveyors and the works they have left behind. The most recent and thorough consideration of the topic is Campbell's 2000 publication, *The Writings of the Roman Land-surveyors*, which provides the most notable texts, a synopsis of each major contributor, and a summary of the efforts of the past scholars in the field, both ancient and modern.[247]

The most important original source relating to the Roman land-surveyors is the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, which is a compilation from a variety of Roman surveyors dating possibly to the fifth century AD. Thulin speculated very early on that all existing accounts from the Roman land-surveyors in this collection stem from a single archetype. He observes that all the extant texts demonstrate common gaps, additions, and peculiarities in their arrangement.[248] Likewise Campbell is open to the possibility of a single common source.[249] Toneatto disagrees with this assessment believing that each text was based on its own original version.[250] In either situation, we may assume that an earlier tradition, if not a single textual archetype, existed and formed the basis for this much later compilation. Unfortunately, we cannot begin to speculate when this tradition began or if it existed during our study period.[251]

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[246]Although we will not be discussing the Greek urban theorist in any detail here, we will refer to the Hippodameian style plan frequently throughout this chapter. For sources on Hippodamus and his plan, see McCredie 1971, 95-100, Hammond 1972, 222-223, Castagnoli 1956 and 1971b, 66-72, and Ward-Perkins 1974, 14-17.

[247]Prior to Campbell, Dilke was the leader in scholarship on the Roman land-surveyors. Consequently he has published a number of works on the subject. Most notable is his *The Roman Land-surveyors. An Introduction to the Agrimensores* (1971). Cf. Dilke 1962 and 1974. The earliest treatment on the subject was published by Thulin in 1911.

[248]Thulin 1911, 3-5, 10-39.

[249]See Campbell 2000, xxi-xxii for a general discussion on the history of the manuscripts. For a consideration of the illustrations that accompanied the ancient texts, see pp. xxiii-xxvi

[250]Toneatto 1983, 43-45.

[251]A full discussion on the compilation process is unimportant to the present investigation. We may mention briefly, however, that comparisons between the writings of the Roman land-surveyors and earlier authors such as Vorro, Vitrivius, and Livy imply that the tradition of surveying existed much closer to our study period.

One of the most substantial and useful account was provided by Frontinus. This figure is thought to be Julius Frontinus, or perhaps Sextus Julius Frontinus, the noted governor, military leader, aquarum, and consul in AD 100.[252] As such, Frontinus was experienced in both military and civil affairs. Campbell suggests that Frontinus may have been an engineer or a technician, which explains his intimate knowledge of military strategy, science, and water supply. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that he was ever well-versed in land-surveying. Nevertheless, the author wrote two books on surveying, each containing two sections. The first, *De Agrorum Qualitate* and *De Controversiis*, concerns itself with types of lands and land disputes. The author does not attempt to establish a formal technical vocabulary, but he provides a basic manual for other surveyors to be used as a guide. Thus, Campbell sees this first book as setting out the parameters of a surveyor's role. The second work of Frontinus, *De Limitibus* and *De Arte Mensoria*, focuses more on the definition and establishment of *limites* and coping with difficult terrain in land-surveying. He also identifies the origins of surveying and its association with soothsaying.

Frontinus begins his texts with a consideration of divided and allocated territories belonging to colonies, the first of the three types of land he identifies.[253] Such land was contained within *limites*, allocated by a straight line boundary, and featured lengthwise *strigae* as well as width-wise *scamna* (Figures 2.1-2.2).[254] The land receiving the *limites* is contained within *decumani* and *cardines*. The *scamna* and *strigae* are also applied to the arable land outside the town (C3.6-14). Frontinus goes on to provide more specific information that is valuable to surveyors. For example, he talks about the necessity of a full survey of territory for tax purposes (C3.15-22). He discusses land bounded by natural boundaries and the necessity of boundary markers to resolve legal disputes (C3.23-30). Next he defines and considers *subseciva*, irregular plots along the borders of territory or any place where natural features do not allow regular *insulae* to be formed. These irregular zones were

[252]For a full discussion on Frontinus, see Campbell 2000, xxviii-xxx.

[253]For the full text of *De Agrorum Qualitate* see C.3.3-5.3.

[254]*Strigae* and *scamna* refer to rectangular city blocks that are distributed in a *per strigas* or a *per scamna* arrangement (see Chapter 1, n. 79 above). As was the case for most Greek towns, *strigae* were laid out in such a way that their long sides were parallel with the *cardo maximus*, or an equivalent primary north-south street. *Scamna* are oriented in the opposite direction. In this figure, and those that follow, KM refers to the *cardo maximus* and DM, the *decumanus maximus*.

generally not allotted as plots within centuriation, and were often located just outside the centuriation zone. The author believes these areas should be considered the same as *ager publicus* (C3.31-5.3).

The importance of these general rules becomes more relevant when considering the long list of land disputes that emerge relating to the division of territory (C5.5-9.26). It quickly becomes apparent both here and among the works of other land-surveyors that boundary disputes were a big problem at all levels of the community, from entire colonies to individual citizens.

Frontinus' look at *limites* is much more valuable to our study. He discusses the possibility of Etruscan origins of *limites* as suggested by Varro. More specifically, he explains how haruspices divided the world into two parts (Figure 2.3). According to Frontinus, they did so by looking east to west because the sun and the moon faced in these directions. The area to the north was called 'right' and to the south, 'left.' Next, they divided the world a second time looking north to south. One side was called '*antica*' and the other '*postica*' (C9.28-34). Roman surveyors developed their own system of surveying based on these principles. More specifically, they based their urban grid on an east-west *limes* known as a *decumanus* and a north-south *limes* known as a *cardo*, each of which was wider than the secondary streets of the town to denote their importance.[255] The *decumanus* divided an area into right and left and the *cardo*, into *antica* and *postica* (C9.35-39).[256] He goes on to say that some surveyors confuse these directions, as may be witnessed at Capua in Campania (C11.1-5). Remaining *limites* were narrower and equidistant. Those running east-west were called '*prorsi*,' or 'straight ahead,' while those running north-south were called '*transversi*' (C11.6-9).

Frontinus provides a number of other useful definitions (Figure 2.4). He informs us that generally, *limites* enclosed areas of 120 feet squared, or twelve ten foot *scripuli*, which correspond with the divisions of the day. This 120 foot area, known as an *actus*, was the principal base unit of land-surveying. Two *actus* joined together are referred to as a

[255]Frontinus later says that the *cardo* and *decumanus* system is the best type of division, although others existed. For example, some cities employed older systems that were based solely on the rising and setting of the sun, but he dismisses these (C11.35-43).

[256]Frontinus also gives derivations of these names (C9.40-45). Later he will provide derivations for the term *limes* (C 11.10-20).

iugerum.[257] Two joined *iugera* are called a *heredium*, or simply a 'square,' because it is 240 feet squared. A *centuria* consists of 100 squares, whence it derives its name. The author admits, however, that variations exist regarding the division and dimensions of *centuriae* (C11.21-31).[258] Furthermore, he tells us that land used for a colony is called *pertica*, while land added later from another territory was called *praefectura* (C11.44-13.2).

Also helpful is Frontinus' look at the science of land measurement. The author tells us that areas should be expressed in geometric shapes, preferably quadrangular. Furthermore, they should be calculated mathematically with irregular bits added onto the regular shapes (C13.5-19). Many varieties of terrain, however, do not allow surveyors to approach territory in the same way. This process of measurement and division is accomplished generally through the use of a *ferramentum*. Technically, a *ferramentum* refers to the frame of a *groma* on which was affixed a cross used for aiming once it had been balanced (Figures 2.5-2.6). In many sources the two terms, *ferramentum* and *groma*, are used interchangeably. Generally, surveyors used this device by sighting down each projection of the cross. *Metae* were then fixed as the surveyor moved in a straight line (C.13.20-39). We will discuss the use of this device in greater detail below.

In summary, we may think of Frontinus' work as a series of crib notes featuring the fundamentals of the field. Both Hyginus I and Siculus Flaccus wrote responses to this account, implying that it had become a standard in the literature of the field. Frontinus also appears to have greatly influenced another important figure, Agennius Urbicus.

Unfortunately, nothing is known of this author outside of his treatise.[259] Like that of Frontinus, his work is didactic, covering the principal aspects of surveying. His focus is on land division and boundary marking with a strong priority on geometry. One of the most important statements made by Agennius is that order is needed for the sake of reason and

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[257]For another definition of a *iugerum*, see Pliny *N.H.* 18.9. From a modern perspective, Salmon informs us that one *iugerum* is equal to 0.625 acres (1969, 21).

[258]Both Varro (*de L.L.* 5.35) and Festus (p. 46, 47) state that a *centuria* consisted of 20 actus, or 2400 Roman feet, per side.

[259]Campbell notes that his style suggests he was writing during a later epoch. For more on Agennius Urbicus, see Campbell 2000, xxi-xxxiii.

understanding (C17.30-19.17).[260] Furthermore, he is greatly concerned with the connection between surveying and stoicism, the division of the cosmos, and the order of the Empire (C19.18-44). In a similar spirit, Agennius talks of the power of geometry, which does not dominate nature but mimics it (C23.5-20). Much of the author's theoretical consideration of surveying derives from his belief that one needs to understand the nature of 'boundary' and 'site' in order to understand disputes. Like Frontinus, Agennius attributes most of the disputes that emerge within and between communities to these two features (C23.27-42). The rest of Agennius' work deals with types of disputes and offers solutions to many common problems, such as a boundary stone that rolls downhill. In all, Agennius believes that surveyors need to have intimate knowledge of geometry and surveying to solve these disputes. He also provides a very clear terminology to help avoid confusion (C23-29; 30-39).

According to Campbell, Agennius Urbicus has also been erroneously credited with authoring a commentary on Frontinus called the *Commentum de Agrorum Qualitate* (C51.1-57.42).[261] This work attempts to clarify obscure language and definitions. It also discusses land disputes in greater detail. According to the unknown author, problems arise when people impinge upon *pomerium*, which is equivalent to usurping public areas. "*Pomerium* autem urbis est quod ante muros spatium sub certa mensura demensum est" (C67.27-28). Thus, we learn that *pomerium* was more than a boundary. It had substance and could never be removed from public ownership.

The next important figure in the world of Roman land-surveying is Hyginus. More accurately, two separate treatises exist under the same name. Campbell distinguishes these individuals as Hyginus I and Hyginus II. The first was a professional surveyor who worked in Samnium and Cyrene and was writing around AD 100.[262] He provides tips for surveyors by looking at the basics of the discipline. Hygenus I confirms that the *cardo* and the *decumanus maximi* must be wider than other streets, although their actual width is variable. Lesser streets, meanwhile, must be exactly eight feet wide. To ensure that the streets maintain the established grid, every fifth *limes* crossing the *cardo* was to be measured

[260]This text deals a lot with the fundamentals of order. For example, Agennius compares the order of surveying with the order of words and numbers (C17.1-29).

[261]For a discussion of this text, see Campbell 2000, xxxiv-xxxv.

[262]For a complete look at Hyginus I, see Campbell 2000, xxxv-xxxvi.

individually and stone markers placed at each intersection (C77.3-39) (Figure 2.7). The significance in clarifying the *cardo* and *decumanus* lies in the fact that all subsequent streets were numbered from these (Figure 2.8). The numerical ordering of lots was important for the distribution of land to colonists (C79.5-23). As expected, this narrative leads into a discussion of land disputes. The author also recognises local practices in surveying.

The second Hyginus (C135.1-163.28), also known as Hyginus Gromaticus, is often confused with Hyginus I. Hyginus II is not identified with any other known author. His works, however, are extremely valuable in that they are descriptive, historical, and didactic. He uses personal experience and precedents with examples from Italy and the provinces. His work demonstrates three crucial themes: the establishment of *limites*, the dimensions of *centuriae*, and the designation of land.[263]

According to Hyginus Gromaticus, *limites* have their origins in the heavens and were associated with cosmology. He agrees with Frontinus, stating that *decumani* followed the course of the sun while *cardines* were aligned with the axis of the earth. Thus the *decumanus* was laid out east-west and was so called because it divided the earth into two (*duocimanus*). The north-south *cardo* was so called because it was the 'hinge' of the world. This arrangement was established by Etruscan augurs who first divided the world into two halves according to the sun. The resulting image was referred to as a *templum* (Figure 2.9). Hyginus also concurs with Frontinus with regard to the divisions of right, left, *antica*, and *postica*, but adds that the latter were often called 'front' and 'rear' respectively (C135.3-17). The first *cardo* and *decumanus* were called *maximi* (C135.37-137.15). The remaining *limites* were narrower and called either *prorsi* if they faced east or *transversi* if they faced south.[264] The width of the *limites*, according to the law, must be 40 feet for the *decumanus maximus*, 20 for the *cardo maximus*, and 8 feet for all *subruncivi*. Next he discusses orientation (C137.16-20).

According to Hyginus, the basis for the Roman urban scheme lies in the science of the sundial, or *gnomonica*, which allows the surveyor to witness the movement of the sun and universe (C1478-149.31) (Figure 2.10).[265] He admits, however, that many surveyors do

[263]For Hyginus II, see Campbell 2000, xxxvi-xxxvii.

[264]Hyginus also discusses the meaning of the word *limes* (C135.27-36).

[265]He also connects this practice with the zodiac.

not adhere to the sun in the layout and orientation of a city and that variations exist, especially in places where territory will not allow regular division easily (C137.21-33).

Given his understanding of the science of surveying, Hyginus provides the best account of use of a *groma*, or *ferramentum*. Fundamentally, the surveyor marks the midday shadow and begins his *limes* from this point, always remaining parallel to the meridian. A second line, running east-west to the first at a right angle, completes the principle intersection. To accomplish this arrangement, the surveyor draws a circle on a flat area. A *sciotherum* in the form of a long straight pole is set up in the middle so that the shadow falls inside and outside the circle (Figure 2.11).[266] When the shadow reaches the line of the circle, the point is marked. Next the surveyor marks the point where the shadow leaves the circle. The chord between these two points represents the *decumanus maximus*. The *cardo maximus* is formed by bisecting this chord (C149.32-151.2).[267] From this point, all subsequent *cardines* and *decumani* may be laid out (Figure 2.12)

Next, according to Hyginus Gromaticus, the *quintarii* should be set up individually.[268] The *subruncivi* are added between these a stone is placed in the centre of each intersection (C153.25-31). Wooden stakes are used to mark off every 120 feet, or *actus*, which is inscribed with a number. Dimensions, however, could vary. In rural areas, *limites* could be marked by furrows, but only after grid points were established (C.151.27-153.20). Also, to ensure the integrity of the grid, Hyginus discusses how geometry may be used to create parallel lines (C153.3-20) although his process seems overly complicated (Figure 2.13).[269]

Like his namesake, Hyginus II discusses the manner in which intersections, *limites*, and *insulae* are ordered and labelled (C139.1-141.22; 153.32-155.20). He confirms that

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[266]In this figure, the *sciotherum* is labelled a gnomon.

[267]Hyginus believes that this technique is the best way to establish the primary intersection of the orthogonal grid. Certainly it is the simplest. He mentions another, more complex method, the details of which will not be discussed here (C151.3-26). See page Campbell 2000, 393 n. 39 for a detailed description of this technique and p. 495 for a diagram of it.

[268]The term *quintarius* refers to every fifth street, which, as was noted above, should be measured individually in to ensure the integrity of the grid.

[269]As part of this discussion, the author outlines the best way to deal with a number of issues with regards to surveying irregular features such as forests, sacred areas, farms, and public lands (C155.21-157.29).

lesser streets were numbered according to the principle intersection. He adds that the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* did not have to cross within the town itself, but that their intersection must be close enough to allow for the arrangement and allotment of the rest of the grid (C143.16-21). After the units have been divided and numbered, city planners decide how much land is to be distributed per person by comparing the number of lots with the number of land receiving citizens. Next, lots are drawn and equality is maintained. Holdings are recorded and yield payments are calculated based on amount of farmland in each holding (C157.30-163.27). Oddly enough, this account ends with a distinction between *scamna* and *strigae*.

Thus Hyginus Gromaticus gives us a much more detailed account of the surveying process. His text verifies much of the information provided by Frontinus and builds upon it substantially. Furthermore, we witness a more practical application of surveying principles in the text of Hyginus Gromaticus. Consequently, we get the impression that Hyginus has personally employed the art of surveying, an image we do not get from the texts of Frontinus.

The last individual for whom we have any significant information is Siculus Flaccus, who dates to the second century AD. Campbell characterises his account as "amongst the most coherently argued and competently written."[270] Siculus provides guidance to surveyors and discusses the origins of land categories, the marking of boundaries, and, as might be expected, land disputes. One of the most interesting statements made by Siculus is that different vicinities required different denominations resulting in different situations of foundation. The surveying done at each was for the sake of universal order and control (C103.3-21). He also notes that colonies were sent to coerce members of *municipia* or to repel enemies (C.103.22-30).[271] He adds to the military theme for colonies by informing us that maritime colonies were so called because they defended the coast (C102.28-29). There is little else that Siculus adds that we have not considered already, although he does provide an exceptionally detailed account of boundary stones and the different items that may be used to mark territories.[272] The rest of his work deals with various definitions of territories including

[270]For the full discussion of Flaccus, see Campbell 2000, xxxvii-xxxviii.

[271]"Coloniae autem inde dictae sunt, quod (populi) Romani in ea municipia miserint colonos, vel ad ipsos priores municipiorum populos cohercendos, vel adhostium in cursus repellendos" (C 102.20-22).

[272]See the extended account at C104.40-119.28.

subsecivum, quaestorian lands, allocated lands, as well types of allocations (C119.30-133.28).

In addition to the works discussed above, Campbell includes a number of smaller miscellaneous texts and a host of fragments from various other authors. These add little to the present discussion with a few exceptions. A text written by Vegeia to Arruns Veltumnus, for example, notes that while the Etruscans brought about division, it was Jupiter himself who declared boundaries to be divine. Furthermore, he adds, "sciens hominum avaritiam vel terrenum cupidinem, terminis omnia scita esse volvit" (C258.8-10). Thus, not only are boundaries divine, but they are a necessary weapon against the greed and wickedness of man. He goes on to say, "sed qui contigerit moveritque, possessionem promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc scelus damnabitur a diis" (C258.2-4). Thus, tampering with boundary stones brings about the damnation of the gods. This belief in the sacredness of boundary stones carried on into the Christian era. An unaccredited fragment, perhaps relating to Faustus and Valerius, states the "Christus filius dei, per quem et pax terminationis in terra processit, et praecepit limitibus continere, et stanti, et fontibus egredi, et egresse sunt per singular loca."[273] Thus, the idea of sacred boundaries did not diminish with the establishment of the Christian Empire.

The work of Campbell ends with the *Book of Colonies*, an early to mid-fourth century text that lists colonies based on region.[274] This text (C165.1-203.38) provides the very basics of surveying and a list of places but little else. For example, it tells us that Grumentum was divided by the Gracchi into 200 *iugera* and that Beneventum was 16 by 25 *actus* with a *cardo* facing east and a *decumanus* facing south. Of interest here is the statement that the colony of Nepet was under the same *lex* as Falerii (C178.21).[275]

As a collection, these texts are valuable, but no one can know just how much of the entire corpus is lost or how complete the surviving accounts are. It is also difficult to discern the chronology and evolution of the documents. Such debates, however, are unnecessary in

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[273]The full text dealing with boundaries and their association with the Christian God may be found at C264.8-266.24.

[274]For a synopsis of this text, see Campbell 2000, xl-xliv.

[275]This reference confirms that Falerii Novi eventually achieved the rank of *colonia*, although it does not specify when this title was granted to the city.

this investigation. Instead, we are interested in what the texts are able tell us about the appearance and layout of Roman towns and the principles on which they were founded. First, the Roman surveyors define a number of the terms that appear regularly throughout modern scholarship including *cardo*, *decumanus*, *centuriation*, *praefecturae*, *insulae*, etc. They also provide a general framework by which towns were established, information that is sorely lacking for the urban societies of pre-Roman Italy, including the Greeks and the Etruscans. Finally, they confirm a number of concepts we have taken for granted up to this point including the military aspect of citizen colonies and the sanctity of borders and order. More importantly, these authors, collectively, stress three concepts of great significance to the foundation process. These include definition, order, and membership.

C) Definition, Order, and Membership

In his seminal work *The Idea of a Town*, Rykwert outlines four general qualities that, in his opinion, best characterize the process of urban planning in the ancient world as a whole.[276] First, the author states that the foundation of a city, like that of a temple or even a house, was in reality a dramatic reinterpretation of the creation of the world or cosmos. Second, as a result of the first, the overall scheme of the city may be seen as an incarnation of the newly recreated world or cosmos. This embodiment of the universe transcended the physical appearance of the city, but could also be witnessed in the integration of various social and religious institutions that regulated the foundation procedure and governed the new community. Third, in an attempt to satisfy the second condition on a practical level, the primary axes of the city were oriented according to the perceived alignment of the universe. Finally, from a social perspective, the act of creation, as embodied in the foundation procedures, and the perfection of the cosmos, and as symbolised by the layout of the city, were commemorated regularly through the participation of the citizen body in recurring festivals.[277]

[276]Rykwert 1976, 195. Rykwert's study attempts to dismantle the Roman urban process into its primary constituent parts in order to discover the origins and the ideological meanings behind each action. In doing so, he emphasises the universality of Rome's urban behaviours by means of extensive comparative analysis.

[277]Rykwert summarizes the principles at work in the earliest periods of occupation in Italy as those of divination, limitation, relic burial, orientation, and quartering. He stresses that while the Romans ascribed the more developed form of these behaviors and rituals to the Etruscans, they were, in reality, products of a much

Admittedly, these principles, although logical and all-encompassing in their scope, are intentionally vague, perhaps overly so, to accommodate the diverse patchwork of cultural traditions that make up the ancient world. As a result, they are open to varied and potentially contradictory interpretations when applied to any one particular cultural group. Nevertheless, they do underscore a number of the key characteristics of ancient town planning. For example, they portray human and non-human elements as equal partners in the definition of the city. They also address the importance of social need and the role of the urban process in fulfilling this need. More importantly, they demonstrate how order may be achieved within the city without the benefit of an orthogonal arrangement. According to Rykwert, the orientation of the city and the distinction of religious and civic spheres by means of particular public monuments, are equally representative of divine order and, as such, show evidence of planning.[278]

Thinking more in terms of our current investigation, there arise from the observations of Rykwert three specific qualities of the ancient urban experience that provide the necessary foundation for our consideration of Falerii Novi and its place in the Roman urban process during our study period. We will refer to these three principles as *definition*, *order*, and *membership*.

The first, and undoubtedly most important step in the ideological projection of the cosmos in urban form was the establishment of a fixed perimeter. The universe was not boundless. According to Rykwert, each culture saw the earth and the universe as a whole as having a specific shape and orientation.[279] In other words, it had *definition*, a quality that could only be realised through the presence of an established boundary. On a more practical level, a tangible perimeter was necessary to distinguish the urban sphere, which represented the newly formed cosmos, from the non-urban sphere, which did not. Thus, according to the

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more primitive community that predated the recognised period of urban revolution in the ninth and eighth centuries (1976, 72).

[278]Conversely, Rykwert explains that orthogonal planning had its roots in the biological structure of humankind. According to this philosophy, the symmetry and order of the human body was likened to that of the universe, as witnessed in the orderly rotation of the sun and moon, the regular phases of the seasons, and the changes in the night sky. Thus, the human form, as a delegate of the perfection and order of the universe, provided a practical model of the balance and symmetry that characterised the orthogonal plan (1976, 194-195).

[279]This perceived shape of the universe serves as the basis for the ancient concept of the *imago mundi*. Rykwert provides numerous examples of this principle throughout his study. In particular, see 1976, 163-187 for a survey of the various cultures throughout history that shared in this universal concept.

model of Rykwert, the concept of definition had relevance from both an ideological and practical perspective.

After its boundaries had been established, the city was arranged in such a way as to mimic the *order* of the cosmos. This order did not require an orthogonal arrangement. Proper orientation was often enough to integrate the newly founded city into a larger cosmic hierarchy. A clear distinction of civic and religious zones, meanwhile, as distinguished by the presence of buildings serving specific public functions, was indicative of order on a more social level. The appearance, function, and placement of these public buildings within the urban framework may have varied from city to city according to each community's perception of the universe, but their role in the establishment of order remained constant. Thus, the idea of urban order transcended the mere appearance of the city.

Finally, both the act of definition and the establishment of order were commemorated regularly through the participation of the citizen body in recurring festivals. Thus, public recognition was required to actualise and preserve the fundamental principles on which the new community was based. This human component in the foundation process emphasised the personal responsibility of each citizen for the establishment and maintenance of the state and provided the means by which the community as a whole could lay claim to its new city and the surrounding hinterland. In essence, civic responsibilities transformed the participants from passive residents to active components of a living city. They bound the citizens to their urban environment by promoting a sense of community, ownership, and more importantly, *membership*.

According to Tomlinson, a sense of community was the primary factor in the development of cities. He states that the concept of citizenship was a right and a privilege granted to members of an urban community. In return, these members demonstrated economic and defensive cooperation, common worship of the gods, and familial continuity.[280] These last two aspects will be of particular importance to this investigation as many of the cities established within our study period, including Falerii Novi, promoted the idea of community through the veneration of the deceased and the propitiation of the divine. The idea of membership, therefore, interprets all cities, regardless of the particular cultural idiosyncrasies that defined each particular residing group, as places where communities

[280]Tomlinson 1992, 1-2.

exist. The means by which this sense of community was propagated varied according to the specific conditions in which the communities existed.

If our interpretation is correct, we may reasonably assume that the concepts of definition, order, and membership were significant priorities in the formulation of the ancient urban process, at least as it is presented by Rykwert. We must also admit, however, that there are great dangers in applying a set of general rules, especially ones that are themselves based on a set of general rules, to a specific culture or cultures without justification. Nevertheless, all three are emphasised in the treatises of the Roman land-surveyors.

The first two concepts, definition and order, are easy to recognise as a great fixation among these accounts is on *pomerium* and the establishment of *limites* to create ordered *insulae*. The authors also note that these lines of division are inviolable and sanctified, again stressing their importance in the Roman mindset. The concept of membership is more difficult to discern, but is present in many forms. First, the actual participation of the surveyors themselves in developing sacred order and boundaries reveals human participation in the creation of the urban cosmos. As well, the necessity of the residents to maintain the order of the universe through the preservation of *limites* is indicative of civic responsibility and membership within the community. At a basic level, therefore, the process of Roman land-surveying maintained these three ongoing universal priorities.

Having isolated the ideological concepts on which the Roman urban process was based, we may now turn our attention away from the fundamentals of land-surveying and look towards the practical application of these principles. One of the most important qualities of the texts cited above is the narrative they provide for the actual laying out of Roman cities, and in particular, colonies. Although dating much later than our study period, it is likely that the practices described by these authors were longstanding. As we shall discuss shortly, many of the techniques and principles discussed by land-surveyors appear in the works of earlier authors such as Livy and Vitruvius. We may push this earlier tradition back farther if we accept that the city of Cosa adheres to the same basic procedures and urban principles. In fact, if Rykwert is to be believed, the ideological concepts on which the Roman urban process was based were eternal. Consequently, we should be able to recognise the application of definition, order, and membership in the foundation of new urban centres throughout the mid-Republic.

D) Land-Surveying and the Foundation of Roman Colonies

The formal act of laying out a colony was called a *deductio* and was based on certain legal and formal deeds.[281] Prospective colonies required a decree of the Senate, known as a *lex coloniae*, and approval of the Assembly, which voted on location, funds, the number of colonists, etc. After 200, this *lex coloniae* was passed by a *concilium plebis*. In the second century, responsibility fell on the plebeian tribunes, while in the first century, military dictators motivated the foundation of new Roman colonies. In the Empire period, colonies were solely the responsibility of the Emperor (Livy 8.16.14; 9.26.3, 28.8; 37.46.10; 40.17.1, Vell. 1.14.1). Originally, three *triumviri coloniae deducendae* were elected by the Tribal Assembly for a period of three years to oversee the foundation process.[282] From the time of Sulla onward, the nominees, like the colonies themselves, were selected by the current master of the state, either military dictator or Emperor (Livy 9.28.8; 10.21.9; 34.53.2; 37.46.10, Cic. *de leg.agr*. 2.31). Cicero says that one of the three was the head of the commission, but there is no record of any selection process for this elevated station (*de.div*. 102).[283]

The *triumviri* had various tasks in the foundation procedure, including delimiting the boundaries of the city, assigning lots to settlers, adjudicating disputes between colonists or with neighbouring communities, writing up a new constitution, and appointing the city's first officers and priests.[284] They also oversaw the planning and laying out of the town, including the orientation of the city, the tracing of the *sulcus primigenius*, the distinction of sacred and public spaces, the ordering of *limitatio*, and the centuriation of the surrounding farmland.[285]

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[281]Salmon 1969, 15.

[282]Only under exceptional circumstances did this choice include a consul (Livy 34.45.2, Cic. *pro Balbo*. 48) or a Tribune (Cic. *de leg.agr*. 2.17). In 218, however, the city founders of Placentia were captured by the Gauls and given to Hannibal suggesting that they were men of consequence (Polyb. 3.40.8-14, Livy 21.25.3-7; 27.21.10; 30.19.9). For more information on this office, see Ward-Perkins 1974, 39.

[283]Cf. Brown 1980, 5. A reference from Appian (App. *B.C.* 1.9) led Carcopino to suggest that authority rotated among the three officers over the three years (1925).

[284]Because they required the appropriate authority to complete these tasks, Salmon says that *triumviri* were given *imperium* along with a large staff and equipment (1969, 19).

[285]Salmon defines the term *limitatio* as the process of surveying and subdividing land, primarily within the city itself (1969, 21). *Centuriation* refers to the laying out of equal plots in the hinterland of a city to be distributed among colonists. Cf. Stambaugh 1988, 247 and Gros and Torelli 1988, 128.

While the *triumviri* oversaw the entire production, Cicero informs us that it was an army of architects and surveyors that actually accomplished the spatial division of the town (Cic. *de leg.agr*. 2.32). Here the author lists some two hundred surveyors at the equestrian rank in addition to the *decemviri* responsible for the distribution of the plots, each with a staff of twenty assorted attendants, clerks, secretaries, heralds, and architects.[286] Cicero may be exaggerating these numbers, but the idea that colonies were ambitious undertakings remains intact. This description also supports our theory that by 338, Rome had fully standardised the foundation procedure. According to Stambaugh, this corpus of specialised offices "evoked the spirit of Rome."[287]

New communities, which consisted of both an urban centre and its surrounding hinterland, could be founded on virgin sites or they could replace previously existing localities. If the latter situation arose, the locals were either expelled *en masse*, established unmolested in a new city elsewhere, or incorporated into the new Roman community with certain limited rights and responsibilities.[288]

As for the process involved, we have at our disposal a number of sources that deal with the foundation of new Roman cities. Unfortunately, there does not exist any one text that outlines the specific foundation procedures in any detailed way. As a result, we are forced to consider the appearance of the cities themselves, particularly the colony of Cosa founded in 273.[289] In terms of ancient sources, we have already considered the writings of the ancient land-surveyors. Vitruvius (1.6.6-7) offers a general picture of Roman surveyors and their methodology, particularly with regards to the orientation of cities. The Augustan author deals less with the urban plan but concerns himself more with specific elements of the city including buildings, proportions, orientation, etc.[290] These works serve to supplement

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[286]Cf. Livy 31.4; 42.4 for more on the *decemviri agris dividundis*.

[287]Stambaugh 1988, 247-248. Salmon (1969, 13-15) agrees with this sentiment.

[288]Salmon 1969, 25-26, 169 n. 29.

[289]Throughout modern scholarship, the colony of Cosa is generally accepted as the most prototypical Roman colony of the mid-Republic and one that reveals the most evidence for the process of Roman land-surveying (see Gros and Torelli 1988, 128). Sommella claims that the city is best example of the regular division of space as well as the incorporation of such standard urban features as forum, acropolis, and temples, all within a single urban unit (1988, 57). Once again, see Chapter 1, n. 82 for general sources on Cosa.

[290]For more on Vitruvius and Roman land-surveying, see Sommella 1988, 240-241.

the information gleaned from the *agrimensores* although a few discrepancies exist.[291] Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*, meanwhile, provides the most complete account of the procedures associated with the foundation of a Roman city.[292] Finally, Livy offers many details on the foundation of Ardea in 442 (4.11.5). Livy, Plutarch, and Vitruvius are particularly important to the current investigation because they were writing at a time that is closer to our study period than were most, if not all, of the *agrimensores* discussed above.[293] They also provide specific examples, if not complete ones, of many of the Roman foundation processes at work within their narratives.

After a close examination of the evidence, a general foundation programme emerges.[294] First, a site was chosen. Like the Greeks before them, the Romans sought divine guidance in the placement of their colonies.[295] Rykwert discusses the selection process undertaken by Romulus just prior to the foundation of Rome.[296] In particular, he considers Plutarch's Romulus. According to the text, the king consulted the flights of birds (Plut. *Rom*. 9.4) and took into consideration the presence of a pre-existing and altar of Neptune, which was near the site of the city (Plut. *Rom*. 14.3). Rykwert calls these episodes "myth-historical"

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[291]Hyginus condemns the primitive methods laid out by Vitruvius, which include the reliance on shadows and walking measurements. See Rykwert 1976, 49-50 and Stambaugh 1988, 248 for a good discussion on the differences between these two men and their approaches to surveying.

[292]This opinion is shared by Rykwert 1976, 27.

[293]Salmon notes that most of our descriptions come from the period of Augustus. The author believes, however, that the methods for founding Roman cities remained unchanged from the time of the *priscae coloniae latinae* down to the end of the Republic (1969, 20, 168 n. 19).

[294]The best, and most detailed summary of this process is provided by both Salmon 1969, 19-28 and Rykwert 1976, 50-68, complete with references. The account provided here relies heavily on these two sources.

[295]Here we are referring to the role of the Oracle at Delphi in the establishment of Greek colonies. In the case of Thurii, the oracle contributed to the location of new colony. In some cases, the choice of site is explicit and clear (Hdt. 4.155.3). In others, a choice may be given by the oracle, such as that offered to Archias and Myscellus, founders of Syracuse and Croton respectively (Strab. 6.269-270). Once a decision had been reached, however, it was final. As Strabo (6.262) informs us, the site of a new city was considered a gift granted directly by the gods to the people and, as such, could not be scorned without consequences. Both Battus (Hdt. 4.155-159) and Myscellus (Strab. 6.262), for example, suffer for their attempts to settle elsewhere. Consultation and propitiation of the divine in the foundation of a new city is a recurring theme among Greek authors. For example, consider the foundation of Epidamnus (Thuc. 1.28.3), Messene (Paus. 4.27.5), Brea (Tod *GHI*. 1.44) and the expansion of Colophon (Ward-Perkins 1974, 38). For a modern perspective, see Rykwert 1974, 27-40. Although an interesting discussion on its own, we will not consider the Greek foundation process in any detail in this investigation.

[296]Rykwert 1976, 44-45.

and suggests that they served to connect the foundation of Roman cities with the divine and, in particular, Etruscan rites. This connection was important since the Romans considered the founding of a city an *anemnesis*, which represented a divine institution of the centre of the world. As such, the site was not chosen so much as revealed through divination.[297] Another important observation is the significance of a pre-existing element, in this case an altar of Neptune, in the foundation of the new city. We may recognise a mutual significance on the heritage of a site and the hand of the divine in the selection of a site for a new Roman city.

Associated with the selection of a specific site for the foundation of the city came also the distinction of areas for augury. Rykwert compares augural temples to Greek *temenoi* in that they were sacred areas demarcated by a boundary and sanctified through words and rituals. An *auguraculum* was normally established in an elevated area of the city, which allowed a full inspection of the urban plain. Examples have been found at Bantia and, more notably at Cosa on the site of the second century Temple of Jupiter (Figures 2.14-2.15). The former measured 9.20 by 7.60/8.80 metres while latter measured 7.40 metres squared. Not only were they similar in size, but both were oriented with relation to the sky's quadrants.[298] From here, an augur or auspex was employed by the city planner to consult the heavens and trace the lines of the cosmos onto the earth with his staff, or *lituus* (Figure 2.16). The resulting *templum*, which took the appearance of a quartered circle, served as the map that provided the basis for the limits, orientation, and basic division of the new city. It may also have governed the location of sacred and political quarters and the layout of the street grid that bound them together as an urban whole (Figure 2.17).[299] According to Torelli, the

[297]Rykwert 1976, 90.

[298]Scott mentions the existence of an open air augural *templum* on the Arx at Cosa dedicated to Hercules. Remains of this structure were discovered under the floor of the later Capitolium (Scott 1986, 75). Torelli (Gros and Torelli 1988, 140) and Stambaugh (1988, 259) refer to the structure as an *auguraculum*. Salmon calls it a "dedication altar" (1969, 35). It was perfectly oriented and cut into the limestone at the city's highest point, offering a complete view of the city below. Its elevated position and precise orientation made this spot ideal for the laying out of the town's urban grid and centuriation (Stambaugh 1988, 255-256). Brown (1980, 24) and Torelli (Gros and Torelli 1988, 140) observe that this precinct covered the foundation pit, thought to be associated with the *mundus* ritual. As for the augur's platform at Bantia, we are in debt to Torelli (1966, 293-315 and 1999c, 112-114) who first recognised the structure on the acropolis of the site.

[299]Gros and Torelli 1988, 20-22, 128. For the use of the *templum*, see Varro *de L.L.* 5.143 and Fest. 358L.

platform itself served as a *templum in terris*.[300] The *templum*, therefore, bridged the gap between the divine perception of archaic augury and the practical reality of city planning.

It is not universally accepted that the Romans relied on the Etruscan *templum* for the shape and orientation of their cities. According to Sommella, "si giustifica in tal modo la massima parte degli orientamenti urbani basati su fattori oroidrografici e climatici non coordinati ai punti cardinali e dunque non soggetti al condizionamento ideale di allineamenti obbliganti i sistemi stradali ad caeli regionum directiones."[301] As we shall soon see, however, the idea of the *templum* is conceptual and not as tangible as Sommella implies.[302]

Following these selection processes, the Roman surveyor oriented the site using a *sciotherum*, in the manner discussed above as described by Hygenus Gromaticus. The exact placement of the device was dictated by the *templum* and the general orientation observed by the augur. Often, the placement of the *sciotherum* corresponded to the urban tract of a Roman highway that was intended to serve as the new city's *cardo* or *decumanus maximus*.[303] After the position of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* had been established, a *decussis*, or cross corresponding with this intersection, was drawn on a tablet and placed in the centre of the town. This process provided both the orientation of the city as well as the location of the primary intersection that formed the heart of the urban grid.[304] As the Roman land-surveyors tell us, the crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* did not have to occur within the town, but had to be close enough to dictate the position of the urban streets. The same intersection was used to define both the urban *limitatio* and the rural centuriation.

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[300]Torelli 1999c, 114. Here the author states that the augural platform was meant to mimic Roman juridical models.

[301]Sommella 1988, 231.

[302]The Etruscan *templum* and its role in the urban process for both the Romans and the Etruscans are highly contested. We will mention the concept of the *templum*, that is the Etruscan practice of reproducing the ordered cosmos on earth in the form of four equal quadrants, sporadically throughout this chapter. For more on the Roman use of the Etruscan ritual, see the studies by Le Gall, Finocchi, Bloch and Martin in Mansuelli and Zangheri 1970. Of these, Bloch extends the sequence back before the Etruscans to the eastern world and looks for origins of the *templum* among the Babylonians (1970, 11-17). Stambaugh (1988, 244), meanwhile, is one of a few scholars who believe that this concept was part of a larger Indo-European heritage among the Latins and other prehistoric cultures that existed in Italy prior to the emergence of the Etruscans.

[303]Rykwert 1976, 50. Stambaugh notes that, whereas colonies were in many ways economically autonomous, their political and social relationships were with Rome. Consequently, they needed to be tied into the intricate system of thoroughfares that united the peninsula (1988, 247).

[304]See Ward-Perkins 1974, 28 for examples.

With regard to the orientation of a Roman city, Ward-Perkins adds that the Romans distinguished between practical requirements and augural rites. Even if the city was divinely placed and oriented, both augurs and surveyors still needed to know their cardinal compass points.[305] The author also points out that orientation, as was the case with the Greeks, was based on practicality as much as on religion. Slopes, prevailing winds, the position of major highways, and sea frontage were all important considerations with regard to orientation. The same could be applied to individual structures. For houses, it was better for living rooms to have southern exposure (Xen. *Mem*. 3.8.9). Bath buildings also demanded that their hot rooms face the south or southwest. Temples, meanwhile, traditionally faced east.

Next, surveyors employed a *groma*, called a *gnomon* in the Greek and *cruma* in Etruscan,[306] which served as the main vehicle for the laying out of the streets and *insulae* of the city. This device is often confused with the *sciotherum*, which in some sources is also called a *gnomon*. In reality, the two implements served very different purposes. Unlike the *sciotherum*, the *groma* consisted of a metal cross, also known as a *crux* or *stella*, which was set horizontally and eccentrically upon a wooden frame, or *ferramentum*.[307] Attached to each arm of the *stella* was a plumb line.[308] We have discussed the use of this device briefly above (Figures 2.5-2.6). The *groma* was set up in the centre of the city or *limitatio* zone in such a way that the arms of the cross corresponded to the *decussis* of the primary intersection. Thus, the arms of the *groma* had the same orientation as the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*. By means of introspection, primary streets were extended resulting in four quadrants that served as the basis for both the urban grid, or *limitatio*, and the rural division, or *centuriation*, that provided lots for the colonists.[309]

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[305]See Ward-Perkins 1974, 40 for a more detailed look at the orientation process. Here, the author cites Vitruvius 1.6.1, 6-7, Pliny *N.H*. 18, 76-77, and Arist. 7.10.1330a.

[306]Gros and Torelli 1988, 128. Ward-Perkins states that the equipment used by Roman land-surveyors was Ionian or Alexandrian Greek in origin. This philosophy serves to support the author's theory that Roman land-surveying was based on Greek geometry and kindred sciences (1974, 27).

[307]As the ancient sources above have indicated, the *groma* is often simply referred to as a *ferramentum*.

[308]Salmon 1969, 20-21 (see p. 20 for a good reconstruction of this device). Ward-Perkins (1974, 27) and Rykwert (1976, 50) also gives a good summary in the use of the *groma*.

[309]See Rykwert 1976, 50 and Stambaugh 1988, 248. Ward-Perkins informs us that the groma normally established a grid of 2400 square Roman feet which formed a hundred *centuriae* (1974, 27-28, figs. 46-48). Refer to our earlier discussion on *centuriae* in Chapter 2, pp. 115-116 above.

Rykwert believes that the *stella* of the *groma* was a representation of the *templum*, and suggests that *groma* itself took the form of an Etruscan *lituus* which may also have also featured a *stella*.[310] In this limited way, every city was founded on the principles of the Etruscan *templum*, not necessarily in terms of its shape or even orthogonal design, but because the heart of the city and its original quartering took its form from the division of the Etruscan cosmos.

The next stage in the foundation process involved augury more than surveying. It is possible that this stage was undertaken concurrently with the establishment of the urban grid. First, auspices were taken to ensure that the gods were favourable towards the urban endeavour. Entrails, most notably the liver and intestines of sacrificial victims, were opened and inspected by a *haruspex*. Traditionally, the arts of the *auspex* and *haruspex* are associated with the Etruscans. Rykwert notes, however, that practices of this nature were universal, if not exactly congruent in their exact details, and may be witnessed in many early cultures including those of the Hittites and Sumerians. The pro-Etruscan bias that is rampant throughout Classical scholarship stems from our greater knowledge of the Etruscan ritual, which derives from such invaluable discoveries as the bronze instructional liver from Piacenza (Figure 2.19).

In the Etruscan version, the liver and the *templum* are very closely connected as each reflects the division of the cosmos and serves as an *imago mundi*. According to Rykwert, the importance of the intestines, with their variegated texture, lies in their visual association with the physical landscape. This relationship was particularly important for cities founded on uneven terrains that did not have the advantage of a broad level plain for the easy insertion of a regular urban grid. Rykwert admits, however, that "there is no direct evidence to support [his] suggestion."[311] In all, the relationship between haruspection, divination, the cosmos, and the earth becomes readily apparent and is drawn to the forefront by means of the foundation ritual. In addition, the concept of the *templum* and the recreation of the cosmos on earth remains pervasive.[312]

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[310]The *stella* was also used on the thresholds of the *templa minora*, as in Figure 2.18 (Rykwert 1976, 50-51).

[311]Rykwert 1976, 58.

[312]See Rykwert 1976, 51-58 for a more general discussion.

These augural activities could often take many days, but they all needed to be completed before the first furrow of the city boundary could be carved. Given the long and tedious nature of the divination process, Rykwert suggests that diviners, at the same time, distinguished the various public zones and the locations of the religious and civic edifices that defined the urban horizon. He admits, however, the "we have no guide to tell us how the ancients laid out the public buildings and temples in relation to the plan of the town."[313] This sentiment stands in opposition to the views of Torelli, who believes that the selection and placement of the particular public monuments within each new city reflects the desire of city-planner to create urban landscapes that mimicked Rome in terms of its social, religious, and political make-up. As a result, certain buildings were erected in preconceived locations throughout the city. We will discuss this theory in greater detail later in this chapter.

Rykwert believes that the next stage of the foundation process involved the purification of the colonists, who jumped over brushwood fires according to the traditions of the Feast of Pales during the celebration of the birthday of Rome (Dion.Hal. 1.88).[314] After the purification process, a hole was dug into the virgin soil or, if necessary, bored into the bedrock. This pit opened up to a single or double vaulted chamber that was consecrated to infernal gods, much like the mouths of hell at Etruscan funeral games (Figure 2.20). In the new Roman city, this hole served as a *mundus* pit. Here, colonists cast the first fruits and earth from the mother city. At this sanctified pit, foreboding rituals took place as at the shrine of Manes, which propitiated the souls of the dead.

Plutarch suggests that such a pit was present at the foundation of Rome (*Rom*. 11). Although its exact location is unknown, Rykwert places it on either the Palatine or the site of the comitium. Alternatively, he also sees a connection between the *mundus* pit and the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*, suggesting that it was traditionally placed at the point of their intersection. In most Roman cities, the forum was situated at the crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*. In Rome, the forum area was originally a swamp before the reclamation projects of the sixth century. Since swampy areas were traditionally associated with the

[313]Rykwert 1976, 57.

[314]Salmon provides good references for the actual enrollment of colonists and the rituals undertaken (1969, 25). Among these he lists Varro *de L.L*. 5.143, Cic. *de leg.agr*. 2.85, Phil. 2.102, Verg. *Aen*. 5.755, Ovid. *Fasti* 4.819-836, Festus, p. 270, 310L, Plut. *Rom*. 11, and Grom.Vett. p. 350L.

realm of the dead, a relationship emerges between the forum, the primary urban intersection, and the *mundus* ritual, albeit a very tenuous one.[315]

Given the length of time required to complete this wide assortment of rituals, it is likely that surveyors were at work concurrently. In particular, the surveyor was still responsible for ploughing the *sulcus primigenius*, the large trench that designated the city boundary. In the Roman world, *pomerium* refers to the fixed boundary that surrounded a Roman city.[316] According to ancient sources, the chief commissioner, with his toga over his head, yoked together a white ox or steer and a cow to a brazen ploughshare. The former was positioned on the exterior or right side and the latter on the interior or left side. The plough moved in a counter clockwise direction beginning from the southwest corner of the urban zone (Tac. *Ann*. 12.24, Solinus 1.18, Dion.Hal. 1.79). The resulting furrow, or *sulcus primigenius*, served as the city boundary (Servius ad Verg. *Aen*. 5.755, Ovid *Fasti* 4.819, Col. *de R.R*. 3.1, Festus 236, Dion.Hal. 1.283) (Figure 2.21). More specifically, the *murus* of earth caused by the ploughing of the *sulcus primigenius* created an inner side that designated the course of the city wall. The post-*murum* area, meanwhile, was marked by stones (Varro *de L.L*. 5.143).[317] The residents of the new city followed behind the plough and throw any clods of earth that fell outside the furrow back inside the boundary of the city. Steingräber also adds that this furrow was interrupted at the gates (Figure 2.22). The boundaries were then marked by *cippi*, which were similar to those buried at the cross points of the major orthogonal intersections of the town.[318]

Finally, the city planner was responsible for marking out the minor *cardines* and *decumani* that completed the street grid. A *groma* was once again employed for the placement of the various *decussis* that delimited the *limitatio* and centuriation, or the division of territory inside and outside the city walls. The intersections of minor city streets were marked by *cippi* that bore the *decussis*, or the cross of the *groma*.[319] These same *cippi* were

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[315]Rykwert 1976, 59 (cf. p. 212 n. 98). See Hedlund 1933 for an early look at the *mundus* ritual.

[316]For a brief summary of the *pomerium* ritual, see Rykwert 1976, 65.

[317]Robinson 1992, 5.

[318]Steingräber 2000, 293.

[319]Gros and Torelli 1988, 128-129.

used at the Etruscan colony at Marzabotto and by the Gracchi as they carried out their reforms and land division (Figure 2.23-2.24). Inspection was then used to extend the paths and add subsequent *decumani* and *cardines* once each of the *cippi* had been placed. Other stones marked the *limites*, or the beginning and end of the territory.

The resulting urban *limitatio* served as the basis for rural centuriation. According to Salmon, the process of centuriation occurred at the town wall and used the crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi* as a guide.[320] The *centuriae* were separated by *limites* and, like the streets of the city, were labelled according to their relationship with the *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*. Thus all *decumani* were parallel to the *decumanus maximus* and were numbered in sequence, with every fifth one being rendered somewhat wider. The same arrangement applied for lesser *cardines*. Numbered stones marked each intersection.[321]

Aerial photography has revealed the results of centuriation for many colonies, although most of the rural grids cannot be dated (Figures 2.25-2.27). Once again, the general layout of the rural hinterland is most clearly evident in the Etruscan city of Marzabotto with its use of marked *cippi*. The city serves as an example of the unity between city and country organisation at the time of foundation.[322] It also likely provided the model for Rome's own system of *limitatio* and centuriation.[323] A strong relationship between town and country was necessary to meet the social needs of the community as most colonists lived outside the urban sphere on their agrarian lots but looked to the city and its walls for their legal duties, commerce, religious practices, civic participation, and urban interaction. The walls of the city also served as a refuge in times of need for the entire population, including those living in its immediate rural hinterland.[324] Those who lived in the city generally had a particular

[320]Salmon 1969, 22.

[321]Salmon 1969, 21.

[322]Stambaugh states that colonies linked symbolically the agricultural productivity of the farmland with the defensive and commercial function of the city and its walls (1988, 244).

[323]Gros and Torelli 1988, 129.

[324]For example, the farmers of Sinuessa fled inside the city walls allowing Hannibal to burn their homesteads during the second Punic war (Livy 22.14.3).

skill necessary to urban life and included blacksmiths, barbers, carpenters, shopkeepers, etc. These individuals often hired locals to work their land for them.[325]

Although the two were closely connected, discrepancies could exist between urban and rural division. Salmon observes that the urban streets at Cosa are not exactly aligned with the *limites* of the rural centuriation. He also agrees that for hilltop cities, particularly those founded on non-arable sites, the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* may cross outside the town as a reference for the land to be divided by centuriation. In other instances, not all the available land was centuriated. As we noted earlier, the leftovers were called *subseciva* (Suet. *Dom*. 9.3). This deviation between the urban and rural division is emphasised by Ward-Perkins, who states that the two grids, although sharing a common base line, were theoretically independent.[326] More specifically, he observes that only rural division was dependent on cardinal points, although not meticulously, for its orientation. *Limitatio* grids were not.[327]

Another discrepancy in the centuriation process involved the size and dimensions of land plots, which were not standardised. At Cosa the surrounding territory was divided into 200 *iugera*, or 100 units of one *heredium* each. Thus, there was a limit of one *heredium* per colonist.[328] According to Salmon, only citizen colonies were subject to a two *iugera* limit. He also notes that there was no need for these plots to be squares, but that they could be rectangles or long strips, as was the case in Latin colonies.[329]

Once both grids had been fully realised and the urban process was complete, the *groma* was ceremonially removed. Next came the erection of buildings in various

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[325]Stambaugh 1988, 248. Cf. Brown 1980, 15-18. Nevett and Perkins use Strabo as proof that in Roman times, the town and country were indeed considered a single unit. They go on to suggest, however, that the countryside and all of its occupants were considered less refined than the city and its urban dwellers (2000, 214). Cf. Goudineau 1980, 66-67.

[326]Ward-Perkins 1974, 28. Here he uses the area of Tunisia as his case study. Cf. Dilke 1971, 68, 155.

[327]Ward-Perkins 1974, 40. Dilke 1971, fig. 65.

[328]A number of ancient sources agree that a two *iugera*, or *heredium* unit was the basis of Roman centuriation (Varro *R.R.* 1.10, Pliny *N.H.* 18.7, Juv. 14.163, Cic. *Rep*. 2.26, Dion.Hal. 2.74, Plut. *Numa* 16).

[329]Salmon 1969, 22. The author admits, however, that centuriation was not utilised as widely for Latin colonies as for citizen ones. As evidence, he observes that the process was used just before 200, when all Roman colonies began to take the form of the citizen variety (1969, 22). For more on the application and appearance of centuriation, see Castagnoli 1958 and Dilke 1962, 170-178.

demarcated regions within the city. Salmon believes that building activity may have been undertaken before the process of centuriation as well as after.[330] Finally, land was distributed by the surveyors who led each colonist to his lot. Ownership was marked out on a bronze map and the name of the *colonia* was recorded in the Tabularium at Rome. In pre-Gracchan times, this large bronze map was referred to as a *forma* and was used as the final word in all land disputes.

E) Typical Roman City Plans

One of the best, albeit dated, examinations of the orthogonal plan, particularly that of the Romans, is found in Castagnoli's *Orthogonal Town Planning in Italy*. Here Castagnoli identifies four types of plans that may be considered typically Roman.[331] The first is the Hippodameian variety, which, as its name implies, takes its form from the Greek colonies of the fifth and fourth centuries and the Etruscan colonies that followed. This plan features a number of key streets that cross at right angles creating large squares that form basis of the Hippodameian grid. These larger squares are subdivided by smaller streets to create rectangular *insulae* arranged in a *per strigas* arrangement. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, this plan characterised Latin colonies of the fifth and fourth centuries and may be witnessed at Norba (Figure 1.29), Alba Fucens (Figure 1.27), and Cosa (Figure 1.28).

Despite its association with the Hippodameian system, Castagnoli admits that none of these plans compares with the typical Greek model as it appears at Priene or the new domestic quarter at Olynthus (Figures 2.28-2.29).[332] Instead, we see that the Romans had other priorities than the mere replication of orthogonal principles. Martin, for example, notes that early Roman plans at cities such as Norba and Alba Fucens reveal a greater fixation on defensive and topographic needs.[333] The factors that influenced the appearance of the basic urban scheme relate directly to the function of each city and require an understanding of the

[330]Salmon 1969, 26.

[331]Castagnoli 1971b, 95-121.

[332]Castagnoli 1971b, 96-100.

[333]Martin 1970, 67.

larger process of Romanisation that was at work.[334] Thus, we should not consider the orthogonal plan that emerged within Latin colonies to be truly Hippodameian, but rather a Roman version that was loosely based on Hippodameian principles.

The second city type of city plan identified by Castagnoli varied from the first in that it was square or rectangular in shape and based on the intersection of central axes. Unlike the first type, the second featured small, square house blocks that were replicated with greater consistency than those of the first variety. The author states that the axial plan was widespread in the Roman world even if it was not visible at Rome, as Varro suggests (*Solin*. 1.17).[335] As we have mentioned already, this plan is associated with citizen colonies. The author draws similar parallels, using as examples Ostia, Minturnae, Pyrgi, and many other citizen type colonies (Figure 1.43, 2.30).[336] A variation of this plan was also be used for Roman colonies of both the Latin and citizen variety from the second century onward.[337] We mentioned briefly the colonies of Parma, Luni, and Luca in the last chapter. Castagnoli, however, does not distinguish between time periods in his examples, but includes all colonies from Ostia in the fourth century to later Augustan camps in the second category.

Scholars commonly refer to this second type as the '*castrum*' plan. Castagnoli, however, does not see any connection between this urban model and Roman military camps. Instead, he associates Roman army camps with the third type of plan, which was similar to the second, but rendered in a purely military style (Figure 2.31). Likewise, this third variety shares no relationship with the *urbs quadrata* such as Ostia despite any apparent visual similarities between them. Instead, he sees stronger parallels between the third plan and the Hippodameian style plan with its *per strigas* arrangement and two major east-west axes. As a result, the so-called '*castrum*' plan and the encampment plan were independent entities. The military plan did not have an impact on Roman urban development until a much later date.

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[334]We will discuss the link between urbanisation and Romanisation in the following chapter.

[335]We will consider the relationship between the axial plan and the perception of a square Rome in the next chapter.

[336]Castagnoli 1971b, 96-110. In addition to the cities mentioned here, Castagnoli discusses Fondi, Pozzuoli, Bologna, Pesaro, Acquileia, Sorrento, Florence, Alife, Ascoli, Verona, Como, Pavia, Concordia, Libarna, and later Augustan cities.

[337]See Chapter 1, n. 97 above.

As examples, Castagnoli cites Turin and Aosta, a pair of Augustan colonies (Figures 2.32-2.33).[338]

Finally, Castagnoli introduces us to a fourth variety of city plan, which was axial like the second variety but featured a *per scamna* arrangement.[339] Plans of this nature featured a central intersection with corresponding *insulae* arranged in such a way that their long sides were parallel with the *decumanus*. The author discusses Zara and Carthage as representatives and suggests that this variety carried on into the imperial period (Figures 2.34-2.35).

F) Mario Torelli and the *Parva Simulacra Romae*

Before leaving our discussion on the typical Roman plan, or in reality multiple plans, we must consider Torelli's theory regarding the placement of public buildings within the urban scheme, at least as far as colonies are concerned. Simply put, Torelli believes that specific public institutions, especially temples, were deliberately incorporated into Roman colonies in such a way as to mimic Rome from a religious, social, or political perspective.[340] As an early prototype, Torelli discusses the city of Ostia (Figure 1.45), which was thought to be a settlement from the period of the Monarchy.[341] According to the author, the city was rebuilt in 435 or 426 at the time of the destruction of Fidenae, since the walls were of Fidenae tufo. Unfortunately, there is scanty archaeological evidence for the oldest colonial period, so we are dependent on literary and epigraphic sources for the topography of the early city. Two sanctuaries of importance that have never been located are those dedicated to Vulcanus and the Dioscuri. Two known Republican temples have been selected as possible candidates, but Torelli believes that they were the Republican Capitolium and a temple of Juno or Minerva. Instead he proposes that the Volcanus temple was part of the large public area just outside the Porta Marina of the Sullan walls where a shrine to Bona Dea was located. Their exact

[338]Castagnoli 1971b, 110-112.

[339]Castagnoli 1971b, 112-115.

[340]For the full discussion on the ideological meaning of colonisation, see Torelli 1999d, 14-42.

[341]For Torelli's look at Ostia, see Torelli 1999d, 30-35. The best general source for the Roman colony of Ostia is Russell Meiggs' *Roman Ostia* (1973). Here, the author discusses the circumstances of the original colony (pp. 16-19). The bulk of his work, however, deals with the fourth century foundation. The same observation may be made for Zevi (1996), who considers nothing prior to the fourth century. For more on Ostia see Calza 1953, Hermansen 1981, Cicerchia 1983, and the collection of articles in Zevi and Claridge 1996.

locations notwithstanding, the cults of Vulcanus and the Dioscuri are important to Torelli's interpretation of the ideology of the colonisation process and the selection of public monuments within the new city.

According to Torelli, the Vulcanus temple served to imitate the political centre of the urban religion, like the Tomb of Romulus in the Comitium at Rome. The Castores cult, meanwhile, paralleled that of Hercules in the Forum Boarium. Both were entrusted to the care of the urban Praetor. Likewise both were mercantile cults and celebrated *Graeco ritu* by means of solemn *ludi Romani*. Thus, Torelli characterises the urban horizon of Ostia as a religious imitation of Rome and a new form of ideological occupation that transcended political and social implications. The new city was designed to represent a metaphor of Rome through the replication of common, recognisable cults. This use of public monuments served to create *parva simulacra Romae* and was not limited to either Latin or citizen colonies, but was manifest in both varieties throughout the Republic.

Another early application of this model, according to Torelli, may be witnessed at the Latin colony of Norba (Figure 1.29).[342] The city was founded in the mid-fourth century on a defensible hilltop overlooking the Pontine marshes in central Italy. The site featured a levelled surface that sloped gradually from the northeast to the southwest. Rising from this plain were two rocky heights, the 'major acropolis' in the northeast and the 'minor acropolis' in the south, with a level saddle in between. Both acropoleis featured temples resting on podiums of polygonal masonry. The major acropolis featured a Temple of Diana, which Torelli compares to the temple of Diana Aventina in Rome. The minor acropolis, meanwhile, was home to a Temple of Juno Moneta and a pit associated with *mundus*, and has been compared to the Arx in Rome. Far to the south, meanwhile, was another temple dedicated to either Juno Lucina or Juno Moneta.[343] Torelli compares this area with the Esquiline.[344] Thus, if Torelli is to be believed, Norba serves as a delegate of Rome, particularly the Aventine, the Arx, and the Esquiline.

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[342]For a full discussion of Norba, see Castagnoli 1971b, 96, Brown 1980, 11-13, Gros and Torelli 1988, 133-134, and Sommella 1988, 45. Cf. Gigli 1996, 285 n.1 for a more complete history of scholarship.

[343]For the identifications of these temples in particular, see the study of Gigli 1996 (esp. figures 2-6).

[344]Torelli credits Coarelli with drawing similar parallels between the acropoleis of Norba and the hills of Rome (Gros and Torelli 1988, 134)

It is interesting that the major acropolis at Norba should be likened to the Aventine, the great plebeian stronghold in Rome. As we will discuss in the next chapter, Latin colonists held, in essence, a dual citizenship in that they were citizens of their own city, but had certain rights while in Rome. One of the most important was the right to vote in the plebeian assembly.[345] Perhaps, therefore, the city of Norba was not meant to be a symbol of Rome as a whole, but of plebeian Rome. Thus, the choice of public monuments served to define the status of the citizens living there. If Torelli is to be believed, city planners could tailor the image of Rome to each particular urban setting in order to express a particular ideological message.

This metaphor is extended at Alba Fucens.[346] Dating to 303, the colony was founded 90 kilometres east of Rome on a plateau in the northwest corner of the Lago Fucino, some 300 metres above the Fucino plain in the central Apennines (Figure 1.27).[347] As was the case at Norba, this plateau was not completely flat, but featured three hills, one each to the north, east, and south. These are referred to commonly as the Arx, the Pettorino, and the San Pietro respectively.[348] The closest parallel to Rome among the three is the Arx, which carried a temple to Jupiter and attempted to evoke a pan-Hellenic climate at the site. The other two hills have not been subject to direct parallels with Rome in modern scholarship. Nevertheless, the Pettorino is thought to have carried a temple dedicated to, among others, Ops, Liber, or Ceres (Figure 2.36). Again, these deities were worshipped on the Aventine in Rome, serving as the plebeian triumvirate. Thus, here at Alba Fucens, the metaphor of Rome evolved into one that promoted jointly the Latin culture on which Rome and her children were founded as well as the plebeian rites that colonists expected to receive while in Rome.

Torelli takes his theory one step farther. He states that the city planners at Alba Fucens were also able to mimic the true heart of Republic Rome in the general urban

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[345]Salmon 1969, 51.

[346]There are a number of good sources for the city of Alba Fucens. In particular, see Ward-Perkins 1958, 116, Castagnoli 1971b, 96-98, Sommella 1988, 48-50, Catalli 1992, Gros and Torelli 1988, 134-138, and Torelli 1999d, 34-37. Mertens provides the most detailed analysis of the city, including an extensive list of publications on the city. As a starting point, see Mertens 1958, 1981, and 1986.

[347]Sommella 1988, 48.

[348]Gros and Torelli 1988, 134.

arrangement of the colony. We have mentioned briefly already the existence of a great urban strip of publics monuments at Alba Fucens, Cosa, and Paestum and have reconstructed a similar arrangement at Falerii Novi. At Alba Fucens, this swath runs along the Via Valeria and features alternating administrative and public places in a grand sequence from end to end.[349] The south-eastern end contained a macellum complex, the sanctuary of Hercules, and a possible Serapeum (Figure 2.37). This represented the mercantile portion of the city and was associated with transhumance, the wool industry, and the exchange of eastern luxury goods. The north-western half, meanwhile, featured the basilica, comitium, forum, and diribitorium. This half represents the political, administrative, and judicial half (Figure 1.48).[350]

If we continue this line outside the boundaries of the city to the northwest, we encounter another vast architectural complex that fits into this system. Coarelli identifies the area as a gymnasium associated with a heroön of Cornelius Scipio, the son of M. Emilius Lepidus, the consul of 78 BC (Figures 2.38-2.39).[351] Thus, outside the city walls, but still in line with the mercantile and official sectors, was the heroic/sacred component of the city and a continuation of the primary public axis. According to Torelli, a similar route, or sequence of public areas is visible at Rome, albeit on a much grander scale, from the area of the Colosseum, or at least the Regia, to the tabularium, and possibly also from the Forum down to the Forum Boarium.[352] He supposes, therefore, that Rome served as the basic, ideal model for the urban arrangement at Alba Fucens and any other city to feature a centrality of public monuments. When one considers in addition the urban high places and their apparent allusions to Rome, the image of the capital becomes more pronounced and intricate.

Next we look to the colony of Cosa, which was founded in 273 in central Etruria, 20 kilometres inland on the peak of Ansedonia overlooking the Albegna river valley. This truncated hill top took the form of an oval limestone promontory some 114 metres asl. As at

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[349]Mertens 1986, 102. Sommella also refers to this particular urban arrangement as a symbol of ideal city planning (1988, 49).

[350]Gros and Torelli 1988, 137.

[351]Gros and Torelli acknowledge Coarelli in the identification of this area (1988, 137).

[352]Gros and Torelli 1988, 138.

Norba and Alba Fucens, town planners at Cosa had to cope with undulations in the terrain and an uneven surface in the form of high places in the east and in the southwest with a saddle in between.[353] These summits are commonly referred to as the eastern high place and the Arx.[354] Of the two summits, that in the south dominated the site. The forum sat in the saddle in between the two high places (Figure 1.28).

Cosa has often been referred to as the prototype for Latin colonies in the Republic. Consequently, it is also the best represented in modern literature.[355] We may also observe that many scholars, and not just Torelli, draw parallels between the urban horizon of Cosa and that of Rome. Whereas the most obvious comparison would seem to lie in the denomination of the Arx, most scholars look to the forum for allusions to the Capital. Although it was relatively simple in its original form with a few water reservoirs and mandatory *saepta* and *diribitorium* installations, the forum square eventually acquired a vast comitium and curia complex, a temple of Concordia, a *carcer*, and a basilica in addition to a number of other less significant public structures (Figures 1.52, 1.56-1.57). We have already discussed the arrangement of these features in our consideration of the forum at Falerii Novi in the previous chapter. Scott insists that these additions were meant to invoke the image of contemporary Rome.[356] Salmon agrees that the colony at Cosa stood as a symbol of third century Rome, at least with respect to the forum area. In fact, he takes this observation one step farther and, like Torelli, states that Rome served as the blueprint for all colonies up to this time using Cosa as his primary evidence.[357]

The most blatant Roman parallel in the forum is the comitium complex (Figure 1.53), which may have been based on the Curia Hostilia in Rome with its round comitium and

[353]Not all of this peak was inhabitable as half of its circumference jutted out into the sea. Nevertheless, the city's location on the top of a hill mimicked earlier colonies at Signia, Norba, Setia, Narnia, Hatri, and Firmum (Salmon 1969, 29).

[354]Cf. Stambaugh 1988, 256 and Gros and Torelli 1988, 140.

[355]See Chapter 1, n. 82 above for general sources on Cosa.

[356]Scott 1986, 75.

[357]Salmon 1969, 35, 38-39.

integrated curia (Figures 2.40-2.41).[358] Thus, in the very first stages of urban development at the site, we may speculate that the town planners were seeking to establish visual parallels with Rome within the urban fabric of the city. Furthermore, Varro (*Ap.Gell*. 17.7.7) calls the curia at Rome a *templum* while the comitium is referred to as a *locus Saeptus* (Cic. *Rep*. 2.31) much like the Ovile in the Campus Martius (Cic. *Pro Rab*. 11). Thus, in drawing a specific parallel to Rome, the town planners may also have been attempting to establish a symbol of divine order in the very centre of the city. If this was indeed the case, the comitium complex represented a delegate of the larger sense of order established by the overall layout of the city. The idea of cosmic order, meanwhile, was further emphasised by the augural platform of the Arx. This square structure, dubbed the *Cosa Quadrata* by Rykwert, may also have served to recall the perceived square pomerium of ancient Rome and the tradition that it was founded by the same augural processes as Cosa (Figure 2.42).[359]

Torelli refines our understanding of the Roman allusions at Cosa.[360] First, he looks at the Concordia temple, which was erected on the forum beside the comitium complex in 197 at a time when Rome was attempting to control civil unrest (Figure 1.56). In the author's opinion, the temple was similar to a structure erected by the Curia in Rome and reveals a transformation at Cosa from an image of *Latinitas* to one of *Romanitas*. Next, he considers the Mater Matuta temple, added to the Arx sometime in the second century (Figure 2.43). Torelli admits that a lack of evidence makes the interpretation of this temple difficult.[361] He looks at a sculptural element of a man carrying a triumphal *fereulum* as well as a few anatomical votives. Based on these remains he concludes that the patron deity had a connection with healing along with triumphal connotations. As a result he allows for the possible sponsorship of Victoria or Fortuna.[362] A temple dedicated to the former was erected

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[358]Brown *et al.* 1993, 26-28. This comparison is longstanding in the scholarly record and has been made by many scholars over the last many years. For a recent look at the Curia and Comitium complex at Rome, see Coarelli 1983, 146ff and Carafa 1998.

[359]For more on the so-called *Cosa Quadrata*, see Rykwert 1976, 117-121.

[360]For Torelli's full discussion, see 1999d, 36-41.

[361]Brown (1980, 47-50) and Stambaugh (1988, 259) attribute this temple to Mater Matuta.

[362]Torelli also recognises alternate theories that assign this temple to Juno or Mater Matuta (Gros and Torelli 1988, 140).

in Rome in 295 on the Palatine. Another dedicated to Fortuna Virilis was added to the Forum Boarium as early as the fourth century. Furthermore, the latter was founded in the vicinity of a Temple to Hercules, another popular god at Cosa, and is associated with Mater Matuta.

The last temple at Cosa to be considered by Torelli, and the last to be erected on the Arx, was the tri-cella Capitolium (Figures 1.70-1.71). This temple sat on the spot of the original augural platform and replaced an earlier temple to Jupiter. According to the author, the transformation from the Jupiter temple to the Capitolium occurred around 125 at the time when Latin colonies acquired full citizenship.[363] In his opinion, it was only natural that colonies were presented as ideological images of Rome after this point. In fact, Cosa received the most recognised and highly venerated symbol in all of Rome. Torelli admits, however, that Etruscan contribution is also visible on the Arx, most notably in the form of an Etruscan inscription discovered on the high place. Even the name of the colony derives from the Etruscan Cusi. Nevertheless, the true symbol of the city was the Laurentine sow, which emphasised the common origins of Latin towns. The incorporation of Latin gods stressed the *Latinitas* of the site and its difference from the surrounding Etruscans. The direct parallels to Rome transformed this Latin character into one that was more distinctly Roman.

Based on the ideas presented above, we can speculate that the image of Rome presented at Cosa varied from that at such earlier colonies as Norba and Alba Fucens. Earlier examples took on the form of plebeian Rome with strong parallels to the Aventine and centres of plebeian assembly. Cosa, however, received symbols of the highest status and reflected Rome at her strongest and most elite. Furthermore, Barker and Rasmussen claim that the colony was a smaller but more regularised version of Rome.[364] This statement implies that the colony of Cosa served to mimic the visible layout of Rome in the middle and late Republic as well as the ideal layout of Rome if she had been organised from the outset. This variation in symbolic appearance may reflect the higher standing of the colony, or it may have met the need to present a more complete picture of the Capital to a local community with a long history of animosity towards Rome. Thus, Cosa supports Torelli's theory that Rome was capable of tailoring the urban output of a colony to the specific area in

[363]Gros and Torelli 1988, 40. See Chapter 1, n. 172 for additional sources on the capitolium at Cosa.

[364]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 262.

which it was placed while supplying also a motive for the particular image that was being promoted.

For our last example, we turn to Paestum, the twin to Cosa, founded in 273 in Lucanian territory to the south (Figures 1.30).[365] This colony is unique for a few reasons. First, it was located on the flat plains of southern Italy in the vicinity of the River Sele, which served as the boundary between the Etruscans and the Greeks prior to Roman expansion. Consequently, it was not situated on an undulating terrain or a rugged hilltop. Second, the colony supplanted the already flourishing city of Poseidonia, which began as a Greek colony and was later taken over by the Lucanians. Within this foreign urban environment, Rome made the necessary additions to transform the city into a recognisable Roman colony. Thus, Paestum is particularly relevant to our consideration of the urban metaphor because it demonstrates the minimum additions that were necessary to create a truly Roman environment.

Because of its long history prior to the foundation of the Latin colony, Paestum had a much more extensive urban programme from the outset. A full discussion of the pre-existing urban elements is unnecessary at present.[366] Generally, we may observe that the original city featured a strip of public monuments running north-south along the eastern edge of the city. In the centre was the agora, complete with typical Greek features such as a *bouleuterion* or *ekklesiasterion*. The north and south ends featured sanctuaries that were anchored by three large archaic temples: one in the north and two in the south. These edifices represent the best preserved Greek temples in the Mediterranean world. Rome reused many of these elements, including the Greek sanctuaries, which were rededicated to Roman deities. In fact, Roman contact resulted in surprisingly few alterations to the existing urban environment. With the insertion of the Latin colony, the Romans extended the boundary of the city to the east thus centralising the pre-existing public strip (Figure 1.38). They also added a new Roman forum to the immediate south of the Greek agora. To the south of this, new Roman sanctuaries were added to replace the Greek ones that had been damaged with the addition of the new civic centre.

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[365]See Chapter 1, n. 98 above for sources on Paestum.

[366]In the following chapter we will discuss the Lucanian occupation of the site, just prior to the insertion of the Roman colony.

Beginning in the north, Torelli believes that the northern sanctuary at Paestum mimicked the Aventine in Rome (Figure 2.44).[367] The Aventine featured sanctuaries to Minerva and Liber. A Temple of Jupiter Libertas, meanwhile, was erected in 236. Likewise, the northern sanctuary in Paestum contains evidence for sanctuaries dedicated to Jupiter, and Minerva, and possibly another dedicated to Artemis/Diana. Rich Hellenistic votive deposits, meanwhile, were discovered north of the Athenaion. These may have represented a cult to Aphrodite or possibly Dionysos. Whereas no images of Aphrodite were recovered, Dionysos was represented in the form *erotes*, hermaphrodites, young satyrs, girls playing *ephedrismos*, ithyphallic youths, and Dionysos himself in votive form.[368] More importantly, Dionysos was associated with the god Liber. In the end, Torelli concludes that the manifestation of Jupiter at Paestum was associated with *Latinitas* while Minerva and Dionysos/Liber served to recreate the pan-Latin festival of Liberalia. Thus, the northern sanctuary, with its parallels with the Aventine, reveals strong plebeian overtones as was the case at Norba and Alba Fucens.

Next, Torelli compares the temples and sanctuaries in the area of the forum with those on the slope of the Aventine in Rome (Figure 1.41).[369] Just to the northwest of the piazza, the Romans added a *natatio* and a so-called gymnasium, commonly identified as a *piscina pubblica* (Figure 2.45). In the southeast corner of the basin of this pool was a distyle shrine on an elegant podium. This complex served as a sanctuary of Venus Verticordia, a cult that had merged with that of Fortuna Virilis. Torelli draws parallels with the complex erected in Rome in 217 to Venus Erycina in Campidoglio.[370]

This complex was associated with the small temple that invaded the space of the comitium around 200 BC. This temple is often dubbed in Classical literature the Capitolium of Paestum (Figures 1.60-1.61). We discussed this building in the previous chapter and its association with contemporaneous capitolia throughout Italy.[371] This designation is

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[367]For his full discussion on the northern sanctuary, see Torelli 1999b, 52-57.

[368]Pedley 1990, 125.

[369]For Torelli's description and interpretation of this area, see Torelli 1999b, 65-71.

[370]Gros and Torelli 1988, 142.

[371]See Chapter 1, n. 143 for references.

questionable, however, because of its singular cella and its position on the short axis of the forum along the long north side. Torelli suggests that it was dedicated to Bona Mens, a divinity that was introduced at Rome at the end of the third century after the battle of Lake Trasimene.[372] This temple constitutes the most important political cult of the city and was connected with the *collegium* headed by *magistri*. Similarly in Rome, a Mens temple was dedicated in 215 with Venus Erycina, who is the same figure as Fortuna Virilis/Venus Verticordia. It is not surprising, that the two should also be featured side by side at Paestum.

Finally, to the immediate south of the forum, we find a temenos with a number of new Roman cult places. Beyond this is the southern sanctuary (Figure 2.46). Torelli believes that this sanctuary was dedicated from the very outset to Hera/Juno as is indicated by the terracotta votives in the form of babies in swaddling clothes, pregnant women, and newborn infants. It is dominated by two large Archaic Greek temples known today as the Temple of Neptune and the Basilica, farther to the south. The Basilica has traditionally been interpreted as an urban Heraion in the guise of the Latin Juno. The adyton forms a double temple, perhaps relaying the idea that the goddess is both a mother and a virgin. The so-called Temple of Neptune was possibly also dedicated to Hera because it featured the same votives that were offered at the Temple to Hera at the mouth of the Sele. Torelli, however, suggests that the temple was dedicated to Apollo, citing the Hera-Apollo sequence pairing at Metapontum, and the little Apollo figures dating from the fourth and third centuries that were found between the two. It is also possible that the Apollo here was Apollo Medicus, given the propensity for anatomical votives. Torelli believes that the southern area as a whole was remodelled and adapted in the image of the area between the Forum Holitorium, Tiber Island, and the Forum Boarium in Rome. Important is a sequence of sacred monuments to Apollo Medicus, Aesculapius, and Mater Matuta.[373]

Looking again from a broader perspective, Torelli concludes that the north sanctuary at Paestum was restructured as the city's religious centre, serving as its Aventine and demonstrating the plebeian rites of passage. At the foot was the *piscina pubblica*, and the cults associated with the slopes of the Aventine. The cults to Mens, Venus Verticordia, and

[372]Torelli 1999b, 48

[373]For the full discussion and reinterpretation of the southern sanctuary Torelli, see 1999b, 57-65.

Mercury, a mercantile deity, meanwhile, were placed around the forum in the heart of the colony. Torelli sees this arrangement as a local translation of the situation in Rome, particularly from an economic perspective. Next came the temenos and the southern sanctuary, which may be likened to a little Tiber area. Here we find featured cults from the Forum Holitorium, the Circus Flaminius, and the surrounding area. Generally, these cults served to reconfirm that the colonists had been enlisted into Roman society, albeit at the lowest level.[374] In the end, the city served as an *imago mundis* of Rome in much the same way that our previous examples did. In this instance, however, we may observe a larger cross section of Roman society than we did at Norba, Alba Fucens, or even Cosa.

Whereas this theory of Torelli is not recognised by all scholars, the idea that colonies were meant to symbolise Rome, or at least the authority of Rome, is more widely accepted. In fact, the belief that Roman colonies served as ambassadors of Rome lies at the heart of the philosophy that cities served to pacify and administer hostile, or previously hostile regions.[375] Furthermore, some scholars feel that the square shape of citizen colonies was meant to symbolise the square pomerium of early Rome and thus emphasised the Roman citizenship of these foundations. Latin colonies, meanwhile, with their distinctly Greek and Etruscan layout, were foreign in their urban appearance and served to reinforce the non-Roman citizenship of the colonists. We will discuss this philosophy in greater detail in the following chapter. It is sufficient to observe at present the possibility that Rome may have had a recognised agenda for the placement of public buildings within a number of established urban paradigms.

G) The Roman Urban Experience

In the last chapter, we mentioned in passing a number of Roman cities that serve as comparanda with the city of Falerii Novi. We have attempted to supplement this discussion in the current chapter by discussing in greater detail the theory of Roman land-surveying, the

[374]Torelli 1999b, 71-79.

[375]Stambaugh (1988, 247, 250-251, 258-259) says that as the Roman Principate extended farther outside Italy, the need for colonies to reflect Rome increased dramatically. Similarly, in his survey of Roman cities in the west, Drinkwater insists that each city, although differing culturally, shared a distinct "family likeness" with Rome (1987, 345. Cf. Frere 1977, 87-103). Cf. Berchem 1977, 21-28 for a look at cities in the West and Levick 1987 for those in the East.

foundation process for Roman colonies, the typical layout of Roman towns, and the theoretical model on which the public buildings may have been incorporated. In short, our goal here has been to reconstruct the Roman urban experience during the mid-Republic and to consider the role played by Falerii Novi in this process.

According to Ward-Perkins, "Roman planning may not have achieved the sublime, but it had all the virtues and vitality of a sound, evolving tradition." He goes on to characterise the planning system as being a combination of the pragmatic and "prosaic virtues." In other words, the Roman city maintained the priorities of past urban traditions, but above all, it was functional. It featured a regular plan that was orderly and systematic in the spirit of the orthogonal Greek and Etruscan colonies of Italy, but was recognised more for its integration of a water supply, drainage system, streets, public works, buildings for public entertainment, and security for private property.[376] Vitruvius would agree with Ward-Perkins. He states that the codification of the urban plan centred around the forum and the clustering here of the *aerarium*, *carcer*, and curia (2.1) in addition to more traditional elements such as a basilica (1.4). These features were oriented according to such practical considerations as the proportion of the urban area, the city's official standing, the choice of site, etc. The placement of cult structures, meanwhile, was based more on traditional values than topographical ones.[377]

An important observation arises from this statement. Based on the evidence cited throughout this chapter, we may conclude that the Roman urban process did not develop in a vacuum, but instead it borrowed heavily from the traditions of the past, especially those of the Etruscans and the Greeks. This sentiment is shared by Pliny who suggests that the very practice of borrowing past urban traditions and moulding them to suit particular independent needs was a distinctly Roman characteristic (*N.H.* 36.101).[378] The most blatant examples we have discussed so far involve the appropriation of Hippodameian principles and the Etruscan *templum*, but others existed. We must also note, however, that the Romans did not copy these

[376]Ward-Perkins 1974, 33.

[377]See Sommella 1988, 240-241.

[378]Here Pliny is commenting on the Hellenised Italic tradition used so regularly by Augustus. The implication, however, is that the practice of borrowing from neighbours and predecessors was longstanding.

concepts wholesale, but rather they utilised them in such a way that made sense to the Roman mentality.

Rome's greatest contribution to this evolutionary process was the standardisation of the urban processes that were undertaken by past cultures through the establishment of land-surveying. Thus, the Prehistoric farmer was replaced by the Greek philosopher, the Etruscan augur, and finally, the Roman land-surveyor. In particular, new land-surveying techniques introduced by the Romans standardised the earlier universal urban priorities of definition, order, and membership into *pomerium*, *limitatio*, and *mundus*. This codification may represent a secularisation of prior divine concepts such as the *templum* and the *sulcus primigenius* of the Etruscans. Consequently, we may better describe the urban process in Italy as one that travels full circle from Prehistoric pragmatism, to Greek speculation, Etruscan mysticism, and finally back to Roman pragmatism. We are not wrong to suggest, therefore, that Roman colonies, both in form and in process of foundation, serve as symbols of foreign processes and influences but rendered in the spirit of Roman practicality.[379]

These observations become more relevant when considered in the context of the cities founded within our study period. Definition was achieved most blatantly in the pomerium that encircled Roman cities from any period. These were often, but not always, made permanent by means of sturdy fortification walls. In addition to many of the more philosophical ideas surrounding city boundaries, these walls served the practical need for defence. The idea of a sacred boundary still held sway, as is manifest most clearly at the citizen colony of Ostia. Here, when the city expanded beyond her borders in the second century, the original rectangular pomerium line was maintained as a pomerial road that delimited the heart of the growing city (Figures 2.47-2.48). Thus, the idea of a sacred defining boundary was not undermined. Instead, the sanctity of the pomerium was made permanent and remained an integral part of the urban fabric of the city.

Order, meanwhile, was visible in all Roman colonies in the form of urban *limitatio* and rural centuriation. Of these, *limitatio* has offered the most evidence because it is the easiest to recognise archaeologically. Both, however, demonstrate a need for order with centuriation serving as the rural extension of the urban grid. The best evidence for the

[379]This sentiment is stated most clearly by Rykwert (1976, 72) Cf. Gros and Torelli 1988, 132.

scanning of the rural hinterland within our study period is again offered by Cosa, which demonstrates a regular grid laid out in a *per scamna* arrangement from the outset. Later Roman colonies, particularly those in the north, show centuriation more regularly.[380]

The idea of *limitatio* requires further comment. As we have discussed already, urban scansion followed one of two patterns in the mid-Republic: one for citizen colonies and the other for Latin colonies (Figure 2.49). Early citizen colonies had a distinct organisation that dictated also the shape of the city. They were commonly square with a gate on each side, which corresponded to the two primary streets of the city. These streets crossed in the centre of the city creating four large quadrants. Typically, such colonies were thought to contain a repetition of square plots, but this situation was not common until the Late Republic. At this time, the use of equal square *insulae* became the norm for both Latin and citizen colonies.[381] This arrangement, however, tended to supplant the idea of crossing primary axes. In the Empire, Roman colonies were standardised and almost identical, as was the case with the Hippodameian plan in the Hellenistic East. The need to spread Rome's municipal system demanded homogeneity. Thus, Rome had moved on to the third and fourth type of plans discussed by Castagnoli and abandoned the so-called '*castrum*' plan.[382]

When considering Latin colonies, a new set of challenges faced Roman city planners resulting in a unique evolution. Early Latin colonies featured irregular perimeters with ordered *insulae* and internal space that was scanned in modular dimensions between diverse monumental components. Precise axes were not necessarily vital nor was the centrality created by a four part division always possible. Streets were organised but the overall grid was not necessarily rigid. In addition, urban regularity existed independently from the defensive structures, meaning that the walls were dissociated from the plan. According to Sommella, Norba serves as a very early example of this adherence to older traditions (Figure 1.29). The city does not show evidence of the centripetal tendencies created by principal axes converging on the middle of the city. Instead, like other centres from the end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries, it relied on a central forum as the fulcrum that united

[380]Cf. Figures 2.19-2.21 for examples of rural scansion.

[381]See Chapter 1, n. 97 above.

[382]Hammond 1972, 233.

misaligned axes, as was the case at Alba Fucens (Figure 1.27), Hatri (Figure 2.50), and Cosa (Figure 1.28) to name a few.

Sommella believes that this plan was based on Greek models. In particular, he sees the Hippodameian plan as serving as the basis for central Italian Roman colonies founded during Rome's first period of expansion.[383] Likewise Castagnoli attributes the first variety of Roman plan, that used for Latin colonies, to the philosophies of Hippodamus.[384] Sommella makes a fine distinction, however, between early Latin colonies and purely Hippodameian towns. He states that most Latin colonies were not Hippodameian. Instead, they were Roman plans that were influenced by the general ideals of Hippodamus. According to the author, the only examples of purely Hippodameian plans may be found among Roman cities founded in previously Hellenised areas that had fallen into the Roman sphere during her political expansion. Examples include Paestum, Grumentum, Copia-Thurii, and Ancona. Nevertheless, Sommella believes that these cities, despite their strong Hippodameian qualities, still demonstrated typical unifying aspects of the Roman city. More specifically, they maintained mandatory Roman attributes such as the regular organisation of space and the concentration of civic activities around the forum. In addition, a *per scamna* arrangement was introduced in association with the *per strigas* arrangement that dominated the Greek plan.[385]

As an example, Sommella considers the Latin colony of Paestum. According to the author, while the original Greek/Lucanian urban system was not heavily modified, the Roman means of organising public buildings into a central strip was maintained. As we discussed above, an early example of such an organisation may be witnessed at the late fourth century colony of Alba Fucens. Here we observe a procession of public space along the longitudinal axis of the town. This progression alternated between judicial/political, commercial, and sacred regions and extended beyond the line of the northeast wall. This same organisation can be witnessed also at Cosa and Paestum. In these instances, however, the swath of public territory extends along the short axis of the urban grid. According to the

[383]Sommella 1988, 232-233.

[384]Castagnoli 1971b, 96-100.

[385]Sommella 1988, 233-234.

observations of Sommella, it is this organisation of public monuments and not the orthogonality of the street grid that defined each city as being Roman.

Based on the evidence provided throughout this chapter, the division of the urban territory, the boundaries, and the public and private zoning within Roman colonies were all predetermined. Centres for which grids could not be scanned as regularly, more specifically Latin colonies with undulating surfaces, had more diverse interpretive criteria than the carefully regulated citizen variety. As a result there is not the same fixation on the two primary streets and flexibility was more tolerated. The forum, meanwhile, was never really formalised, although Caesar and Augustus eventually tried to remedy this situation with the creation of the imperial fora. Furthermore, Sommella states that the expansive area and high populations of many early Latin colonies could not offer a precise measure of the effective workable surface for urban zoning. There are far too many slopes and intramural terraces to allow for complete use of the territory.[386]

This statement introduces another important factor influencing the organisation of the Roman urban form: the pervasive presence of the natural terrain. We are not able to witness the form of the Latin colony at its most ideal until the city of Cosa, founded in 273. Prior to this time, Rome was at the mercy of her surroundings. Whereas citizen colonies were commonly founded on flat plains devoid of orographic impediments, Latin colonies emerged within undulating terrains that commonly featured both level plateaux and rocky acropoleis. More importantly, they were founded on sites that were not conducive to orthogonal planning. Thus, success in the realisation of the ideal Latin colony plan could not occur until Rome became the master of her environment.

Ward-Perkins observes that in the fourth century, Romans applied regular street grids to hill-top communities such as Norba and Alba Fucens to varying success. On the whole, he calls these a “tour de force” and compares them with the Greek cities of Priene and Knidos in that they were remarkable for their setting.[387] Neither, however, was able to truly combine all elements of the city into a single unit. The site of Norba featured a flattened hilltop with high places in the north and southeast (Figure 1.29). In order to facilitate construction, terraces were built following the main orientation of the city. In this way the slopes of the

[386]Sommella 1988, 228-229.

[387]Ward-Perkins 1974, 27. Cf. Castagnoli 1972, 96.

high places and the street grid coincided. The primary *cardo* and *decumanus maximi*, however, circumvent the hills rather than incorporate them into a unified urban whole. As a result, the overall scheme appears disjointed with respect to the relationship between the diverse features of the site. Alba Fucens improved upon this situation (Figure 1.27). Here the street grid and high places acknowledged each other. The streets radiated outward from the forum to the high places. The temples on the acropoleis, meanwhile, converged on the porticoes of Hercules, creating radii of their own. Nevertheless, there was no great unity between the high places and the lower city because they did not share a common pattern.

The issue of urban integration was finally addressed at Cosa (Figure 1.28). Here we see a similar terrain to that found at Norba and at Alba Fucens, with its series of high places and a level saddle in between. At Cosa, the forum was moved towards the southeast gate to take advantage of the level terrain. Despite its more peripheral placement, it remained the most important part of the urban scheme and served to tie together a number of primary streets that accessed the main gates of the city, but did not run gate to gate. Likewise, the forum and the Arx were integrated through the creation of a sacred way running between them (Figure 2.51). This road was slightly wider than the others and allowed good visibility of the Arx from the lower town. More importantly, it shared an equally important relationship with both the forum and the high place tying together the two elements into a single plan that abided by the general guidelines of the overarching urban grid. Cosa represents the first city in which Rome was able to dictate the terms of the urban layout and was not at the mercy of the physical environment.

Finally, we turn to the last urban priority visible among Republican Roman colonies: membership. The basic concept of membership and its association with Roman land-surveying has been considered in greater detail earlier in this investigation. From a Roman perspective we considered the idea of the *mundus* ritual. Both Cosa and Norba contain evidence for cult buildings associated with *mundus* and the veneration of the dead. The *Cosa Quadrata* referred to by Rykwert is the best example in that it featured a natural cleft that was filled with vegetal remains dating to the early years of the colony (Figure 2.42). In these instances, the *mundus* pit was located under a sanctuary on an acropolis. Paestum, however, shows no evidence for a *mundus* pit nor is there a high place on which we might discover one. Furthermore, Rome reused cult areas that pre-existed the Roman colony. As a Greek

colony, Poseidonia may have undergone a similar ritual in which the dirt from the mother city was thrown into a pit, but the evidence does not exist.[388]

As we have discussed at length, however, the idea of membership implies civic responsibility for the welfare of the state. A *mundus* pit was not necessary to demonstrate this human component but served rather as one example of many in the Roman world. In fact, the very foundation procedure, including the participation of residents in the establishment of pomerium and the ritual cleansing of colonists, bears witness to membership. Furthermore, it is likely that the pre-existing Greek cults were still performed regularly at the site, but with a particularly Roman flavour just as the Greek temples were preserved as monuments to Roman deities. This multicultural cultic activity integrated both traditions into a single community and, as a result, was essential in the maintenance of social order. In the end, we find only indirect evidence for membership at Paestum, but we conclude that it was a feature of the colony nonetheless.

We conclude that the cities of Roman Italy maintained the traditions of the past, but manifest them in a unique way. Given the political situation in which they were founded, Roman cities needed to exert control while still addressing the needs of the community. This observation introduces for us the one final quality that is most pervasive throughout the cities of our study period: pragmatism. In fact, much of the evolution that occurred among Roman cities throughout the Republic was based on the evolving needs of the citizenry. At towns like Alba Fucens and Cosa, for example, we can witness this evolution first hand and in substantial detail. As each city grew, so too did the need for increased voting stalls and a larger more concrete curia and comitium. When the economic superiority at Alba grew so too did the corresponding economic structures. As cult activities became more diverse, so too did the sanctuaries on each site. In fact, population size was one of the greatest changes to occur at Roman colonies. Whereas citizen colonies traditionally had only 300 colonists,

[388]Pindar (*Pyth*. 4.33-55) and Apollonius (4.1537-71, 1731-72) tell the story of Euphemus, an ancestor of Battus, the founder of Cyrene. Euphemus, an Argonaut, receives from a disguised Triton a divine gift in the form of a clod of earth to be thrown beside a pit called the 'mouth of Hades' in his hometown Taenarus. By doing so, he would lay claim to the land. Unfortunately, a wave washed away the clod as he leapt onto the beach. As a result, Euphemus was forced to live his days on Thera, whence Battus later departed to found the colony at Cyrene. Although clearly a mythical account, the story of Euphemus demonstrates parallels with the Roman idea of *mundus* as it presented by Plutarch (*Rom*. 11). Thus, the very same fundamentals of the *mundus* ritual and the associated concepts of membership and ownership, were present also in the Greek tradition, albeit in a unique form.

Latin colonies jumped up from 2500, at the first Latin colony at Cales, to 6000 at Alba Fucens in 303. Later, in the hybrid *optimo iure* communities at Modena and Parma, we see a more medium inclusion of 2000 colonists. Given this increase in the number of urban participants, we may also notice that the idea of the terraced city on a regular scheme increases and shows its greatest period of diffusion in the last two centuries of the Republic.[389]

The pervasive spirit of practicality is most evident in the incorporation of public works. Civil projects have come to typify the Roman town and set it apart from urban predecessors such as the Greeks and Etruscans. On some occasions the Greeks piped in their water from a distance. On the whole, however, engineering feats such as the 1045 metre long aqueduct tunnel of Polycrates of Samos in 540 (Hdt. 3.60.1) were few. Instead, the Greeks were content with public springs and fountains. Diodorus Siculus tells us that Appius Claudius commissioned the first aqueduct in Rome in 312 (20.36). This system became an effective method of supplying water to a needy populace, as may be witnessed most clearly at Lyon where the four aqueducts delivered 17 million gallons of water daily.[390] In terms of drainage, meanwhile, the Greeks employed an open gutter system, although Rhodes may have featured a more advanced underground system. The Cloaca Maxima, conversely, was an Etruscan addition to Rome in the sixth century. By the end of the Republic, similar drainage systems were common in other Roman towns. Trash, meanwhile, was collected by slaves resembling the *astynomoi* of Hellenistic Pergamon under the jurisdiction of four junior magistrates. The Romans also added numerous warehouses, monuments for public entertainment, and precise distinctions between public and private land. This well planned and practical urban model can be discerned primarily among new foundations, although certain aspects were also incorporated into in towns that had developed embryonically when disruptions allowed for the addition of newly planned quarters.[391]

Thus, we have travelled full circle and arrive again at the statements of Vitruvius and Pliny, that Roman cities borrowed heavily from the past, but maintained a certain functionality that made them distinctly Roman. This integration of old and new is visible in

[389]Sommella 1988, 236-237.

[390]See Ward-Perkins 1974, 34 for more details and the specifics on the aqueducts at Lyons.

[391]Ward-Perkins 1974, 34-36.

the Roman adaptation of the longstanding urban priorities of definition, order, and membership. The city of Falerii Novi was founded within this urban atmosphere of the mid-Republic. Consequently, by re-examining the urban horizon of the city in the context of the Roman urban experience, we will be better equipped to identify its place in the larger urban sequence that was ongoing throughout the peninsula by the mid-third century.

H) Conclusion

In the last chapter, we attempted to reconstruct the urban form of Falerii Novi within the constraints of our limited evidence. Admittedly, without securely dated archaeological evidence, we were forced to admit that our conclusions are speculative. Our urban model becomes more plausible, however, in light of the Roman urban process and the contemporaneous Roman cities founded throughout Italy. Our intention, however, is not merely to identify particular elements of the urban horizon, but rather to understand the city and its role in the urban process that was ongoing during the mid-Republic and beyond. Thus, we must reconsider the urban horizon at Falerii Novi here in the larger context of Roman urbanism and attempt to isolate any urban trends or processes that may be visible within the data.

The first and most obvious observation we have made so far is that the form of the city, its original status notwithstanding, is comparable to that of Roman colonies from the mid-Republic. More specifically, the city had a regular orthogonal scheme from the outset and was a natural successor to the cities of Norba, Alba Fucens, and Cosa with its hierarchy of *decumani* and *cardines*, linked centrally at the forum. Thus, as with many of the Latin colonies established in the mid-Republic, the heart of Falerii Novi lay in its central forum, which was surrounded by *insulae* disposed in a *per strigas* arrangement. The forum area was connected to four principal gates by means of primary streets. A network of smaller secondary streets completed the scheme. Although regular throughout, the grid also demonstrated marked irregularities in the areas of the gates and access roads and along the intramural streets in the north, east, and west.

Overlooking the urban zone was a high place to the west on which sat a Capitolium oriented in accordance with the overall grid. As with cities such as Cosa, we assume that this high place originally featured an *auguraculum* and was the place where original auguries

were made during the foundation process, as outlined above. This high place was rendered in such a way as to be independent of the urban grid, as may be witnessed in the lack of subsidiary *cardines* and *decumani* in *insula* I. Nevertheless, it was still fully integrated into the overall urban scheme. It was home to the most important cult place of the city and was visible from the city centre. Furthermore, it stood at the head of a great processional route that encircled the city on the north and east sides before exiting the Porta Puteana in the southeast. Finally, the Capitolium and the high place may have been key components of a longitudinal axis of public monuments that stretched from the west gate to the east. Given this success in integration, we may conclude that Falerii Novi represents a natural successor to the city of Cosa, where city planners had finally mastered the integration of the diverse components within an irregular terrain.

The presence of a central swath of public monuments represents another common pattern among Latin colonies founded in the mid-Republic, particularly at Cosa, Paestum, and Alba Fucens. At Falerii Novi, we have evidence for at least one such public strip running north-south and possibly another running in the opposite direction. The first, and the one for which greater evidence exists, ran from the theatre complex in the south through the central forum area and out the north gate where we see an extension of public activity in the addition of sepulchral areas and, to the northeast, an amphitheatre. An extension of the public strip outside the boundaries of the city was not uncommon, as we witnessed earlier at Alba Fucens. A second strip, meanwhile, may have ran from the Capitolium just inside the west gate to a corresponding sanctuary in the east. Unfortunately, much of the area in between is difficult to interpret.

At first glance, therefore, we may observe at Falerii Novi an urban environment that was very much congruent with the traditional urban layout of Roman cities in Italy throughout our study period. We also notice, however, that the urban system was unique. Most notably, the city was originally cruciform with an intersecting *cardo* and *decumanus* linking the primary gates situated at the centre point of all four sides. As well, the *insulae* to the south of the city were almost square. In fact, in many ways the layout here is more like that of Parma and the renovated Latin and citizen colonies that followed in the second century.

As we have noted already, in the late third and second centuries a single plan emerged for all Roman colonies, which was cruciform and based on the replication of equal *insulae*. As a result, the plans of Parma and Luni, both citizen colonies, and that of Luca, a Latin colony, are virtually indistinguishable in their urban organisation. Falerii Novi may represent the bridge that separated the traditional from the new in that it employed innovative and antiquated principles. The overall shape and *per strigas* arrangement of *insulae* in the heart of the city were rendered in the tradition of earlier mid-Republic Latin colonies. The central portion of the city, however, foreshadowed the city of Parma with its common central base unit and a *decumanus maximus* penetrating the long central axis of the forum. The *insulae* to the south, meanwhile, took on the traditional square shape of all citizen colonies.

Only later, when the primary southern access shifted to the east, do we see a return to a more traditional arrangement with misaligned principal *cardines* meeting at the forum, which acted as the unifying fulcrum for the urban scheme. The later alterations to the forum, conversely, draw their closest parallels with Luni of the second century. Thus, the city became more traditional and innovative at the same time, supporting our claim that it was a middle ground between the earlier Latin colony plans of Cosa and Paestum and the later Latin and citizen colonies of Parma and Luni. Thus, the city of Falerii Novi, founded at the end of a busy century of urban advancement, represents the first step towards the eventual alteration of both the Latin and citizen colonies to come. It carries on many of the traditions of Roman cities up to this point but is also innovative in its design.

Consequently, the reconstructed plan at Falerii Novi stands outside Castagnoli's classification system. More precisely, it is a combination of the principles of type one and type two, while foreshadowing type three to come. Nevertheless, Sommella refers to the plan as a "classic" system of intersecting axes[392] while Castagnoli himself identifies the city as a being typical of his first type of plan.[393] It is not clear in what way this plan could be considered typical of either. Furthermore, this lack of precedents might suggest that the city was never founded as colony and was not compelled to adhere to any recognised urban schema. In the end, we may conclude the plan of Falerii Novi was transitional in that it paid

[392]Sommella 1988, 57.

[393]Castagnoli 1971b, 96-100

homage to the past while looking ahead to the future. Thus the role of the city in the ongoing evolution of the orthogonal form, its original status notwithstanding, was an important one.

Next, we must consider Falerii Novi in the context of Torelli's theory that the choice urban components within Latin and citizen colonies was meant to mimic Rome and emphasise the relationship between each community and the Capital. According to the author, this practice was longstanding and originated at a time when Rome was establishing colonies as part of the larger Latin League. This fixation on ideology in urban form may also explain the apparent obsession of the Romans in reproducing their forms as accurately as possible throughout the varying terrains of Italy.

At first glance, Falerii Novi seems to adhere to this larger ideological trend of mimicking Rome through the placement of specific urban features that promoted predetermined social and political values. We noticed that the image of Rome could be tailored to promote a very specific ideological message. At Falerii Novi we see a fixation on the cults of the Aventine through the propitiation of Bacchus and Diana. As we discussed earlier, Torelli believes that the presence of these two divinities in particular served a greater role than merely reproducing Rome symbolically; they promoted a plebeian version of the Capital. This metaphor might be extended at Falerii Novi with the presence of associated statues of Faunus and Endymion, both of whom maintain a rustic, plebeian image. We also cannot exclude the possibility, however, that these statues, if they were indeed from Falerii Novi, were part of some wealthy household. At best, without securely dated archaeological data, we may only speculate that Falerii Novi, based strictly on the sculptural evidence cited here, may have promoted the image of plebeian Rome according to the ideological model of Torelli.

We may speculate further. The Bacchus cult appears to have been linked with Victory, a goddess worshipped also at Paestum, Alba Fucens, and possibly Cosa.[394] Torelli believes that Victory temples alluded to the sanctuary erected on the Palatine in Rome in the early third century. This goddess may also have had particular relevance to the city that had replaced the recently conquered Falerii Veteres, particularly if we see the city as a product of Roman and Faliscan cooperation. Nevertheless, according to our limited evidence, the most

[394]This conclusion depends upon which interpretation of the Arx sanctuaries we accept. See Brown (*et al.* 1960) and Taylor (2002) for more on the temples at Cosa and Chapter 1, n. 82 above for general sources on the site.

pronounced image is that of plebeian Rome, just as it was at other cities such as Norba and, to a lesser extent, Paestum. The presence of Fortuna and Concordia, meanwhile, may have served to represent the Forum Boarium. This allusion to mercantile Rome may represent an expansion of the theological model at Falerii Novi.

The appearance of Concordia, meanwhile, mirrors the cult that appeared at Cosa in the second century, perhaps embodying the intentional promotion of Rome's own concordia for the purpose of pre-emptively quelling rebellion in Italy. The connection between Livia and Concordia shows a specific connection with the Augustan regime and may have served to promote the *Pax Augustana* as well as the Emperor's family. Finally, the additions and renovations to the forum created a central area more like that of Luni, resulting in a city centre that embodied the Roman system at its very heart. Finally, we can augment our image of Rome by drawing the obvious parallels between the western high place and the Arx.

We cannot stress enough that this ideological reconstruction is highly speculative. Furthermore, even if we accept that Roman city planners were adhering to any larger ideological metaphor, we also must account for the irregular intramural streets that ringed the city centre. In the last chapter, we suggested that these streets represented pre-existing Faliscan paths that were integrated into the typically Roman scheme. One might assume that this preservation and promotion of the older Faliscan component undermined any attempts to mimic the Capital. Instead, it is our belief that by integrating Faliscan roads into its urban design, the city of Falerii Novi balanced traditional Roman practice of integration with new ideas of cultural preservation and equality. In other words the city was still one of the many *parva simulacra Romae* throughout Italy, but it was also unique in the way it balanced Roman and local urban metaphors within a single plan. In short, we may conclude that the city was experimental, allowing Rome to try out new urban arrangements and test their viability in a purely urban setting. This theory is more compelling if we accept that the city was not a Roman colony and not compelled to adhere to any particular urban scheme.

Finally, we must also address the role of Falerii Novi in the continuation of the longstanding urban priorities of definition, order, and membership. The first two are easy to recognise. The city was bounded by a fixed pomerium from the outset and this boundary was made permanent by means of a city wall. The boundary encompassed the entire Faliscan area and the high place to the west, creating a complete urban unit. If the surveyors are correct,

this sense of order and the significance it held may be witnessed in the maintenance of the older pomerium as a sacred way. We do not need the presence of the sacred way, however, to demonstrate the importance of definition at the site. Peripheral temples provide an internal sacred boundary in the north, which was mirrored by the burials along the south and southeast sides of the city. The idea that the site was selected because of these burials adds sanctity to the boundary. It was inviolable and eternal. In fact, the integration of bedrock into the fortification system creates the illusion of city walls springing up directly from the site itself. According to this philosophy, the enceinte merely emphasised a boundary formed by the natural terrain.

The creation of order is interesting because of the incorporation of older Faliscan roads into a purely Roman orthogonal grid. Given the relationship between these Faliscan paths and the secondary gates of the city, the older paths became important urban thoroughfares within the urban hierarchy. The result is an organised plan that was relevant to both the Romans and the local Faliscans because it was founded on principles of both traditions.

Thus, Falerii Novi embodies the truest sense of order. It adhered to both a traditional arrangement and more innovative ones to come. In addition, this order was manifest in such a way as to be relevant to the Romans as well as the local community. Of course, we have observed throughout this investigation that the concept of order transcends the layout of city streets and was manifest also in such things as orientation and the division of public and private spheres. Likewise, we may observe a sense of order in the alignment of the public monuments along a central strip and in the unique arrangement of temples that ring the city, yet remain anchored by a central forum temple. Order may also be interpreted in the balance of burials in the south with the sanctity of the temples in the north. In fact, order may be witnessed in the common orientation of temples and private dwellings and even in the simple arrangement of high place and lower city. In all, order permeated every facet of the urban entity at Falerii Novi.

The last urban priority, membership, was represented among many new Roman colonies by the *mundus* ritual. If Falerii Novi was not a colony, the rites of *mundus* may not have been associated with the foundation process, although the new residents would undoubtedly have appreciated the idea of continuity between the old and new cities. If such a

mundus pit is present at the site, the most obvious location for it is the western high place under the later Capitolium, as was the case at Cosa. The presence of the *mundus* ritual was not needed, however, to emphasize the concepts of continuity and membership.

It is our supposition that one of the criteria for the site selection of the new city was the presence of pre-existing tombs in the cliffs of the Purgatorio river valley. A close consideration of the tombs reveals that many of them were present at the site before quarrying was undertaken on the south and southeast sides of the site. In other words, they pre-existed the walls and the foundation of the new city. The concept of establishing cities in areas of local burials is longstanding in Italy and was witnessed very early on among the villages of the Apennine culture, most noticeably at Luni sul Mignone.[395] For these communities, the concept of intramural burial promoted a sense of heritage, continuity, and membership, which represent the fundamental principles on which the *mundus* ritual was based. We must also admit, however, that no excavation of the tombs around Falerii Novi has ever been undertaken and their chronology is still questionable.

Civic responsibility, meanwhile, is evident in the ritual activity at the site. If the surveyors are correct, then we may interpret the sacred way as embodying the necessity of human activity in the maintenance of the city's urban and cultural identity. If, conversely, we see the peripheral temples as evidence of the *lares* cult, then this sense of civic responsibility is shifted to a more local level as members of the community acted on behalf of their own neighbourhoods while still maintaining the overall social and local political order of the city.

We have no shortage of evidence for definition, order, and membership at Falerii Novi. Thus, we may safely conclude that Falerii Novi, although experimental and innovative in its urban layout, was founded on the same basic principles as all preceding urban cultures in Italy, and thus would have had as much relevance to the Greeks, Etruscans, and various indigenous communities of Italy as to the Romans and the Faliscans. It embodied a new version of these principles as they were filtered through the Roman ideals of pragmatism and order.

[395]Cary and Scullard 1992, 8. For more on the remains at Luni sul Mignone, see Östenberg 1967. For a brief look at the Apennine culture in particular see Barker 1981, 153-158, although many other sources exist.

At present, we cannot use this evidence to define the original status of the city. Falerii Novi took on the basic likeness of a Roman colony of the mid-Republic and, as we have just concluded, was based on the same the same urban principles that guided the Roman foundation process. Nevertheless, to identify Falerii Novi as a colony, we must prove that it was founded by a *triumvir* under very specific legal guidelines. Evidence suggests that Falerii Novi had quaestors, praetors, a Senate, and possibly *duoviri*,[396] but it is unclear if these officers were original components of the city and were associated with its installation or if the overall scheme of the city was undertaken by another Roman officer altogether, perhaps an urban prefect or even a *triumvir*.

Nevertheless, no matter the offices involved in the foundation process, it is unlikely that Rome had one foundation process reserved exclusively for colonies and another for non-colonies. It is more likely that Rome had a standardised set of urban canons that was employed for all new cities.[397] Thus, the official status of Falerii Novi did not alter its role in the larger urban progression that was ongoing throughout the peninsula during the mid-Republic. No matter what its official status, Falerii Novi was conceived at the end of a period of gradual Roman occupation and renovation of peninsular Italy which was accommodated by the ongoing practice of colonisation.[398]

[396]Salmon 1982, 172-174.

[397]Sommella claims that the newly established Bolsena and Falerii Novi, the urban centres that replaced the rebellious Volsinii and Falerii, were founded "secondo canoni urbani di schietta impronta romana" (1988, 56). Similarly, Rykwert (1976) makes no distinction between different functions of cities in his analysis of urban foundation practices and rituals.

[398]This opinion is shared by Gros and Torelli 1988, 126.

CHAPTER 3: THE 'REVOLT' OF FALERII VETERES AND FOUNDATION OF FALERII NOVI

A) Introduction

The most important observation that has emerged from this investigation so far is that Falerii Novi, at least according to our current reconstruction of it, resembles a Roman colony. As we will soon discover, however, few scholars accept that the city was founded as a colony. In fact, the status of the original city is still a matter of debate in modern scholarship. Consequently, we must take time to scrutinise the historical record and attempt to identify the role played by Falerii Novi in the Romanisation of Italy during the mid-Republic. We will begin the chapter by looking at the study period of 338 to 241, as outlined in the first chapter. More specifically, we will consider the actions taken by Rome during this hundred year period in order to establish the social and political atmosphere in which Falerii Novi was conceived. We will then look at the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the city itself, in an attempt to better understand its status in the newly organised *Latium adiectum*. Finally, we will conclude this investigation by discussing the relationship between Rome and the Faliscans and the very nature of Romanisation itself.

B) Roman Urban Expansion

Our study period extends from the dissolution of the Latin League in 338 to the foundation of Falerii Novi in 241. This period represents the peak of pre-Augustan Roman expansion as Rome set about her conquest of the Italian peninsula. In reality, these hundred years or so of urban growth represent the second stage of Roman urbanism. The first, which spanned the fifth and early fourth centuries, began with the foundation of the Republic and the expulsion of the Etruscans from Latium. Following these events, the Latins and Rome, as joint members of the Latin League, attempted to reclaim central Italy on behalf of Latin speaking peoples (Figure 3.1). A key component of this campaign was the foundation of joint Roman-

Latin colonies that served as strategic footholds in newly conquered territories.[399] Given her position in this confederacy, Rome was not free to develop foreign policies independently, but rather she acted as part of the larger Latin community in which she was, admittedly, the leading citizen.[400] As a result, no purely Roman foundations appeared in Italy at this time.[401] Instead, as she suffered through her conflict of orders, Rome evolved internally more so than she did externally, showing strong social, political, and economic development.[402]

In all, we have recorded the names and general dates for fourteen original Latin colonies, which date from the end of the sixth century to the early fourth century. Very little is known about them, but the term *colonia* implies that residents received land lots. We may also observe that they were positioned on hilltops flanked by ravines and were often camouflaged by forests, suggesting that they were defensive in nature.[403] Salmon suggests

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[399]Stambaugh 1988, 245. For a detailed look at early Latin colonies, see Salmon 1969, 40-54. Càssola suggests that many of the early colonies of Rome and the Latin League are later additions to the historical record serving either to provide a historical precedence for Rome's later colonial enterprise or to justify her eventual involvement in the towns, particularly in areas hosting Roman garrisons. He also notes that ancient authors are often victims of anachronism, associating later foundations with earlier colonial endeavours (1986, 5-7). Càssola's study offers valuable insight into possible biases and inaccuracies among ancient sources with regard to early Roman colonisation. More specifically, he states that "l'esame della tradizione annalistica rivela dunque una stratificazione di dati e di concetti risalenti a epoche diverse e mescolati insieme con scarso discernamento" (1986, 7).

[400]The federal centre of the League was at Aricia while a common shrine to Jupiter was erected on the Alban mount. According to ancient sources, Rome would show her superiority among the Latins at the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 (Livy 2.19) and receive favourable terms in the Cassian treaty of 493, the official start of the League. Over the first few decades of the confederacy, Rome would continue to distinguish herself as the principal member. In particular, she assumed leadership of the Alban Mount cult and formed a duplicate federal centre on the Aventine through the establishment of a cult to Diana (Livy 1.45). Stambaugh suggests, however, that these episodes may have been fabricated to foreshadow Rome eventual dominance of her Latin neighbours following the dissolution of this League (1988, 244-245). Certainly by the sixth century, there were many strong Latin speaking communities to the south and east of Rome, including Alba Longa and Lavinium. At this time, Rome may well have been just one of many communities that desired to form a common alliance for defensive purposes without any elevated standing whatsoever.

[401]Càssola notes that the lack of recorded names for early *triumviri* implies that many of the colonies founded by the Latin League did not have any Roman representation whatsoever (1986, 16). Torelli, conversely, believes that a number of purely Roman colonies, or at the very least Rome dominated colonies, were founded prior to the dissolution of the Latin League. The existence of early Roman colonies forms the basis of Torelli's theory regarding the ideological meaning of colonisation (1999d), as we discussed last chapter.

[402]As evidence of this growth, Torelli looks to richly decorated Roman tombs from this period which featured architectonics mimicking those of the Greeks (Gros and Torelli 1988, 46-47).

[403]Salmon records the name and date of each as well as its location and function according to ancient sources (1969, 42-43, 172-173 nos. 53 and 54).

that the spread of Latin culture that accompanied the foundation of these cities may have been a secondary motivation or possibly even an incidental after effect. A more detailed discussion on the nature of these cities and the circumstances that led to their foundation is extraneous to the current investigation. It is sufficient here to observe that League colonies secured for the larger Latin community a tight grip on Latium and extended Latin control from Sutrium in the north to Circeii in the south.[404]

At the same time, a number of other cultural groups were sorting themselves out throughout the peninsula, resulting in great movements of peoples and ideas in central Italy. The Volscians, for example, were settling into southern Latium. The Campanians were moving into Etruria and, like the Greeks, were beginning to dominate the urban communities in Campania. Celtic tribes were moving into northern Italy, reaching as far south as Rome by the early fourth century. As a result of these migrations, the regions surrounding Rome began to demonstrate a marked increase in urban development. Thus, while Etruria and Latium suffered urban stagnation through ongoing warfare, areas such as Apulia, the Po valley, the Gubbio Basin, Umbria, Piceni, and Lucania all showed marked advancement.[405] The Lucanians in particular developed a number of recognised urban centres including Laos, Grumentum, and Poseidonia, the later Roman Paestum. Poseidonia, with its elongated *insulae* distributed around a regular network of streets, demonstrated the fully evolved Greco-Italian colony style that had originated with the Greeks and Etruscans centuries earlier (Figure 1.30).[406]

With the exception of the colonial form of the Greeks and Etruscans, however, no universal urban scheme may be witnessed throughout Italy at this early date. Cities within coastal Latium still appear to have been organically formed with respect to their walls and use of space, featuring no distinguishable urban nuclei. Cities within or in close proximity to Samnium and Etruria, meanwhile, focused more on fortification than an organised habitation zone. Instead, preconceived planning existed in the connection between cities and highways

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[404]Salmon 1969, 43.

[405]Gros and Torelli 1988, 46. For a brief look at the early development in these areas, see pp. 49-55.

[406]We will consider the relationship between the Romans and the local Lucanians at Poseidonia later in this chapter.

within the region in which they were founded.[407] Sommella notes that the only visible similarities among these early cities existed in their relationship to the natural environment. More specifically, cities regularly appeared in valleys along natural routes of communication from the Apennines to the Tyrrhenian coast. Urban codification was based on the linking of hills for defensive purposes rather than the creation of any homogeneous urban form.[408] The hills that defined these habitation zones were not conducive to a regular urban grid. As a result, plans were disjoined and visibly incongruent.[409] In central Latium in particular, defensive and political priorities outweighed aesthetic needs. According to Sommella, this rule may be applied to southern Latium until the second century and the final pacification of the Samnites.[410]

The milling about of different cultural groups in areas peripheral to Rome ceased once the various communities of Italy were established. The urban advancements that accompanied these movements also petered out, leaving the colonial activities of the Latin League as the sole sustained urban movement of the early to middle Republic.[411] Nevertheless, this independent urban evolution introduced new and innovative ideas that aided Rome in the development of her own traditions.[412] In particular, Rome benefited from her exposure to the new Italian orthogonal plan, as may be witnessed in the layout of the Roman colony at Paestum.[413] This urban revolution was not limited to architectural

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[407]Sommella observes that these areas would continue to show no real evidence of planning until well after Roman insertion (1988, 18-19).

[408]This observation is especially true for the original colonies of the Latin League, which, according to Stambaugh, were fortress communities founded at strategic points to control roads, rivers, and mountain passes. The author cites the colonies of Nepet and Sutrium to the north and Setia and Circeii to the south to support this claim (1988, 245).

[409]The use of levelling terraces would be more characteristic of Roman advancement in these areas.

[410]Sommella 1988, 20.

[411]The league was so relentless in its efforts that by 380, Latin speaking peoples occupied the entire Tyrrhenian seaboard of Italy between southern Etruria and *Magna Graecia* (Gros and Torelli 1988, 46).

[412]It is not surprising that this is also the period in which the Claudii emigrated to Rome from Regilli.

[413]Sommella notes that the nature of the urban development within many regions of Italy during this early period would also influence the degree to which Rome absorbed them into her ever growing political sphere. Centres such as Lavinium, Ardea, and Antium, for example, which tended to feature a strong relationship with their surrounding region, adapted more easily to Romanisation than did fortified centres in areas that were caught up in Rome's anti-Samnite politics, such as the Sacco and Liri valley (1988, 18-19).

techniques and land-surveying, but featured also new over-arching settlement philosophies that played an important role in Rome's urban development.

The second stage of Roman urbanisation grew out of the power struggle that led to the dissolution of the Latin League. This period may actually have begun with Rome's conquest of Veii, when Rome assigned newly conquered and confiscated territory to her citizens alone and not to the members of the collective League.[414] It was this event in particular that initiated tension and war among the Latins.[415] Rome's only setback was the Gallic invasion that followed shortly afterwards, delaying the inevitable dissolution of the League. During this second phase, urban development within Italy experienced one of its greatest leaps as Rome was now free to found colonies for her benefit alone, often for the purpose of isolating, dividing, or guarding recent enemies. We cannot deny, however, the social and economic advantages offered by these new cities. From this point onward, one can truly refer to 'Roman' colonisation and the development of a purely Roman urban plan.[416]

Rome's first task was to reorganise the regions under her direct control, including southern Etruria, Latium, and northern Campania down to the River Savo. This area became known collectively as *Latium adiectum*. Rome organised this territory into different communities. Cities became either *municipia*, *civitates foederatae*, or *coloniae Latinae*.[417] Whereas a full description of each of these different statuses, as well as its responsibilities to Rome, lies outside the sphere of this discussion, it is important to highlight briefly the

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[414]The opening chapter of his *The Making of Roman Italy* (1982, 1-39), Salmon looks in greater detail at the events of the fourth century and discusses the path that Rome followed in her conquest of the Italian peninsula. He adds that there is no proof that all conquered lands, as was the case with Veii, were forced to cede a third of their territory. Nevertheless, he assumes that confiscations were substantial because much land was given over to Latin colonies or to viritane settlements, particularly following the dissolution of the Latin League (1982, 59).

[415]Stambaugh 1988, 245. Salmon talks about the estrangement between the Latins and Rome in greater detail, suggesting that a prime reason was the "diminished military need" for the league that resulted from the successful colonial enterprise of the Latin League. He also suggests that the only real tension existed between Rome and those Latin cities that had sent leaders to colonies. Thus colonisation lay at the heart of the conflict (1969, 44-45).

[416]Salmon 1982, 40. For Rome's early colonial practices, see Salmon 1970, 1982, 40-56, Càssola 1986, Sommella 1988 21-32, Stambaugh 1988, 244-245, Gros and Torelli 1988, 126-147, Torelli 1999d, and Nevett and Perkins 2000 (esp. 214-216).

[417]Salmon stresses Rome's need for diverse relationships and, as a result, the need to maintain colonies (1982, 41-44).

differences between *municipia* and *coloniae latinae*.[418] First, a *municipium* was an annexed territory that retained its own citizenship, but was granted either full Roman citizenship, *optimo iure*, or partial Roman citizenship, *sine suffragio*.[419] The concept of *municipium* was fundamental in the development of new Roman colonies in that it allowed for Roman citizens to be physically separated from Rome and but still united in their civic responsibilities to the state.

Coloniae latinae, or, more accurately, *priscae coloniae Latinae*, consisted of seven original colonies of the Latin League that remained essentially the same in terms of their status and internal structure, but whose allegiance had shifted solely to Rome.[420] They maintained their Latin status, their territory, and their autonomy, but were not granted the same liberties as allied states. Colonies shared a closer bond with Rome and colonists could become Roman citizens by migrating to the capital. Those who remained citizens of their colonies were entitled to certain liberties while they were in Rome, such as the right to vote in the plebeian assembly.

In essence, colonies and colonists remained Latin but were completely absorbed by the affairs of Rome, leading Salmon to refer to them as "independent partners."[421] He also suggests that the seven colonies that were maintained following the dissolution of the Latin League became permanent garrisons to watch the Etruscans, the Volscians, and the Faliscans.[422] They may also have aided in defence against the potential revolts of disgruntled *sine suffragio* communities. More important to this investigation, however, are the new Roman colonies that supplemented these *priscae coloniae latinae*.

As was the case with the Latin League, Rome's second stage of colonial enterprise originated in the peninsula, beginning with Cales in 334. The city was founded on the northern boundary of Campania to act as a stumbling block to the Samnites, Rome's only

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[418]For a detailed discussion on the division of *Latium adiectum* and the fundamentals of each type of community, see Salmon 1969, 48-54, 1982, 40-56, Hammond 1972, 261-278, and Brown 1980, 1-5.

[419]Salmon suggests that Latin speaking towns were granted *optimo iure* status, while non-Latin speakers were given the lesser *sine suffragio* variety (1969, 50).

[420]These included Ardea, Cerceii, Nepet, Sutrium, Norba, Setia, and Signia (Salmon 1969, 51).

[421]Salmon 1969, 51.

[422]The Samnites were under treaty but were also still a threat to Roman political superiority.

significant rival in Italy at that time (Livy 8.16).[423] The deduction of Cales epitomises the new Roman colonial philosophy for two reasons. First, like Falerii Novi, it was founded after a conflict with the older, indigenous city. In this case, it was founded on the site of the older town itself. Second, the new city was established in an area designed to maintain Rome's growing hegemony in Italy.[424] Furthermore, Salmon notes that the colony at Cales housed 2500 settlers, most of whom were lack lands not currently serving in the Roman army. As a result, Rome did not lose any of her manpower once the new colonists lost their Roman citizenship (Cic. *de domo* 78, *pro Caec*. 98, *Gaius* 1.31; 3.56). Local Auruncians, Campanians, Sidicinians, and Volscians were also enlisted, all of whom fell under the jurisdiction of the *ius Latii*.[425] This arrangement set the precedent for all subsequent colonies after 338.[426]

By this time, Roman colonies served a greater purpose than mere defence or the provision of land to landless Romans and Latins. In fact, many scholars believe that they were a means of promoting Roman culture, although most agree that the true motivation was the pacification of Italy through assimilation.[427] This interpretation of colonisation promotes the biased image of a more militaristic Rome that attempted to strip local communities of their regional identities. The validity of this characterisation notwithstanding, it is clear that colonies had indeed become symbols as much as cities. More specifically, we may observe a shift from the foundation of mere colonies to the creation of objects of Roman allegiance.[428]

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[423]Salmon informs us that the Latin Wars resulted in two distinct and competing spheres: that of Rome and that of the Samnites (1969, 45).

[424]Livy (8.16) claims that Cales was founded in anticipation of a demand by the plebs. The idea that it served military or defensive purposes is based partly on the alternate claim by Livy that a garrison preceded the colony and partly on the observation that Cales, in addition to most of the colonies that followed, surrounded or penetrated areas of Samnite occupation. Salmon adds that the colony served to watch both the Campanians and the Samnites (1969, 55). Cf. Sommella 1988, 41-42, Velleius (1.14.3), and Livy (9.24.15; 10.1.2; 27.9.11).

[425]Salmon notes that the term *latinitas* was rare, used only in Cic. *ad Att*. 14.12.1 and Suet. *Aug*. 47.1.

[426]See Salmon 1969, 55-56, 174 n. 65 and Brown 1980, 4-5.

[427]Certainly there were many other benefits to Roman colonies not the least of which was the expansion of trade and the establishment of new economic frontiers. We will discuss the different interpretations of Roman urbanism in the pages to follow.

[428]Wheeler 1996, 25. Torelli refers to the actions of Rome at this time "politica urbanistica" (Gros and Torelli 1988, 134).

This allegiance applied not just to the inhabitants of the cities themselves but also to the natives in surrounding territories who were exposed for the first time to a new and dominant culture through the insertion of Rome's urban delegates. The dual purpose of Roman colonies, one for the inhabitants of the city and one for the natives around it, had an impact on the appearance of new foundations. As we discussed in the previous chapter, two varieties of Roman colonies emerged in the mid-Republic, each of which featured its own unique urban form and expressed its own ideological message.[429]

The first variety, Latin colonies, were based on the foundations of the old Latin League.[430] Colonists were drawn jointly from Rome and her Latin neighbours and established in cities designed to defend large territories throughout the peninsula (Figure 3.2).[431] Given their apparent defensive nature, Sommella notes that Latin colonies were founded at the mouth of subapennine passes or on elevated positions designed to overlook and dominate expansive territories.[432] Generally, they were founded in pairs and at a great distance from each other, as was the case with Hatri and Venusia in 291, Cosa and Paestum in 273, and Aesernia and Fermo in 263. Thus, while maintaining their original function and, to a lesser extent, their autonomy,[433] their obligations had shifted solely to Rome.[434] In fact, Latin colonies became Rome's most effective tool in warding off potential threats and securing hostile or recently hostile regions, thus earning Cicero's praise as *propugnacula*

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[429]The form and nature of Roman colonies are well known and well documented throughout the modern scholarship. Nevertheless, it would seem appropriate here to review certain aspects of Roman colonies and colonial practices in order to draw upon this information later in this investigation.

[430]For general information on Latin colonies, see Salmon 1969, 55-69, Sommella 1988, 22-24, Stambaugh 1988, 246-247, and Gros and Torelli 1988, 126-130.

[431]Here Gros and Torelli provide Cales (334) and Luceria (314) as principal examples (1988, 126). Stambaugh (1988, 246) notes that often non-Latin natives were enrolled if the need existed. Sommella (1988, 43) suggests that indigenous enrolment could account for the excessive 20,000 colonists reported at Venusia by Dionysius (Dion.Hal.17-18.5.2).

[432]Sommella 1988, 22. Here, and in the pages that follow, the author gives many examples of Latin colonies founded in the mid-Republic, highlighting the circumstances of their foundation and the apparent strategic positions they held.

[433]Colonies were autonomous in that they could still create their own laws and were responsible for their own administration (Stambaugh 1988, 246).

[434]With these obligations came certain Roman rights including the right to trade and intermarry with Romans and to vote while in Rome (Stambaugh 1988, 246).

imperii (Cic. *de imp*. 33, *de leg.agr*. 2.73).[435] Need for such foundations was particularly high between 334 and 270, the period of the Samnite Wars and the Pyrrhic Wars.[436] Of the thirty Latin colonies that are known to have existed by the Second Punic War,[437] eighteen were founded by 270, making this period in particular the "Golden Age" of the Latin colony.[438]

These deductions were large, originally consisting of some 2500 colonists, although that number steadily increased to 4000 by 313 and 6000 by 303.[439] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, meanwhile, reports 20,000 colonists at Venusia, founded in 291 (Dion.Hal. 17-18.5.2). Even if this figure is an exaggeration,[440] Latin colonies still had to accommodate a large number of individuals, each requiring a proportionate share of private land and access to public resources.[441] The long, equal land tracts of the typical Greco-Etruscan plan supplied a ready-made solution. In maintaining the archaic, foreign style of the Etruscans and Greeks, Rome not only acquired an efficient resolution to her planning needs but she was also able to

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[435]Horace agrees that colonies supported Rome's position in Italy (*Sat*. 2.1.35-37).

[436]Livy quotes Minucius, one of Fabius' men during the second Punic War, as saying that the colony of Sinuessa had been established as a watch guard against the Samnites (Livy 22.14.3).

[437]This number includes seven of the original colonies of the Latin League, maintained by Rome as *priscae coloniae latinae* (Gros and Torelli 1988, 126).

[438]Salmon 1969, 57. He also calls Roman colonies the "saviours" against the Samnites (1969, 60). The author goes on to provide the specific defensive circumstances for many of the colonies founded at this time, including Cales (334), Fregellae (328), Luceria (314), Saticula (313), Suessa (313), Pontiae (312), Interamna (312), Sora (303), Alba Fucens (303), Carseoli (298), Narnia (299), Venusia (291), Hatri (290), Cosa (273) and Paestum (273), all of which seem to have filled a defensive or military need (1969, 55-69). Sommella adds that the dates of most Latin colonies are known because of their role in the wars between Rome and the Samnites (1988, 22). He also notes, however, that Latin colonies were equally useful in situations that were favourable before the time of their foundation, most notably in Latin and Italic regions and the hellenised south. Furthermore, he stresses the economic motivations behind the foundations of Hatri, Carseoli, Alba Fucens, Aesernia, and Beneventum, reminding us that the origins of Rome's colonial enterprise is far too complex to be reduced to a single factor (Sommella 1988, 23). Thus, in his opinion, the military aspect of Latin colonies should not be overstated. Instead, we should recognise the "diversi livelli di urbanizzazione funzionale e formale" (Sommella 1988, 24).

[439]Gros and Torelli 1988, 126. This number of 6000 is based on the foundation of Alba Fucens in 303.

[440]According to Càssola (1986, 10), "la cifra è certamente errata." Sommella (1988, 43) neither accepts nor rejects the number, but he does observe the large area enclosed by the city walls and the depopulation of the surrounding countryside, which may reflect a significant enrolment of locals within the new community.

[441]Land around the city was distributed according to the ranks of *pedites* and *equites*, thus reflecting an established social order based on military position (Gros and Torelli 1988, 126).

emphasize the non-Roman quality of the foundations. This distinction was necessary since all members of Latin colonies, even those enrolled from Rome, surrendered their old citizenship and adopted that of the new city, thus officially binding them to their new home and the obligations that accompanied their new, non-Roman status.[442]

Citizen colonies, meanwhile, were placed on major roadways along the coast to defend against sea-borne invaders and to augment the defensive network created by the Latin colonies (Sic.Flacc. p.135L, Livy 27.38.3; 36.3.4) (Figure 3.3).[443] Ostia and Antium were the earliest, founded on ports in Latium, nearest to Rome. Citizen colonies were much smaller than their Latin counterparts, consisting of only 300 colonists, all of whom retained full Roman citizenship.[444] Given the status of the colonists and location of the cities along the coast, colonies of this variety are referred to as either *citizen* or *maritime* colonies interchangeably, or they are simply called *Roman* colonies to distinguish them from the Latin variety.[445] This name may also reflect the tradition that citizen colonies were based ideologically on early Rome, or at least the common perception of it.[446] According to this philosophy, the 300 colonists reflected the original founding fathers of Rome and the three tribes into which they were originally organised.[447] Each colonist received a small plot of land measuring only two *iugera*, or one *heredium*, as opposed to the larger, elongated tracts

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[442]Salmon 1969, 51.

[443]Salmon characterises such foundations as being more garrison-like than agricultural, and believes their primary function was to maintain Roman fleets (1969, 16). For a more detailed examination of citizen colonies, see Salmon 1969, 70-81, Gros and Torelli 1988, 126, 130, Sommella 1988, 21, and Stambaugh 1988, 245-246.

[444]According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.50.1-2), the first colonies of Romulus (Cenina, Antemnae Crustumerio, and Fidenae) were all founded with 300 families. Livy (1.11; 27.3, 9) paints a similar overall picture, but does not say how many colonists were associated with such ventures (cf. Plut. *Rom*. 23.6-7, 24.3). Salmon notes that five of the eight colonies founded in 194 are known to have received 300 colonists. He admits, however, that only Terracina, founded in 329, provides evidence for an equal number of colonists in the mid-Republic. Nevertheless, he believes that this enrolment number was traditional and longstanding (1969, 71-72).

[445]More precisely, they received the moniker of *coloniae civium Romanarum* or simply *populi*, as in Livy 27.38.4 (Salmon 1969, 16, 70).

[446]Gros and Torelli 1988, 131.

[447]Salmon 1969, 71-72.

distributed in Latin colonies.[448] These plots, like the colony as a whole, were perfectly square, mimicking the original square *pomerium* of Rome as recorded by Tacitus (*Ann*. 12.24) and others (Figures 3.4-3.5).[449]

Citizen colonies were less popular than their Latin counterparts because of the paucity of individual land grants they offered versus the enormity of the military demands they imposed.[450] Salmon goes so far as to characterise citizen colonies as being "second-class

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[448]Salmon suggests that each tribe supplied 100 *coloni* per centuria of land. Each colonist then received a two *iugera* lot (Salmon 1969, 71-72). He suggests that smaller landholdings were important to prevent colonists from attaining a higher class in the Centuriate Assembly (p. 25). This observation implies that individuals sent to Roman colonies were lack lands. Although many Romans may have fit this requirement, the number was nevertheless limited to 300. It is unlikely that Rome would have wanted to remove thousands of able bodied Romans from the capital at any one time. Also, as we will be discussed shortly, such ventures were very unpopular and acquiring 300 volunteers was often difficult (pp. 71-73).

[449]Coarelli (1985, 232, 262-263) and Terrenato (1996b, 315-317) have managed to trace the lines of the pseudo-mythical square pomerium, as it is recorded by Tacitus and Festus, around the Palatine and believe that the concept of *Roma Quadrata*, while not Romulean, was a tangible Archaic construct. For a detailed discussion on the ancient sources for *Roma Quadrata* and their possible interpretations, see Castagnoli 1971a and Rykwert 1976, 97-99. Gros and Torelli observe that, in addition to mimicking a square Rome, citizen colonies also represent the ideal codification of augural processes that were Etruscan in origin (1988, 130). By this way of thinking, one could conclude that Latin colonies were 'Greek' and Roman colonies, 'Etruscan.'

[450]In general, Stambaugh notes that Roman colonies were commonly deemed to be inferior to *municipia*, which had full autonomy with less obligation to Rome (1988, 246, 248-9). Salmon notes that only during the Empire did such colonies rise above *municipium* status (1969, 70-71). Citizen colonies were particularly undesirable for a number of reasons. For example, it was required that no colonist leave a citizen colony for more than thirty days at a time, thus ensuring an ever ready coastal defence (Salmon 1969, 80). Livy (10.21.10) mentions the difficulty in finding 600 colonists for the Roman colonies of Minturnae and Sinuessa in 296 because the idea of serving at a military outpost was not as attractive as receiving land for cultivation, as in a Latin colony. The unpopularity of citizen colonies becomes more evident when one considers that Rome was able to attract 20,000 colonists for the Latin colony of Venusia in 291 (Dion.Hal. 17-18.5.2).

There are many ancient sources that deal with difficulties of recruitment for colonies of either variety. Dionysius (7.13.4-5) and Plutarch (*Cor*. 13.1-3) mention a compulsory recruitment for the colony of Velletri, founded in 492. In this instance colonists complained of a raging epidemic and Rome was forced to issue severe punishment for any opposition. Reasons for refusal varied. We have already mentioned the common complaint regarding citizen colonies that lot assignments were too small as compared to the obligations they carried, as was the case at Satricum, founded in 385 (Livy 6.16.7). At Anzio (c. 467) colonists were wary of moving too far from Rome (Livy 3.1.7, Dion.Hal. 9.59.2). At Norba (c. 492), Sinuessa (c. 296), and Minturnae (Cass.Dio. fr. 18.4, Livy 6.16.7; 10.21.10) colonists feared the risks of living in a hostile territory. In all, Càssola believes that these references reveal a hesitation among Romans in enrolling in colonies and the possible stigma that colonisation was nothing short of disenfranchisement. This idea is shared by Salmon (1969, 16) who states that, despite the overall popularity of the Latin colony, many Romans were not excited at the prospect of being separated from Rome by large expanses of foreign soil. Càssola warns against taking this observation at face value, however, and suggests that many of the ancient accounts listed here may be anachronistic, especially when considering the fact that Rome was able to find 20,000 colonists for Venusia. He also points out how Drusus was able to appeal to the masses in Rome by offering more colonies than did Gaius Gracchus. Instead Càssola believes that annalists, by providing reasons for avoiding colonisation, were actually commenting on the period following the proconsulship of G. Claudius Pulchro in 176 (1986, 9-10).

appendages" in the new *Latium adiectum*.[451] They were also fundamentally difficult for Rome to govern. The idea of settling Roman citizens away from the Capital and their civic responsibilities was a new concept and was only made possible by the conception of the *municipium* during the initial division of the new *Latium adiectum*.[452] As a solution, Rome founded citizen colonies in territories that adjoined the larger *Ager Romanus*. For these two reasons, those being their unpopularity and the administrative quandary they represented, citizen colonies were rare, numbering only ten between 338 and 218.[453]

In all, forty colonies are recorded as having been established by Rome between the dissolution of the Latin League and the onset of the Second Punic War.[454] Among these, only two, the Latin colonies of Cremona and Placentia, were established after 241, both founded in 219 within the Po valley in anticipation of the arrival of Hannibal from the north. By this time, most of Rome's efforts were focused outside the peninsula. Hannibal's activities within Italy, meanwhile, made such investments almost impossible throughout the remainder of the third century. By this time, the need for colonies in Italy had greatly diminished as Rome was

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[451]Salmon 1969, 70. Conversely, Hammond characterises Latin colonies as "true communities" in that they did not have the same martial qualities as citizen colonies (1972, 231).

[452]Functionally, citizen colonies were exactly the same as *municipia*, except they were Roman from the outset and not annexed territories that became Roman (Salmon 1969, 17, 70. Cf. Aul.Gell. 16.13.6-7). Once again, for more on *municipia* and the various divisions of communities within *Latium adjectum*, see Càssola 1986, 5-6, Sommella 1988, 20-21, Stambaugh 1988, 248-254 and Nevett and Perkins 2000, 215.

[453]See Salmon 1969, 82 and Gros and Torelli 1988, 126.

[454]This count does not include viritane settlements, small points of business or social contact established by individuals at the behest of Rome. Such foundations took the form of a forum, market place, or *conciliabulum* and were established between communities as regional meeting places but had no civic status of their own. It is likely that they were under the control of Roman *praefecti*. Viritane settlements also allowed Rome to efficiently manage the territory between her colonies. Thus they served more than mere social and economic nodes between cities, but had political significance as well. In fact, after the social wars, viritane settlements that were not absorbed by growing urban communities were granted *municipium* status (Stambaugh 1988, 251-253). Some 35 were thought to have existed by 241, but this count is not certain. Salmon notes that often, in addition to viritane grants, Rome declared areas under their control to be *ager publicus*, particularly if sufficient settlers were not available (1969, 13). The areas of Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, and the territory of the Sabines were prime areas for the development of viritane settlements (Salmon 1969, 13-14, 1982, 59-60, Gros and Torelli 1988, 126, Stambaugh 1988, 249-50). In the late Republic, Roman villas replaced viritane settlements as focal points of rural economic activity. Shaw (1981, 37-83) considers the various functions of such settlements in the Roman economy, using North Africa as a case study. Although spatially and temporally incongruent, this study presents some universal ideas that are useful in understanding viritane settlements. MacMullen, conversely, examines the importance of market days to the social welfare of the community throughout the Empire (1970, 333-341).

now the true mistress of the Mediterranean.[455] Thus, the most intense period of Roman colonisation in the Italian peninsula began with the foundation of Cales in 334 and ended with that of Spoletium in 241, the same year that Falerii Novi was established.

This period featured more than just the foundation of new Roman cities. Rome also made use of existing *oppida* and *castella* originally founded by the Etruscans, including Blera, Norchia, Castel d'Asso, Ferentum, Musarna, San Giuliano, and San Giovenale. In addition, she maintained the intricate hierarchy of *pagi* and *vici* throughout the countryside and nominated *praefecti* and possibly even aediles to govern them.[456] Rome also engaged in temple renovation and expansion to win support and gain more control over neighbouring territories. Thus, we cannot interpret Roman activity during the mid-Republic as being wholly intrusive and heavy-handed, despite the seemingly militant nature of Roman colonies themselves. We may also observe a concerted effort to maintain local settlements hierarchies wherever possible. Thus, we must qualify our earlier observation, that the years following the dissolution of the Latin League represent the greatest period of pre-Augustan expansion, by stating that this process was accommodated by, but not based solely on colonisation.[457]

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[455]Only four Latin colonies are known after the time of Hannibal. These are Copia (193) and Vibo (192), founded in the Brutti territory of Calabria and Bononia (189) and Aquileia (181) in Cisalpine Gaul (Gros and Torelli 1988, 126).

[456]*Oppida* and *castella*, as well as *vici* and *pagi*, originally helped communities such as the Etruscans and Samnites to maintain control over the rural countryside by organizing tribal territories into a manageable hierarchy. Roman centres absorbed many of these smaller settlements and exploited them for their own control over previously hostile territories. *Oppida* and *castella* in particular served to guard the frontiers of larger regions and the hinterlands of larger city states. *Pagi* and *vici*, meanwhile, in addition to viritane settlements, allowed Rome to efficiently manage the territory between their colonies. Accounts of the exact nature of these foundations and their specific functions are somewhat confused and will not be discussed in this investigation. For more on *oppida*, *castella*, *vici*, and *pagi*, see Stambaugh 1988, 252-253 and Gros and Torelli 1988, 53-55. We also cannot ignore the development of Roman highways in the Romanisation of the rural countryside. See Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, Chevallier 1976 (esp. 185-209), and Stambaugh 1988, 253-254 for more on Roman highways and their relationship with the rural and urban landscape of Italy.

[457]In other areas, Roman expansion took the overall appearance of urban stagnation and abandonment. In Sicily, for example, settlement hierarchy was more important than city creation. Larger cities like Syracuse flourished, but smaller centres suffered as the population experienced an overall reorganisation. This shift in settlement is particularly evident during the first two centuries AD (Nevett and Perkins 2000, 238-239). Cf. Jones 1987 and Wilson 1990, 234-236 for a more detailed discussion of the non-urban features that accompanied Roman expansion.

C) The 'Revolt' of Falerii Veteres and Foundation of Falerii Novi

Having established the socio-political climate of our study period, we may now proceed to consider the specific circumstances surrounding the foundation of Falerii Novi, which remains the primary focus of this investigation. According to ancient sources, in 241 BC, one year after the treaty between Rome and the Faliscans had come to an end, Falerii, the principal Faliscan urban centre, led a revolt against Rome and was retaken (Polyb. 1.65, Livy *Epit*. 20).[458] The encounter lasted less than a week, during which time the city was destroyed, 15,000 inhabitants were killed and half of the *Ager Faliscus* was confiscated (Eutrop. 2.28.1, Oros. 4.11.10, Val.Max. 6.5.1, Zonar. 8.18). The remaining residents of the old Faliscan centre were resettled in a newly established city, Falerii Novi, located five kilometres west of Falerii Veteres on the Via Amerina, a north-bound trans-Italian highway that formed the city's *cardo maximus*.[459] It is unknown, however, if Falerii Veteres was wholly replaced or if both it and its successor were active simultaneously. As an urban centre, the older city seems to have declined but its sanctuaries remained intact, a situation that can also be witnessed at the nearby centres of Narce, Corchiano, and Porte del Ponte, all of which were abandoned around the same time as Falerii Veteres.[460] Salmon adds that some of the former residents may have fled to Sardinia (*ILLRP* 192).

Equally elusive are the circumstances surrounding the rebellion itself. As we stated earlier, Polybius refers to the conflict as a πόλεμος ἔμφυλος (1.65.2), implying that Falerii was in some way considered Roman property. According to Livy (7.38.1), the city had been

[458]Salmon (1982, 172-174) provides the most thorough albeit synoptic account of this incident. Cf. Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 103-113, Flower 1998, 224-232, Loreto 1989, 717-737, and Keay *et al.* 2000, 1-3.

[459]See Figure 1.1. As we mentioned in the opening chapter, only Zonaras, a twelfth-century Byzantine scholar, claims that the inhabitants were forcibly resettled into a site that was deemed less defensible than its predecessor (Zonar. 8.18). Scholars such as Salmon accept this hypothesis outright believing the open plain of Falerii Novi to be more exposed than the hilltop site of the older Falerii on the Treia river (1969, 65, 1982, 172). The validity of Zonaras' claim has been challenged in recent years in light of the close relationship between Falerii Novi and the Via Amerina (Flower 1998, Keay *et al.* 2000, 2, Munzi 2001, 49). Certainly Rome would have hesitated in resettling recent enemies on the most significant Roman highway in Faliscan territory. It is equally unlikely that she would have made such a key node "less defensible" under any circumstances.

[460]Potter 1979, 99-100. The temples to Juno Curitis, Mercury, and others remained opened to the likes of Ovid, while the Romans may actually have added a temple to Janus (*Am*. 3.13). In addition, terracotta architectural decorations from the site dating after the destruction of 241 may be observed in the Villa Giulia. As was the case at Veii, it was not uncommon for Rome to be hesitant in disrupting the religious life of subjugated peoples of Italy (Salmon 1982, 174).

connected to Rome through treaties and alliances. If this was indeed the case, the actions of Falerii could only be interpreted as a revolt or perhaps even a form of stasis and not a civil war. This theory is supported by the observation that the victors were granted a triumph.[461] Polybius' interpretation is understandable, however, since, save for the defections provoked by Hannibal, there is no record of any armed rebellion against Rome between 265 and 125.[462] Given the peculiarity of the event, this 'rebellion' has been interpreted by Salmon and Flower as a failure on the part of the Faliscans to meet the military demands imposed by Rome during the first Punic War.[463] Certainly Rome was quick to punish the twelve colonies that failed to provide sufficient aid in 209 during Hannibal's invasion of Italy (Livy 27.7-11, 37; 29.15.2, Val.Max. 6.9.3).[464] Given the long and violent history that Falerii shared with Rome, the response would naturally have been no less swift nor less severe.[465]

The date of 241 may be significant for another reason. Looking from a different perspective, Salmon suggests that a Faliscan revolt may not have motivated the foundation of the new city. Instead, he proposes that the towns of Falerii Novi and Spoletium, a Latin colony founded in Umbria the same year, were conceived as a pair to serve a common function (Figure 3.6). The former guarded the newly completed Via Amerina, which provided passage from Rome through Etruria to more northern regions of Italy. The latter controlled the Apennine passes that allowed communications with the *Ager Gallicus*. More

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[461]Livy states explicitly, *Falisci cum rebellassent* (*Epit*. 20). Salmon tries to reconcile the two authors by interpreting Polybius' ἔμφυλος as "inter-Italian" (1982, 174).

[462]In 265, following a slave revolt, the Etruscan city of Volsinii was annexed and its urban populace resettled in Bolsena. In 125, Fregellae rebelled against the Gracchan land reforms, or more specifically, the manner by which they were executed. Salmon suggests that the unusual circumstances surrounding the 'rebellion' of Falerii Novi was a point of interest to ancient authors as well as modern ones. As a result, modern scholars have a number of conflicting sources at their disposal (1982, 172). Of course, the absence of Livy's narrative of this period has rendered the historical record particularly problematic.

[463]See Salmon 1982, 172 and Flower 1998, 227. More specifically, Salmon states that Rome, as she had done with Antium, may have wanted to put an end to future dissention while at the same time send a warning to her other allies (1982, 173). Cf. Munzi 2001, 49.

[464]Salmon lists these colonies as Ardea, Nepet, Sutrium, Alba Fucens, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, and Interamnia. The remaining eighteen maintained their full support of Rome (Salmon 1969, 89).

[465]Falerii was one of the earliest enemies of Rome, siding with Veii during the conquest of 396. Relations between Rome and Falerii remained turbulent down into the third century until the foundation of Falerii Novi.

specifically, it controlled the Roman side of the Colfiorito pass across the central Apennines, helping Sena Gallica guard communications with more northerly regions. Thus, according to Salmon, the two cities may have been established on sites that were specifically designed to defend primary north-bound routes in anticipation of problems arising in the Po region.[466]

Potter sees Falerii Novi as the final component of a deliberate and aggressive campaign to dominate the Faliscan region and possibly southern Etruria as a whole. Rome initiated this design as early as the fourth century by establishing colonies at Nepet and Sutrium, and fully realised it in 241 with the construction of the Via Amerina. Falerii Novi, which the author believes was founded *ex nihilo* in tandem with the only highway of significance in Faliscan territory, was the key component of this initiative, serving as a new administrative centre in the newly Roman dominated territory.[467]

Sommella agrees with this sentiment. He states that as Rome moved north into central Italy, she sought to lessen the importance of the older, more established Etruscan urban foci. Consequently, Nepet and Sutrium were established as important administrative centres. Military based colonies, meanwhile, were founded at Fregenae and Alsium between 247 and 245 and Pyrgi and *Castrum* Novum in 191 to control areas of advancement. Furthermore, Rome sought to destroy the cultural and commercial emporium of Gravisca and established a citizen colony in its place in 281. The destruction and refoundation of Volsinii in 264 and Falerii in 241 were necessary to reinforce Rome's custody of the territory.[468]

Based on these interpretations, one could conclude that the emigration of the urban populace of Falerii Veteres was not so much a response to an armed uprising as it was a means of reinforcing Rome's political agenda in the area. According to this philosophy, the rebellion of the Faliscans, whatever form it took, actually *served* Rome's purposes by justifying the implementation of a larger plan.[469] If Salmon and Potter are correct, the

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[466]Salmon 1982, 173.

[467]Potter 1979, 93-100.

[468]Sommella 1988, 55-56. The author admits, however, that this application of and reaction to Romanisation were not universal. For example, in areas such as Volaterrae, Arezzo, Chiusi, and the majority of inland cities in north and central Etruria, the more conservative fourth century styles are preserved. Thus, the Roman presence was not as intrusive here (p. 57).

[469]Sommella's interpretation of the refoundation of Fregellae in 125 offers an interesting compromise. He claims that the conquest of the older city served as both a punishment for the inhabitants and a statement of

foundation of Falerii Novi may represent a cooperative effort between Rome and the Faliscans and the so-called revolt, a fabrication on the part of later authors to provide a reasonable history for the city as well as augment the perceived might and authority of Republican Rome.[470]

Torelli extends this theory by suggesting that the situation at Falerii Novi was one of cultural continuity more so than Roman assimilation. As evidence, the author cites stability in the visible cultural traditions that passed on from Falerii Veteres to Falerii Novi. In his opinion, the panorama of changes at the new city were superficial at best. This continuity is most visible in tomb typology.[471] Similarity in architectural decoration, meanwhile, may also be witnessed in the great extra-urban sanctuaries of Celle and Sassi Caduti, which were added after 241 to embellish the city (Figure 3.7-3.8).[472] According to Torelli, this continuity in art and architecture supposes continuity in culture and has great ramifications on our interpretation of both the conquest of Falerii Veteres and the foundation of its successor at Falerii Novi.

This lack of agreement regarding the martial and political circumstances surrounding the foundation of Falerii Novi has had a great impact on our interpretation of the status of the city within the ever expanding *Latium adiectum*. As we have mentioned above, the most intense period of Roman colonisation in the Italian peninsula began with the deduction of Cales in 334 and ended with that of Spoletium in 241, the same year that Falerii Novi was founded. We also observed throughout the previous chapter that the city shared a number of visual congruencies with Latin colonies from the mid-Republic. Given the events leading up

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Roman authority to the rest of Italy. The establishment of the new community, conversely, served as a means of winning back the remnants of the original community, and thus became a symbol of Roman benevolence (1988, 31).

[470]It is also possible that this revolt represents a social uprising or possibly even a slave revolt, such as that which occurred at Volsinii in 265. In either scenario, Rome may have intervened at the behest of the nobles of Falerii. This theory would also lend credence to Polybius' interpretation of the conflict as a 'civil war.'

[471]Torelli 1995, 21-22.

[472]The urban temples of Scasato and Vignale provide a good reference point for the decoration and style of terracotta votives and architectonics before 241. Continuity in style is most evident in the Campana plaques of the Sassi Caduti temple. The author adds, however, that the year of 241 would represent a general hiatus in temple architecture and decoration in the region as the sanctuaries of Celle and Sassi Caduti were the only two extra-urban sanctuaries to be added after the foundation of Falerii Novi (Torelli 1995, 22).

to its foundation, however, Falerii Novi cannot simply be explained away as a product of Rome's colonial enterprise.

According to Di Stefano Manzella, there are many instances within the ancient record prior to the Social Wars where Falerii Novi is referred to as a *municipium*. He notes, however, that the titles *municipium* and *colonia* were often used synonymously. He adds that the city was governed by praetors and quaestors during its early years (*CIL* XI 3081; 3156a; 3073; 3158-3159), an arrangement that implies that the city was a *civitas foederata*. In the end, therefore, a case may be made for all three denominations. To aid in the interpretive process, Di Stefano Manzella cites a pair of ancient references, the first by Ammianus Marcellinus (23.5.20) and the second by Suidas, which stresses the purely Faliscan character of the region and the great desire of the locals to maintain their regional identity.[473] Despite the fact that these sources date well after the foundation of the city, Di Stefano Manzella believes that the circumstances they describe were longstanding and had a bearing on Rome's treatment of Falerii in the third century. In making this claim, the author is adhering to the traditional principle that areas of strong resistance required more visible and dominant symbols of Roman authority. As a result, Di Stefano Manzella prefers to accept that the city was originally a Latin colony and later acquired *municipium* status after the Social War.[474]

The author notes three specific pieces of evidence that support this claim. First, he cites an inscription that refers to a ruling praetor as a *duovir*, an office that traditionally accompanied cities of the *colonia* rank. Although this inscription is now lost, the author assures us that it dates to a time before the Social Wars and refers to the original status of the city. Second, he observes that the Latin colony of Spoletium was founded the same year as Falerii Novi and that Latin colonies were typically founded in pairs.[475] Finally, he looks to

[473]In the *Suida*, the Faliscans are discussed in the context of ἁρμοστής and στάθμη (see Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 104-106).

[474]Di Stefano Manzella elaborates on this theory suggesting that city originated as a Latin colony that was dominated by local families who were pro-Roman (1990, 341-368).

[475]As well, after 89 Spoletium would be placed in the Horatia tribe along with Falerii Novi. The theory of Salmon, that Spoletium and Falerii Novi were conceived as a pair to serve similar functions, would also imply that the latter was a colony, even if the author does not explicitly say as much.

the urban aspect of the city and notes that it served that same role as the colonies at Nepet and Sutrium in the larger programme of Romanisation in the region.[476]

Most scholars disagree with the interpretation of Di Stefano Manzella, observing that Galienus, whose wife heralded from Falerii Novi, first granted the city colonial status at a time when the title of colony represented an acquired status and had no bearing on the foundational circumstances of a city (*Lib.Colon*. 217.5-6).[477] Salmon notes that, even at this time, the city maintained its *quattuorviri* instead of switching to the *duoviri* that were more appropriate for the city's new rank of *colonia* (Polyb. 1.65, Livy. *Epit*. 19, Zonar. 8.18, Eutrop. 2.28, Oros. 4.2).[478]

As for the original status of the city, Salmon observes that in 343 BC, Falerii Veteres traded in its treaty with Rome for a permanent alliance and suggests that Falerii Novi was also considered an ally even if it did nor carry any official rank.[479] Alternatively, he also entertains the possibility that the city was earmarked as a *municipium sine suffragio* from the outset, observing that the city had a Senate and quaestors and not the typical *marones* and aediles of the early days (Livy 22.1, 2, Plut. *Fab.Max*. 2, Oros. 4.15.1, *ILLRP* 47, 238, 582).[480] Later, however, he rejects this hypothesis, observing that prodigies were reported at Falerii Novi during the Second Punic War.[481] He adds that there is no hard evidence that

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[476]Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 104-106.

[477]According to Garnsey and Saller, during the empire the term colonia "became an honorific title conferred by a special grant, linking a city in its title with an emperor but carrying no substantive privileges" (1987, 27). Nevett and Perkins believe that this new status represented something close to *municipium* in status (2000, 215).

[478]Salmon 1982, 180. Clearly the author does not recognize the missing inscription of Di Stefano Manzella that suggests the city had already featured *duoviri* prior to the Social War.

[479]Salmon 1982: 66-67, 172-174. Munzi suggests that the same situation occurred years earlier during the conquest and resettling of Volsinii at Bolsena, which originated as *foederata*, not a colony. Here, Munzi provides a number of useful sources on the matter (2001, 49).

[480]Salmon 1982, 173. He also mentions that while the use of such titles as Senate, quaestor, or praetor may imply the presence of a Roman constitution, it is also possible that Falerii Novi was one of the many communities in Italy during the Republic to adopt Roman political terminology independent of Roman interference. This practice, according to Salmon, was common in the second century, even in Samnium (Salmon 1982, 174).

[481]Roman magistrates were not supposed to expiate portents reported from non-Roman soil, but Livy reports that they still did so in times of great need, especially during the Second Punic War (43.13.6). Furthermore, Salmon proposes that prodigies may have been observed on Faliscan territory that had been seized

Rome ever granted Falerii Novi partial citizenship and, consequently, there is no reason to believe that an exception was made to the policy of 268 that no new Italian communities be incorporated as *municipia*. Salmon agrees with Di Stefano Manzella, however, that Falerii Novi eventually acquired *municipium* status after the Social War (Livy 7.38.1), primarily because it was administered by *quattuorviri* and was admitted into the Horatia tribe after 90.[482]

Potter agrees with Salmon that Falerii Novi was originally an independent ally, but he believes that the city was officially granted *foederata* status. To support this claim, Potter offers his own interpretation of the Faliscan inscriptions referring to a praetor (*CIE* 8340; 8343).[483] Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins also accept that Falerii Novi maintained the allied status of its predecessor. They admit that the creation of a new administrative centre on allied territory, completely at the behest of Rome, is unusual. They also note, however, that the treaties granted to recently conquered states, even those granted ally status, were often severe and featured clauses involving the destruction of fortified centres (Livy 26.16.7-10, App. *Iber*. 43-44). The authors also believe that the creation of the new city was essential and served generally to clean up the "anarchic society of small strongholds and armed retainers."[484]

Once again, the current state of evidence will not allow adequate closure on this issue.[485] One important observation that emerges from this discussion is that the perceived status and role of Falerii Novi in Roman Italy is dependant upon each scholar's understanding of the Romanisation process. It is necessary, therefore, to take a moment and consider each side of this larger debate more clearly, discussing in particular the effects that Romanisation had on the urban form.

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by Rome, but still referred to as Falerii. He also admits, however, that prodigies do not serve as real evidence (1982, 174).

[482]Salmon 1982, 174.

[483]Potter 1991, 199.

[484]Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 162.

[485]The inability of the modern scholar to classify Falerii Novi is best witnessed in Potter's description of the city, which he defines as an "independent symbol of *Romanitas*" (1979, 99). Thus, despite proposing a number of possibilities regarding the status of the city, the author is compelled to reject them all in favour of his own overly vague title that acknowledges a strong yet unspecified relationship with Rome.

D) Urbanisation and Romanisation

Even the most cursory survey of the archaeological evidence from around the Mediterranean reveals that Roman cities separated by large geographical distances often contained identical or nearly identical urban components in an arrangement that can be considered typically Roman.[486] Vitruvius states that the majesty of the Roman Empire was expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings (*de arch*. 1.*pref*.2). Likewise, the emergence of common urban elements in spatially distinct territories is often equated to the spread of Roman culture and referred to as *Romanisation*.[487] Sommella states that "tra gli aspetti più qualificanti della progressiva romanizzazione dell'Italia…è da porsi il processo di urbanizzazione."[488] Thus, the concept of Romanisation has inspired the philosophy that attempts to connect the physical elements of Roman cities with the overall socio-political motivations that created them.[489]

Collectively these studies may be grouped into two general categories based on each particular author's views on the imperial practices of the Roman regime.[490] Those of the first

[486]Nevett and Perkins warn of the dangers in such an approach, however, noting regional variations in urban form, as well as differences that stem from varying geography and political situations. On the whole, they believe that generalisations may be more difficult to make than some scholars are willing to admit (2000, 216).

[487]The idea of Romanisation, its affiliation with urbanism notwithstanding, has been part of the scholarly record for many years. Groundbreaking studies on the topic were published by Toynbee (1965) and Harris (1971). The fundamentals of each of these seminal works will be discussed briefly later in this chapter. For recent studies on the Romanisation of particular regions, see Potter 1979, Carandini 1985, Perkins 1999, Torelli 1999c, Munzi 2001, Curti 2001, and Terrenato 2001. Merryweather and Prag (2002, 8-10) provide the most recent and all-encompassing work on the subject, complete with fully annotated references.

[488]Sommella 1988, 17.

[489]An example of this perceived link between Romanisation and the urban landscape can be seen in Sommella's reference to the Roman expansion and renovation of the Volscian city of Sora as the *Romanisation* of the city (1988, 46. Cf. pp. 17-31). Carandini, meanwhile, links Romanisation to the presence of villas in the area around Vulci, extending this relationship beyond the purely urban domain and into the architecturally significant rural hinterland (Carandini 1985). For a more recent look at the relationship between Romanisation and urbanisation, see the collection of works edited by Fentress (2000). Cf. Ward Perkins 1974, 8-10, Carandini and Settis 1979, Millett 1990, 69-103, and Attolini and Perkins 1992. We must also note that urban development is not the only recognised indicator of Romanisation within modern scholarship. For example, Benelli attempts to link Romanisation to the spread of a common language throughout the peninsula by means of the epigraphic record. Within this study, however, he uses such terms as "vague," "varied," and "ambiguous" to describe the evidence used to distinguish the process of Romanisation (2001, 7), perhaps inadvertently providing a justification for the fixation on more substantial and highly visible architectural remains as cultural indicators.

[490]This statement, of course, is a generalisation as many modern investigators accept that a single city often served multiple functions. Instead, it may be better to think of these categories as representing each

group interpret the Roman city primarily as a symbol of military authority and a means of exercising political control over recently conquered regions.[491] This sentiment is echoed throughout the ancient historical record and is expressed most clearly by Appian who states that῾Ρωμαῖοι τὴν Ιταλίαν πολέμῳ κατὰ μέρη χειρούμενοι γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνῴκιζον ἢ ἐς τὰς πρότερον οὔσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον (*B.C.* 1.1.7).[492] According to this philosophy, the colonies of Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Narnia, and Venusia were all founded either to impede, surround, or divide the Samnite tribes south and east of Rome.[493] Cosa and Paestum, meanwhile, guarded the coast to the far north and south of Rome and served as sentinels among the Etruscans and Lucanians, both recent enemies. In these instances, the primary function of Roman cities was to pacify and supervise hostile or recently hostile areas and to act as military outposts along the ever-expanding Roman frontier. In fact, the very act of colonisation may be seen as a means of increasing Roman military strength as it provided land to the landless, thus making them eligible for military

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author's opinion on the most prominent motives behind the foundation of cities throughout the Roman world. Nevertheless, Càssola agrees that most scholars adhere to either a military or social motivation for Romanisation (1986, 15).

[491]This philosophy is based heavily on Toynbee's seminal work, *Hannibal's Legacy* (1965. For a re-evaluation of Toynbee's work, see Curti 2001) and is epitomised most clearly by Cornell. In his description of the actions taken be Rome between 338 and the revolt of Falerii in 241, he states that, on the whole, "[Rome's] institutions were military in character and function and its culture was pervaded by a warlike ethos" (1995, 365). Salmon takes a milder approach claiming that while colonisation is not synonymous with imperialism, it played a significant part in it (Salmon 1969, 13). Woolf (1997), meanwhile, downplays the image of a dictatorial Rome and instead proposes that Rome was much more open to negotiation and debate when dealing with other cultures throughout the peninsula. In the end, however, Woolf's conclusions maintain the overall image of a militant Rome and, in the words of Curti, "the imposition of political rule by one people [Rome] over another" (2001, 25). Cf. Salmon 1982 (esp. p. 15), Stambaugh 1988, 244-247, Sommella 1988, 22-23, Wheeler 1996, 40-44, and Nevett and Perkins 2000, 215-217.

[492]Here Appian is referring to the time of the Civil Wars, but his statement is reminiscent of a claim made by Dionysius that Romulus seized one third of the land of conquered enemies and deducted colonies on it (2.50.1-2). Likewise, cities that chose to surrender were spontaneously converted into colonies (2.36.2). This same general atmosphere is repeated for all subsequent kings of early Rome. Thus, by many ancient accounts, the act of colonisation was the next logical step following the conquest of an enemy city. Càssola warns, however, that many of the early accounts of the destruction of cities closest to Rome and the reoccupation of their territories emerged after the destruction of Fidenae in 426 and Veii in 396. Thus, the historical accounts may have been fabricated, or at the very least exaggerated to justify the occupation of these territories. In reality, the author states that many examples exist of locals and Romans living together peacefully (1986, 5). Dionysius relates the episode of the foundation of Circeii by Tarquinius Superbus, a colony in which the Romans and local Latins were united in a singular community with laws common to all (8.14.1). The situation varied, however, from colony to colony.

[493]This claim is made by Gros and Torelli (1988, 59) but the idea is common throughout modern scholarship.

service.[494] In the end, the city transcends its physical form and becomes the embodiment of Roman military and political authority.[495]

Proponents of the second group insist that the city served more as a vehicle by which Rome could spread her culture to the uncivilised communities of the surrounding countryside and beyond.[496] In many cases, this new cultural dynamic carried with it aspects of trade and commerce as new communities became market centres and communal meeting places in the midst of larger rural communities.[497] Disciples of this socio-economic philosophy also see the spread of the Roman villa and its association with the concept of latifundia as strong evidence of the Romanisation of rural economies. The most noted example of this process can be seen in the *Ager Cosanus*, the hinterland area around the Latin colony Cosa, founded in 273 (Figure 3.9). Evidence here suggests that the presence of the new urban centre, and others like it in the surrounding area, caused great disturbances in the local economy, settlement patterns, and social institutions in southern and central Etruria as the local traditions and culture unravelled. Eventually, the area was reborn in a new Roman image as

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[494]Càssola considers the reality of this claim believing that, until the time of the Gracchi, Roman colonies were not designed to resettle the poor, but instead to establish merchants and small farmers for the spread of the Roman economy. In fact, he claims that re-establishment of the poor may represent one of three purposes of Roman colonisation, one that does not become predominant until the late Republic (1986, 7-14, 15-17). Even at this later date, Càssola sees the military aspect as a side effect of the true purpose of Roman colonisation, which was introduced more as a means of curbing the ever increasing population growth in Rome. According to the author, the population of Rome, despite the efforts of colonisation, increased from 375, 000 to 750, 000 between the time of the Gracchi and that of Augustus (1986, 9). This theory is opposed by Scheidel, who witnesses a population drain in Rome during this same period. For this debate and many others concerning the demography of Italy, see Scheidel 2001.

[495]Nevett and Perkins discuss this function of the Roman city in an attempt to provide meaning behind the physical urban environment (2000, 214-215). As we may now observe, this conclusion is hardly groundbreaking.

[496]This second group evolved out of the work of W. V. Harris, whose *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (1971) represents the first significant challenge to the conclusions of Toynbee. According to Harris, Rome made greater use of strategy, alliances with nobles, and internal politics than Toynbee allows. Based on this conclusion, such Roman endeavours as road systems, citizenship grants, and economic advancement may have served the purpose of appeasing local communities more than dominating them politically and martially. Torelli, although recognising the imperialistic advantages of colonisation (Gros and Torelli 1988, 126-134), rejects the purely militaristic approach of other scholars (p. 20). As we witnessed last chapter, the author believes that colonies were not only transmitters of Roman culture, but were ideological mirrors of Rome herself.

[497]Once again, see Càssola 1986, 14, 15-17. This observation applies more directly to viritane settlements, but regular Latin colonies often contained facilities for commerce as well. For example, consider the macellum complex at Alba Fucens, although it may not have been an original component of the colony. Nevertheless, we might also add that Alba Fucens was granted the right to mint its own currency.

small farms were replaced by large Roman villas stationed like satellites around the primary urban centre. The local economy, meanwhile, shifted from one of autonomous subsistence to intensive industrial production.[498]

Scholars from the first group do not deny the cultural benefits of Roman foundations around the peninsula. As Càssola states, "alcuni studiosi moderni ritengono che le colonie fossero fondate sopratutto a fini strategici, e che le eventuali conseguenze positive della colonizzazione per l'economia e società fossero ignorate, o considerate accessorie dalla classe dirigente."[499] Similarly, many proponents of the cultural motives behind colonisation also recognise the process of Romanisation as a means of civilising and pacifying areas for the purpose of facilitating their later absorption into the Roman political sphere.[500] Still others see a shift in meaning, suggesting that early Roman colonies may have served a strong military or administrative purpose, while later foundations, those deducted after the peninsula was more secure, served a civil function.[501]

Despite this polarity in opinion, we may observe generally that most scholars take a harsh view of Roman expansion during the mid-Republic and underscore the militant and domineering characteristics of Roman culture above all others. Based primarily on the existing historical tradition, the picture that emerges is one of an aggressive and imperialistic

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[498]The proponents of this theory are numerous. For a few examples, see Dyson 1978, 251-268, Carandini and Settis 1979, Potter 1979, Carandini 1985 (esp. pp. 106-107), Greene 1986, 106-108, Stambaugh 1988, 257-258, and Perkins 1999. Gros and Torelli see similar effects in Lucania and Apulia around the foundation of Paestum in 273 (1988, 59). The belief of many of these scholars, however, that this social template was universal throughout the peninsula is unfounded. In fact, Terrenato stresses the variable social and economic influences that Romanisation may have had on local communities. See Terrenato 1998 and 2001 for recent examples. Nevertheless, whether visually homogeneous or not, the social and economic impact of Romanisation on the various communities within the Italian peninsula cannot be denied.

[499]Càssola 1986, 14. Here, the author appears to be commenting on the views of Salmon (1969, 15). In reality, the views of Salmon are more in line with this mixed philosophy than Càssola suggests.

[500]"I fini militari coesistessero con quelli economici e sociali" (Càssola 1986, 15). This idea may be partly based on a reference by Tacitus to the colony established at Camulodunum in the early Empire (*Ann*. 12.32).

[501]Sommella believes that Rome began colonising with a desire to expand and consolidate politically. Only in the later stages of the Republic did she recognise the financial boons associated with colonisation (17-32, esp. 24-26. Cf. Stambaugh 1988, 246). Càssola sees a shift as well, but this shift is from a purely economic priority to one of removing the excess proletariat from Rome (1986, 5). This reorganisation of the population, according to Càssola (1986, 15), represents the third reason behind colonisation, one that existed outside pure economic/social and martial priorities. As evidence, he looks to Livy (27.9.10-11) and Appian (*B.C.* 1.7.28). Cf. Salmon 1969, 15.

Rome that set about dominating the peninsula by means of conquest, confiscation, and colonisation. Furthermore, it is assumed that local communities in Italy were systematically stripped of their own cultural identity and ideologies. In return, they received Roman constitutions, religion, Latin language, and the constraints of Roman law. Consequently, modern accounts are filled with military metaphors implying that Roman expansion expressed a need for conquest.[502] Even scholars who take a softer view of Romanisation and adhere more to the idea of passive imperialism suggest that peaceful expansion served to prepare the various communities of Italy for their eventual absorption into the Roman sphere. Thus, the idea that Roman colonies, and all new urban settlements for that matter, served as conduits of assimilation and delegates of Rome's imperialistic nature is maintained.

According to Terrenato, the image of Rome as an aggressive, militant force marching throughout the peninsula and imposing her own culture on her neighbours represents "a traditional received wisdom" that may not necessarily represent the reality of the situation within Italy in the third century. Instead, Terrenato claims that "the Roman conquest [of Italy] wasn't about erasing regional differences, but building an overarching structure that allowed the communities to maintain their identity."[503] Few scholars, however, choose to explore this alternative scenario.

Curti explains that the unswerving allegiance to the traditional model of Roman expansion can be attributed to the groundbreaking work of Toynbee which still dominates our way of thinking, or as Curti puts it, "colours our interpretation."[504] The author elaborates, saying that most scholars agree that the defeat of Hannibal was a turning point in the Romanisation of Italy. From the third century, the Senate dedicated itself to reorganising the peninsula in an attempt to promote unity and above all, to stop revolts. As a result, we

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[502]One of the most representative examples of the traditional model of Roman expansion is Tenney Frank's *Roman imperialism* (2003, originally published in 1914). For a more recent example, see Cornell's characterisation of Rome as the conquering hero (1995, 159-172).

[503]Terrenato in Zwingle 2005, 76. Nevett and Perkins agree with this sentiment stating that Roman styles may well be visible in new cities established throughout the Romanised world, but that these examples do not offer any definitive proof of one culture replacing another. Instead, they suggest that the appearance of cities like Falerii Novi is indicative of the participation of target communities in Roman social institutions and politics. In fact, the authors define Romanisation as a whole as the relationship between local indigenous communities and Rome and not the replacement of one by the other (2000, 240-241).

[504]Curti 2001, 23. Cf. n. 491 above.

observe an intense period of colonisation and road building. Following the defeat of Hannibal, citizen colonies replaced Latin ones, increasing Rome's manpower and military presence. It was also during the third and second centuries that Rome became harsher in the treatment of her neighbours, particularly the Etruscans and Faliscans, as Rome took a more dominant stance in the region. Within this narrow perspective scholars see Rome as a purely military entity that controlled through violent subjugation and urbanisation.[505] Consequently the process of Romanisation represents little more than "the imposition of political rule by one people over others."[506]

This image of a dominant militant state has been extended to other ancient cultures. For example, the Macedonians under Philip II and Alexander have also been charged with bending the will of the local inhabitants through the establishment of cities that served as points of control and symbols of loyalty.[507] The connection that has emerged between Rome and Macedon is so strong, in fact, that it has prompted scholars such as Tomlinson to suggest that Rome modelled her own expansionist tendencies on Macedonian ones. In the author's opinion, Rome's universal success rested on the strength of her alliances. As was the case with Philip and Alexander, Rome united cities as independent entities for the purpose of more easily removing, or at least reducing, their freedom and individuality. Tomlinson adds that Rome added a series of colonies that were reminiscent of those founded by Macedonian kings. In addition, both the Romans and the Macedonians extended citizenship when it benefited them, rendered liberties unequally, and promoted local aristocracies when appropriate. The author notes that Julius Caesar was eventually assassinated for being too much like a Hellenistic monarch.[508] In the mind of Tomlinson, such a comparable historical model both supports and is supported by the interpretation of Romanisation as an ongoing process of conquest, confiscation, and colonisation.

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[505]Curti 2001, 18-20.

[506]Curti 2001, 25.

[507]Tomlinson 1992, 7-9.

[508]The author admits that there is no indication the Romans were aware of the actions of prior Hellenistic monarchs. He states simply that the Romans employed Hellenistic techniques of control and became the natural successors to the Great Hellenistic kingdoms (1992, 10-11). The idea that Romans were ignorant of the actions of the great Hellenistic kingdoms before them, however, seems ridiculous.

Torelli believes that the biggest problem with the traditional interpretation of Romanisation is that it focuses more on the terminal effects of the process and not the process itself.[509] In other words, scholars consider the appearance of cities and colonies alone and fail to recognise the specific circumstances that led to their foundation. This problem is compounded by an overall lack of archaeological material. As we have mentioned already, the mid-Republic may be considered a dark age of Roman archaeology.[510] Furthermore, Livy's account of the years 293 to 218 is missing. Given this lack of archaeological evidence and an incomplete historical record, any consideration of process as Torelli demands would be challenging. It is not, however, impossible.

Terrenato elaborates. He considers the tangible impacts of Romanisation on the cities of Luni, Pisa, and Volaterrae using four different criteria: art and architecture, town planning, artistic production, and settlement patterns.[511] Generally, Terrenato observes that the visible impact of Romanisation varied depending on the criteria considered. For example, all three sites demonstrated a marked increase in artistic production under Roman control. Likewise, the monumental stature of each city was elevated through the insertion of Roman theatres, porticoes, bath complexes, and a wide spectrum of public amenities. At Luni, however, we notice that Roman influence resulted in the establishment of an orthogonal layout from the outset. Volaterrae, conversely, maintained its traditional, irregular appearance throughout its entire history. Thus, Luni, Pisa, and Volaterrae all demonstrated significant change, but the nature of this change varied for each specific criterion. As a result, such indices in and of themselves are not valuable in the overall interpretation of Romanisation as they do not embody the same processes in each case.

When considered together, however, these elements paint a more complete and accurate picture of the circumstances surrounding the larger process of Romanisation at each city. Terrenato notes that Volaterrae shows a strong degree of continuity among the local inhabitants, while at Luni, the original Ligurian element is almost invisible as foreign elements were much more pronounced. Pisa falls in the middle with only mild traces of

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[509]Torelli 1999c, 89.

[510]Salmon refers to this period as a "black hole" (1982, 2). Cf. Gros and Torelli 1988, 56-59. This situation becomes more difficult when we consider that Pompeii, the city that Torelli considers to be the most prototypical of this period, has become problematic in terms of its earliest phases. See Chapter 1, n. 154 above.

[511]For the complete study, see Terrenato 2001.

Etruscan clans but equally small evidence of Roman occupation. According to the ideas sent forth by Terrenato, the reasons for this disparity are based upon elite continuity. At Volaterrae, the native classes negotiated their induction into the Roman state, and possibly even had representation in the senate. As a result, they could protect their own interests and promote stability, land tenure, social order, and ideological systems. At Pisa, the elites were less effective. The site endured capture and retaking by the Etruscans, Ligurians, and Romans. As a result, the preservation of any local traditions was almost impossible. New families emerged, leading to new trades and skills and new social orders. At Luni, the Ligurians had a much different relationship with Rome. The city sat at a strategic location in that it controlled a Tyrrhenian naval base that Rome sought to exploit. Consequently, the elites there were primarily of external origin and had little to do with the pre-Roman city.[512]

Another important observation emerges from this discussion. Based on the evidence provided so far, we may conclude that there is no single overarching model that can be applied universally for the process of Romanisation, even within a single region. Cities appear at different places at different times and presumably as a result of different priorities. Nevertheless, we may still draw out some commonalities from this discussion. First, Roman expansion featured the establishment of cities. We are not wrong in suggesting that Romanisation and Roman urban expansion were parallel processes. This is not a surprising observation given our very first observation in this investigation, that Rome was an urban culture and that the full scope of her history can be boiled down to the history of her cities.

Second, we may also observe that Roman cities served to consolidate and administer newly occupied territories. It is on this point that the model varies. Some areas required a complete assimilation of the local community into a Roman system. In these instances, cities were installed to serve as new political foci and also as defensive outposts to ward off potential revolts against Roman occupation. In addition, in such instances, entire settlement patterns were shifted to reflect a more Roman hierarchy while older surviving cities were renovated into a more Roman style.

On other occasions, the appearance of Romanisation was slight and its impact minimal. In these instances, we may observe a more peaceful relationship between the locals

[512]Terrenato 2001, 60-61.

and Rome. As a result, there was no need for such sweeping changes nor to dismantle the community. Instead, Rome occupied the area without changing it substantially. Settlement patterns remained constant while the Roman presence merely supplemented them. In addition, older urban foci remained intact without any major Romanising tendencies, unless of course, it was at the behest of the local community. In such instances, Rome was still present in the form of her colonies and rural settlements and she was still administering territories, but in a less direct way, by promoting herself in urban form to the local community as a reminder of her dominant position.

E) Falerii Novi and the South Etruria Survey

At present, we are attempting to better understand the circumstances surrounding the destruction of Falerii Veteres and the role of its successor, Falerii Novi, in Roman Italy during the mid-Republic. In the first chapter, we considered the appearance of Falerii Novi throughout its various phases, at least as far as the available evidence will allow us. In Chapter 2, we reconsidered the urban horizon at Falerii Novi in light of the larger Roman urban process that was ongoing in the mid-Republic in the hopes of identifying the city's place in the larger urban atmosphere in which it was conceived. In both chapters, however, we focused on the appearance of the city. As the study of Terrenato has shown us, such evidence on its own does not provide sufficient evidence for us to make a definitive statement on the nature of the relationship between Rome and the Faliscans in the third century. Instead, as Torelli observes, we are only witnessing the terminal effects of Romanisation and not the nature of the process itself.

More specifically, we require an approach that allows us to better witness the nature of the Romanisation process throughout the region of the Faliscans and possibly southern Etruria as a whole. Unfortunately, as Perkins notes, most studies dealing with Etruria, and by extension Faliscan territory, concern themselves with particular Etruscan cities, temples, or cemeteries. In other words, they focus on differences and irregularities in the local culture and not the similarities that might result in a more representative and all-encompassing evolutionary model for the region. This traditional approach relegates the history of the

vicinity to a "history of individual city states interacting with one another and the city of Rome" with no consideration of the rural hinterland nor larger urban processes.[513]

Fortunately, data acquired from intensive surveys throughout the region have helped scholars to better understand the nature of occupation in the rural areas throughout Etruria and Faliscan territory. In addition, they have furthered our understanding of the urbanisation process in general in that they concern themselves with the chronological sequence of urban development rather than the static appearance of any one urban centre.[514] Finally, extensive regional surveys offer insight into the hierarchy of settlements that dominated the area and the role that cities played in the overall social and political system. As Barker and Rasmussen assert, survey projects have produced the most important results in the modern history of research on the Etruscans.[515] Furthermore, Terrenato uses settlement patterns as one of his interpretive indices in interpreting the Romanisation process of Volaterrae, Luni, and Pisa.

Millett also stresses the relationship between urban centres and the surrounding rural territory in which they are established.[516] According to the author, only recently have rural settlement patterns, particularly with respect to their relationship with major urban centres, become a priority in modern scholarship. He states that "social, economic and political systems are dynamic, whilst archaeological materials…are static."[517] Thus, the town and its territory had a symbiotic relationship. Likewise, we need data that reflect the larger systems at work within the *Ager Faliscus* if we are to understand the processes involved in the formation of Falerii Novi. Included in these data are the proximity and density of villas and farmsteads, evidence of land use, and the proximity of neighbouring villages. Thus, regional

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[513]Perkins seems to focus his criticism on Pallotino's *The Etruscans* (1975), which he sees as being representative of this more traditional approach.

[514]The relationship is quite simple. Survey work provides the framework for the culture while archaeology enhances the general picture. This idea is stressed also by Potter (1979, 7-8), who published the results from the South Etruria Survey, a pioneering work of the field.

[515]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 144. Terrenato provides a summary of the major surveys to be undertaken in and around the area of Etruria (1996a). Perkins adds to this list a number more recent surveys, although not of these deal specifically with the Etruscans (1999, 2).

[516]Millett 1991, 169-189. See in particular his bibliography on pp. 187-189.

[517]Millett 1991, 170.

surveys are particularly relevant in our understanding of the urban development of our study period.

Fortunately, a large portion of the survey work in Italy has been undertaken in the region of Etruria and a few peripheral areas in Umbria and Sabine territory. These intensive regional surveys were innovative to the study of the Etruscans because they were designed to provide meaning to larger settlement patterns and urban processes.[518] The data from these surveys, meanwhile, cover the entire history of occupation of each survey area from Prehistoric to late Empire and beyond. Thus they are invaluable in the recognition of the urban process for the mid-Republic, a period for which our evidence is so sorely lacking. The South Etruria Survey is particularly relevant because it comments on the general region in which Falerii Novi was founded. Thus, our understanding of the principles of Roman urban expansion in Faliscan territory and the surrounding area may help us to better identify the atmosphere in which the new Faliscan centre itself was founded.

Initially, the data retrieved from the South Etruria Survey seems to support the traditional model of Romanisation. Potter states that "the Roman conquest of south Etruria brought about a major hiatus in the history of the region, which entailed many and far reaching changes."[519] In the *Ager Veientanus*, Fidenae falls between 435 and 416, Veii in 396, Capena in 395, Nepet and Sutrium between 390 and 373, and finally, Falerii and the territory of the Faliscans in 241. Thus it seems that from the late fifth century onward, Rome was beginning to exert strong military pressure on the survey region. Supporting archaeological evidence takes the form of pottery which begins to demonstrate a noticeable change from 430 to 380.[520] More revealing, however, is the evidence of settlement patterns within the region.

In the fifth century, just prior to Roman expansion, there is a marked increase in the number of sites in the *Ager Veientanus* particularly among the rural population, as even the most marginal scraps were occupied and being exploited for cultivation. Trade, was also on

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[518]Donati states that rural microsystem analysis has long been missing from the study of the Etruscans (2000, 313).

[519]Potter 1979, 93.

[520]Potter 1979, 87-89. In addition, the author informs us that the graffiti scratched into vessels has revealed only a single example of Latin influence just prior to 400 BC.

an upswing while there was a noticeable increase in monumental architecture. This growth also reveals a certain amount of tension as many sites begin to cluster around main settlements or in areas that were removed from major highways, especially within the *Ager Faliscus*. In addition, a number of larger, but less defensible sites were abandoned. Instead, settlements were huddled around the rocky knoll at Sutrium, which was strategically placed between Monti Sabatini and Monti Cimini on a natural route leading into central Etruria.[521] We may also witness an increase in city wall construction at Sutrium, as well as at Capena, Falerii Veteres, Narce, Nepet, Veii, and virtually every Etruscan and Faliscan centre of significance in the region.[522] As Potter states "we should probably interpret the mural defences of other settlements in South Etruria…as an equal reflection of the political struggles of the period."[523]

As the Romans expanded into Etruria, many Etruscan and Faliscan cities suffered decline or were replaced by new centres. The inhabitants of older nucleated sites dispersed into the countryside as the marked increase in rural settlements seems to indicate. Potter interprets this action as a concerted attempt to decentralize the area and to remove any political foci that could have offered resistance. New Roman foci were inserted and linked with paved highways to offer better communication between them.[524] Falerii Novi, founded as it was on the Via Amerina, typified this new attitude. The disruption in city life was not permanent, however, as many sites were only temporarily abandoned, as was the case at Veii. Nepet and Sutrium, meanwhile, given their strategic locations, became *municipia*, then *colonia* of Rome.

The countryside suffered less than cities. Ward-Perkins states that two out of three farms survived after the fall of Veii, while in some areas the percentage was higher than 70 percent.[525] This population was later supplemented by new settlers. Potter states that "during

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[521]Potter 1979, 89.

[522]For a full list of sites in the region to erect city walls and a description of the construction types used, see Potter 1979, 90-92.

[523]Potter 1979, 92.

[524]For a more detailed examination of the highways in the region, see Potter 1979, 101-109.

[525]Ward-Perkins 1968, 145.

the 350 years that followed the Roman conquest there was a steady influx of new farmers, who eventually brought into cultivation even the most marginal land."[526]

According to Potter, Rome became more ruthless in the third century. The destruction of Falerii Veteres in 241 characterises this new attitude towards conquered people, particularly in the fact that the Romans redistributed the population.[527] Rural sites in the Faliscan region in particular show a massive hiatus or total abandonment.[528] Those that were maintained were clustered around the Roman colony at Nepet. Eventually new farms were added resulting in a reoccupation of the hinterland.[529] Sites fall into three categories. At the lowest level were small huts and temporary buildings used by shepherds for transhumance. Next came small farms, which were the most common form of settlement, particularly in the *Ager Faliscus*. At the top of this hierarchy were large Roman villas. The presence of villas was quite pronounced in that they made up over 20 percent of the sites in the *Ager Faliscus* at this time. They were also common in Campania and in the area around Sutrium. Thus, we may observe a mix of local farmers and Roman elites. Potter notes, however, that there is no evidence for the great slave-run villas and latifundia witnessed by Tiberius Gracchus as he journeyed through Etruria (Plut. *Tib.Grac*. 8). This new settlement pattern carried on until AD 100 at which time land use reached its peak.[530]

Finally, roadwork continued as did the development of wayside stations and larger commercial and industrial towns. A new unifying cult sequence also emerged as indicated by the festival at Lucus Feroniae which was attended by Sabines, Etruscans, Latins, and Faliscans equally (Strabo 5.2.9, Livy 1.30).

Thus, evidence from the South Etruria Survey suggests that Etruscan and Faliscan settlements peaked in the fifth century, but began to show evidence of tension from the

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[526]Potter 1979, 96. Cf. Livy 6.4.4 who talks of new land grants in the area. Duncan's survey (1958), conversely, suggests that not all of the land was occupied at any one time. Duncan does not disagree, however, that the Romans opened up the countryside to an unprecedented degree.

[527]Here, Potter appears to accept the claim by Zonaras (8.18) regarding the forced emigration of the urban population of Falerii Veteres.

[528]Potter observes that 80 percent of sites were abandoned and of these only 50 percent were reoccupied.

[529]For a detailed look the evolution of the rural hinterland at this time, see Potter 1979, 120-136.

[530]For Potter's conclusions, see 1979, 133-136.

pressure applied by the Romans and their own exploitation of the land. Throughout the fourth and third centuries, major centres fell and were replaced by Roman colonies which served as new social and political focal points. The rural community persevered until the third century, at which time we see depopulation, or at least a reorganisation of the countryside. In the second century, a new hierarchy of rural settlements emerged, which was more in the Roman mould with large villas at the head. In short, we see a gradual disintegration of Etruscan and Faliscan settlement patterns and the insertion of a new Roman system.

The data from this survey would seem to contradict our working hypothesis that Falerii Novi was a product of cooperation and symbolised the maintenance of Faliscan cultural identity. They suggest that Falerii Novi was a part of a purely Roman enterprise designed to subjugate and transform the region according to new Roman precepts. This traditional model of Roman expansion emerges in other areas throughout Etruria.

Within the *Ager Cosanus*, Etruscan occupation reached its peak in the fifth century just prior to Roman expansion as a sustainable population was achieved. In the fourth century, the region experienced a decline in the number of sites with little evidence for new foundations. In the third century, the impact of Roman expansion was more dramatic. Rusellae was destroyed violently in 294, while Volsinii and Vulci fell in 281/280. In the Albegna valley itself, Perkins suggests that Doganella and many other urban centres such as Saturnia and Ghiaccoforte were also destroyed between 294 and 280. In 280, meanwhile, Saturnia and Statonia became Roman *praefecturae* while Cosa was founded in 273. Again, old foci were replaced by new ones. Furthermore, small rural sites were abandoned although a few new scattered settlements did appear at this time.[531]

In the second century, a new settlement pattern emerged with a slightly less complex hierarchy. There was a massive increase in rural settlements clustered around the Roman colonial sites of Cosa, Saturnia, and Heba. In particular, Cosa displayed a new agricultural system while Roman settlements, especially villas, were inserted along the Via Aurelia. In fact, the villa and the birth of latifundia became standard features in the Romanised hinterland of the *Ager Cosanus*. The excavation of Settefinestre, a large villa site in the

[531]For a summary of the settlement history of the survey area, see Perkins 1999, 26-39. For population estimates for these periods, see pp. 165-170.

region, seems to confirm this conclusion.[532] Again we may observe that the Romans interrupted the traditional Etruscan system and replaced it with their own settlement model.[533]

Thus, a definitive pattern emerges among both surveys that both substantiates and is supported by the traditional model of Romanisation. Perkins sees this pattern of Romanisation as the standard for all of Etruria, including the area of the Faliscans, and all others to be variants.[534] Likewise, subsequent scholars have accepted this model without question as being relevant for Etruria as a whole. Steingräber's population statistics for the major urban centres of Etruria seem to justify this broad application. More specifically, the author sees an overall peak in Etruscan population in the fifth century, followed by a decline, which occurred as a result of a mass emigration into Campania or north into the Po Valley. This emigration ended in Campania in the fifth century and in the Po Valley during the fourth century. Some revitalisation occurred in the Etruscan heartland in the fourth century, but clashes with Rome dropped the population once again. Only after Roman assimilation did the settlement of Etruria fully recovery.[535] Despite his support of this model, however, Perkins acknowledges that regional variations should be explored.[536]

Rasmussen was one of the first to demonstrate regional disparity in Etruscan settlement patterns in his own survey, conducted in the area surrounding the central Etruscan city of Tuscania.[537] Rasmussen attempted to study the emergence of the city as a regional centre by considering its relationship with the rural hinterland and with neighbouring centres

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[532]For a full look at the site and the results of the excavation here, see Carandini and Settis 1979.

[533]For intersite relationships, see Perkins 1999, 55-64. For burials, see pp. 65-79. Case studies are offered on pp. 80-100.

[534]Perkins 1999, 166-171.

[535]Steingräber 2000, 293. This work of Steingräber is of particular interest because it embodies an ongoing movement to bring 'real people' into consideration and not merely faceless political systems and artistic periods. Subsequent advancements in prosopography, onomastics, cult evidence, and funerary remains have all contributed to this approach, as witnessed in Papi's consideration of the epigraphy from Falerii Novi and the surrounding region (2000).

[536]Perkins 1999, 192. Here the author is referring to the unusual absence of earlier Villanovan evidence from the area of *Ager Cosanus*, but this open ended statement does allow for the existence of other variations.

[537] Rasmussen 1991 (esp. 106-112), Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 268-273.

such as Vulci and Tarquinii. Based on the evidence from this study, Rasmussen concludes that the majority of farm sites in the area persisted from the Etruscan period to the late Republic and Early Empire.[538] The greatest period of prosperity here is from the third to the second century at a time when other survey areas demonstrate trauma. The surrounding cemeteries, also reach an apogee at this point suggesting that the older local aristocracy remained intact and retained possession of their property for some time.

Furthermore, the later Etruscan and Republican periods witnessed an increase in the size of settlements. Nevertheless, Rasmussen cannot conclude definitively that villas were present. He notes that size was not the only indicator of status, and that pottery and tile remains are hazardous as indicators since trends vary from region to region. As well, little in the way of luxury items was recovered from the survey area. In the end, he suggests that the majority of the larger Roman sites tended to be medium sized farms and not villas.[539] He concludes that while *latifundia* did indeed appear in Etruria, as was witnessed in the survey area of the *Ager Cosanus*, it was limited to south Etruria, and even there, large scale establishments were not common except on coastal plains. For all other areas the terrain was far too rugged.[540]

Thus, Rasmussen presents an alternate model that is characterised by great prosperity and continuity throughout the period of Roman expansion and not decline and assimilation. In addition, we see a continuity in the older Etruscan aristocracy, perhaps indicating a peaceful, and possibly even cooperative relationship with Rome. Terrenato added to this diversity by spearheading another intensive survey in northern Etruria. More specifically, he participated in the Cecina Valley Survey, undertaken in the area around Volaterrae. This project was launched in 1987 as an offshoot of the Volterra Project[541] and accompanied the excavation at the Etruscan centre. In addition, the excavations of small farmhouses at San

[538]See Rasmussen 1991, 109-112 for a summary of the results from each transect of the survey area.

[539]Rasmussen 1991, 112.

[540]Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 268-272.

[541]The project takes the modern name of ancient Volaterrae.

Mario and Podere Cosciano served to supplement the survey results here in the same way that Podere Tartuchino and Settefinestre did for the *Ager Cosanus*.[542]

According to the survey, small sites were first occupied in the Cecina valley during the fourth to third century.[543] Most of these early settlements took the form of small farms. Larger settlements were less frequent while villas, although present in the survey region, were restricted to the coastal plain. Farms and villages, meanwhile, were scattered throughout the area in various densities. In the late Republic and early Empire only slight variations occurred in this settlement pattern. There was a modest decline in the number of farms while a low number of new small sites replaced earlier ones. On the whole, the impact of Romanisation on the countryside around Volaterrae was minimal and virtually imperceptible on the interior. Later periods demonstrate an equally slow change right up until the later Roman period.[544]

The presence of villas in the survey area, a staple in the south, requires further explanation. First, the number of villas was minimal compared to the total number of settlements. As well, there is no evidence for a slave component. Instead, villas were introduced within the context of farms that pre-existed them by centuries. Terrenato adds that despite the presence of villas, farms remained autonomous, leading the author to suppose that many of the villa owners were Etruscan. This observation supposes that some noble Etruscan families maintained their pre-eminence after Roman contact, as was the case around Tuscania.[545]

We may conclude that very little disruption accompanied Romanisation in the Cecina Valley. Instead we witness a pattern of stability and sustainability in settlement patterns, architectural forms, and ecological indicators from 600 BC to AD 400. This sustainability was supported also by the excavations at San Mario[546] and Podere Cosciano. Thus an alternative model emerges for the north based on continuity of traditions and the maintenance

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[542]Terrenato 1998, 95. For the full summary of this effort, see Motta and Terrenato in preparation, 5-8.

[543]Terrenato admits that earlier periods may be underrepresented.

[544]Terrenato 1998, 97.

[545]Terrenato 1998, 99-102.

[546]See Motta and Terrenato in preparation, 9.

of local identity. More specifically, northern communities thrived due to their mixed economy. In fact, the Cecina Valley area is still wooded extensively with patches of vineyards and olive groves. Villas appeared, but none show any propensity for *latifundia*. Instead, they seem to have supplemented the existing agricultural system, as traditional mannerisms survived and thrived.[547] Terrenato admits that Roman architecture, cult, art, and Latin language, eventually appeared in northern Etruria, but this insertion was more likely a product of local elites adopting current fashions. In fact, Terrenato suggests that it was the relationship that existed between Rome and Etruscan nobles that allowed small farmers in the north to maintain their traditional mannerisms for eight centuries. Evidence from San Mario and Podere Cosciano suggests that a surplus of foreign luxury items occasionally reached the lower common levels. Nevertheless, the Etruscan character persevered because it was robust enough to safely absorb great macrohistorical changes.[548]

This model seems to be more in line with the conclusions reached by Benelli in his study on the impact of Romanisation on the epigraphic record. The author observes that in the early first century BC, most funerary texts, which he believes are most indicative of the language used by the common people, were still Etruscan. The transition to Latin in both funerary and general epigraphic texts begins a generation later, while only in the full Augustan period did Latin become the *lingua franca*.[549] According to this theory, it took three generations for the Etruscans to fully adopt the Latin language, although this model varied slightly from region to region.[550] Thus Benelli's work supports the model of Romanisation established by Terrenato in the same way that Steingräber's population statistics did for that of Potter and Perkins. Terrenato, however, does not reject the model that was established for southern Etruria, even if a few of the specific interpretations seem questionable. Instead, he challenges its universal application, stating that "admitting the

[547]Terrenato 2001, 61-64.

[548]Terrenato 1998, 109-112.

[549]Benelli 2001, 11.

[550]We may also argue that this evidence does not represent the moment of Romanisation, but rather the last moment of independence as the Etruscans surrendered the last remaining vestige of their older customs. Nevertheless, the variation from the traditional model is compelling.

existence of a multiplicity of individual trajectories from independence to integration may have groundbreaking implications."[551]

A few scholars have come around to this new way of thinking. Munzi notes, for example, that the situation of Romanisation was not homogeneous throughout Etruria. He notes that in some areas, particularly in the central and southern regions, Romanisation entailed a complete reorganisation of the political and social systems as well as administrative structure and settlement hierarchy. In other areas, however, especially in the north, Romanisation did not seriously affect the pre-existing socio-cultural organisation.[552] Steingräber also observes that during the period of Roman expansion and assimilation in the later Republic, the cities of northern Etruria flourished and were provided with major public works, roads, and buildings by the leaders of Rome and eventually the first Emperors.[553]

The significance of this alternate model lies in the fact that it offers definitive support for the model we have suggested for Falerii Novi and the Faliscans. More precisely, we suggested that the Faliscan elites worked together with Rome to create a new administration centre in the region. The new urban centre took on a distinctly Roman feel in its general make-up. Nevertheless, the Faliscans maintained their regional identity, as may be witnessed in the incorporation of the intramural streets and southern tombs in the urban fabric of the city. In this case, as in northern Etruria, the incorporation of Roman urban features was voluntary.

Despite the plausibility of this scenario and the support it receives from areas around Etruria, one significant difficulty still remains. In northern Etruria, this alternate model is witnessed in the survey data. In the region of the Faliscans, conversely, the survey data were more in line with those of southern Etruria as a whole and do not reveal any evidence for cooperation or negotiation on the part of the Romans.

Whereas no specific explanation comes to mind for this discrepancy, we may heed the warning of Terrenato who states that "recent works in various parts of Italy now strongly suggests the need to consider each area, almost each *civitas*, individually leaving aside for the

[551]Terrenato 1998, 112.

[552]Munzi 2001, 39. Compare the sequence of Romanisation offered by Munzi with that suggested by the historical record to see what effects this new way of thinking has had on the concept of Romanisation.

[553]Steingräber 2000, 291.

moment overarching models based on insufficient data."[554] Thus, we cannot take at face value a single model even within an individual region. Instead, we must recognise that variation can exist between urban centres in close proximity to each other. We also must remember the warning of Terrenato that survey data, or any category of evidence for that mater, cannot be used as a sole indicator in the interpretation of the Romanisation of a single city. Instead, we must be prepared to weigh the evidence gleaned from settlement patterns against the model we constructed in the previous chapters based on the urban layout and phasing of the city.

In support of our hypothesis, we will consider two cities as comparative case studies. In particular, we will look at the cities of Venusia and Paestum. In each example, we may observe a local community that demonstrated cooperation with Rome within a larger region that suffered conquest and assimilation. More importantly, we will demonstrate the effects of this cooperative spirit on the appearance of each urban centre.

F) Case Study Number One: The Latin Colony of Venusia

A number of colonies were founded in rapid succession in the fourth century following the dissolution of the Latin League. Torelli informs us that Luceria, founded in Daunia in 316, was the most significant of the early group, particularly with respect to the ideological meaning it carried.[555] According to mythology, the area of the Daunians was founded by Diomedes, the Greek hero who arrived in Italy following the Trojan War. The Daunians exploited the Diomedean saga for their own horse breeding and social system, which was based on a mounted aristocracy. Not surprisingly, the cult of Athena Ilias was also a staple in the region. Likewise, in the late fourth century, the myth of Diomedes was brought into Roman propaganda and was represented at Luceria in the form of a cult to Minerva. Here we witness an example of the Romans exploiting a specific foreign myth to justify their activity in the region. More specifically, they presented the Greek hero as a favourable symbol of Trojan-Latin expansion for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the local elites.

[554]Terrenato 1998, 94. Here the author presents a number of contrasting studies in Tyrrhenian regions such as South Etruria and Campania.

[555]For the location of Luceria, consult the map in Figure 3.1.

The Romans were successful in their urban endeavour in the region and the resulting colony of Luceria took on truly Latin or central Italian flavour.[556] The image of Diomedes spread to all Latin colonies in the area, including Brundisium, Venusia, Beneventum, Hatri, and Ariminum. Rome also successfully integrated the indigenous elites of Umbria and Samnium into Latin colonies through the exploitation of local memories.[557] Her greatest success was the colony of Venusia.

As Rome penetrated the southeast quadrant of the peninsula into Daunia, she founded the city of Venusia on the farthest spurs of the Apennines across the Apulian plain between Apulia and Lucania.[558] The city represented one of a series of strongholds, referred to by Sommella as "established benchmarks" in the penetration of the southeast quadrant of the peninsula. Luceria was the first, founded here in 316. Venusia, founded 25 years later near the end of the Samnite Wars, was one of the last, serving to consolidate Rome's hegemony of the Samnite territory.

Overall, the area had proven itself to be invaluable to Rome's consolidation of the peninsula. In particular, the Daunian *principes* in the area had helped resist the Samnites between Luceria and *Ferentum*. The colony of Venusia, therefore, may have been founded with the full support and cooperation of local elites and thus embodied the Roman spirit of negotiation. Support for this claim may be found in the name of the colony itself. In 295, just prior to the foundation of Venusia, the *aedes Veneris Obsequentis* shrine was added to the *Circus Maximus* of Rome and represents the first historic shrine dedicated to Venus. Thus, at the most basic level, the city shared a common patronage with a newly established cult in Rome. Likewise, the Greek Aphrodite was the patron of Diomedes. Thus, the specific choice of city name may have ingratiated the Romans with the locals all the more by providing common ground between them.

The Fabii in particular showed great interest in this corner of peninsula and the city Venusia. What is more, they held particular interest in the Greek hero Diomedes. Fabius Rullianus engaged in a number of successful campaigns in Apulia between 326 to 297 and

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[556]Torelli 1999c, 89.

[557]Torelli 1999d, 30-34.

[558]This area represents Augustus' Region II (Sommella 1988, 42). For a synoptic look at the city of Venusia, see Salmon 1969, 60-62, Sommella 1988, 42-44 and Torelli 1999c.

was concerned with maintaining the local Daunian clientele. Extensive Latin citizenship was granted here while use of *adtributio* was also common. In the end, the goddess Venus, mediated through the Greek hero Diomedes, was the common bond between the Apulians/Daunians and the *gentes Troianae* at Rome. In fact, both Venus of Venusia and Minerva of Luceria surrounded the Daunians. Consequently, *Syngeneia* could be invoked in times of need. Overall, Torelli describes the city as a stronghold where different cultures and ethnic groups were integrated and subject to stricter Roman control.[559] This integration may also help explain the unusually high number of colonists recorded at the site. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the colony originally consisted of some 20,000 colonists, a medium to high number for a contemporary administrative centre (Dion.Hal. 17, 18.5. Cf. Vell. 1.14.6). It is possible that a portion of that body consisted of indigenous peoples, particularly considering that the period of the city's foundation is equal to a period of general regional depopulation. A significant local component may also demonstrate a declining population in Rome at the end of the Samnite campaigns.

Our understanding of the city may be supplemented by its appearance. Unfortunately, as is the case for many cities from the mid-Republic, evidence for Venusia is sparse.[560] Most of our information concerns the city plan, which was orthogonal from the outset and bounded by a *pseudo-quadratum* wall (Figure 1.33). The limits of the urban plain corresponded with the broad interfluvial terrace that sloped gently from west to east with the primary hinterland spreading out to the west. The town was subdivided into three parallel strips formed by two long axial streets running from the *zona di castello* to the area of the S.S. Trinita. Of these, Torelli identifies the urban stretch of the Via Appia as the primary central axis.[561] Cross streets intersect these longitudinal streets at regular intervals forming *insulae* of 52 by 105 metres laid out in a *per strigas* arrangement.[562] The surface of the original roadway was discovered through excavation and appears to have been paved and repaved on numerous

[559]For more on the connections between Venusia, the Daunians, and Rome, see Torelli 1999c.

[560]We are in debt to Sommella (1988, 42-44) for our understanding of the city plan at Venusia. Torelli also credits Sommella for our knowledge of colony (Gros and Torelli 1988, 139). Cf. Salmon 1969, 60-62 and Torelli 1999c.

[561]Gros and Torelli 1988, 139.

[562]This designation is based upon our interpretation of the longitudinal streets as *cardines* or *decumani*.

occasions from its outset, throughout the Republic and beyond. Later paving from the early medieval period, which attempted to make way for later churches, destroyed much subsequent evidence.

The original forum may have been located in the centre of the urban area, but the only surviving structures include a second century AD bath complex and an amphitheatre dating to the Julio-Claudian period. To adhere to the current system, two *insulae* had to be merged to make room for the amphitheatre. Also, the area of the original *castellum* became a *castellum aquae* in the imperial period, which initiated a stage of extra-urban zoning in the west along the primary street axis. Here we find funerary remains associated with Republican Appia.

Based on the available data, we may conclude that Venusia, and we may add to this list Carseoli in 298 and Hatri in 289, take on a more international feel. All three city plans lacked a cruciform arrangement but instead featured the replication of regular, equal *insulae* in a *per strigas* arrangement. This plan was more archaic but also demonstrated certain visual congruencies with foreign cities of the Greeks and Etruscans, again emphasizing the international flavour of the colonies. In addition, they were not dominated by a central forum or high places, primarily because they were situated in areas that featured long, flat, gently sloping plains. In fact, they seem to stand outside the evolutionary process we observed in the last chapter while still contributing to the general practice of Roman urbanism. It is not surprising that these cities should then be followed up by the colony of Cosa, which represents the perfection of the Roman urban system.

Thus, in our first example, we witness a situation in which Rome attempted to maintain the local aristocracy and promote the local cultic horizon. In fact, the very of name of the new city was an allusion to the principle divinity and hero of the region. This peaceful integration of the local community may also have accounted for the foreign flavour of the layout, which did not adhere to the customary arrangement witnessed at prior examples such as Norba and Alba Fucens. In short, we witness at Venusia a peaceful integration of the local community and a spirit of cooperation that greatly influenced the appearance of the urban centre.

G) Case Study Number Two: The Latin Colony of Paestum

As Rome moved south into Hellenised areas of Italy, she encountered more directly the pre-existing urban traditions of the western Greeks and their variation of the Hippodameian plan. When considering the result of this confrontation, Sommella notes that "solo in alcuni casi si assiste a fenomeni di vera e propria continuità funzionale: quasi sempre l'assetto planimetrico e soprattutto distributivo degli impianti greci subisce il trauma dell'impatto politico-militare e del consequente cambiamento istituzionale dei centri."[563] Nevertheless, despite this 'trauma,' as Sommella describes it, to the Greek plan in the area, we must also recognise the adoption of certain Hippodameian elements by the Roman towns that emerged in the region. In fact, we may observe in the south of Italy a greater reciprocal impact between the urban traditions of the Greeks and Romans.[564] According to Sommella, however, this reciprocity should not be overstated. Furthermore, he is quick to note that the Roman cities that emerged in the fourth and third centuries as a result of this urban experimentation in southern Italy should not in any way be considered Hippodameian. In his opinion, they were still Roman but featured a more Hellenic flavour.[565]

The most noticeable Roman impact on the Greek cities in southern Italy involved a philosophical shift in the politics of territorial control. In short we can witness a distinct difference between the new Roman centralism and the older nucleation of the Greek city-state system. Unlike the autonomous city-state of the Greeks, the Roman city had a character that lent itself more to the consolidation of territory, a feature that was prevalent throughout central Italian and transapennine zones. Sommella looks to the area around Naples which demonstrates well the insertion of Roman territoriality and the attempt to control and manage the commercial and economic activity with a region.[566] The city, which was originally founded as a Greek colony, became stabilised into its more current Roman function following the Samnite Wars. Overall, it witnessed a noticeable diminution of its port

[563]Sommella 1988, 83.

[564]This situation is visible for cities that were codified from the outset or ones that were planted on sites featuring pre-existing towns in the Greek orthogonal tradition.

[565]Sommella 1988, 84.

[566]For a more detailed look at the Roman presence in Naples, see Sommella 1988, 93.

function, particularly following the foundation of Puteoli as a citizen colony with administrative duties in 194. According to Sommella, Puteoli was emblematic of the Roman establishment and its conservativism of the urban scheme. It had significant military qualities resting as it did upon the promontory which protected the gulf. Also, its potential for commercial landing was quite apparent by mid-century.[567]

Thus, the Greek colony of Neapolis and the Roman foundation of Puteoli serve as representative examples of the varying political and territorial management styles of the Greeks and Romans. The Romans utilised the pre-existing commercial qualities exploited by the Greeks, but integrated strong military and communication qualities that not only integrated the area into the larger Roman sphere, but allowed Rome to control the territory more easily.[568] Here in the south, Sommella describes a situation not unlike that of the *Ager Veientanus* and the *Ager Faliscus* in the mid-Republic. The author is also willing to admit, however, that the use of pre-Roman traditions was somewhat diverse, as we may witness at Paestum.

The Latin colony of Paestum was founded in 273 as a twin to Cosa.[569] This year represents a turning point in the Roman policy of conquest as the two colonies marked the full extent of Roman control over the Tyrrhenian seaboard.[570] As well, both were placed in the centre of recent enemies. Cosa was founded on the confiscated territory of Vulci following the Roman defeat of the Etruscan stronghold. Paestum served to control the coast towards the east and support the commercial paths in the area of the Lucanians, who had sided with Pyrrhus during his occupation of Italy. Similarly, the foundation of each represented the final piece in a larger process of territorial control. The foundation of Cosa accompanied the slow but steady subjugation and domination of central and southern Etruria, a process which involved also a number of military victories, the seizure of substantial territory, and the foundation of key cities including Nepet and Sutrium.

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[567]Sommella 1988, 85.

[568]Likewise, Sommella admits that Rome sought to reorganize existing urban systems for the purposes of territorial exploitation (1988, 94).

[569]See Chapter 1, n. 98 for sources on Paestum.

[570]See Sommella 1988, 57 and Torelli 1999b, 43.

In the south, Rome moved through Campania towards Magna Graecia, eventually reaching the river Sele, which served as the boundary between the Etruscans and the Greeks prior to Roman expansion. She destroyed the city of Pontecagnano and imported the Picentinians to replace the local inhabitants. At face value, therefore, the foundation of the Latin colony of Paestum carried on the Roman agenda of neutralizing key urban foci and decentralising the local population.[571] This process continued as Rome confiscated land in the south in the direction of the coast. Overall, however, Rome treated the south, and Poseidonia in particular, differently than other conquered regions. In 268, five years following the foundation of Paestum, new Latin colonies were founded at Ariminum and Beneventum. These demonstrated an improvement in the status of new foundations, referred to by Cicero as the *ius Arimensium*. The year of 268 also marks the final grant of *civitas sine suffragio*.[572] We may also observe that Paestum was treated differently than the other cities within the region.

Unlike its partner in central Etruria, Paestum was founded on the already thriving site of Poseidonia, an original Greek and Lucanian city. As would be expected, the Roman occupation of the site represented a complete break in the continuity as new Latin colonists took ownership of the land and Roman *domus* replaced the houses of the Lucanian period. Nowhere is this cultural change more evident than in the funerary practices that followed the insertion of the Latin colony. Inhumation was replaced by cremation burials in which the remains of the deceased were placed in urns in the form of miniature temples. These, in turn, were placed in small rectangular tombs.[573] According to Pedley, this cultural shift is indicative of the new Latin quality of the town and the degree of control that Rome now held over the old Greek and Lucanian city.[574]

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[571]For more on the historical background of the city, see Pedley 1990, 113.

[572]Torelli 1999b, 43. See p. 43-45 for Rome's plan to conquer the peninsula after 268, and how new colonies at this time served to push the boundaries outward.

[573]Pedley notes that there is a substantial gap following the third century evidence. This absence of second and first century remains gives way to the imperial period for which we are much more informed (1990, 126).

[574]Pedley 1990, 113.

One of the most significant debates regarding the colony of Paestum involves the degree to which the prior Greek city was altered through the installation of the new Latin community. The general consensus states that Rome, following the expulsion of Pyrrhus in 275, marched into southern Italy and subjugated the region in response to their infidelity. Based on this philosophy, Rome introduced a number of foreign structures into the Greek city of Poseidonia to demonstrate the new Roman quality of the city and facilitate the new Latin inhabitants. Thus, the current picture presents the Roman occupation of Poseidonia as not only a break in continuity, but of culture as well, as Rome installed a new symbol of *Latinitas* in the midst of a truly foreign environment.[575] As Greco notes, this philosophy, which focuses solely on the Roman elements that were inserted into the Greek urban environment, offers an incomplete picture in that it ignores the Lucanians, who served as a liaison between the Greeks and the Romans.[576]

According to the author, to better understand the Latin colony, one must also understand the urban development that began in the second half of the fourth century following a long period of stagnation in the development of the city. The Lucanians made ample use of the pre-existing urban Greek city. For example, they continued to use the grand sixth century temples and public monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods. In particular, a stele with an Oscan dedication to Jupiter made by the magistrate Statis was affixed to the circular building identified as either the *ekklesiasterion* or *bouleuterion* at the end of the century (Figure 1.41). It was also at this time that the great stoa was erected on the upper terrace of the agora. An analogous stoa, meanwhile, was added as a façade of the south sanctuary of the earlier Greek city (Figure 2.38). Another Lucanian addition was the amphiprostyle temple and a smaller tempietto on the Agora, which was probably dedicated to Zeus Agoraios.[577] Thus, the agora endured as a civil centre throughout Lucanian occupation.[578] These additions reveal a new urban aspect of the city that was unknown during the early period of Lucanian occupation in the first half of the century.

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[575]We discussed the components of the new Roman city in greater detail in the previous chapter.

[576]Greco 1986, 79.

[577]The author suggests that this temple may actually represent a refacing of an earlier Greek temple (Greco 1986, 79).

[578]Sommella 1988, 94.

The last decades of the fourth century at Poseidonia, a generation before the installation of the Latin colony of Paestum, are characterised by some very important transformations of the surrounding territory, which are indicative of the social and political evolution of the site. More specifically, tombs in the Spinazzo necropoleis provide evidence for greater social stratification and the establishment of a new Lucanian oligarchy. The best evidence is the presence of painted tombs and coffins more so than any great influx of wealthy grave goods. According to Greco, the oligarchy witnessed at Spinazzo, which spans the boundary of the fourth to the third century, revolved around the establishment of a new magistrate, a figure identified by an *annulus aurus*, the symbol of his status. The establishment of this figure is also underscored by the Oscan stele of the magistrate Statis, mentioned earlier.[579]

In short, this evidence indicates the establishment of a new socio-political environment, complete with a more diverse class system, which seems to demonstrate a pro-Roman, or at the very least, pro-Latin attitude. As proof, we may witness the participation of the Lucanian city of the late fourth and early third century in the common Italic cult. Most noticeable is the votive deposit beneath the later Roman garden south of the new Roman forum that accompanied the new Latin colony.[580] Here were discovered some 6000 figures of babies, both bound and *in utero*, of a type well noted by numerous scholars as being connected with the earliest temples of the new Latin colony. The stratigraphic context, however, places them in the final years of the fourth century, thus presenting another instance of solidarity with the surrounding Latin culture.[581] The identification of this new environment is important in our understanding of the city of Paestum in that it provides a

[579]Greco 1986, 79.

[580]See Greco 1986, 79 n. 6 for references to this discovery.

[581]Greco (1986, 80) recalls the fragment by Aristoxenus (Aristox. fr.124 Wehrli ap. Athen. XIV 632a) which describes the Romans as being the cause of the barbarisation of Poseidonia. This reference was so strange that some scholars chose to remove the Romans from the passage completely (see Fraschetti 1981, 97-115 for more on this fragment). In reality, it is likely that fragment refers to the Italicisation of the community between the fourth and the third century. Greco (1986, 5-15) also looks at Arcuri's examination of the epigraphic evidence from the site (*ILP* 139), which suggests that local subjects were admitted into the Roman clientele. This theory maintains the image of a Latinised community at the time of the colony's foundation (1986, 80-82).

better context for the establishment of the Latin colony, for which our only ancient sources are brief references in Livy (*Per*. 14) and Velleius Paterculus (1.14.7).[582]

The presence of a more Latinised Lucanian community may also allow us to gain a better understanding of the nature of the Roman occupation of the site. As we stated earlier, the common picture of Roman expansion is that of conquest, confiscation, and colonisation. This was especially true in the Greek south in 273, following the Greek support of Pyrrhus in the years just prior. At Paestum, however, the evidence allows us to observe a more peaceful transition, as the Romans entered into a series of alliances with the new Lucanian oligarchs, who had established themselves at the end of the fourth century. Given the pro-Latin environment that was emerging at this time, negotiation and integration may have been more viable and attractive options. Evidence for this scenario may also be gleaned from a consideration of the urban environment of the new Latin colony itself. Greco notes that the forum in particular is important in this regard because it allows us to witness the final evolution of the new socio-political order that had been developing over three centuries from the foundation of the original Greek colony of Poseidonia.[583]

Thus, we find at Paestum an example of a single city that shared a relationship with Rome that was unique as compared to the general situation within the region. Whereas the Romans appear to have conquered southern Italy through assimilation and conquest, they engaged in more peaceful relations with the Lucanians at Poseidonia. Consequently, the local elites were supported and the community thrived. We may interpret the adoption of Roman elements, discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter, as voluntary and embodying the pro-Roman attitude of the local community.

H) Conclusion

Di Stefano Manzella has stated that in order to understand the city of Falerii Novi, we must be prepared to look at the full corpus of available evidence, considering in particular the epigraphy, tombs, and nearby necropoleis. Furthermore, he stresses the need to engage in

[582]The authors provide us with the foundation date and the names of the reigning consuls, Fabius Dorsone and Claudius Canina.

[583]Greco 1986, 82. Because Cosa was founded on a virgin site in the territory of Vulci, the change in political style is abrupt and cannot offer the same unique view that Paestum can through its use and destruction of local elements.

archaeological investigation using modern techniques. In fact, he notes "a Falerii N. e nel suo territorio non è mai stato fatto uno scavo stratigraphico." He also states that "non è stato compiuto alcun rilievo sistematico delle mura difensive (che minacchiano di crollare) e del rudere in laterizio e opera cementizia visibile alla destra di chi entra per la porta Cimina." As a result, "va rilevato poi che molti hanno scritto su Falerii N. senza alcuna conoscenza dei luoghi."[584] This investigation has attempted to address this problem.

As we have witnessed throughout this investigation, our evidence for Falerii Novi comes in many forms. We have ancient sources, complete with a substantial but often spotty epigraphic record that has provided us with a tantalisingly vague history of the site and the circumstances surrounding its foundation and early political system. Here we witness a city founded after an armed conflict with Rome, which may or may not have involved a mandatory resettlement of the population. The circumstances of this conflict are uncertain, as is the status of the new city. We have discussed many opinions as to the exact circumstances of both. We propose that the city suffered a social uprising causing Rome to step in and retake the city on behalf of the ruling elites. The Romans realised they needed tighter control of the region and worked with the local leaders to create a new administration centre on a new highway thus allowing quicker and easier access from Rome to the Faliscan territory and beyond.

We also suggested that Falerii Novi took the basic form of a Latin colony but was probably founded as an ally, although it may not have received any official designation until it was named a *municipium* following the Social War. We may expand upon this theory and suggest that Falerii Novi served as an ally to Rome throughout the major conflicts that ravaged the Capital in the mid-Republic. As a result, the area would have only benefited from its allegiance to Rome. Massive development occurred in southern Etruria as a whole from the later first century onward for all classes. Potter suggests that the main conduit was veteran settlements. Cicero (*Leg.Agr*. 2.66) informs us that by 46 BC the *Ager Faliscus* was good for settlement, as were the *Ager Veientanus* and *Ager Capenas*, at least in the opinion of Rullus (Cic. *ad fam*. 9.17.2). Consequently, these regions experienced an overall increase in

[584]All quotes from Di Stefano Manzella 1981, 107.

settlement, population, wealth, road construction, and overall urban culture during the first century.[585]

It is important, however, that we not overstate this crisis in the third and second centuries despite the scenario Potter would have us believe based his interpretation of survey data from the region. Certainly we must acknowledge an alteration in the settlement system and hierarchy and a renovation of the rural hinterland, but ideas of mass abandonment and Roman heavy-handedness may be an oversimplification. There is no evidence outside of the ancient sources, which themselves require careful reconsideration, that demonstrates any political or military crisis. As Terrenato has noted, there is just as much evidence to suggest that Rome was working together with the locals to energise and revitalize the region and peacefully integrate it into the Roman sphere.

The idea of Roman cooperation serves as the foundation of our interpretation of the phasing and form of Falerii Novi and its surrounding walls. It is our belief that the city was founded in 241 BC complete with its city wall. Since we no longer give credence to the views of Zonaras or the political implications that he introduces, we have no reason to doubt that the city was founded with strong fortifications. The addition of walls would have been particularly relevant following the end of the First Punic War and the lingering threat of future conflict. The city had all the necessary features for a Roman town in Italy including the wall, a regular street layout, and a central forum. This forum would have included the necessary features for an administration centre including a comitium and *tabernae*, and possibly also structures relating to *saepta* and *diribitorium*, although evidence for these is not currently available.

Furthermore, we have looked to the tombs for support, suggesting that the city was founded on a site that was socially relevant to the Faliscans. We considered the idea that the intramural streets visible in the geophysical plan also pre-existed the city and were given prominent roles in the city layout despite their contrasting alignment within the new orthogonal grid. Finally, we may address the necropolis south of the city along the Via

[585]The excavations at Mola di Monte Gelato unearthed remarkable inscriptions and sculptures from the first century BC to the late first century AD, complete with links to families in Rome (See Potter 1991, 200-203 for more details). Overall, Potter sums up the situation in the Faliscan territory and in southern Etruria as a whole as one of great disruption and diversity in settlement given the nearness to Rome and the high impact of the conquest (1991, 206-207).

Amerina. Here, Quondam, the primary investigator, informs us that the cemetery contained family tombs from a number of high status citizens of the Falerii Veteres community. Many of these tombs carried on after the fall of Falerii Veteres, suggesting the maintenance of the core of wealthy aristocratic families.[586]

The city saw only improvement in its urban makeup over time. Great renovation is apparent in the early first century, at a time when the city acquired its *municipium* status. It witnessed the addition of a theatre complex to the south and a reorganisation of its internal structure. The west gate also became more monumental at this time. During the second or first century, a large Capitolium was added, underscoring a shift in emphasis from the north-south axis to the east-west, which linked the city to Sutrium. It is also possible that the so-called *lares* monuments were augmented along the northern boundary of the city at some point during the course of the mid-Republic. In short, the Republic witnessed constant urban renewal and growth until the time of Augustus.

During the years of the Principate activity at the city surged again. The city experienced growth in the forum area, which was completely reorganised according to the new standards for fora in the first century. It is also likely that the theatre was renovated at this time. The full extent of the urban development of the city in the early Empire is unknown, although we may observe the insertion of many very wealthy elite houses. According to Potter, villas also made an appearance in the territory around the city in the first century BC. Wealth in the city is also implied by the remains of a great fountain as well as items of silver. A great surplus of statuary, meanwhile, seems to suggest a city of great beauty as well as a strong connection to the Augustan regime. We may also have evidence at the site to suggest the adoption of the *lares Augusti* and the formalisation of a *vicus* arrangement within the city's social make-up, although this evidence is speculative at best. Nevertheless, we may observe that the city experienced a major upswing in the late Republic and Principate. Certainly the inscriptional evidence introduced most recently by Papi

[586]He also notes, however, at least one example that demonstrates a complete break in use in the mid-third century. This tomb seems to undermine our working theory. Unfortunately, the data have not been fully published. As a result, we cannot speculate as to why this tomb ceased to be used, except to suggest that the family was part of the rebellion or that they chose to bury their dead elsewhere in a new family tomb, perhaps even within the area surrounding the new city.

suggests that by the time of Augustus, influential Roman families were patronising the community of Falerii Novi.[587]

The most important observation that we may make is that the archaeological evidence from every source, be it early excavation reports or survey data, demonstrates no period of great distress as suggested by the survey data of Ward-Perkins. Instead, it maintains a picture of strength and continuity. This image of urban development is very much in line with our reconstruction of cultural continuity at the site as is manifest most clearly in the reuse pre-existing Faliscan site and the promotion of pre-existing streets within the overall urban hierarchy. Thus, at Falerii Novi we witness a sense of cooperation and cultural continuity within the Romanisation movement.

The situation of Falerii Novi as we understand it may be likened to that of Volaterrae as described by Terrenato in that the local elites negotiated their integration into the Roman sphere. According to this philosophy, the distinctly Roman appearance of the city does not represent an attempt on the part of the Romans to replace one urban tradition with another. Instead, the addition of distinctly Roman elements was voluntary and may be understood as an attempt on the part of the Faliscans to ingratiate themselves with the Romans. Salmon agrees with this sentiment claiming that, despite its eventual integration into Roman Italy as a *municipium*, the city of Falerii Novi remained Faliscan and that the occupants spoke their native dialect for another hundred years, even if the city had lost its full autonomy.[588]

Another point of interest emerges here. We have suggested that the city was fundamentally Faliscan in that it was founded and occupied by Faliscans, bore no official title, and incorporated traditional pre-existing elements. By this way of thinking, the Roman elements of the city represent a veneer that was intentionally adopted by Faliscans to ingratiate themselves with Rome. Nevertheless, Romans must have been associated with the foundation process in order for the Faliscans to acquire the distinctly Roman elements including the orthogonal grid, the forum, the theatre, and many other specific architectural elements.

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[587]Again, refer to the study of Papi 2000.

[588]As we noted above (n. 479), Salmon suggests that Falerii Novi was one of the many communities in Italy during the Republic to adopt typical Roman political titles such as Senate, quaestor, or praetor independent of Roman interference. According to Salmon, this practice was particularly common in the second century (1982, 174).

This observation recalls the views of Woloch in the preface to his translation of Grimal's *Roman Cities*.[589] This work takes the form of a descriptive catalogue of Roman cities throughout the area of the Roman Empire from all periods. In determining which cities may be considered Roman, Woloch states that "Roman cities [are] cities which existed within the boundaries of the Roman Empire."[590] This statement seems self-evident. Within these broad parameters, however, Woloch includes cities that were founded by indigenous populations before the Romans ever occupied them, particularly within peninsular Italy.

By labelling all of the constituent cities of Roman Italy as 'Roman,' Woloch appears to be eliminating the variety of cultural urban identities that we have attempted to establish hitherto, particularly for the Faliscans. By this way of thinking, Roman urbanism was a means of stripping occupied regions of their local identities and replacing them with a Roman based society. In short, this theory serves to reinforce the idea that the spread of Roman cities was tantamount to a spread of her culture. It is possible, however, that the author is commenting on the homogeneity of the foundation process, and not the cultural designation of the city. In other words, any Greek, Faliscan, or Daunian city founded within Roman Italy was exposed to the same urban precedents as a Roman one, namely the universal concepts of definition, order, and membership. Each cultural group incorporated these elements in its own unique way according to its own particular tastes and priorities.

Furthermore, this statement rejects, albeit inadvertently, that there were any special circumstances in the foundation process that altered the form of any one Roman city as compared to another. By this token, colonies may be examined in the same light as any other foundation within Italy, since the same factors contributed to the appearance of each. Likewise, it is assumed here that the overall plan and mode of foundation employed at Falerii Novi were the same as those witnessed at earlier and contemporaneous Roman colonies. This assumption has allowed us to consider the foundation process of Falerii Novi because it was a product of the same universal urban processes employed for all Roman foundations of the middle Republic.

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[589]Grimal 1983 (preface ix-xiii).

[590]Woloch in Grimal 1983, ix.

In the end, Falerii Novi may be thought of as a Faliscan city that was founded like a Roman city with the addition of a few eccentricities. More precisely, it should not be characterised as either Roman or Faliscan, but one that is essentially both in that it was fundamentally Faliscan with a Roman veneer. For this reason, we may witness such typical Roman elements as a comitium and Capitolium and still think of the city as being Faliscan. Thus, we do not need the city to be an ally, a municipium, or a colony. Instead, we might be best served to add the city to the list of pre-existing *vici*, *pagi*, *castella*, and *oppida* that were renovated and utilised by Rome during the initial reorganisation of *Latium adjectum*. Nevertheless, its role in the urban and political development of the mid-Republic is substantial, as we have attempted to demonstrate throughout this investigation.

APPENDIX: FIGURES

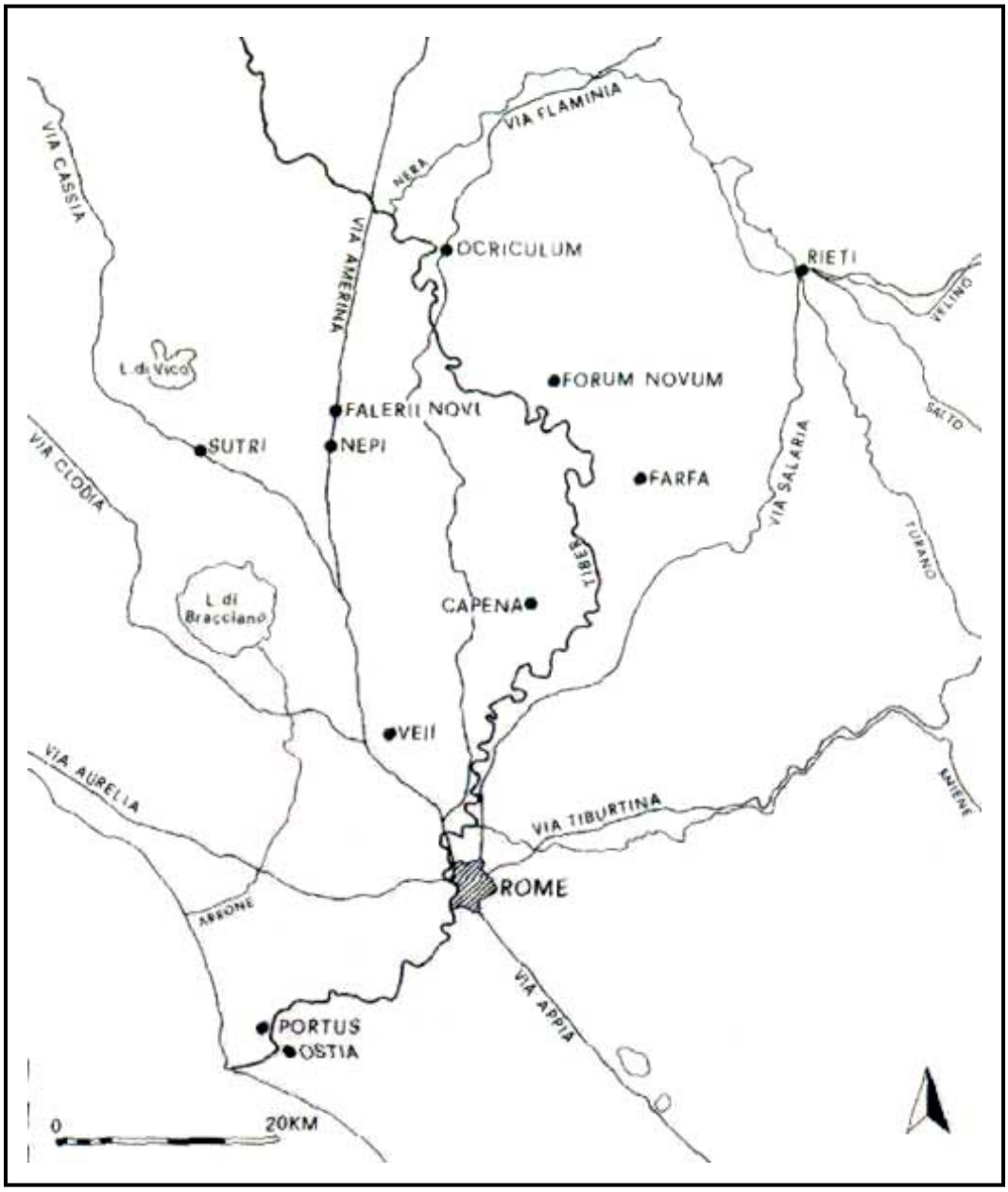

Figure 1.1: Position of Falerii Novi within the Tiber Valley with Respect to Rome and the Via Amerina (Keay *et al*.. 2000, fig. 1)

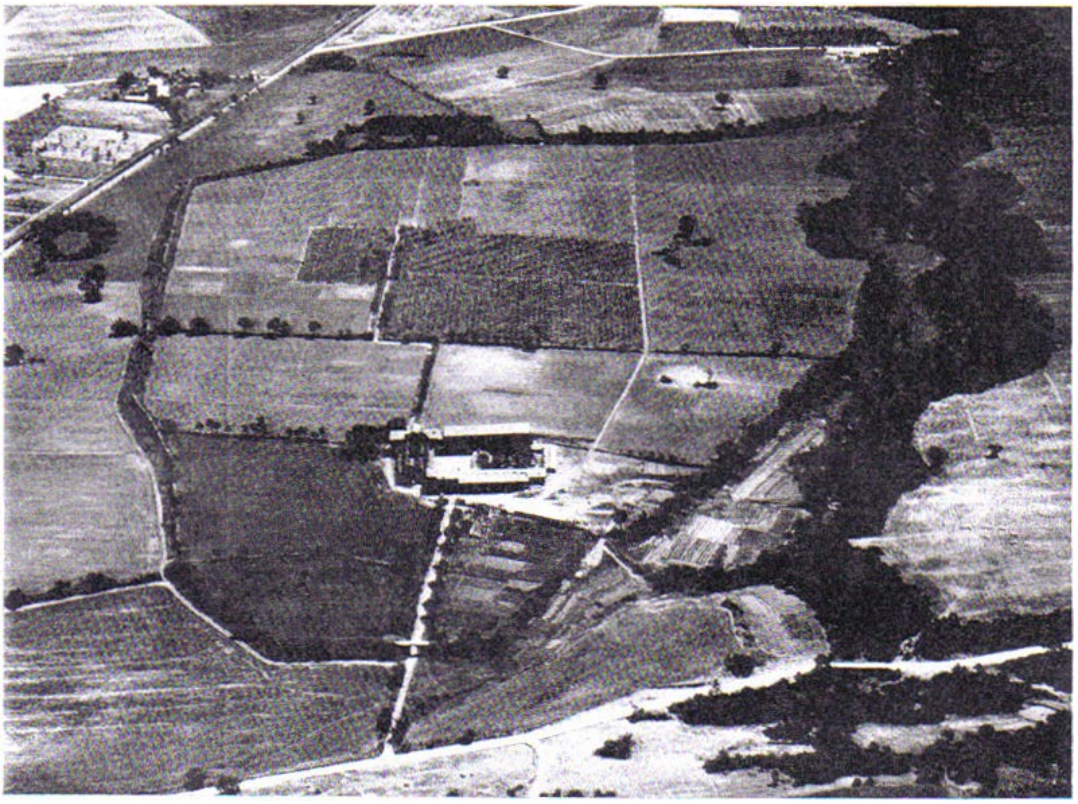

Figure 1.2: Oblique Aerial View of Falerii Novi, from the West
(Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 13 fig.3)

Figure 1.3: Paved *Decumanus Maximus* East of the S. Maria di Fàlleri (background) and the Open Trench from 1969-1975 (foreground, on the left)

Figure 1.4: S. Maria di Fàlleri at Falerii Novi, from the East

Figure 1.5: Tower in the Northwest Corner of Falerii Novi after Minor Cleaning

Figure 1.6: Stretch of Fortification Wall between the Northwest and North Gates, Preserved to its Full Height

Figure 1.7: Modern Road Running along the *Decumanus Maximus*, through the West Gate

Figure 1.8: Porta di Giove, from the Southwest

Figure 1.9: Exterior of the Porta Puteana, from the South

Figure 1.10: Tall Narrow Niche Carved into the Bedrock of the South Wall in the Vicinity of the Southwest Corner

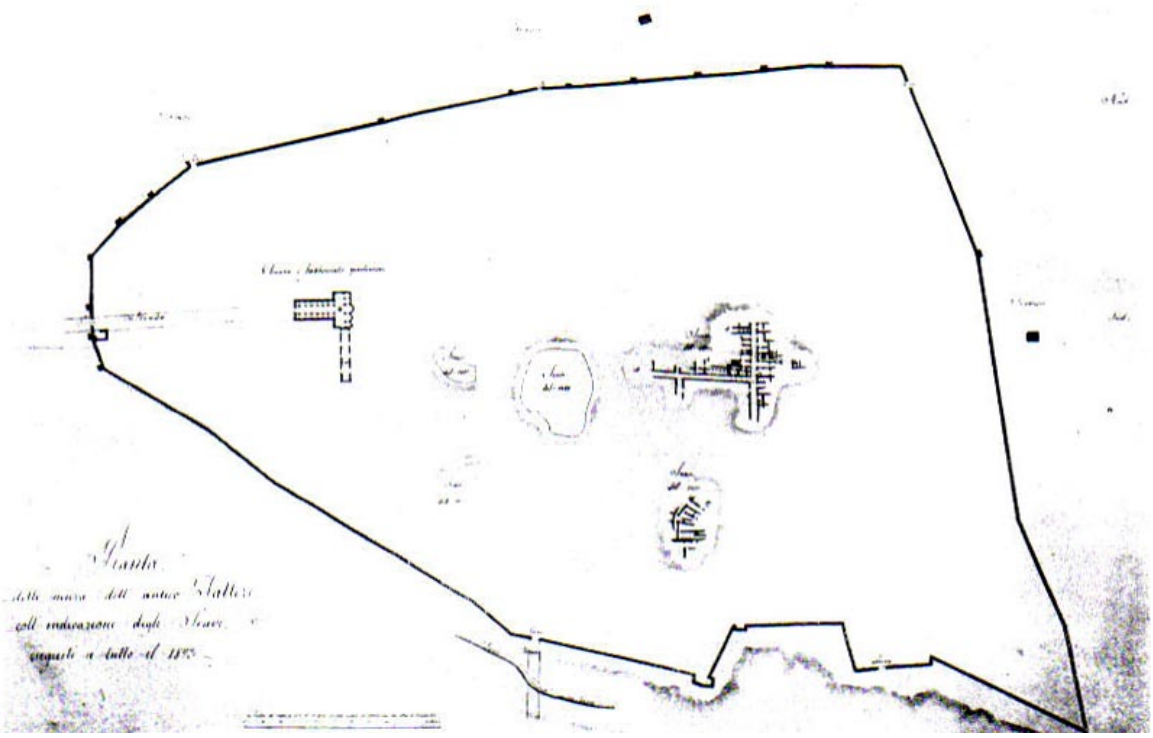

Figure 1.11: Plan of Cazzaniga (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 28 fig. 9)

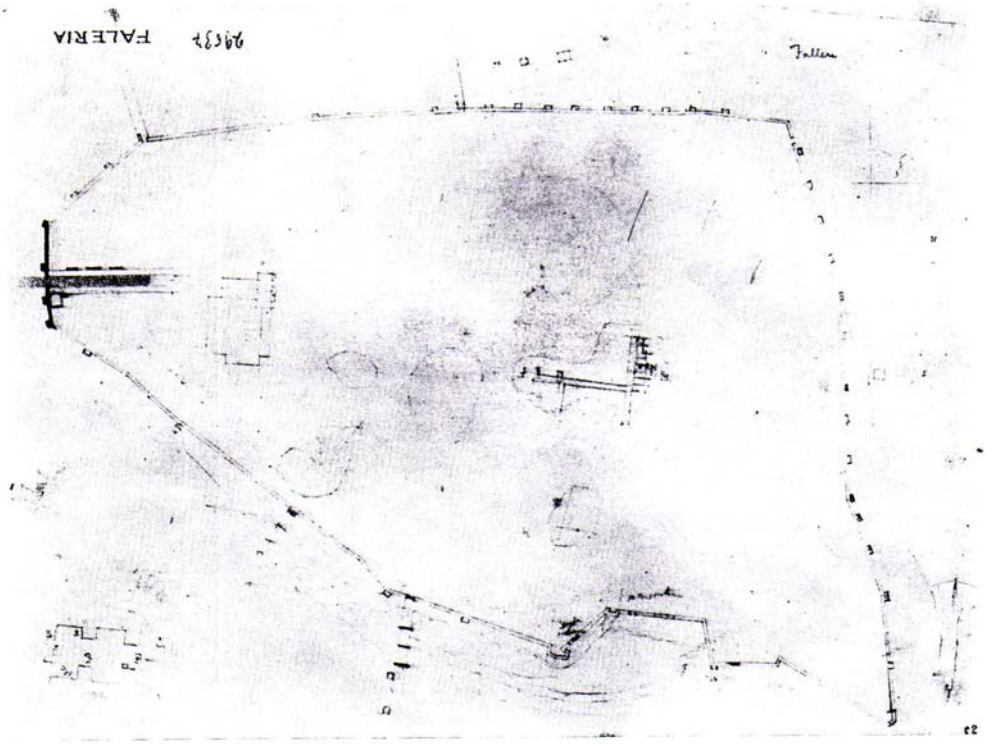

Figure 1.12: First Plan of Vespignani (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 29 fig. 10)

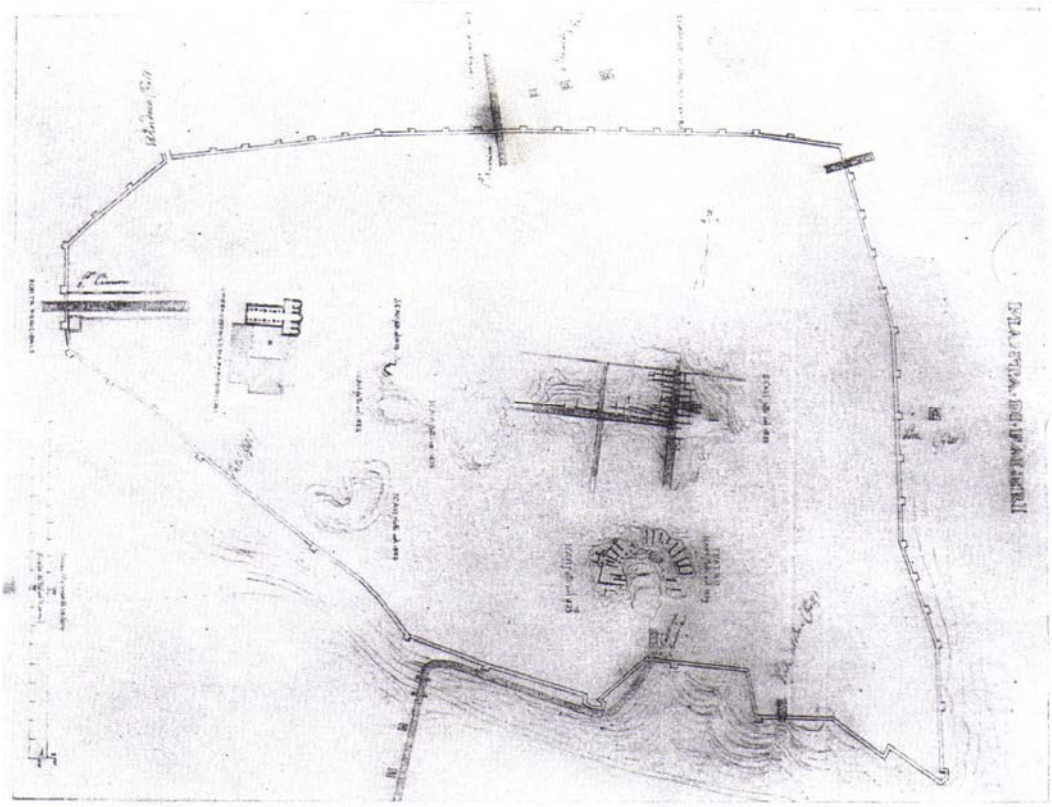

Figure 1.13: Second Plan of Vespignani (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 30 fig. 11)

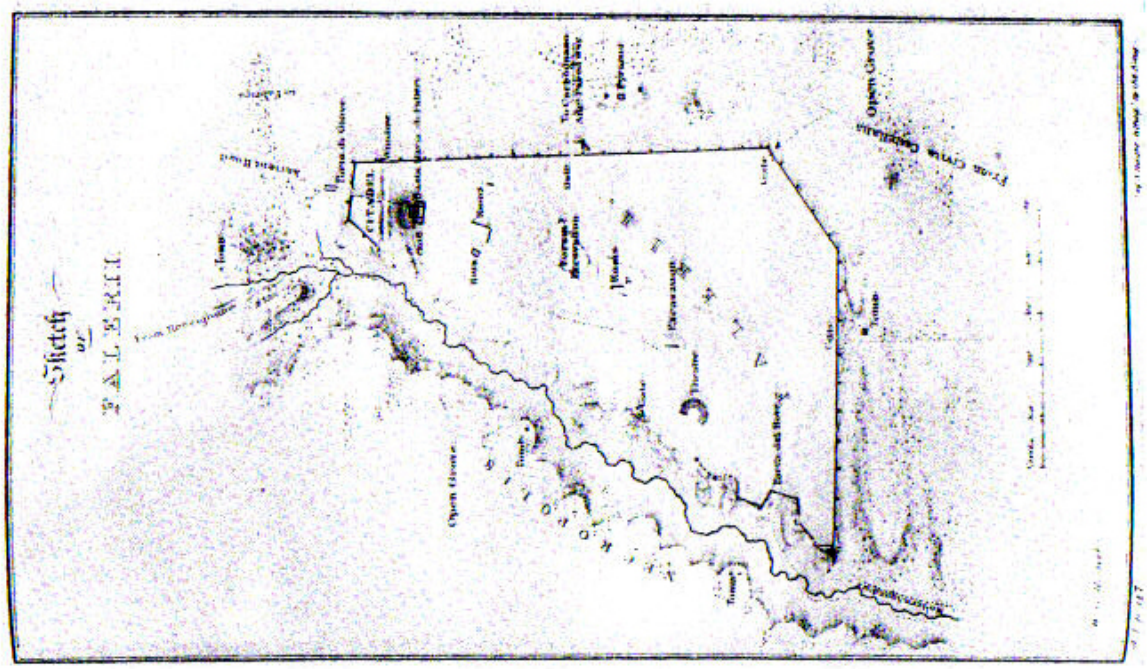

Figure 1.14: Plan of Gell (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 31 fig. 12)

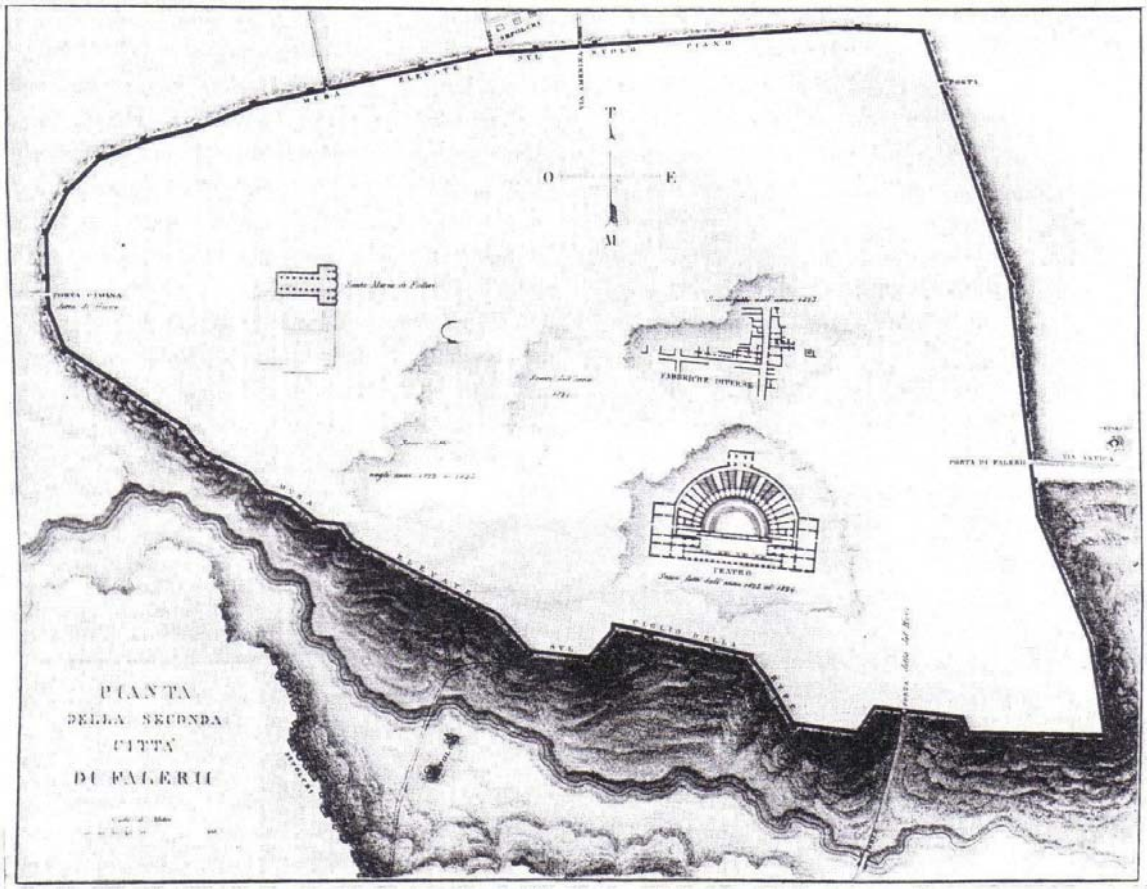

Figure 1.15: Plan of Canina (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 33 fig. 14)

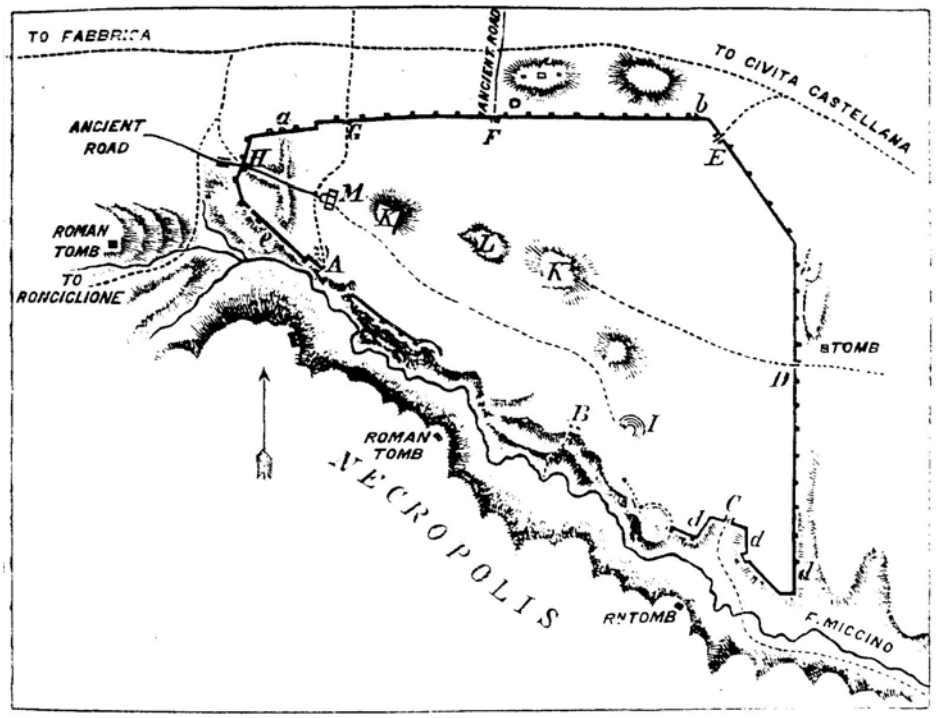

Figure 1.16: Plan of Dennis (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 32 fig. 13)

Figure 1.17: Plan of Di Stefano Manzella (Di Stefano Manzella 1979, insert)

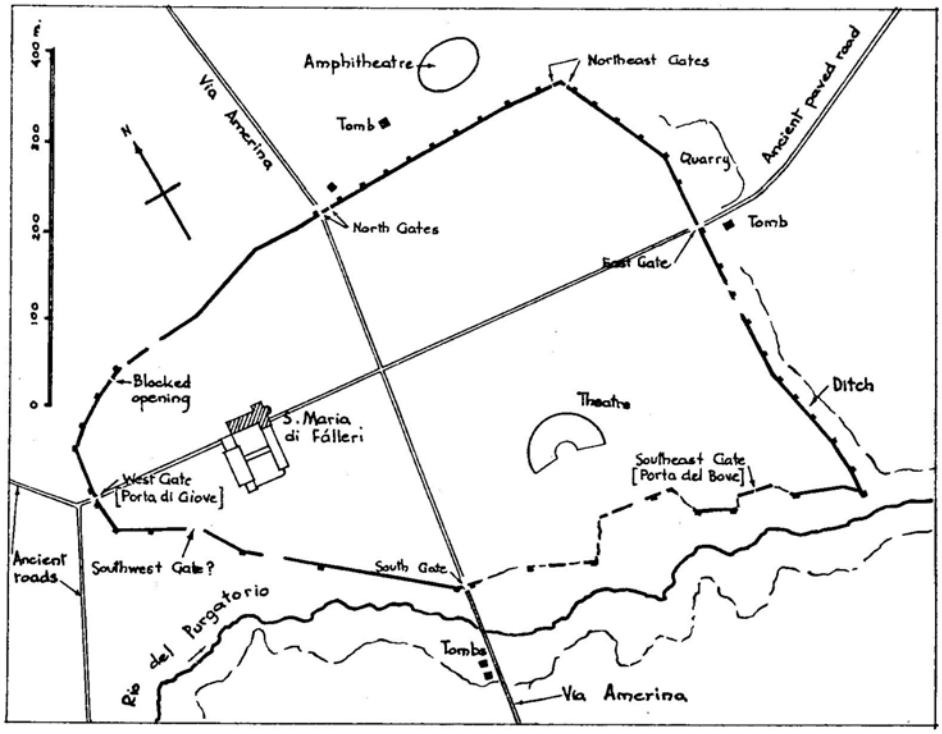

Figure 1.18: Plan of Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins (Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins 1957, 156 fig. 26)

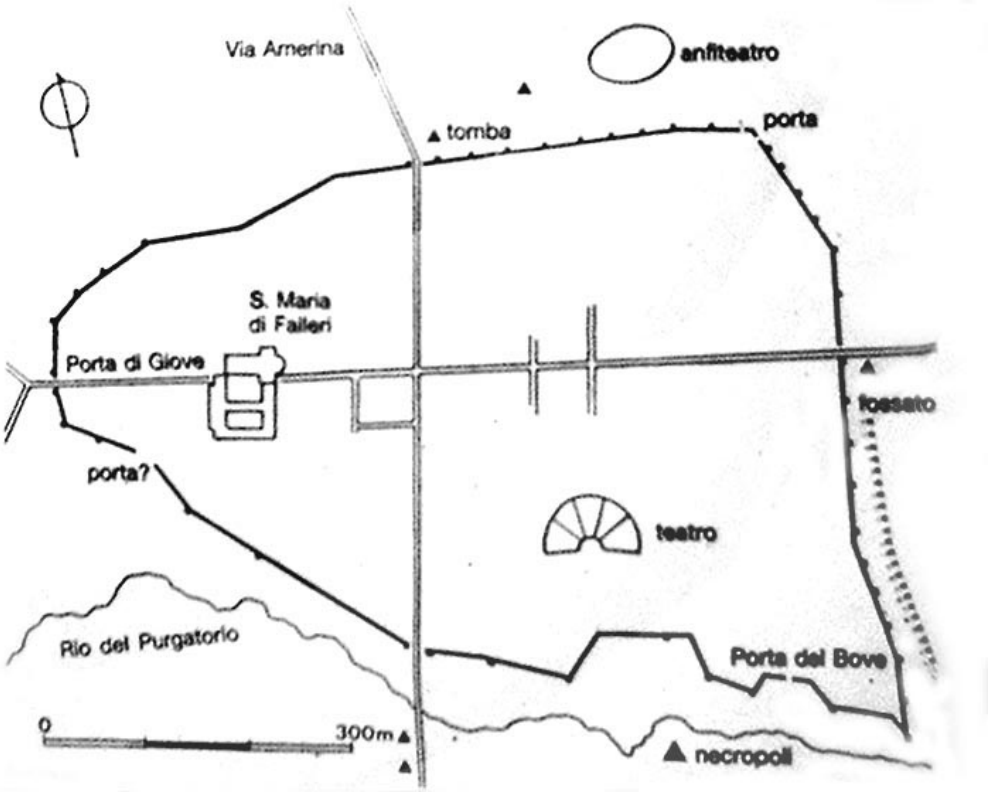

Figure 1.19: Plan of Potter (Potter 1979)

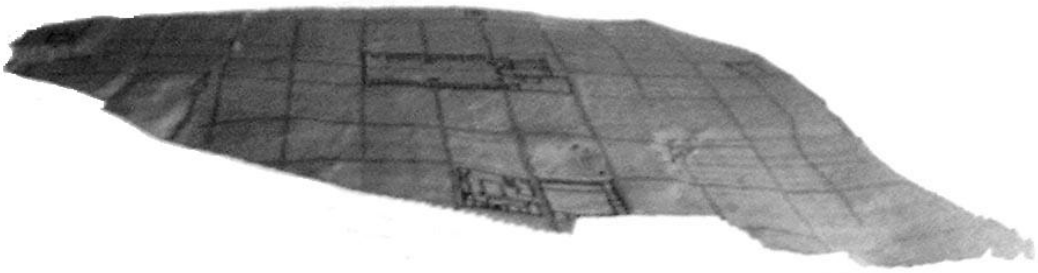

Figure 1.20: Contour Model of the Urban Plain at Falerii Novi, Created by the Tiber Valley Project (Keay *et al.* 2000, 90 fig. 59)

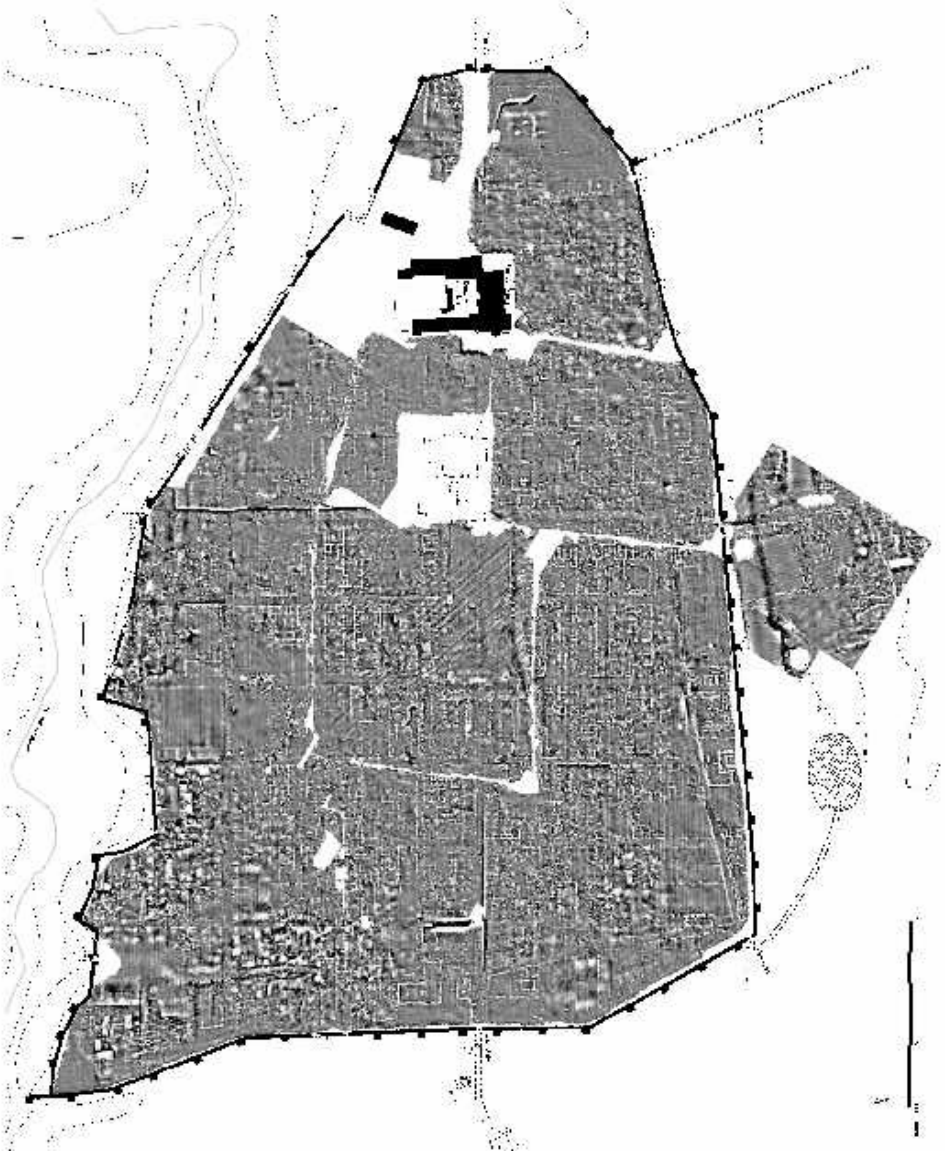

Figure 1.21: Magnetometry Data, the Tiber Valley Project (www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Falerii/full.html)

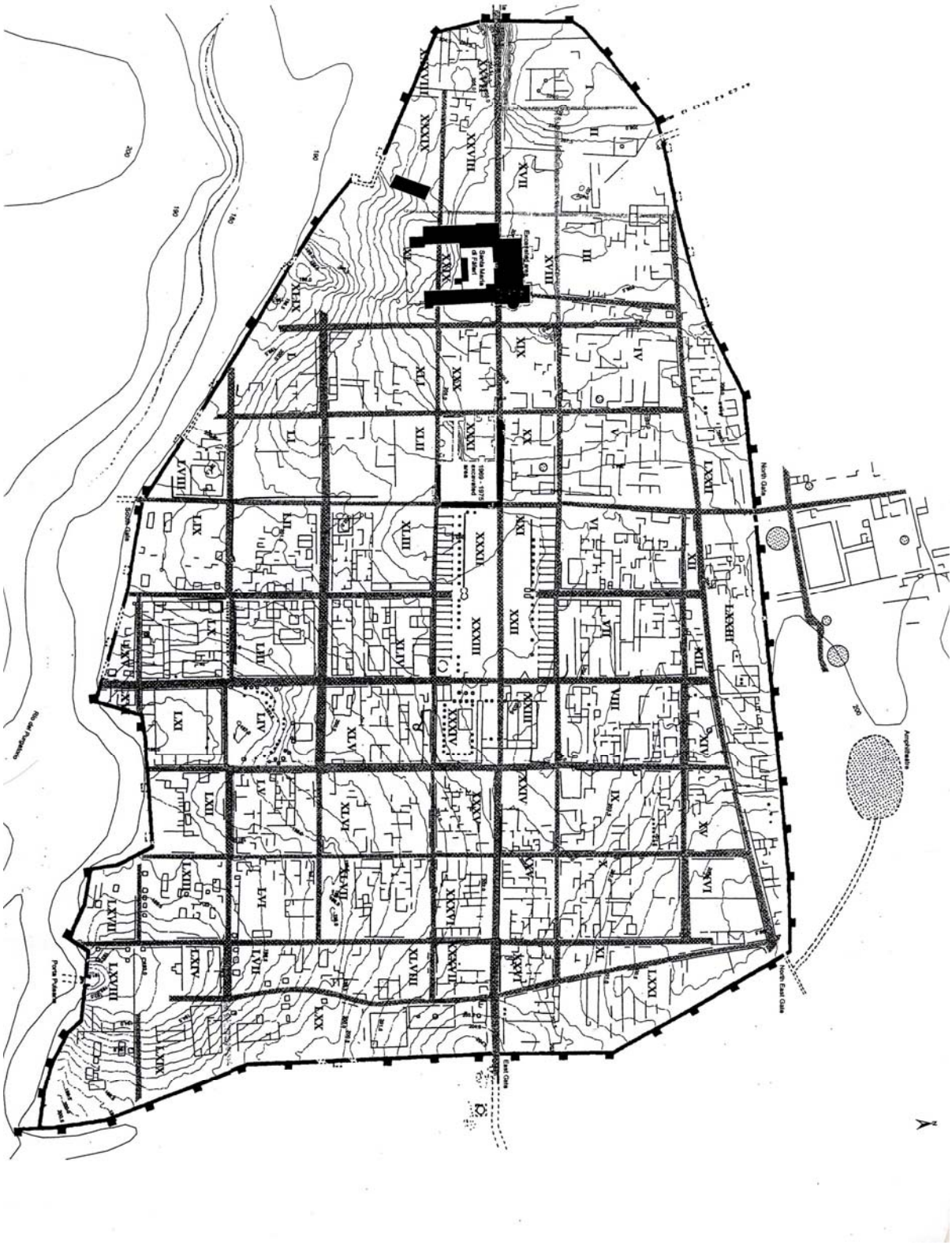

Figure 1.22: Interpretive City Plan of Falerii Novi Based on the Magnetometry Data from Figure 1.21 (reduced from insert in Keay *et al.* 2000)

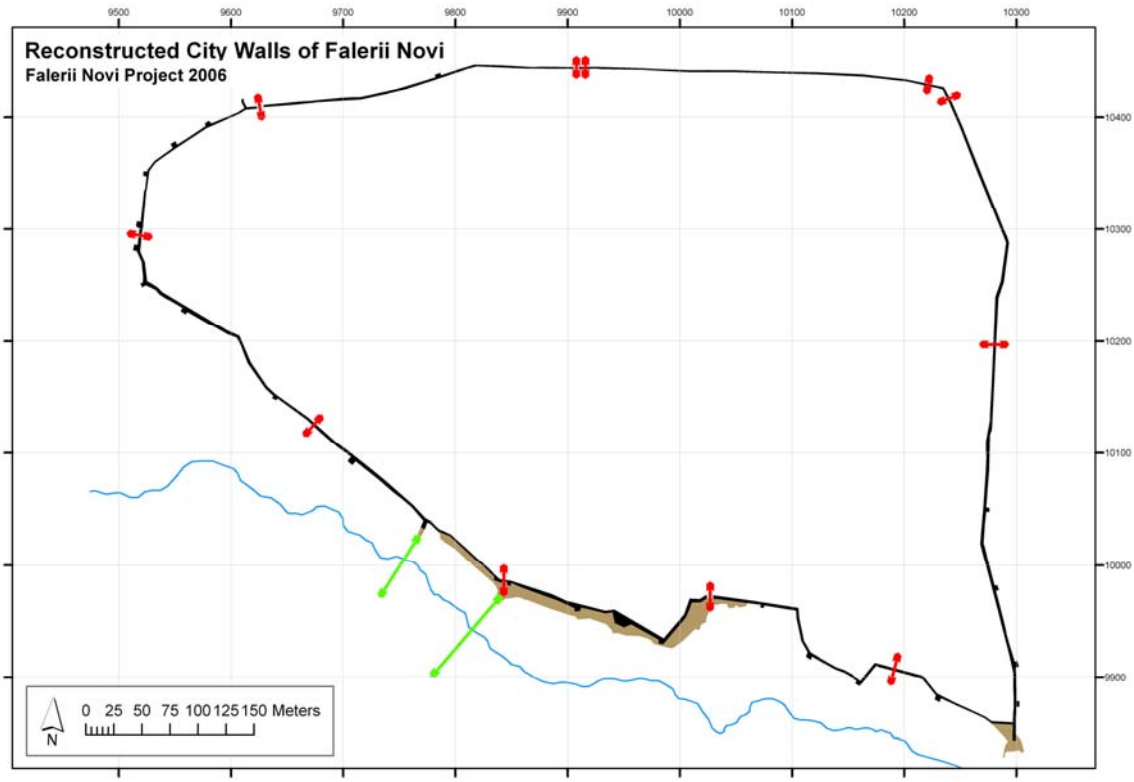

Figure 1.23: Schematic Rendering of the Walls of Falerii Novi as Reconstructed by the Falerii Novi Project

Figure 1.24: Mason's Mark Discovered on a Tower in the Northwest Corner of Falerii Novi

Figure 1.25: Abby Gate

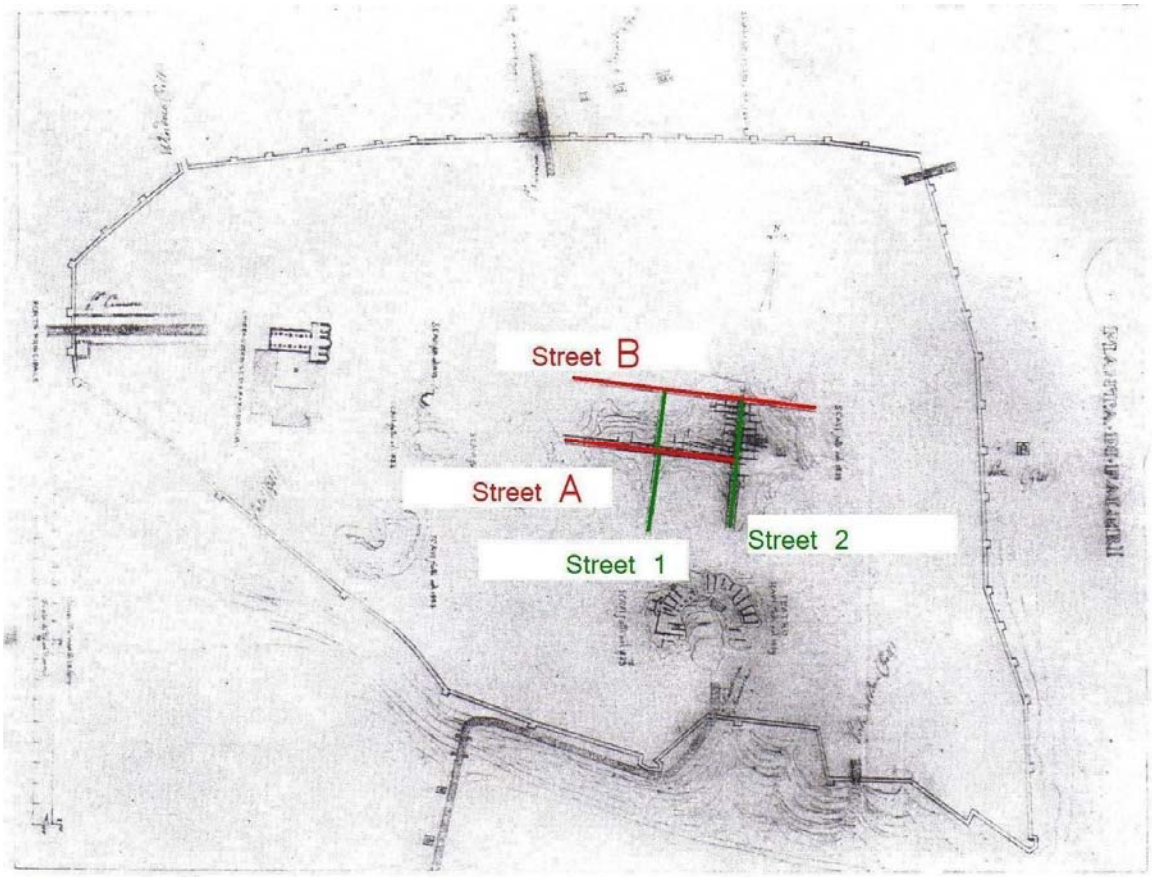

Figure 1.26: Second Plan of Vespignani with Labelled *Cardines* and *Decumani*
(Di Stefano Manzella 1979, 30 fig. 11)

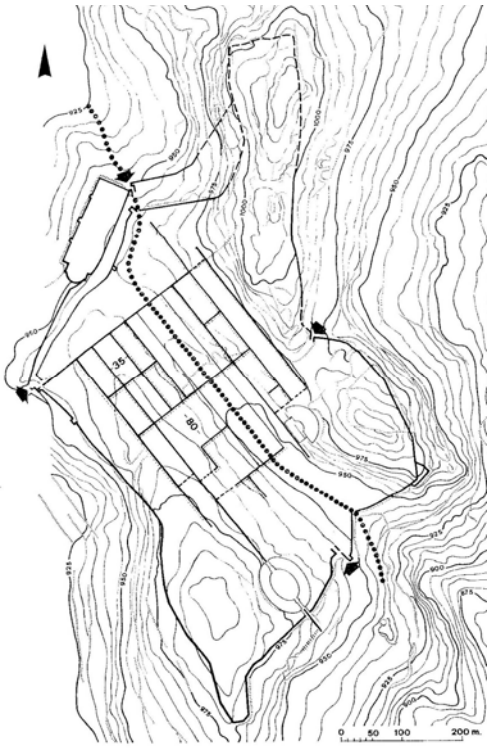

Figure 1.27: Plan of Alba Fucens Highlighting the Original Course of the *Decumanus Maximus* as Indicated by the Dotted Line (Sommella 1988, fig 13)

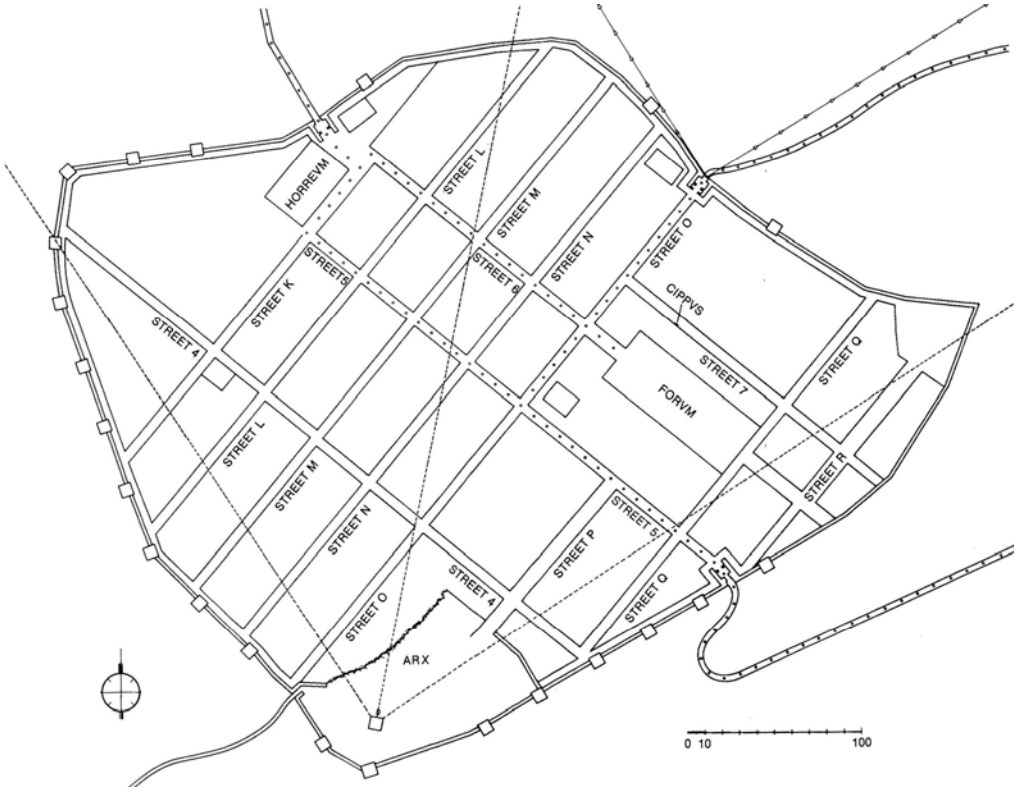

Figure 1.28: Street Plan at Cosa (Brown 1993, fig. 1)

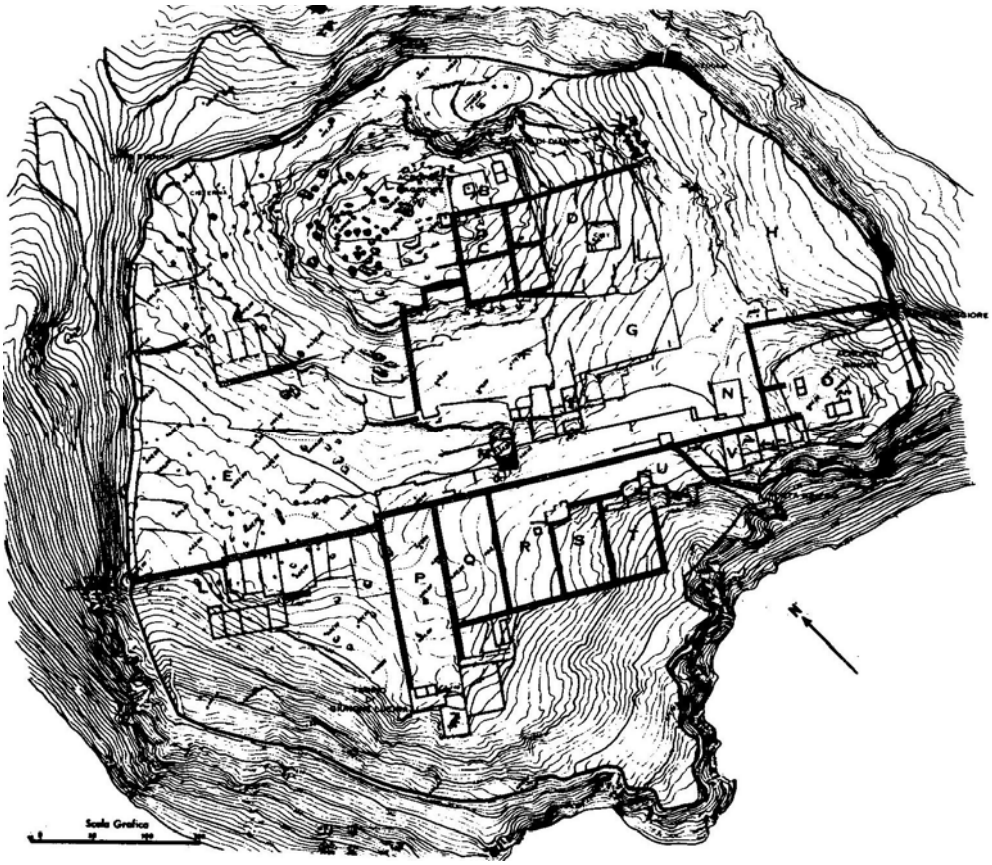

Figure 1.29: Latin Colony of Norba (Gros and Torelli 1996, 133 fig. 49)

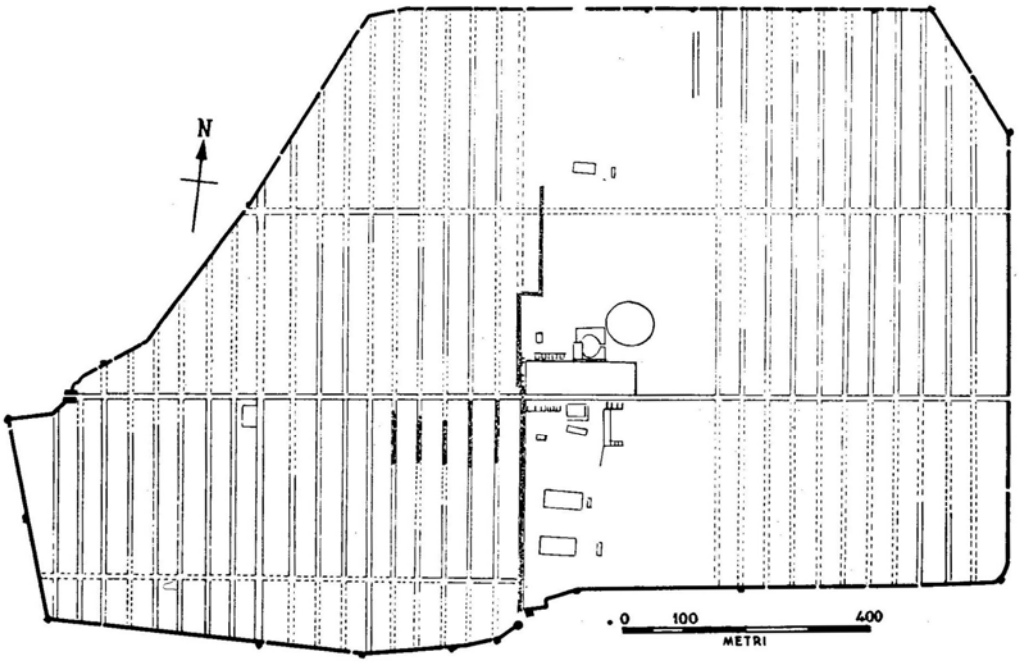

Figure 1.30: Latin Colony of Paestum Highlighting the Long Thin *Insulae* of the Orthogonal Grid (Castagnoli 1971b, 41 fig. 16)

Figure 1.31: Refounded Volsinii (Sommella 1988, 16)

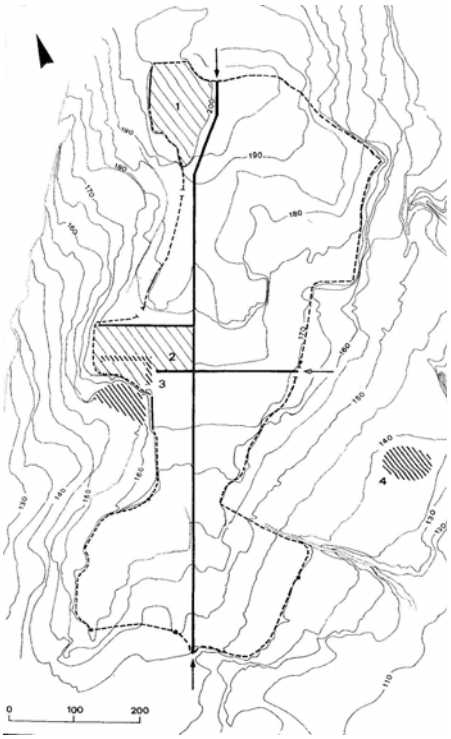

Figure 1.32: Latin Colony of Suessa Aurunca Featuring (1) the Acropolis, (2) the Forum, (3) the Theatre Complex with Cryptoportico, and (4) the Amphitheatre (Sommella 1988, fig. 9)

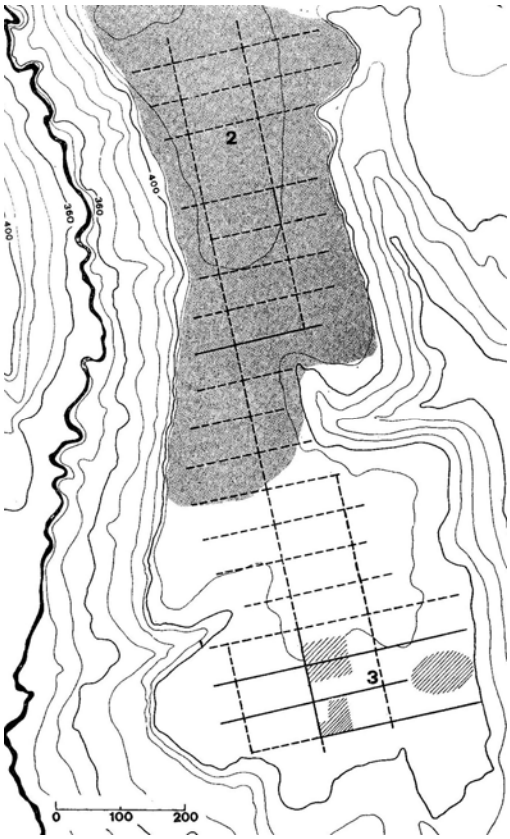

Figure 1.33: Latin Colony of Venusia (Sommella 1988, fig. 8)

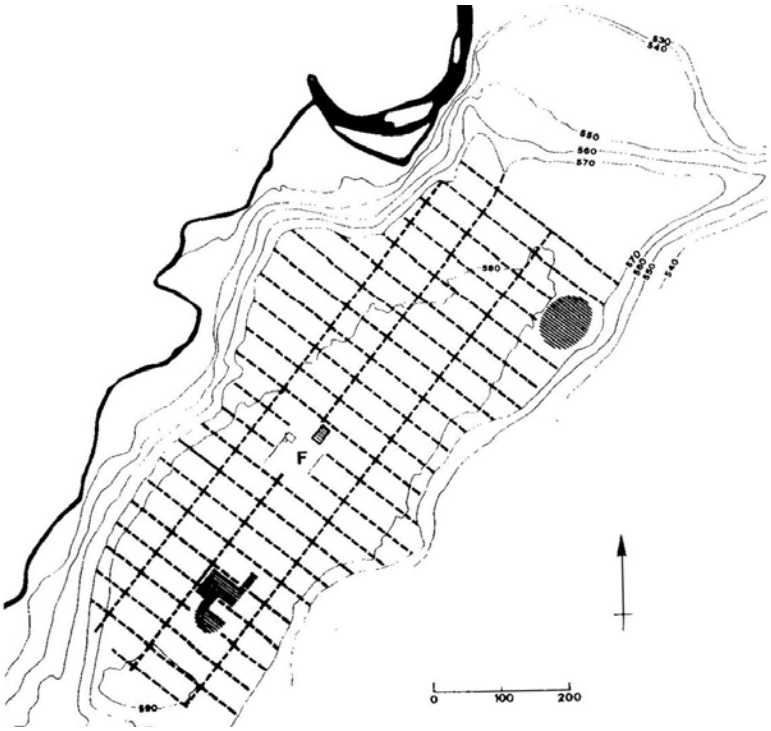

Figure 1.34: Latin Colony of Grumentum (Sommella 1988, fig. 30)

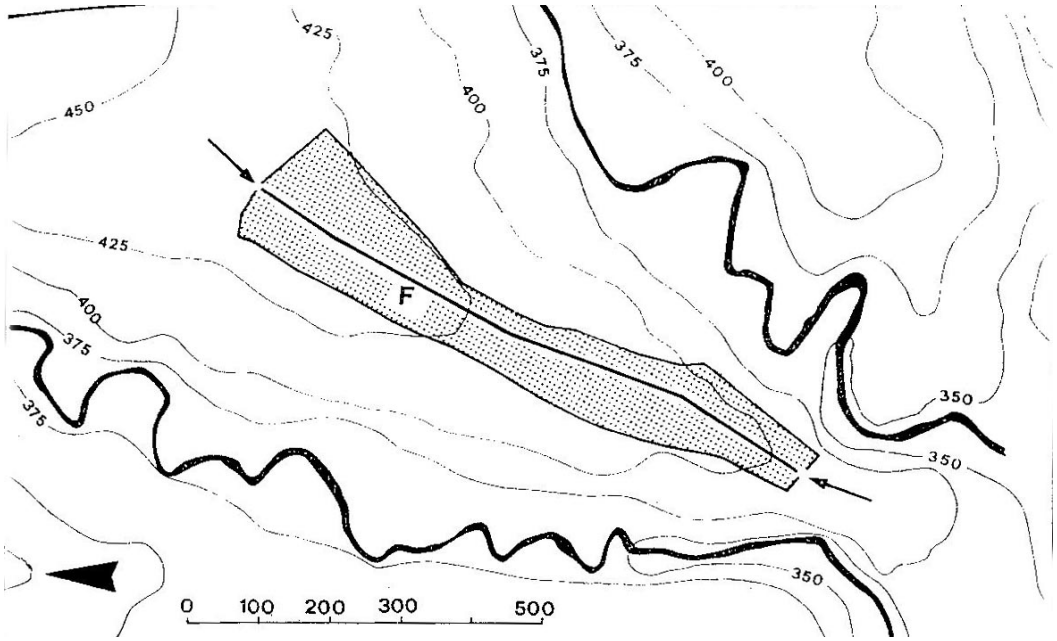

Figure 1.35: Latin Colony of Aesernia (Sommella 1988, fig. 11)

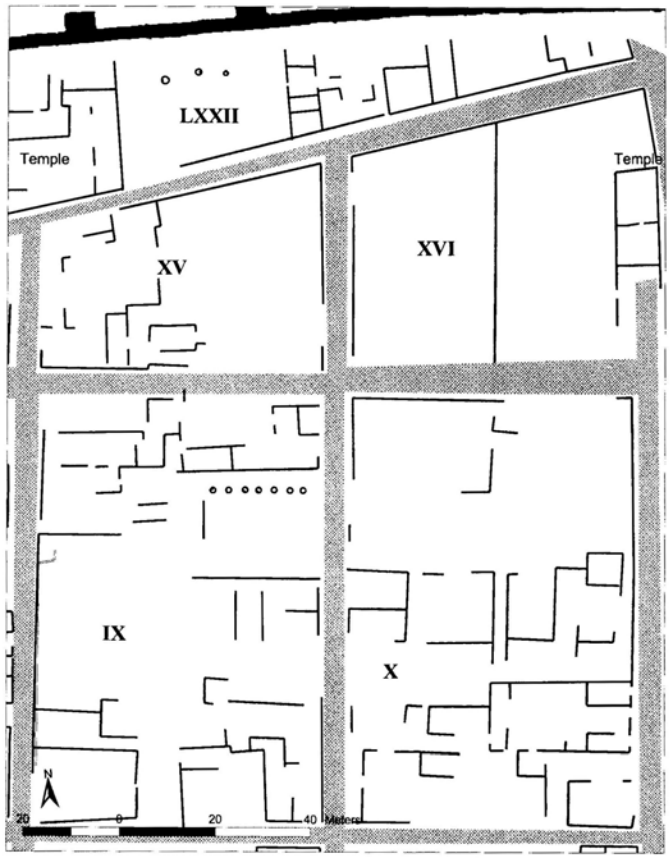

Figure 1.36: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from *Insulae* IX, X, XV, XVI, and LXXII, Highlighting the Small Temple at the Head of the Street Separating XIV (not shown) and XV and Another at the Head of the Street Separating X and XI (Keay *et al.* 2000, 17 fig. 12)

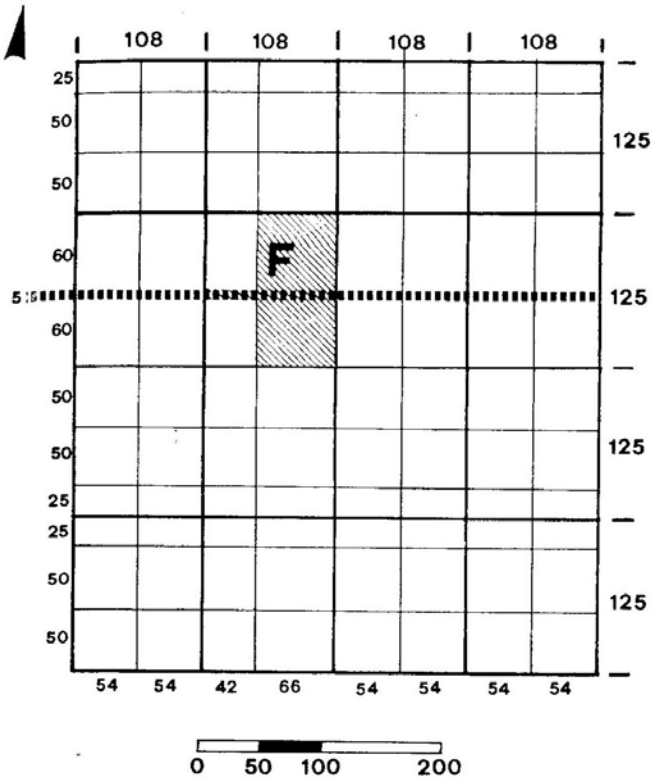

Figure 1.37: Citizen Colony of Parma Highlighting the Basic Insular Unit of the Orthogonal Grid (Sommella 1988, fig. 22)

Figure 1.38: Plan of Paestum Highlighting the Original Greek/Lucanian City (left) and the Roman Addition (right) (Greco 1983, 80 fig. 1)

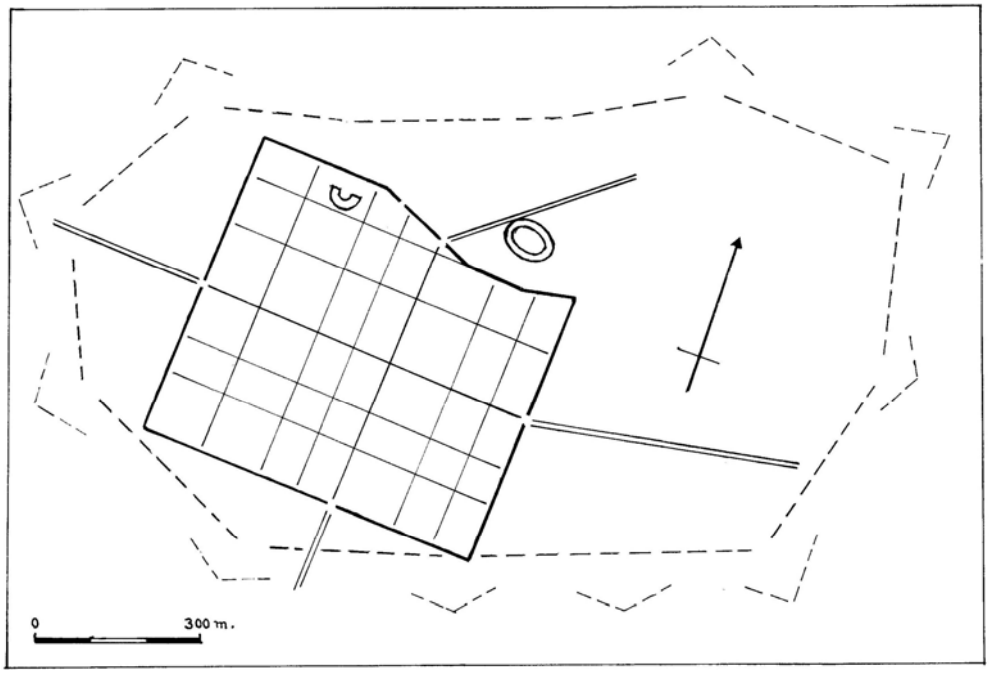

Figure 1.39: Latin Colony of Luca Highlighting the Size and Location of the Ancient City within the Expanded Medieval Settlement (Ward-Perkins 1974, fig. 62)

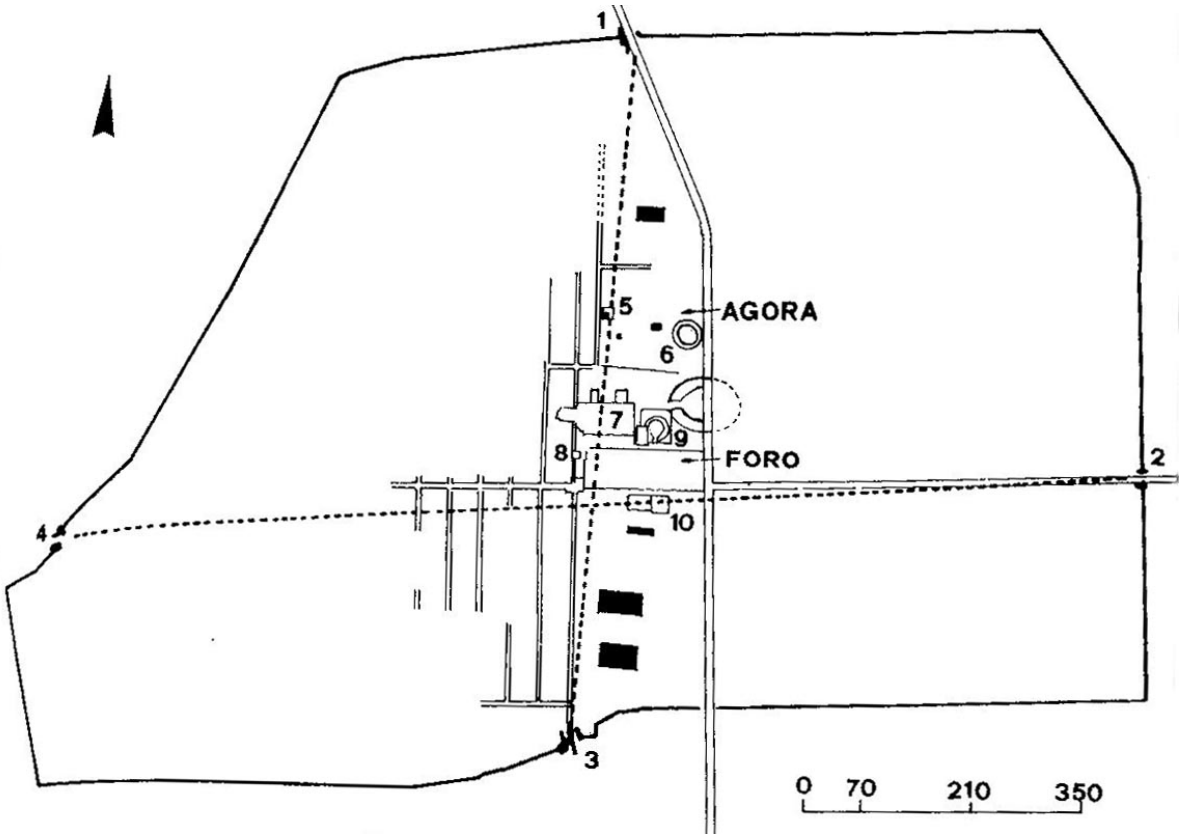

Figure 1.40: Plan of Paestum Demonstrating the Misalignment of the Primary Gates (Sommella 1988, fig 26)

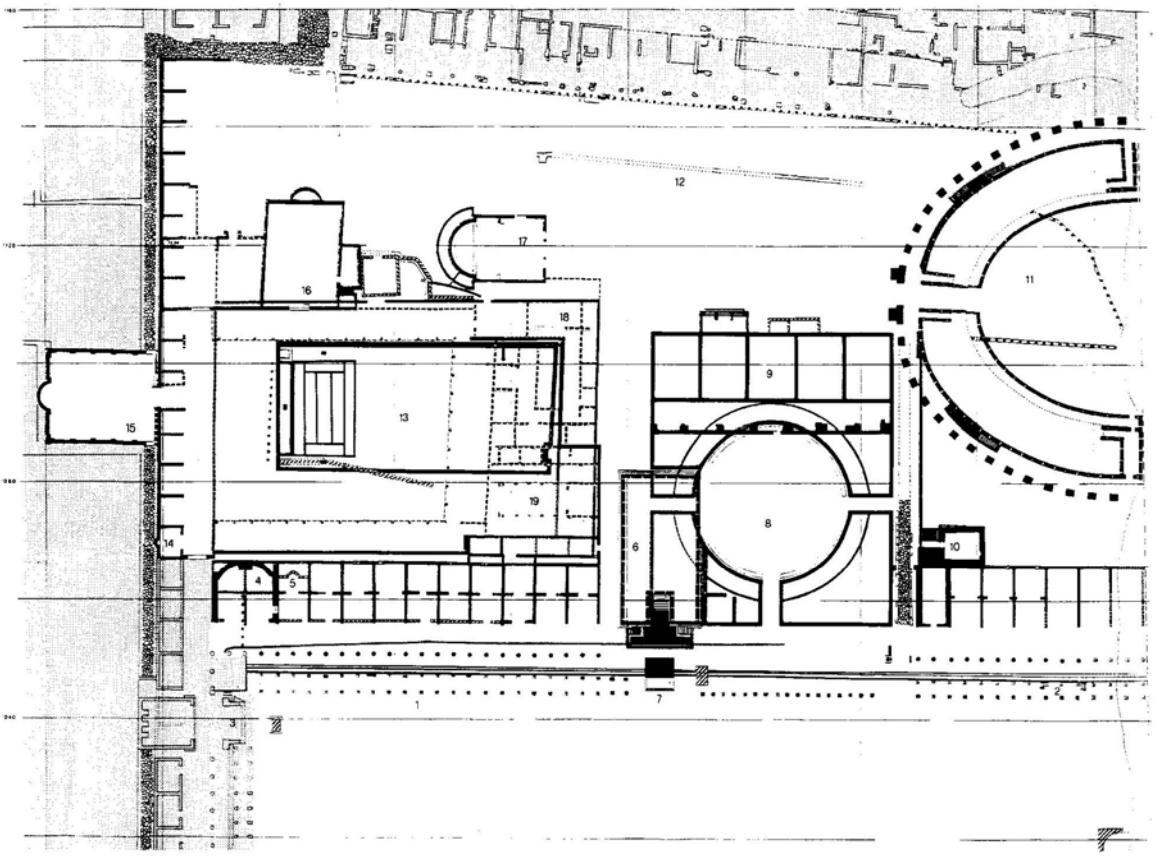

Figure 1.41: Forum at Paestum Featuring Lateral *Tabernae*, (6) the So-Called Capitolium, (8) the Comitium, (9) the Curia, (10) the *Carcer*, (11) the Amphitheatre, and (13) the *Piscina Pubblica* (Greco 1983, 81 fig. 2)

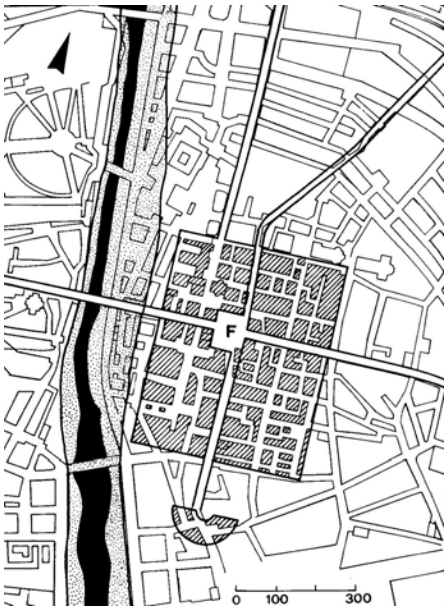

Figure 1.42: Citizen Colony of Parma on the Right Bank of the Parma River (Sommella 1988, 21)

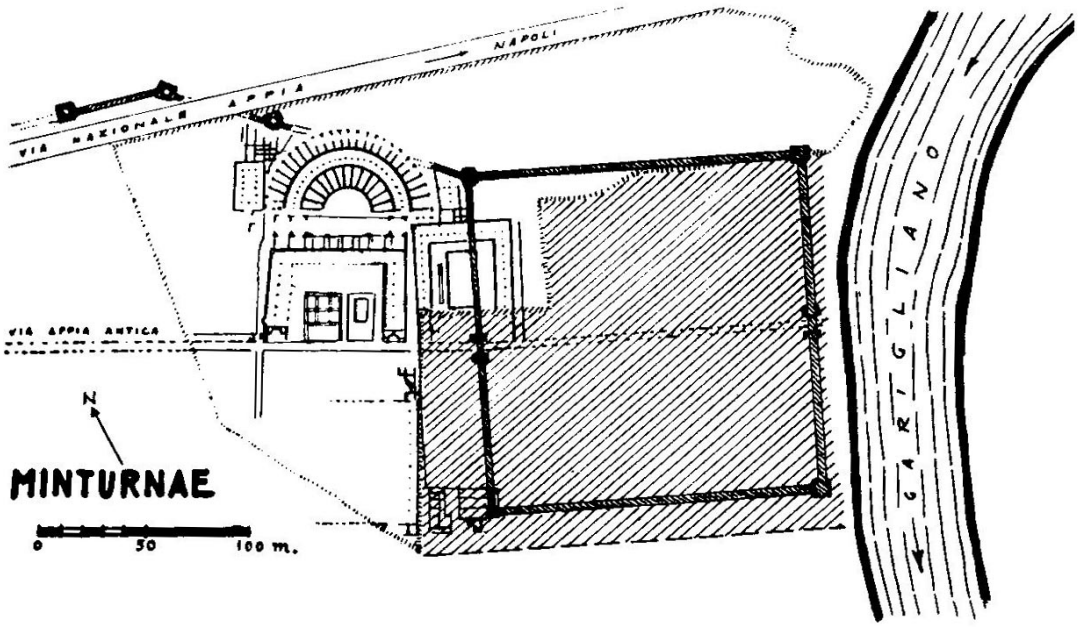

Figure 1.43: Location of the Theatre Complex at Minturnae
(Castagnoli 1971b, 101 fig. 41)

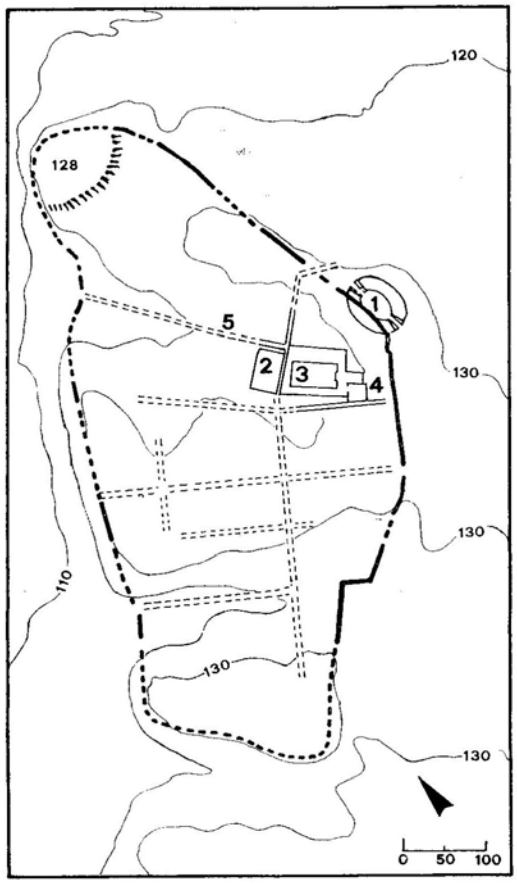

Figure 1.44: City of Herdonia (Sommella 1988, Fig. 31)

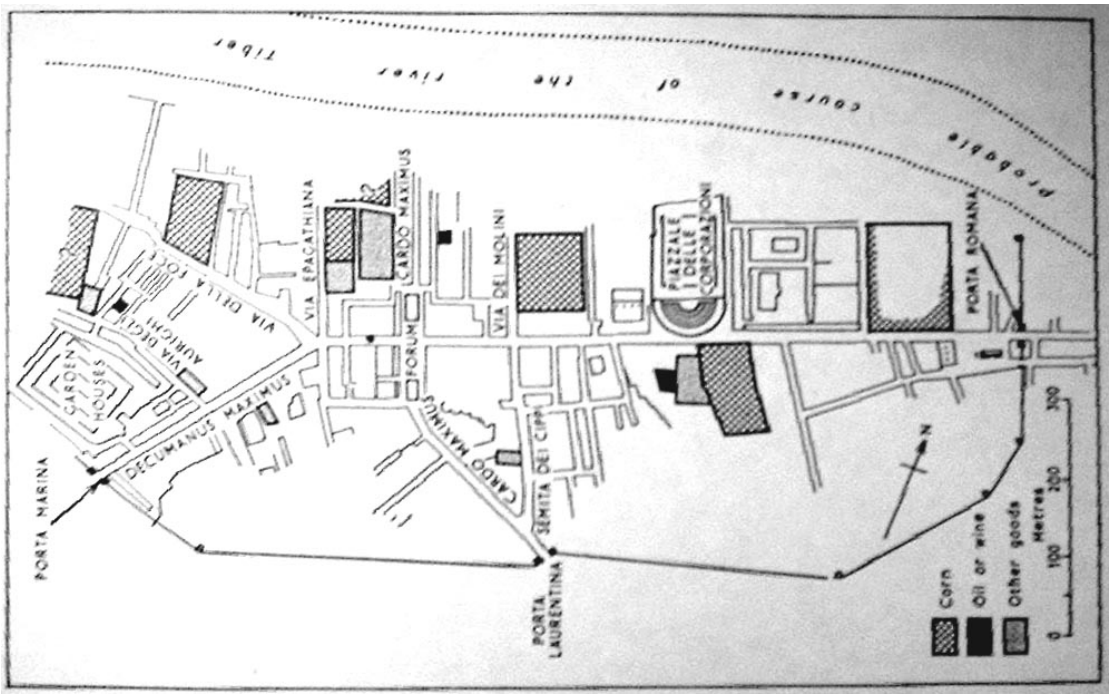

Figure 1.45: Citizen Colony of Ostia in the Imperial Period Highlighting the Various Horrea Around the City (Meiggs 1973, fig. 24)

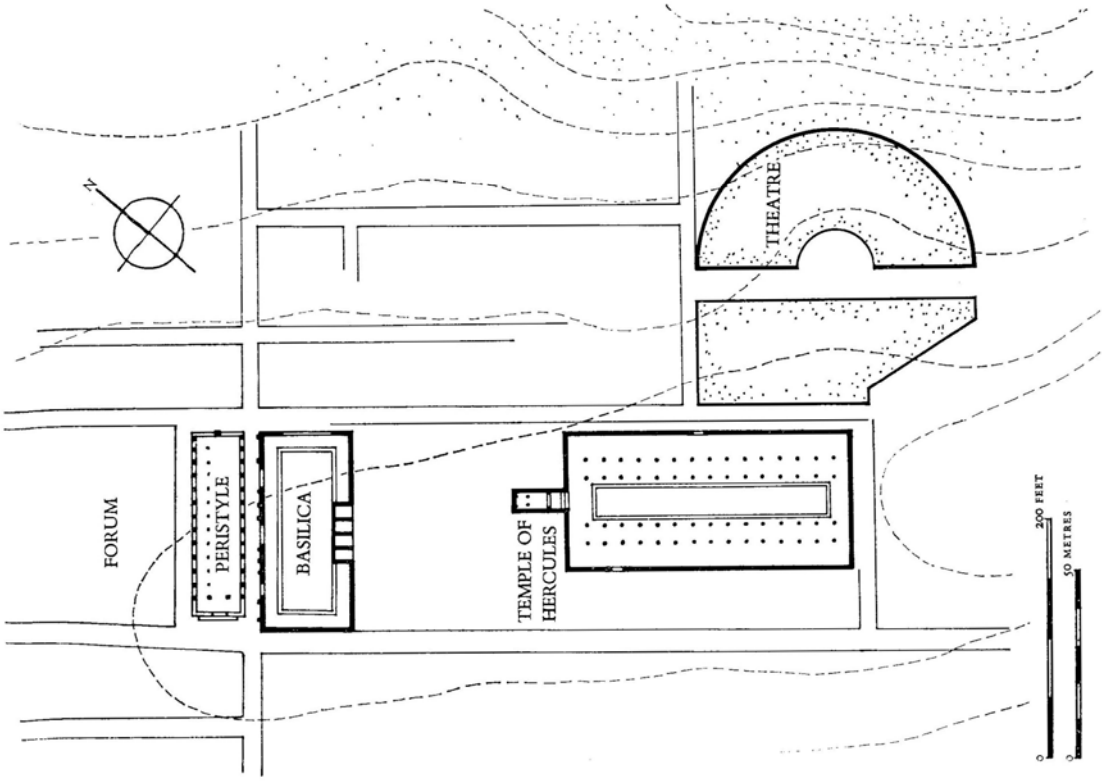

Figure 1.46: Schematic Rendering of the Public Area to the Southeast of the Forum at Alba Fucens (Boëthius 1993, 125)

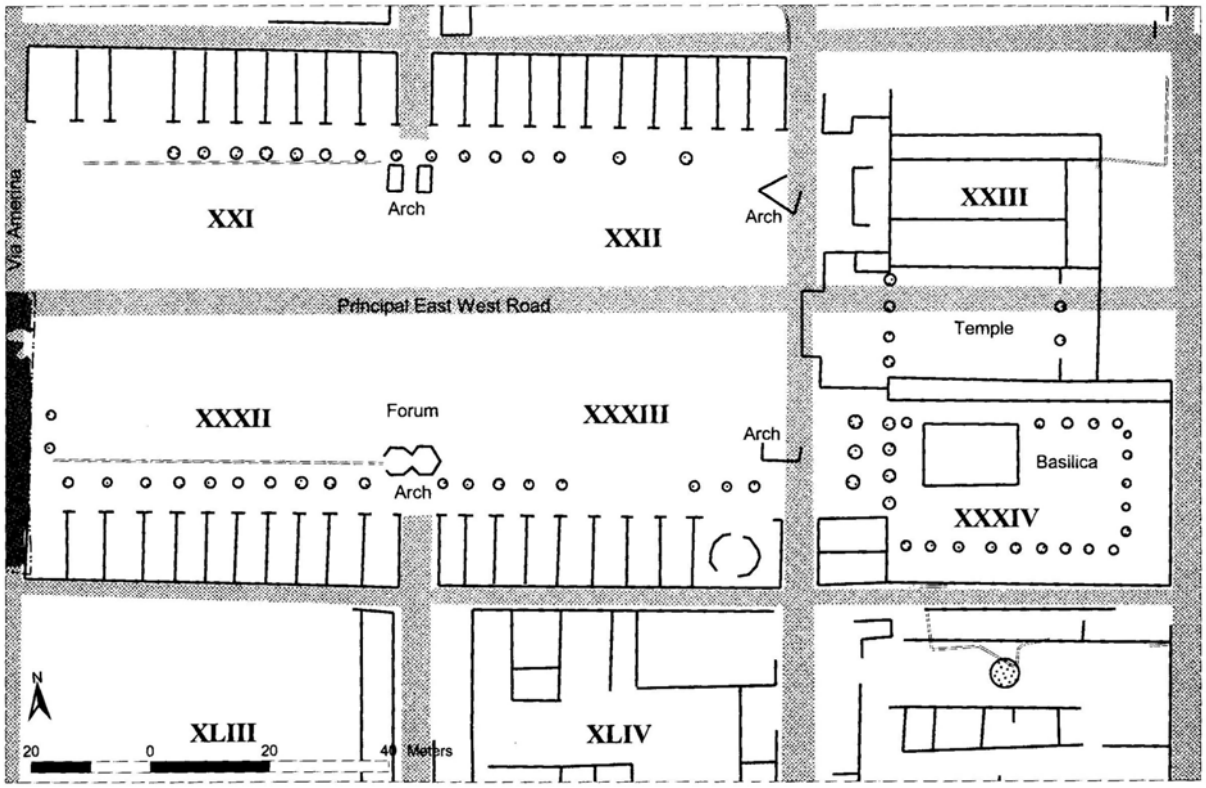

Figure 1.47: Interpretation of the Magnetometry Data from the Forum at Falerii Novi (Keay *et al.* 2000, 37 fig. 26)

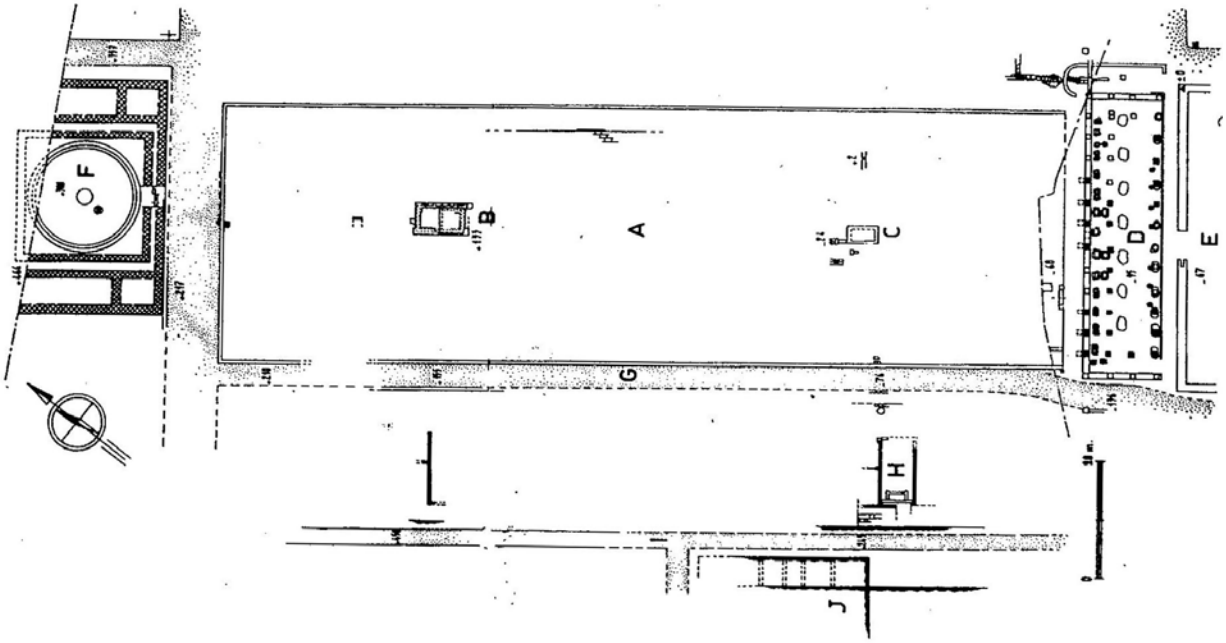

Figure 1.48: Forum at Alba Fucens (Catalli 1992, 31 fig. 19)

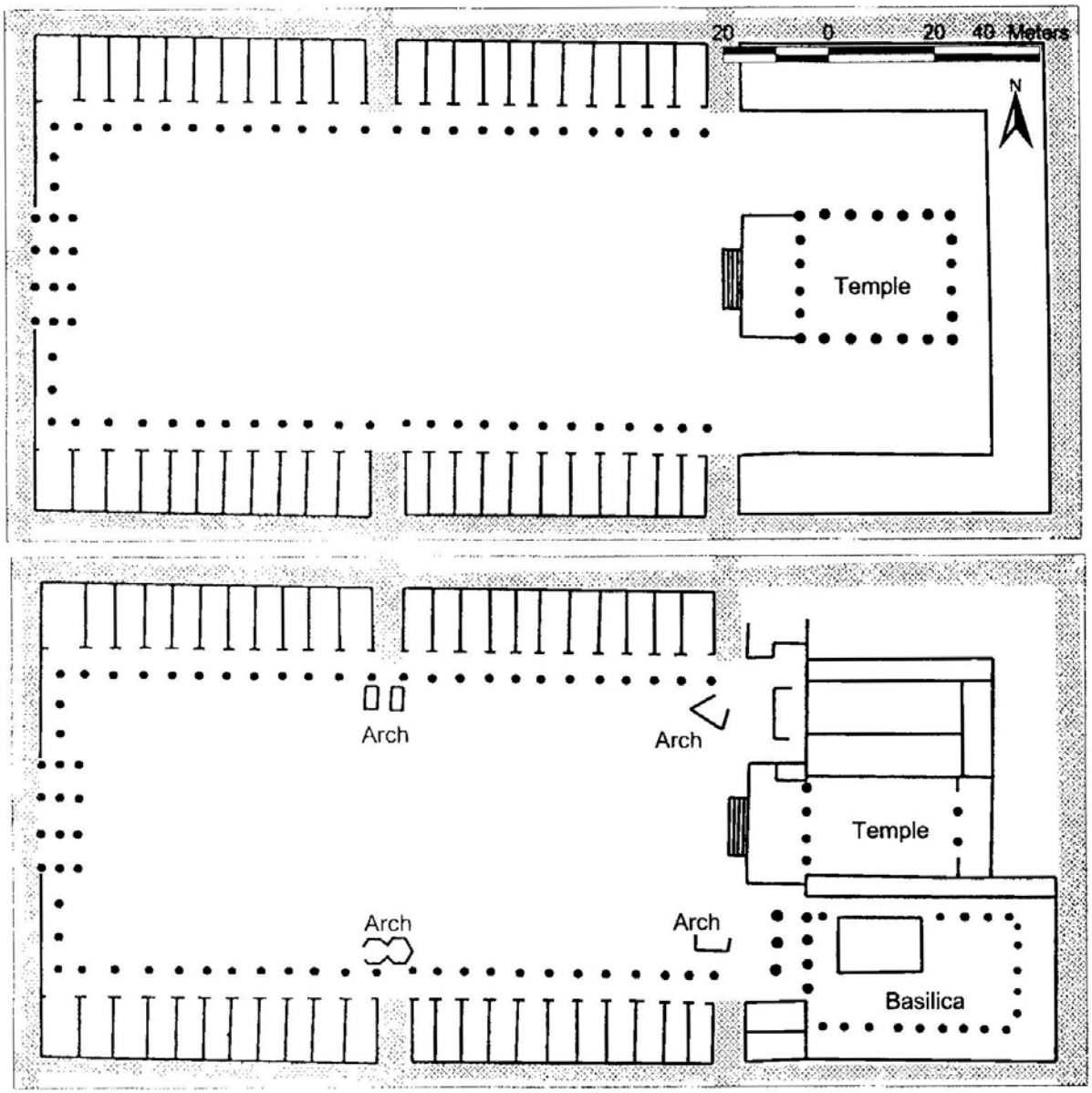

Figure 1.49: Two Phases of the Forum at Falerii Novi, According to the Surveyors (Keay *et al.* 2000, 80 fig. 56)

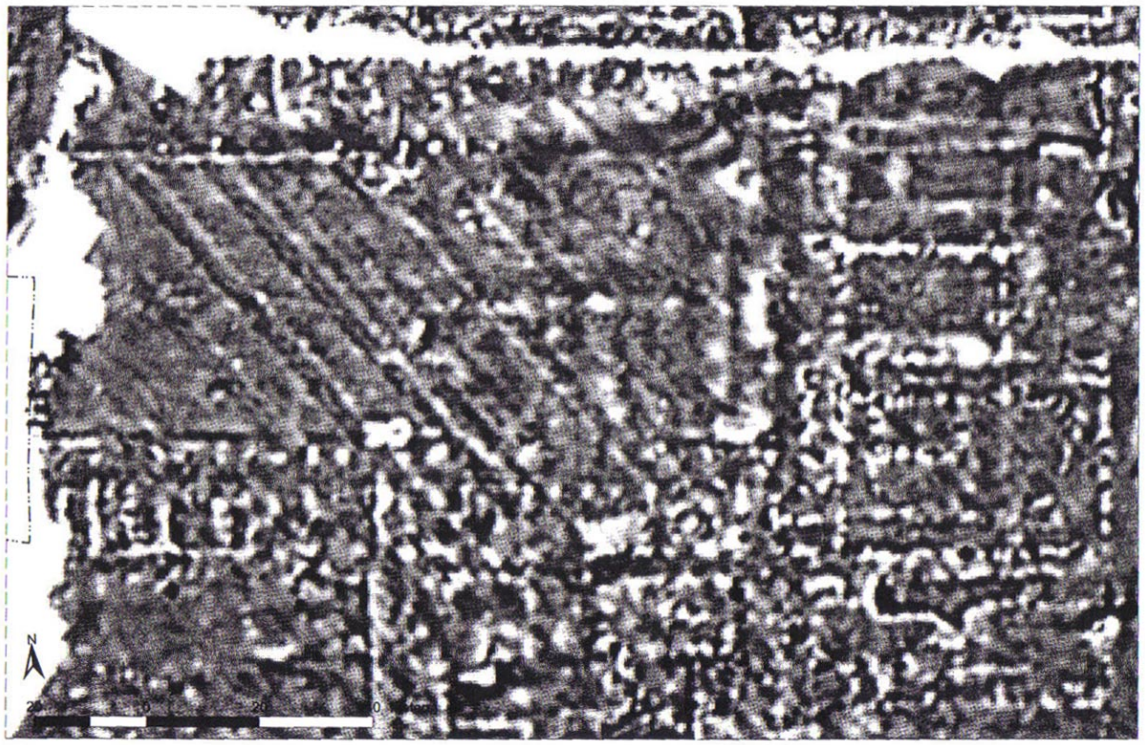

Figure 1.50: Original Magnetometry Data from the Forum Area (Keay *et al.* 2000, 36 fig. 25)

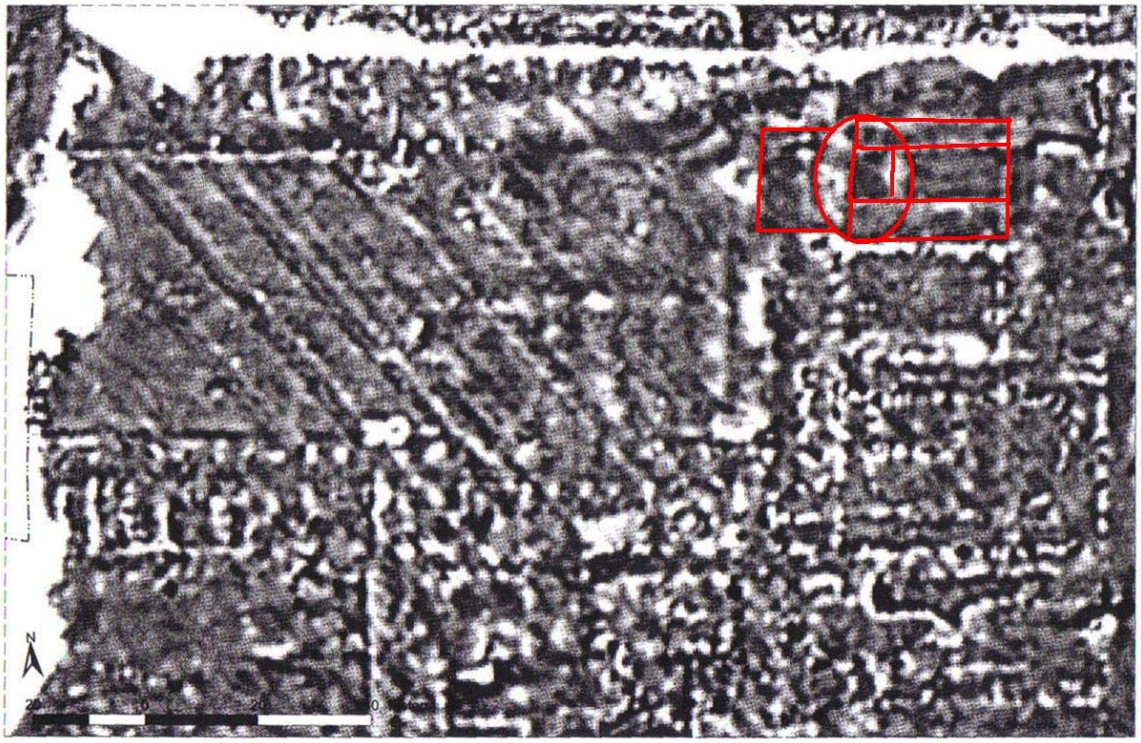

Figure 1.51: Our Interpretation of the Original Magnetometry Data in Figure 1.50

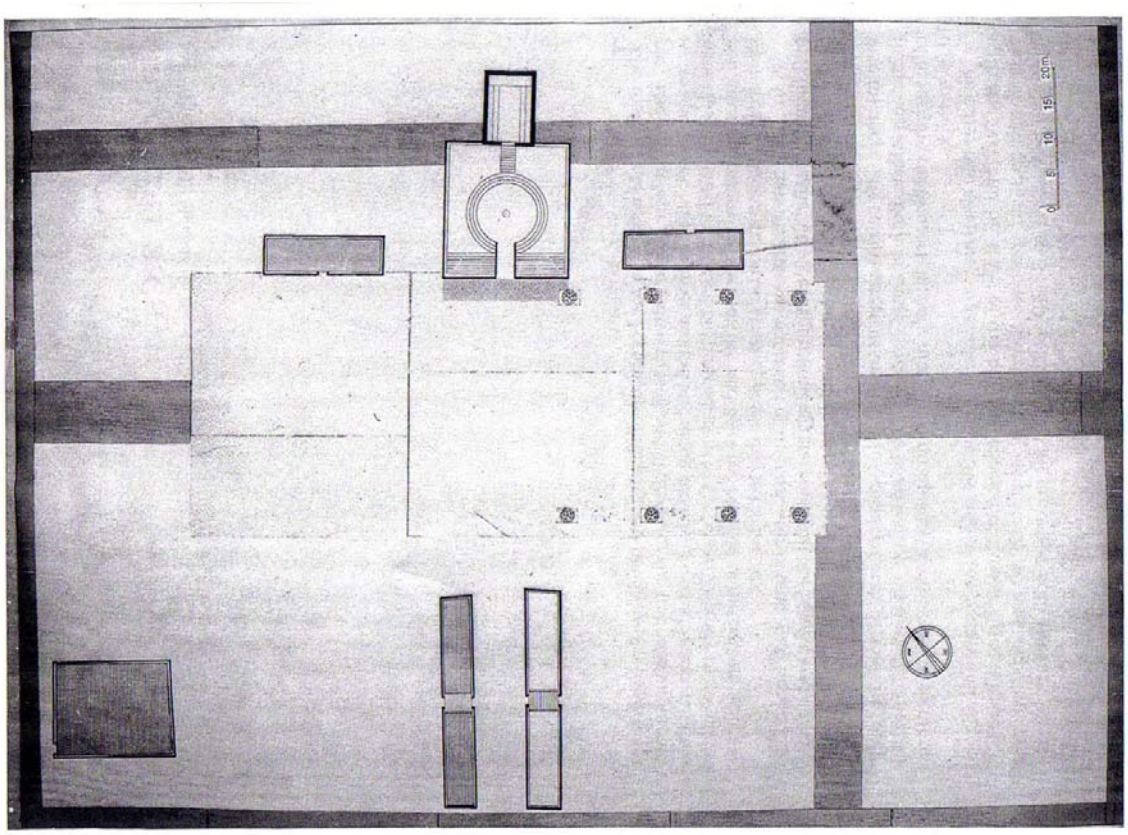

Figure 1.52: First Phase of the Forum at Cosa, as of 241 BC (Brown *et al.* 1993, fig. 4)

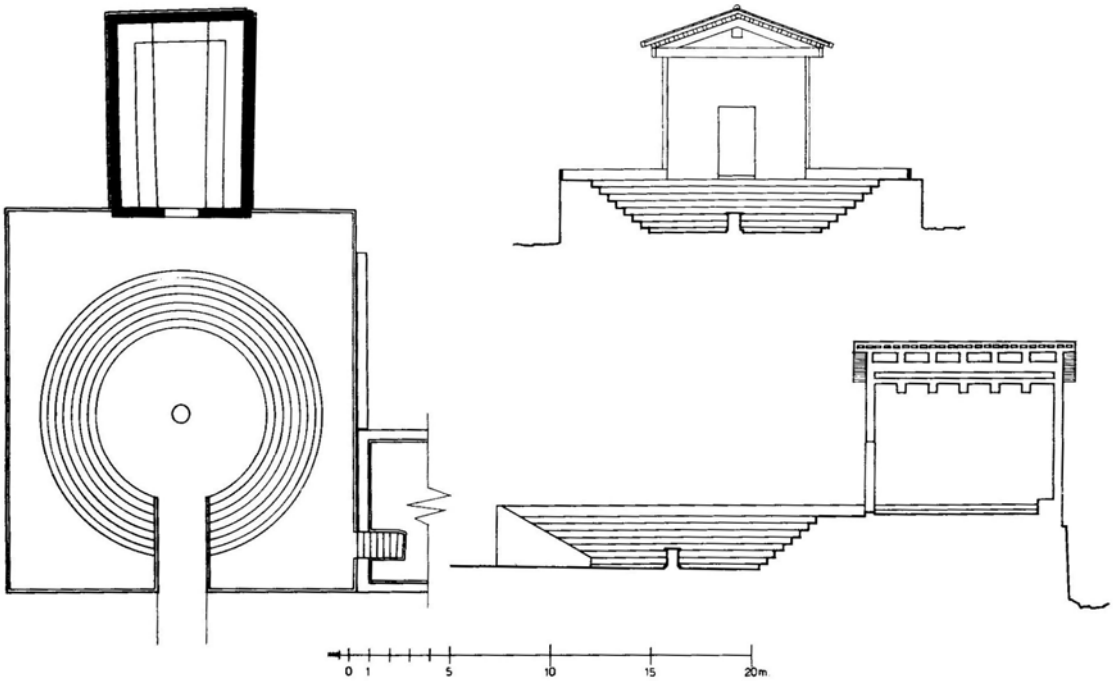

Figure 1.53: Plan and Sections of the Comitium/Curia Complex at Cosa
(Brown *et al.* 1993, fig. 9)

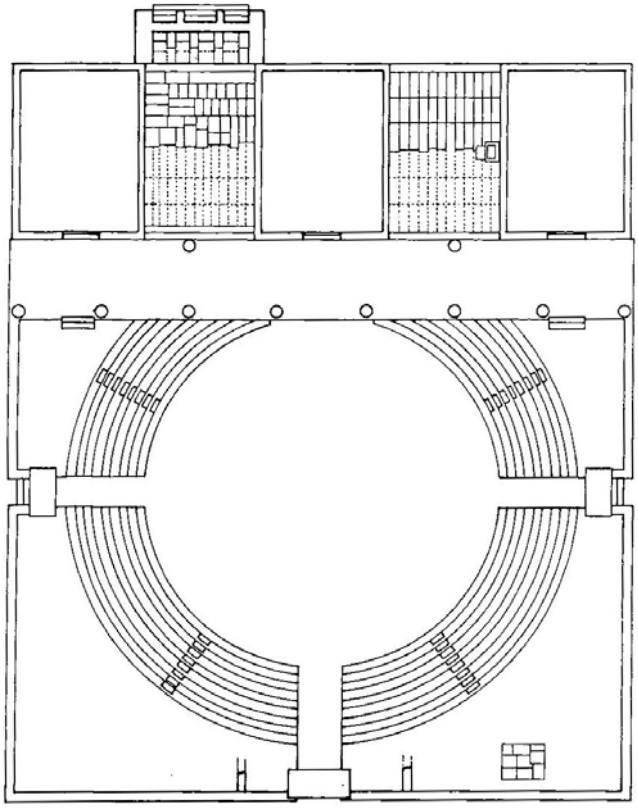

Figure 1.54: Restored Plan of the Comitium Complex at Paestum (Brown *et al.* 1993, fig. 82)

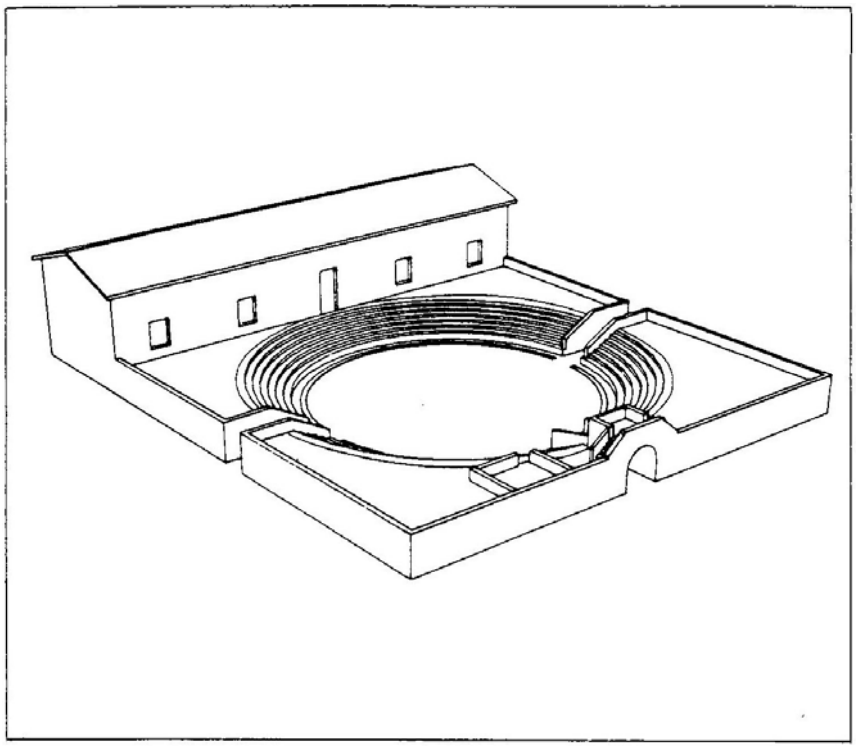

Figure 1.55: Perspectives of the Comitium Complex at Paestum (Greco 1983, 83 fig. 3)

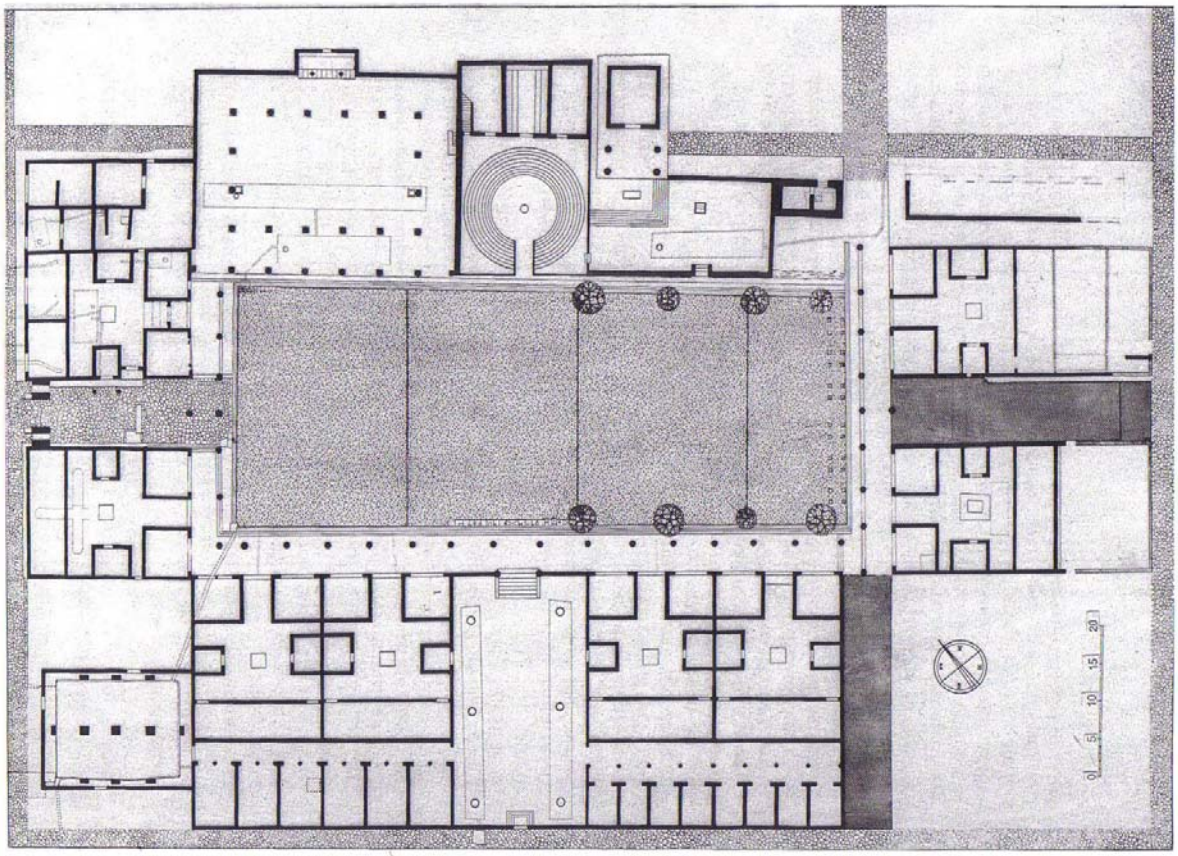

Figure 1.56: Final Phase of the Forum of Cosa, as of 140 (Brown *et al.* 1993, fig. 50)

Figure 1.57: Artist's Reconstruction of the Forum at Cosa in its Completed Form (Brown 1980, fig. 73)

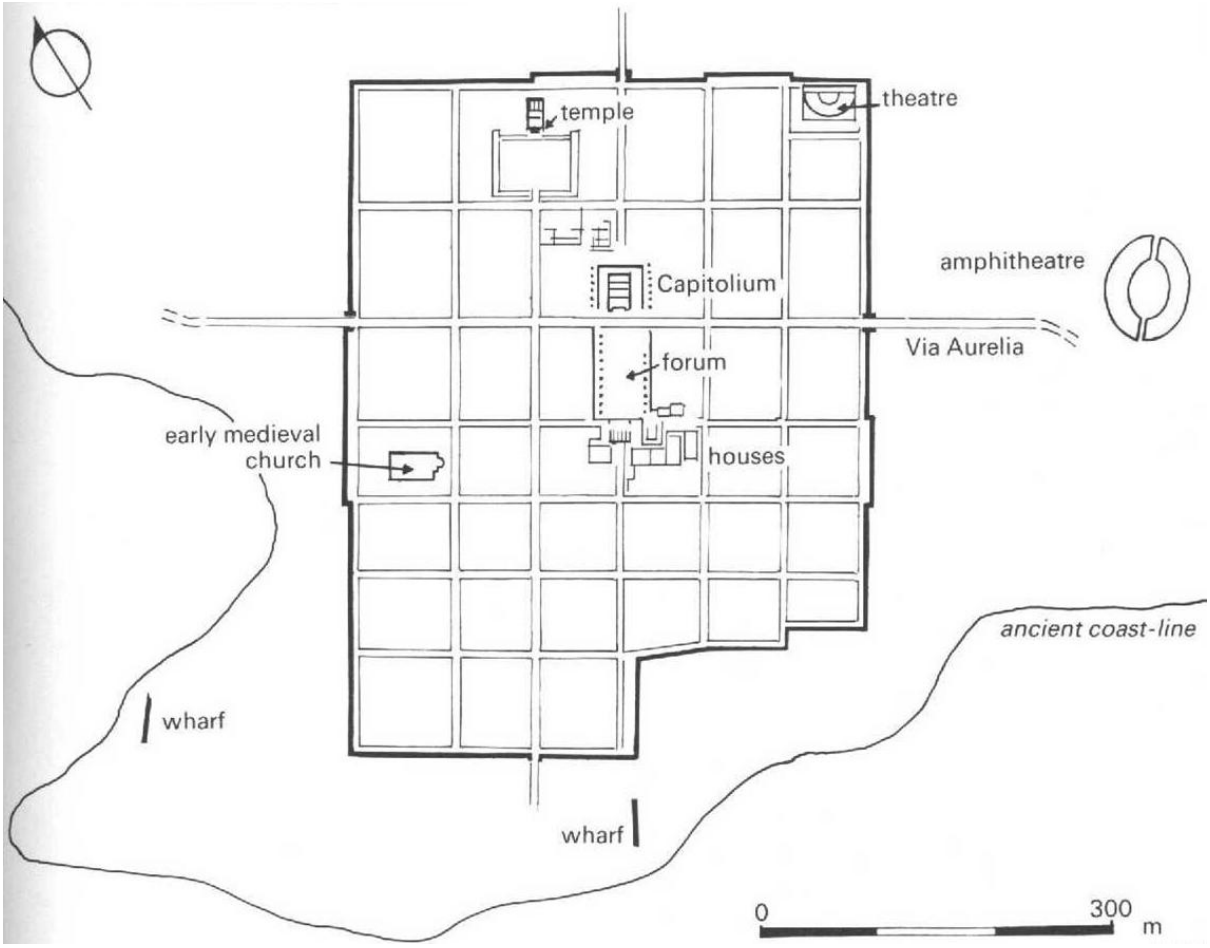

Figure 1.58: Citizen Colony of Luni

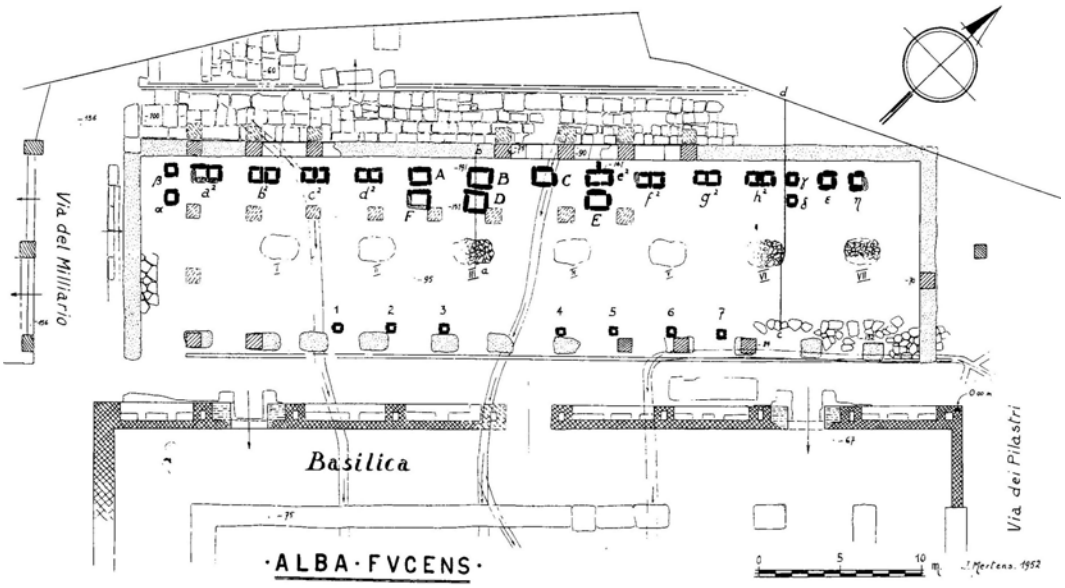

Figure 1.59: Voting Pits at the Southeast End of the Forum at Alba Fucens
(Mertens 1986, 98 fig. 14)

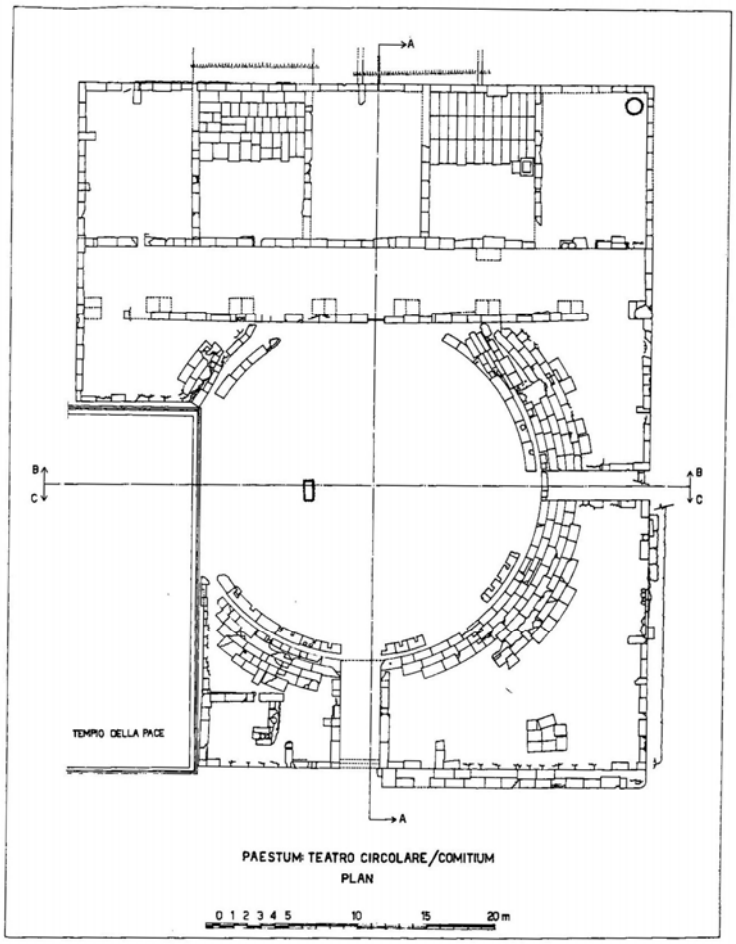

Figure 1.60: State Plan of the Comitium Complex and the So-Called Capitolium at Paestum (Brown 1993, fig. 80)

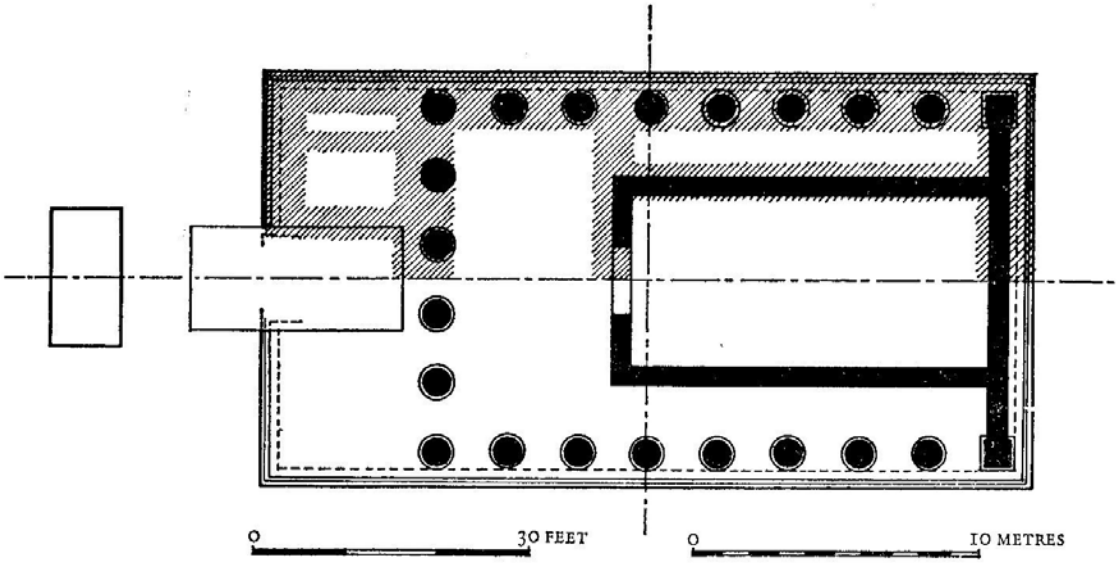

Figure 1.61: Plan of the So-Called Capitolium at Paestum (Boëthius 1993, 112 fig. 66)

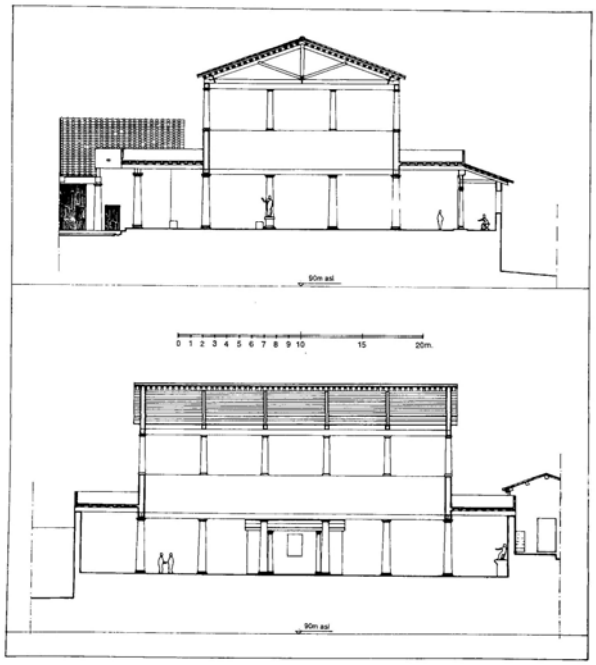

Figure 1.62: Restored Sections of the Basilica at Cosa (Brown *et al.* 1993, fig. 70)

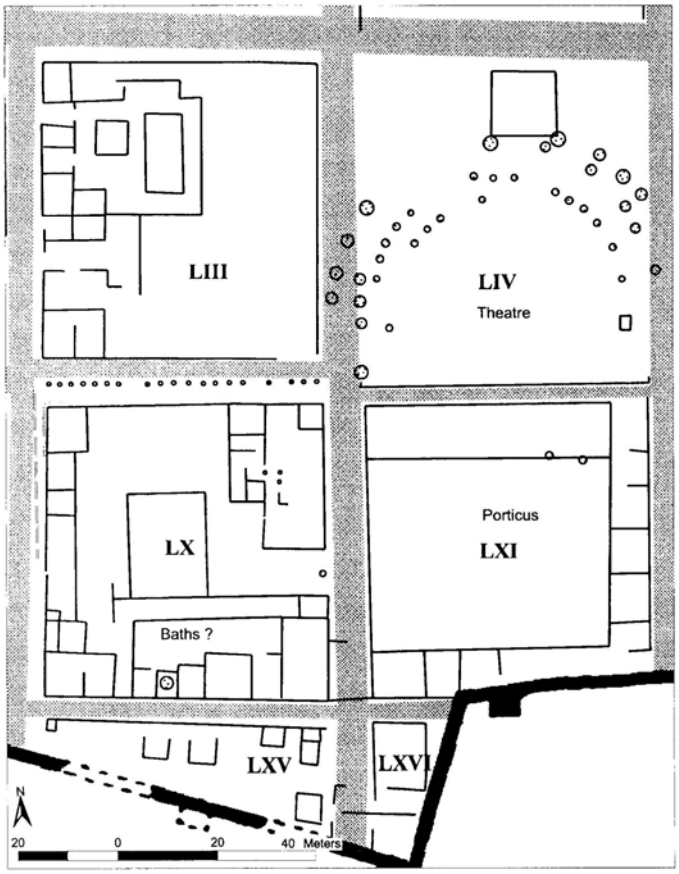

Figure 1.63: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from the Theatre Complex at Falerii Novi (Keay *et al.* 2000, 57 fig. 38)

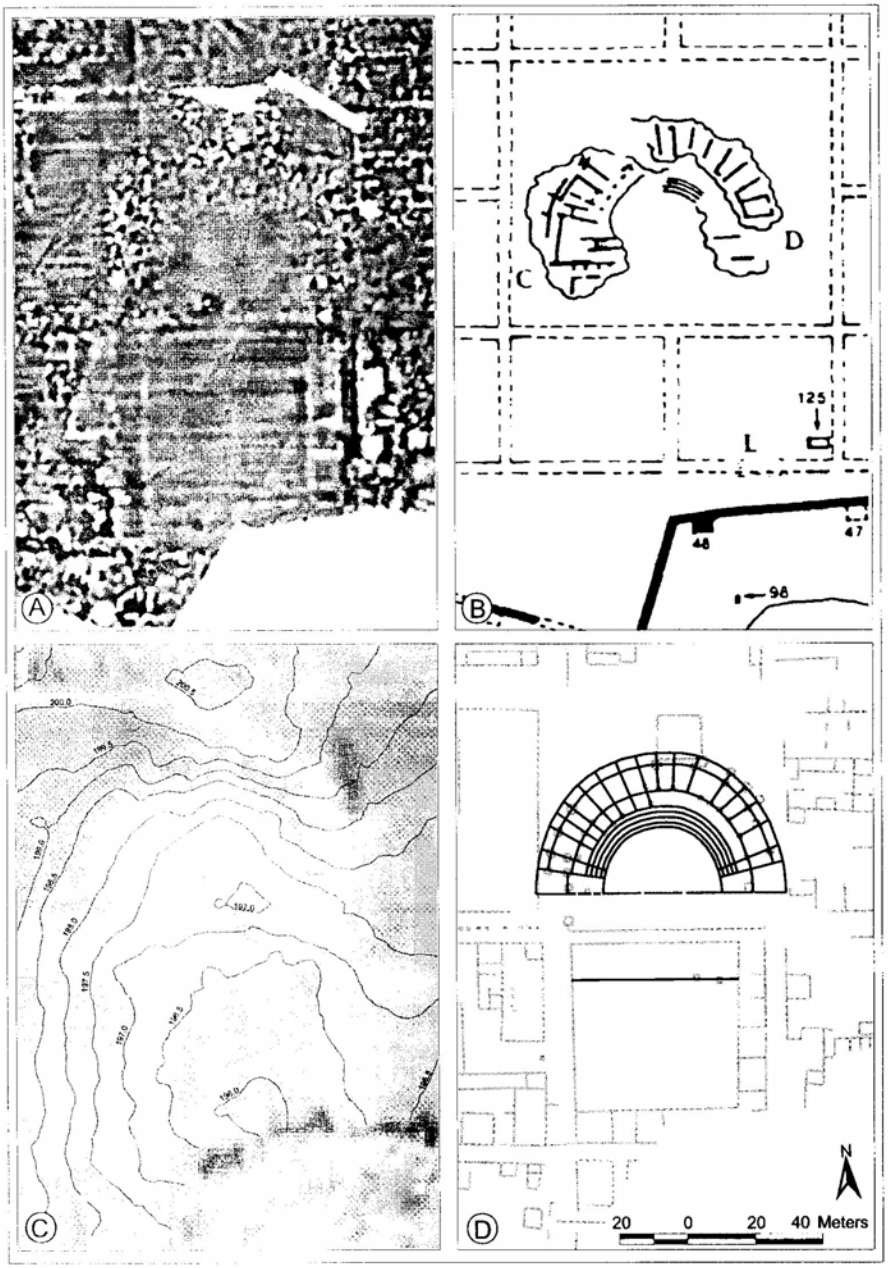

Figure 1.64: Theatre Complex at Falerii Novi: (A) the Magnetometry Data, (B) the Reconstruction of Di Stefano Manzella, (C) RAF Photography, and (D) the Interpretive Plan of the Tiber Valley Project (Keay *et al.* 2000, 78 fig. 55)

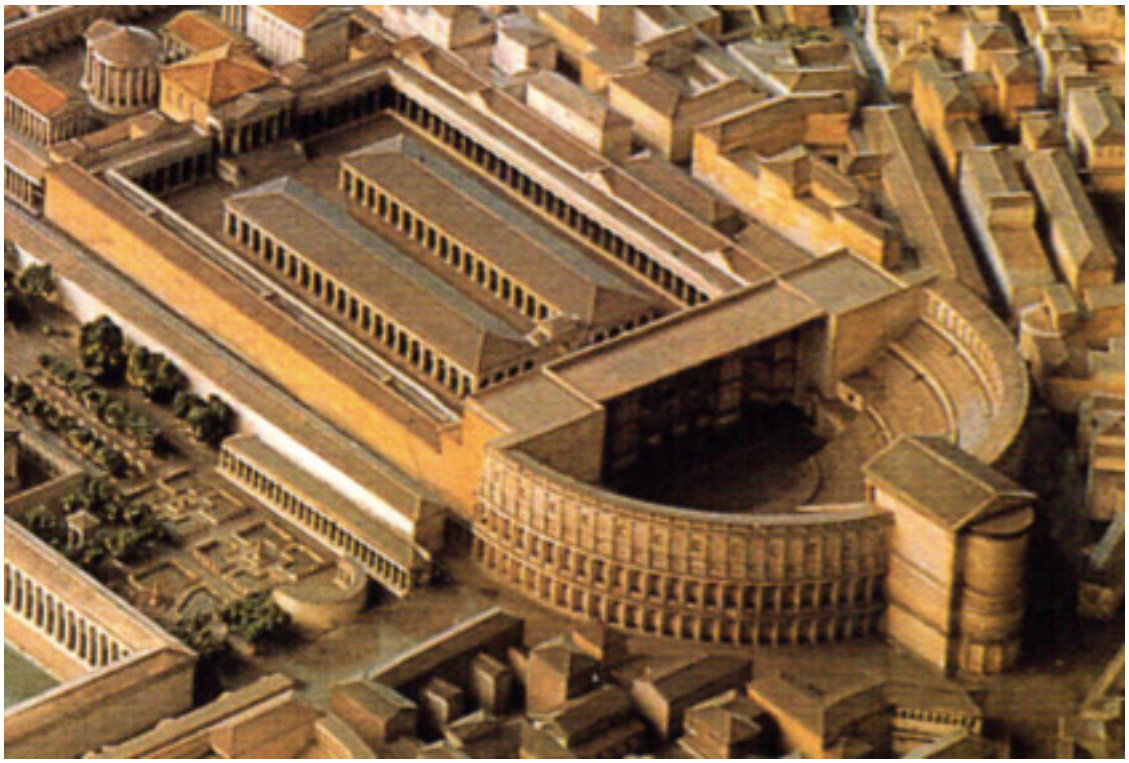

Figure 1.65: Model of the Theatre of Pompey with the Associated Temple of Venus Victrix in Rome

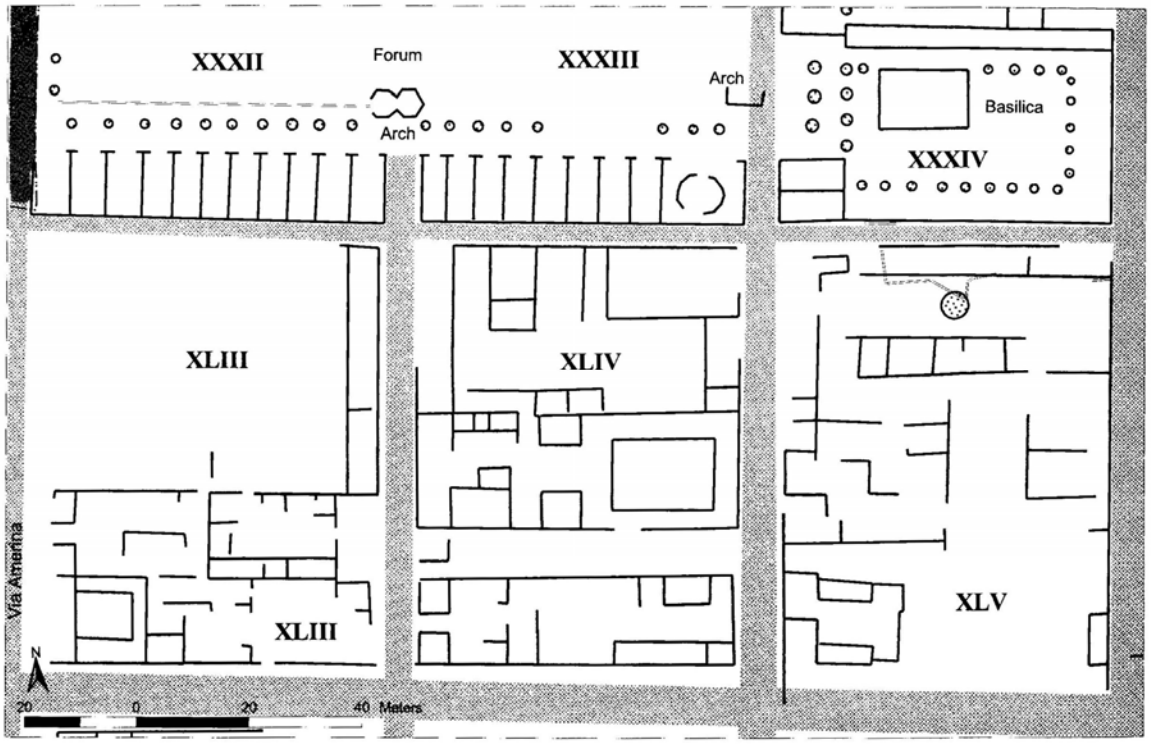

Figure 1.66: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from *Insulae* XLIII, XLIV, and XLV (Keay *et al.* 2000, 41 fig. 28)

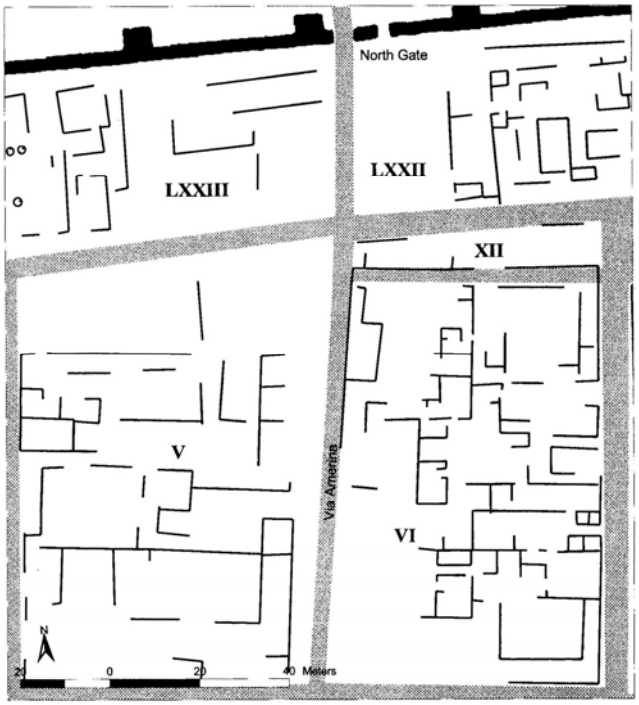

Figure 1.67: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from *Insulae* V, VI, XII, LXXII, and LXXIII (Keay *et al.* 2000, 19 fig. 14)

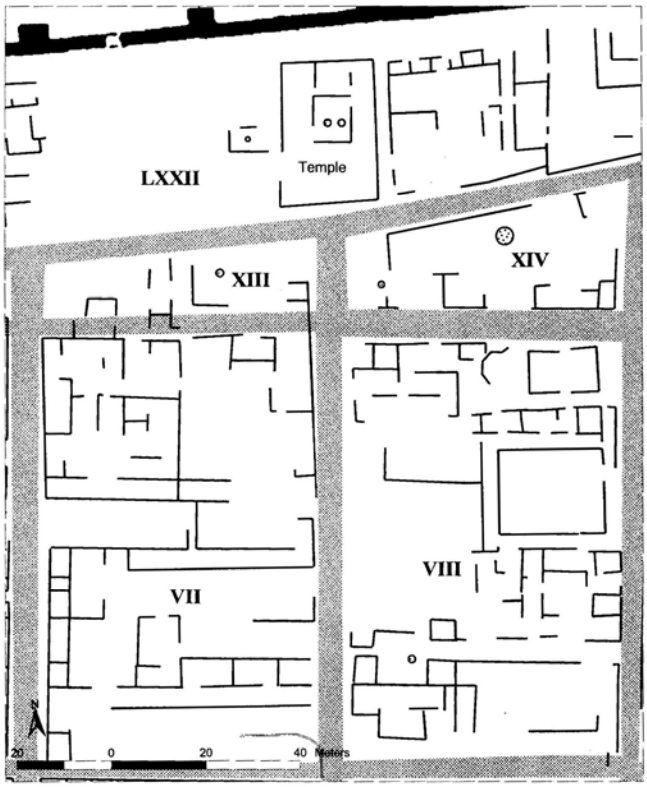

Figure 1.68: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from *Insulae* VII, VIII, XIII, XIV, and LXXII (Keay *et al.* 2000, 23 fig. 16)

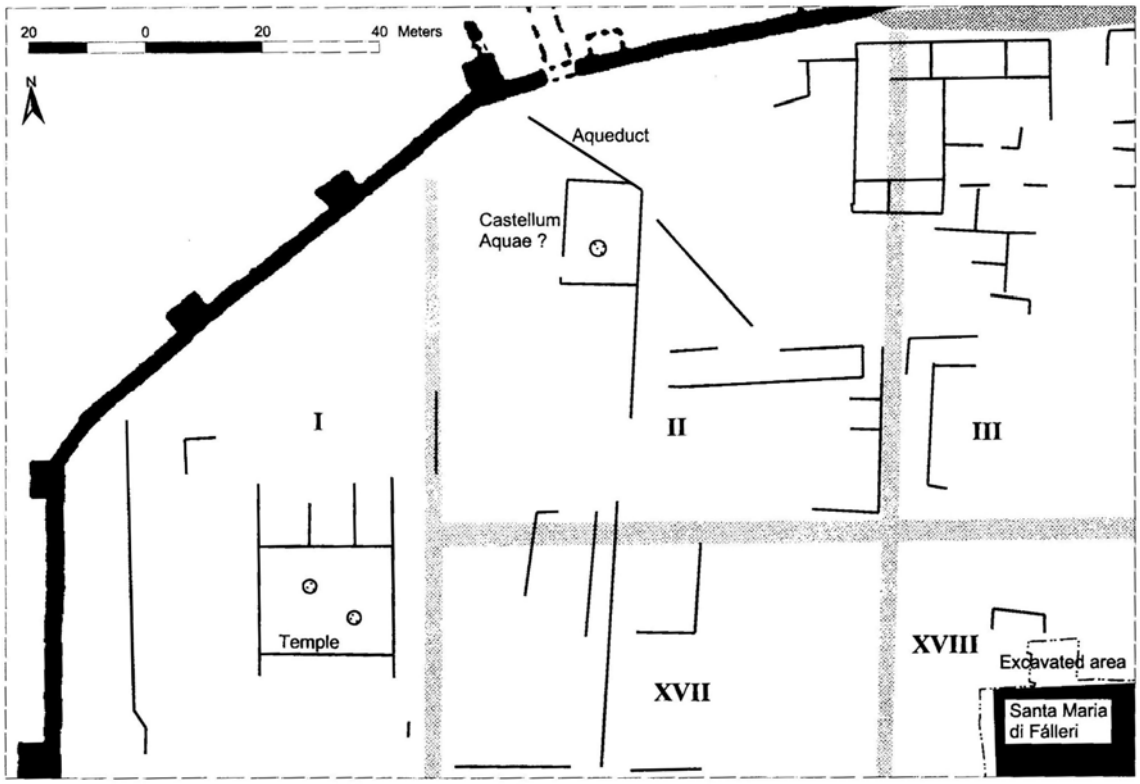

Figure 1.69: Interpretation of the Magnetometry Data from the *Insulae* inside the West Gate to the North, Highlighting the So-Called Capitolium in *Insula* I (Keay *et al.* 2000, 13 fig. 10)

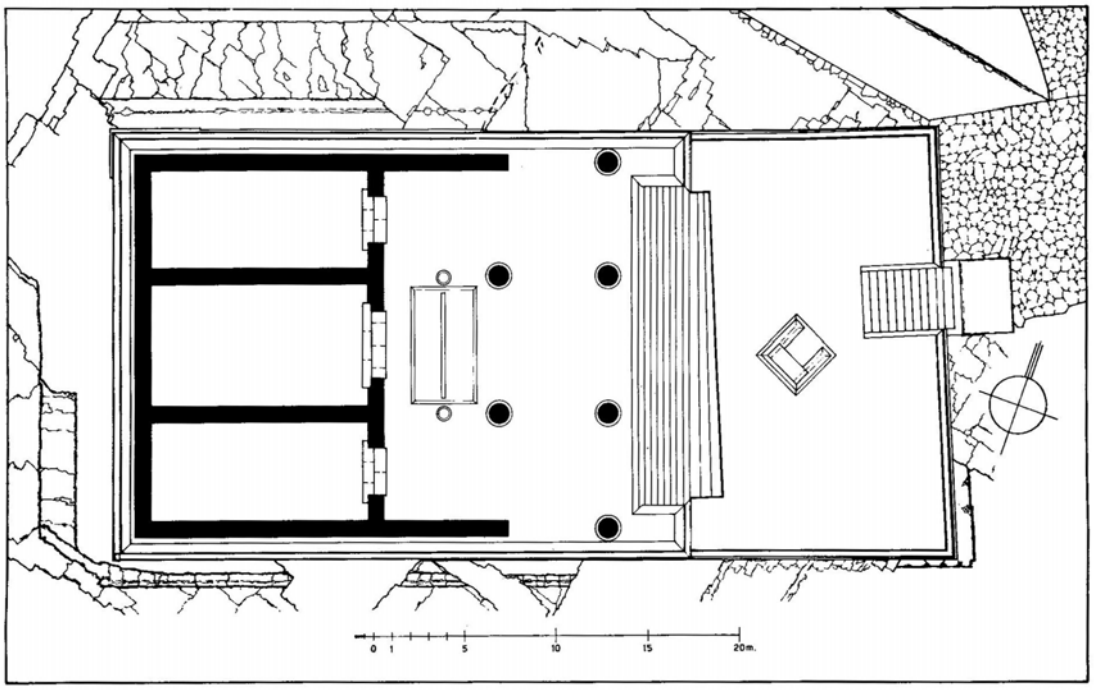

Figure 1.70: Plan of the Capitolium on the Arx of Cosa (Brown 1980, fig. 60)

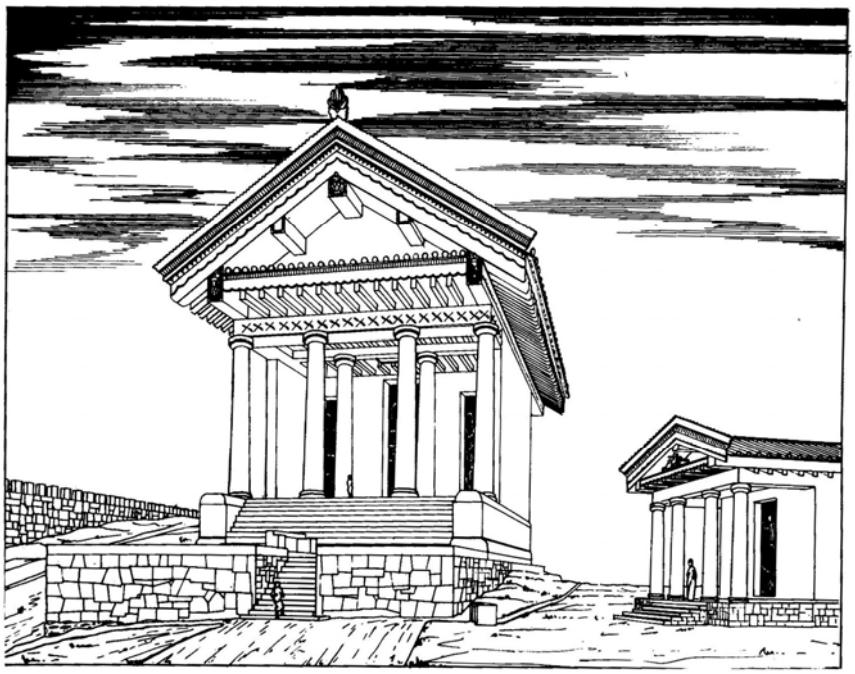

Figure 1.71: Artist's Reconstruction of the Capitolium at Cosa (Brown 1980, fig. 68)

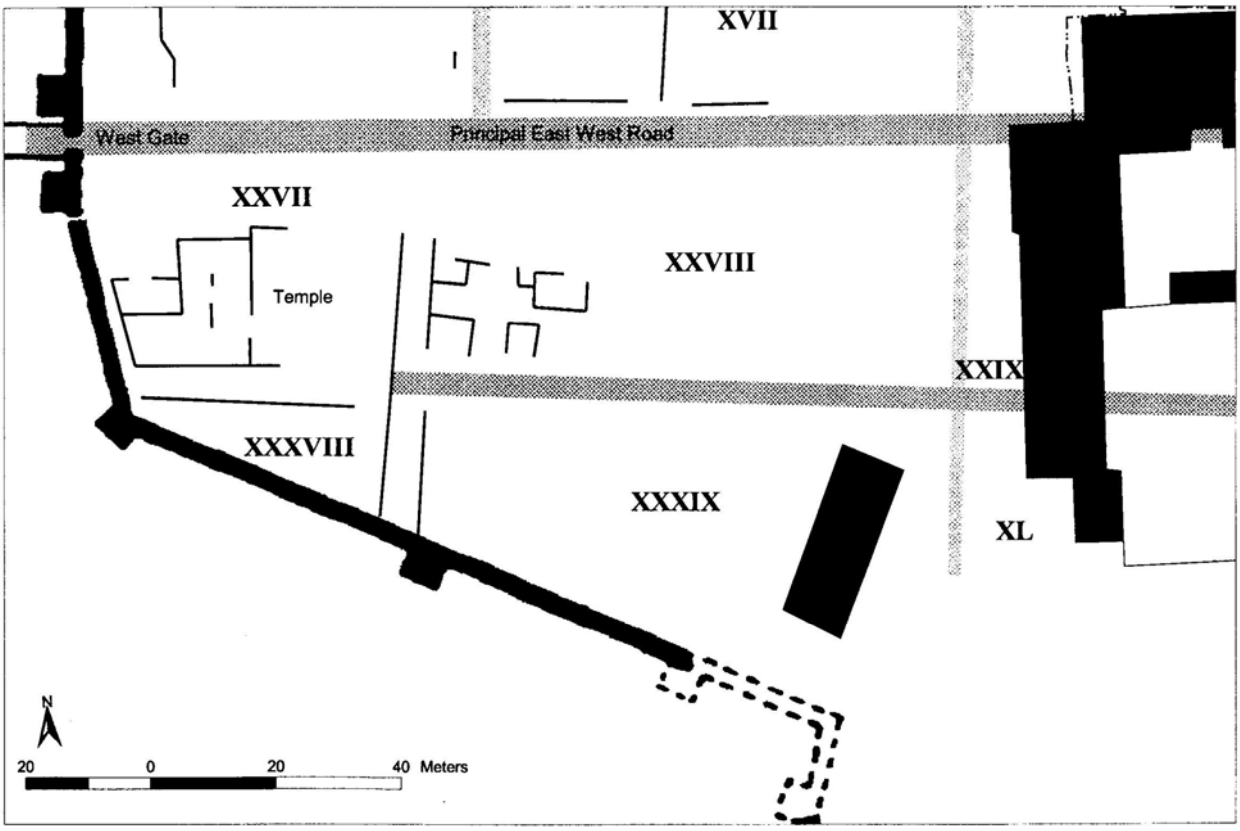

Figure 1.72: Interpretation of the Magnetometry Data from the *Insulae* inside the West Gate to the South, Highlighting the Temple in *Insula* XXVII
(Keay *et al.* 2000, 31 fig. 22)

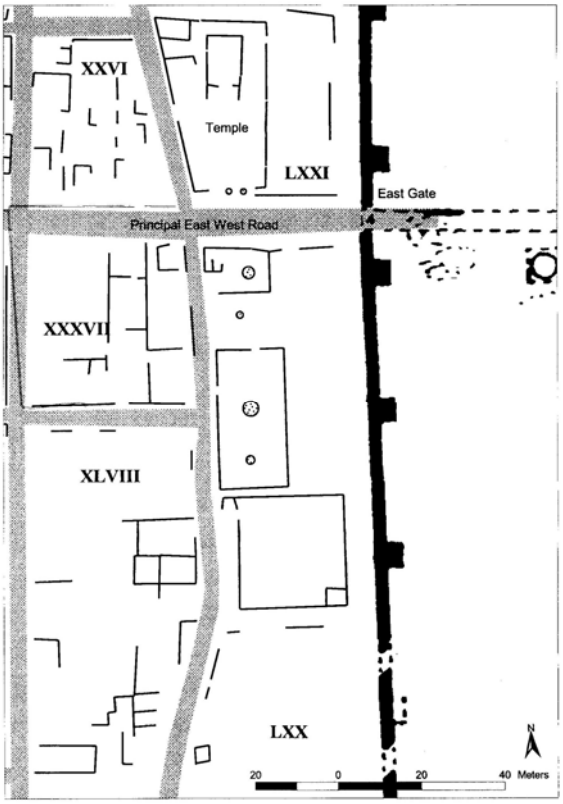

Figure 1.73: Interpretation of the Magnetometry Data from the *Insulae* inside the East Gate, Highlighting the Temple in *Insula* LXXI (Keay *et al.* 2000, 47 fig. 32)

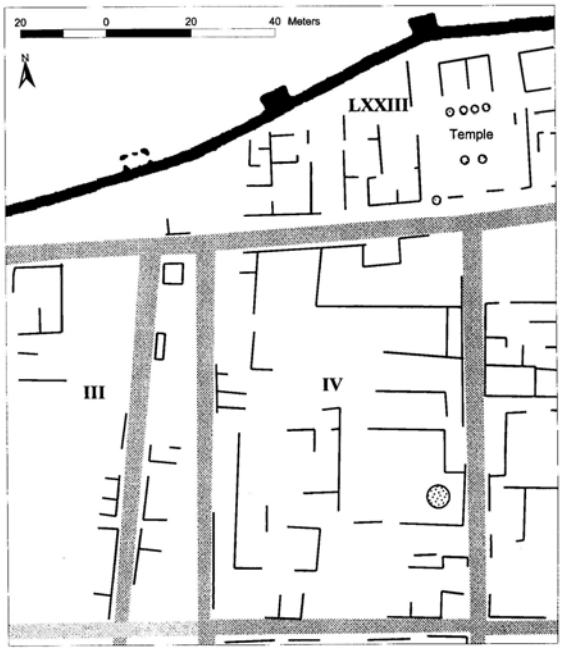

Figure 1.74: Interpretation of Magnetometry Data from *Insulae* III, IV, and LXXIII, Highlighting the Temple at the Head of the Street Separating IV and V (Keay *et al.* 2000, 17 fig. 12)

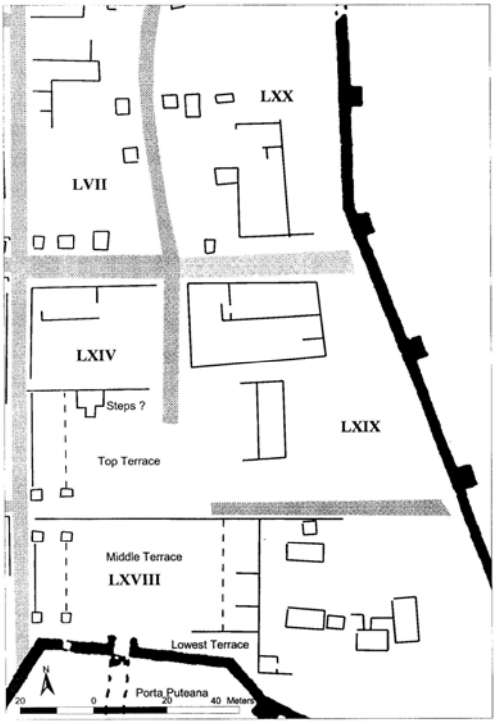

Figure 1.75: Interpretation of the Magnetometry Data inside the Porta Puteana, Highlighting the Sequence of Terraces in *Insulae* LXVIII and XLIV
(Keay *et al.* 2000, 63 fig. 42)

Figure 1.76: Satellite Image of Falerii Novi from *Google Earth*

Figure 1.77: 2004 Survey Points Superimposed onto the Geophysical Plan of the Tiber Valley Project

Figure 1.78: Thick Overgrowth on the South Side of the City Including a Tree Growing Through the Ancient City Wall

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Figure 1.80: Modern Farming Structure at the East End of the Large Gap in the Vicinity of the Southwest Corner, from the Southwest

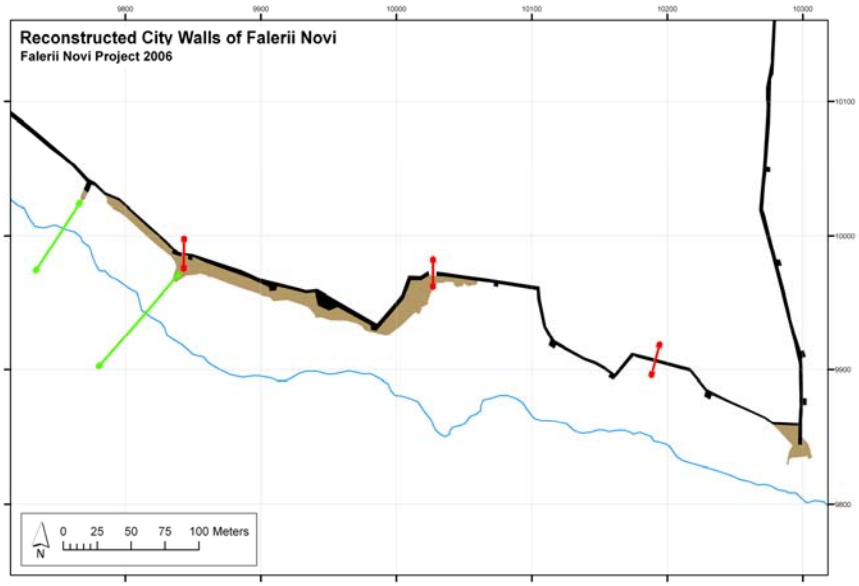


Figure 1.81: Schematic View of the South Wall as Reconstructed by the Falerii Novi Project

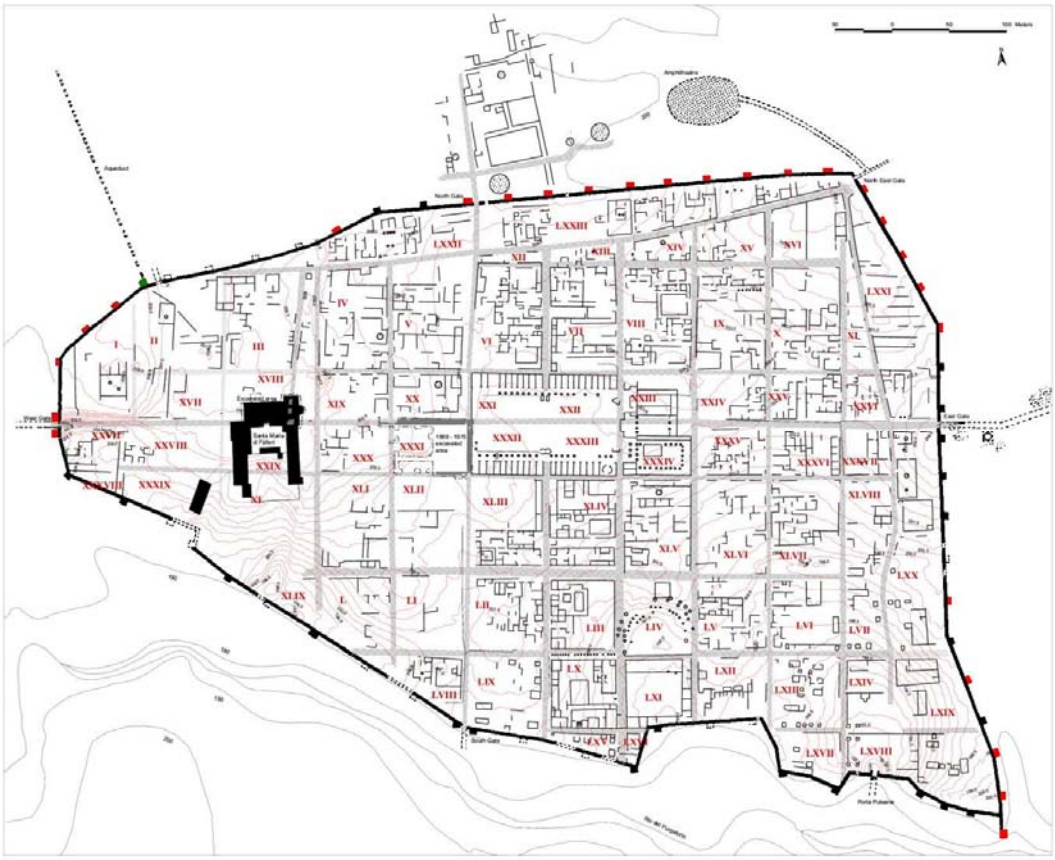
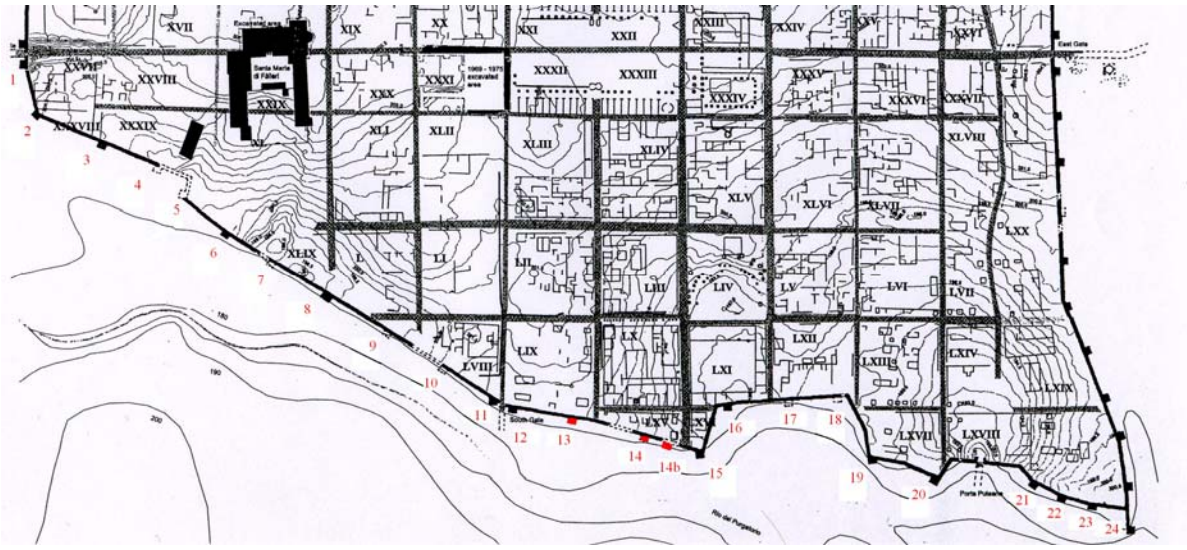


Figure 1.82: Geophysical Plan of Falerii Novi Highlighting All of the Towers that were Visible in 2005 and 2006 in Red (West, North, and East Sides Only) and the Aqueduct Pier in Green

Figure 1.83: Aqueduct Pier in the Northwest Corner of the City, from the Northeast



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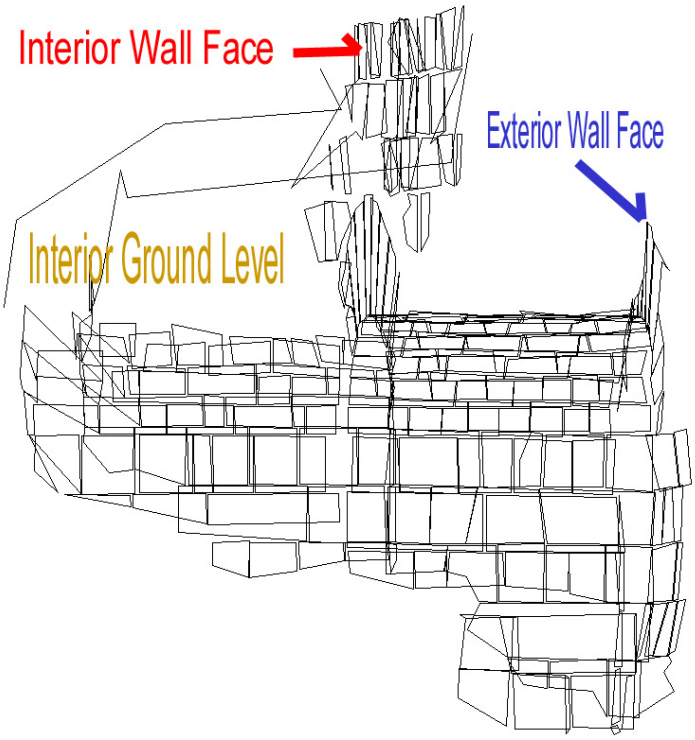

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Figure 1.101: South Gate with Main Features Labelled

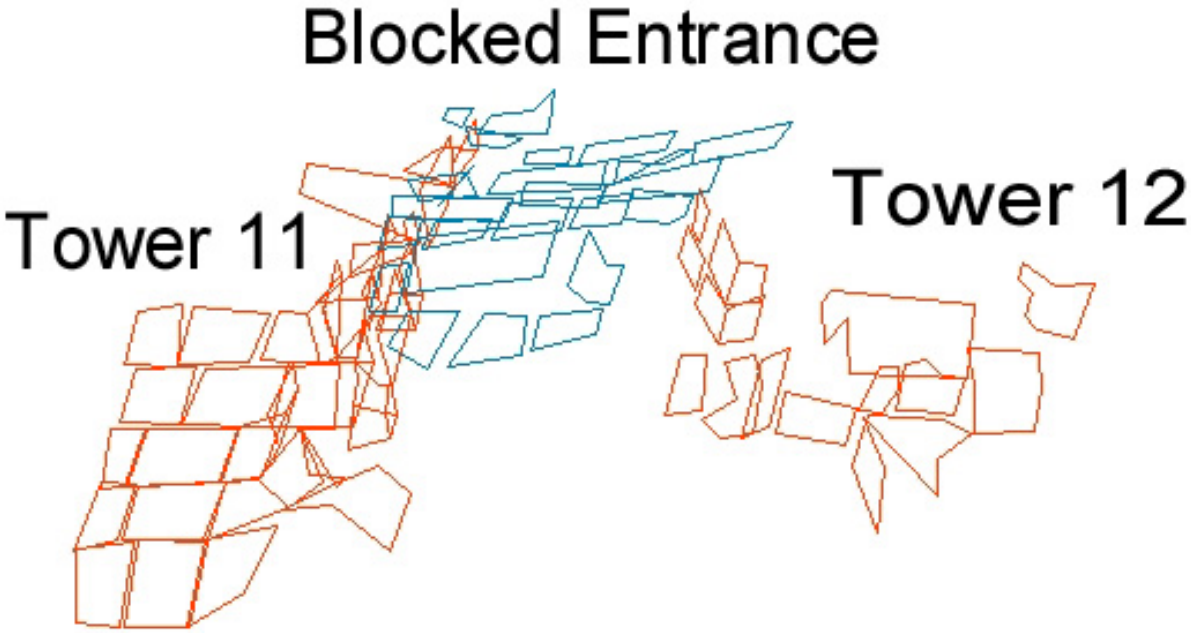

Figure 1.102: Schematic Rendering of the South Gate, Oblique View

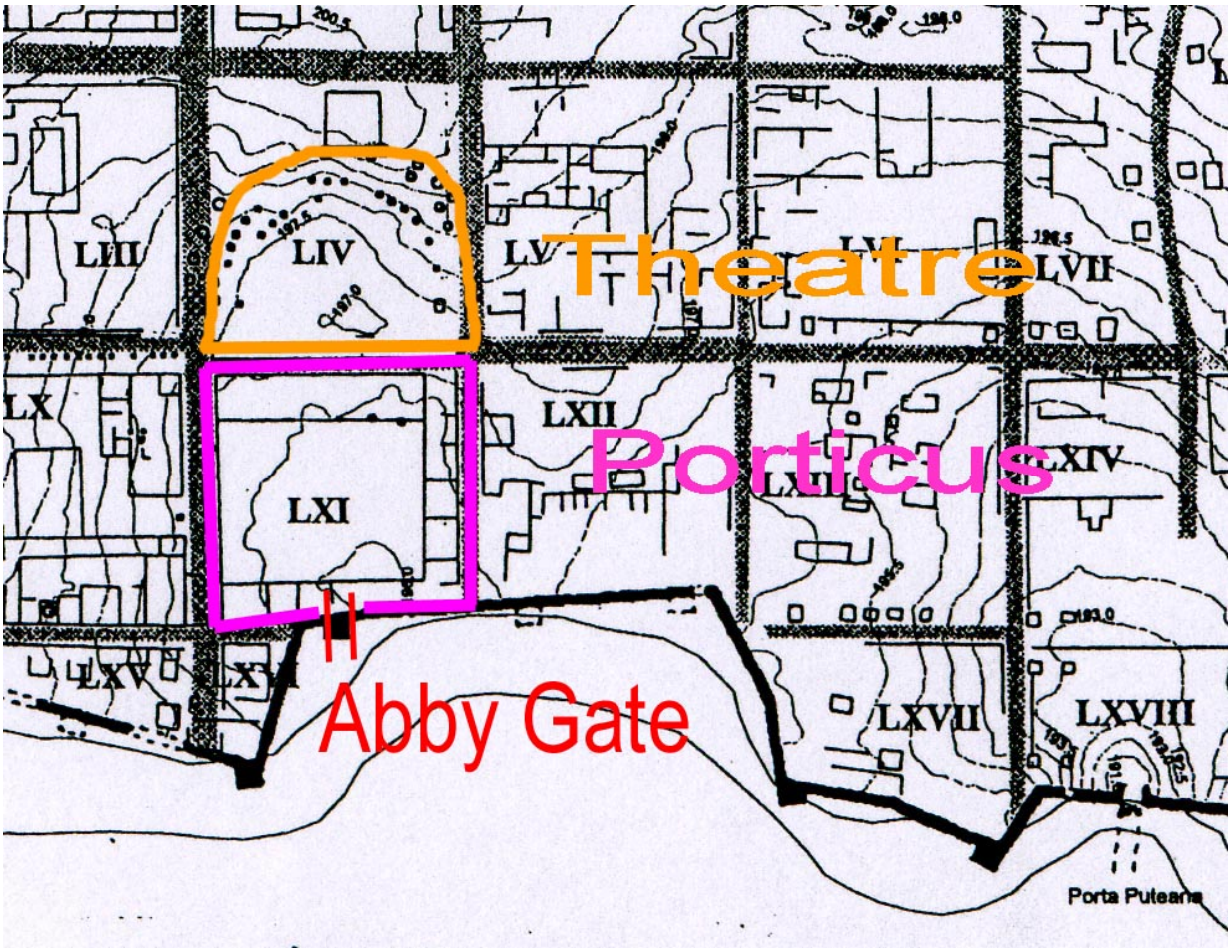

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Figure 1.108: Repair Work to the West of the Small Gate in Figure 1.106

Figure 1.109: Second Small Gate in the Northeast Corner

Figure 1.110: Porta all'Arco at Volaterrae

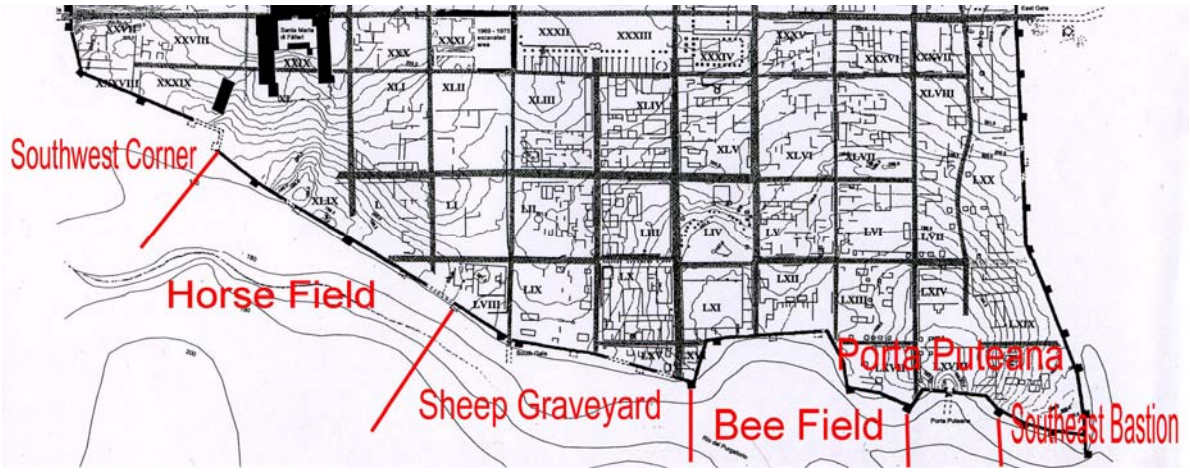

Figure 1.111: Arbitrary Divisions of the South Wall Used by the Falerii Novi Project Survey Team

Figure 1.112: Integration of Bedrock into the City Walls in the Vicinity of the Northwest Corner, from the Southeast

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Figure 1.115: Oblique View of the Land Bridge Carrying the Via Amerina, from the Northeast

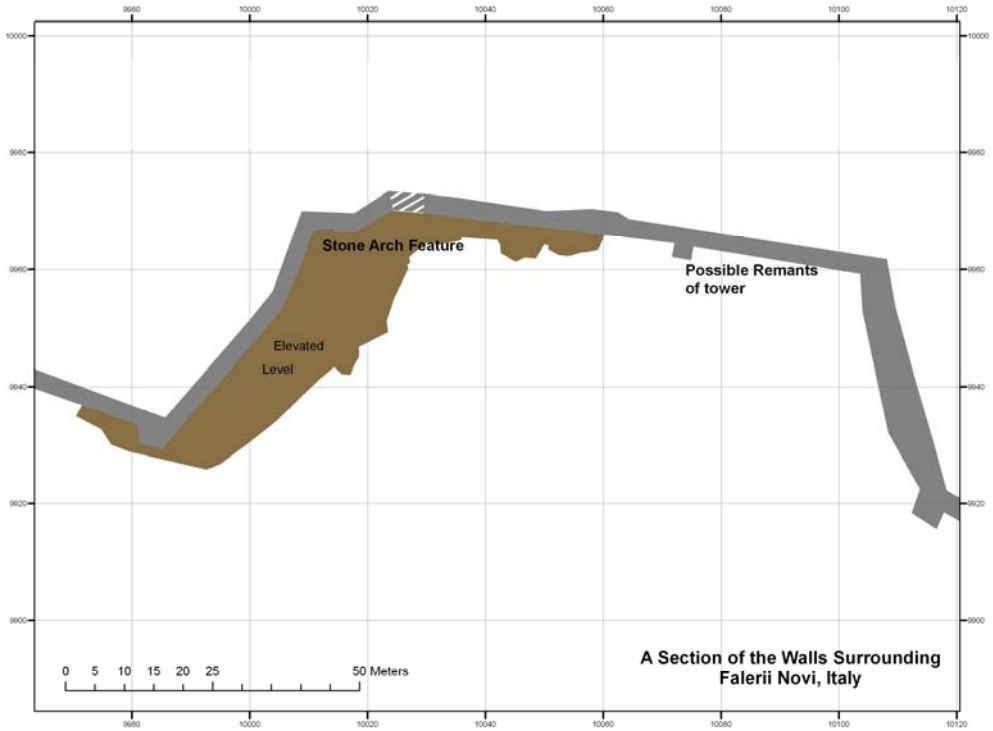

Figure 1.116: Schematic Rendering of the Terraces Between the South Gate and the Abby Gate (here labelled “Stone Arch Feature”)

Figure 1.117: The Various Levels in the Vicinity of the Sheep Graveyard, Highlighting the Modern Path Leading into the City (far left, highest level), the Path Linking the South Gate to the Abby Gate (middle, not visible because of debris), and the Level of the Quarry Trench (far right, lowest level), from the West

Figure 1.118: Modern Path Leading into the City, Highlighting the Modern Retaining Wall (left) from the East

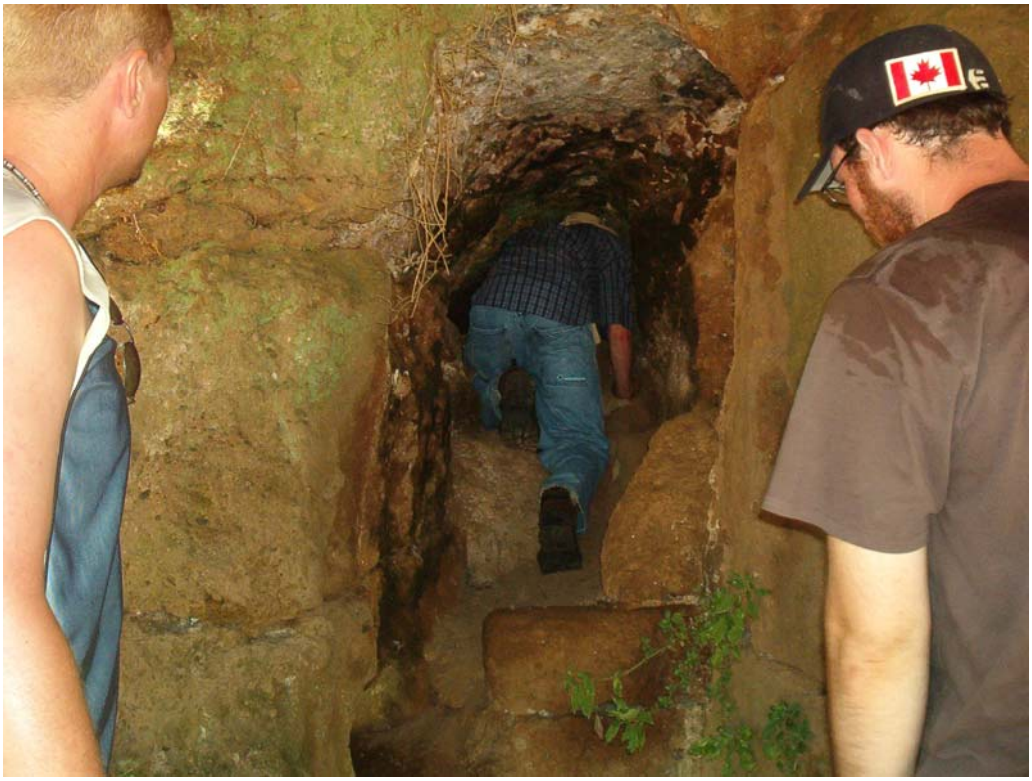

Figure 1.119: Tall Narrow Niche in the Vicinity of the Southwest Corner

Figure 1.120: Shallow Niches in the Vicinity of the Sheep Graveyard


Figure 1.121: Large Open-Faced Tomb in the Vicinity of the Horse Field


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Figure 1.125: Large Open-Faced Chamber in the Vicinity of the Bee Field, Modified by Masonry

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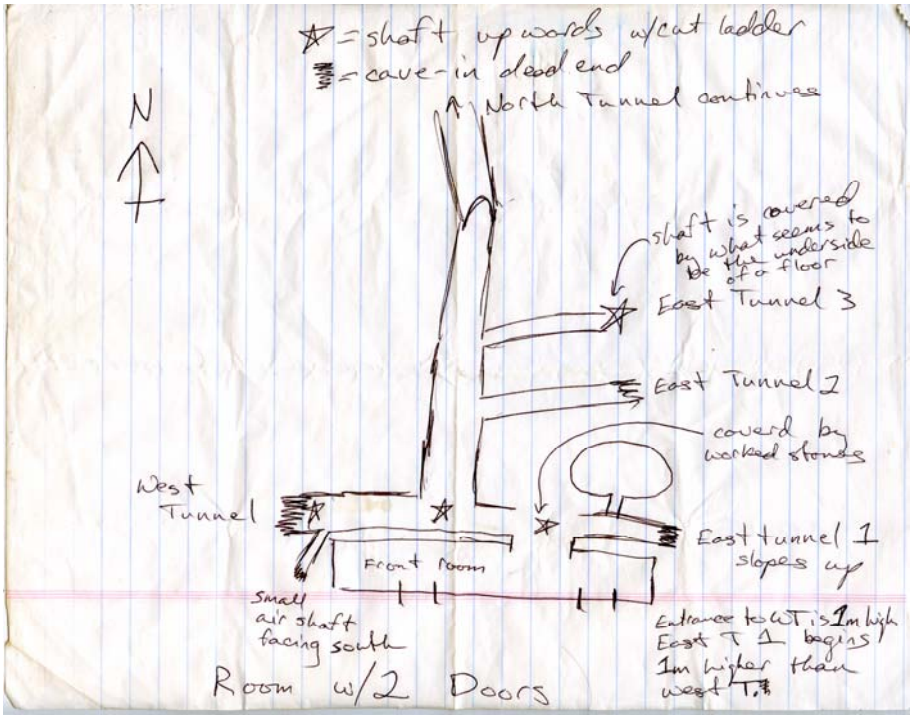


Figure 1.127: Sketch of Subterranean Tunnels Featuring a Round Chamber


Figure 1.128: First of Three Successive Chambers, Linked by Narrow Doorways

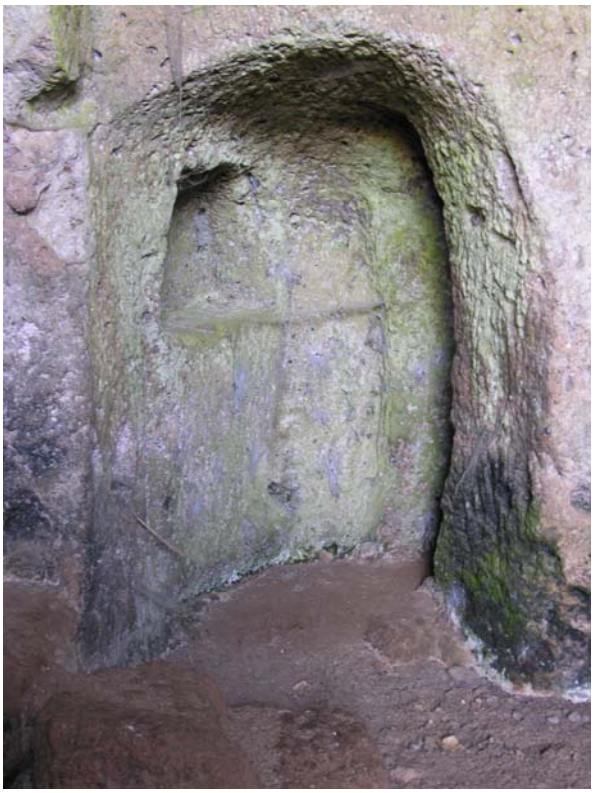


Figure 1.129: Entrance to a Narrow Passage Running behind the Three Chambers in Figure 1.128

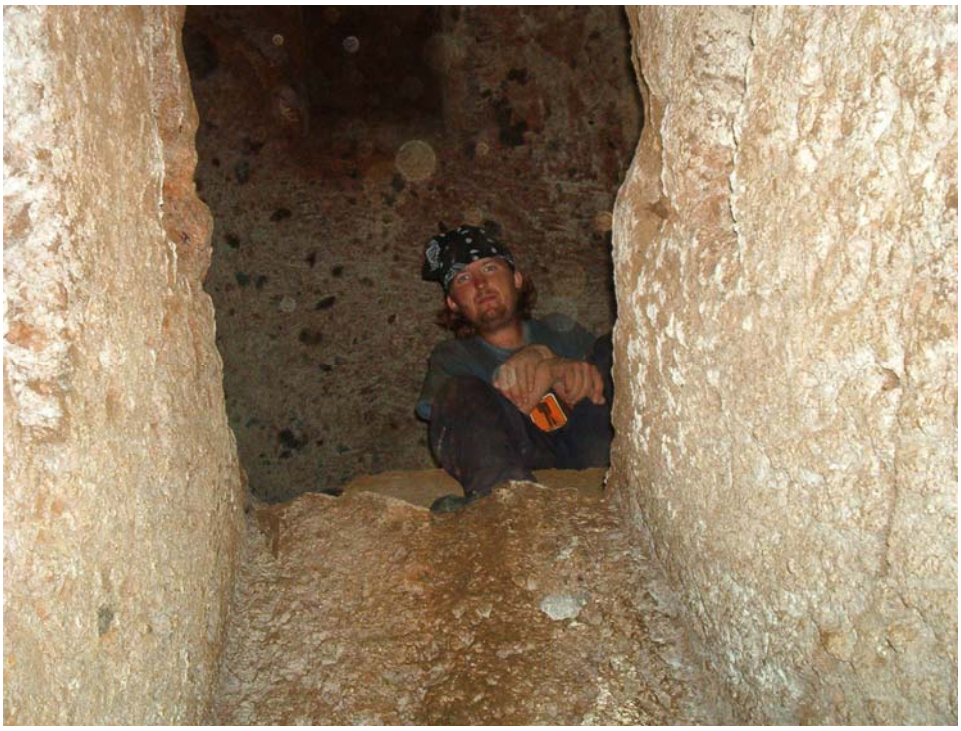


Figure 1.130: Vertical Shaft with Carved Hand-Holds (visible on the right) Accessing the Shaft Network in Figure 1.127

Figure 1.131: Installations Carved within a Large Chamber Tomb in the Vicinity of the Horse Field

Figure 1.32: Shallow Basin Carved in the Northwest Corner of a Large Chamber Tomb in the Vicinity of the Sheep Graveyard

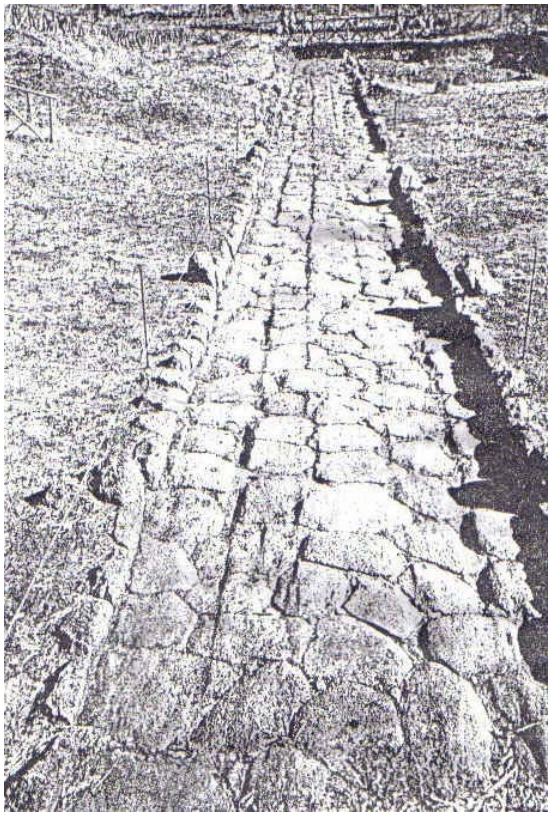


Figure 1.33: Portion of the Via Amerina Excavated in the Vicinity of the Falerii Veteres Necropolis

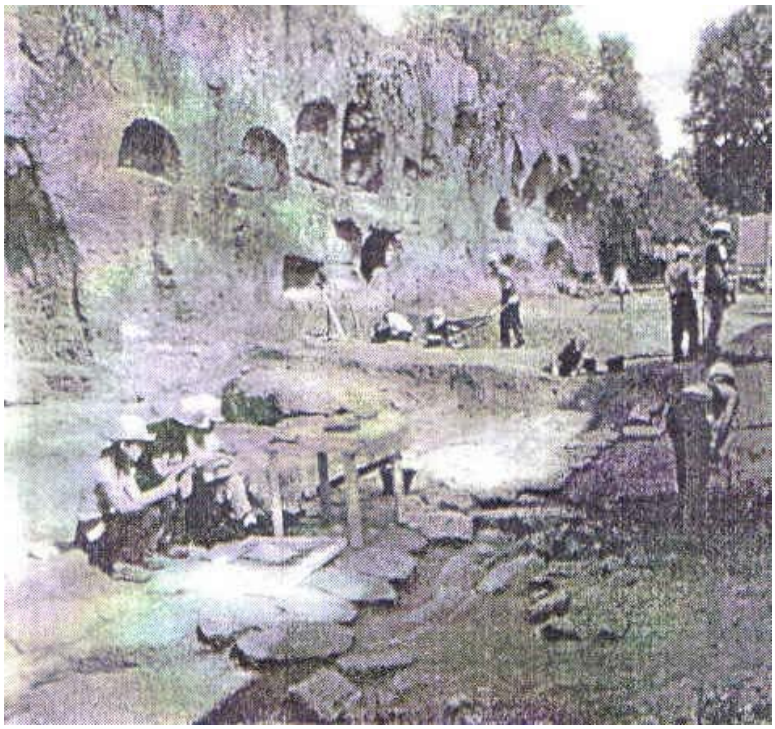


Figure 1.34: View of Several Niches from the Falerii Veteres Necropolis

Figure 1.135: Detail of the Niches Carved along the Side of the First Land Bridge

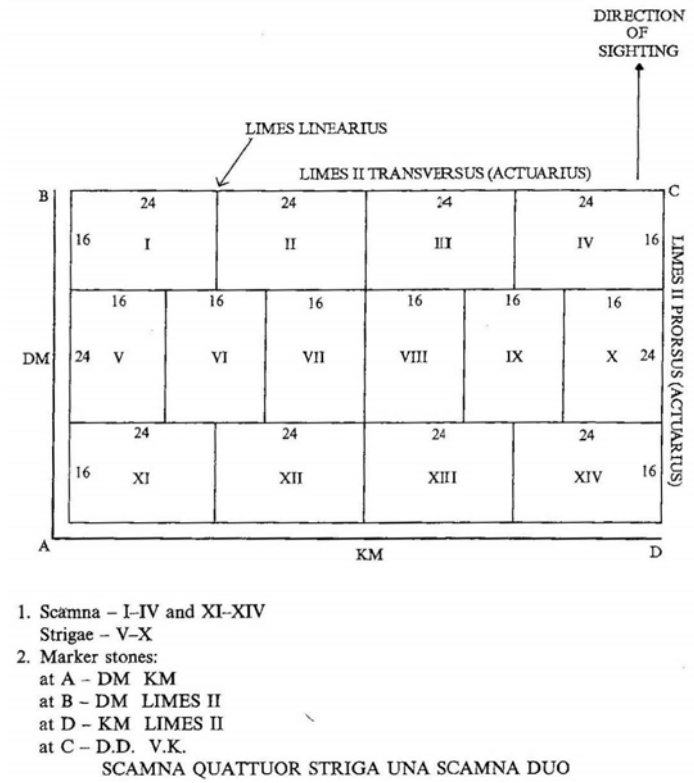


Figure 2.1: Division of Land by *Strigae* and *Scamna* (Campbell 2000, 496 diagram 16)

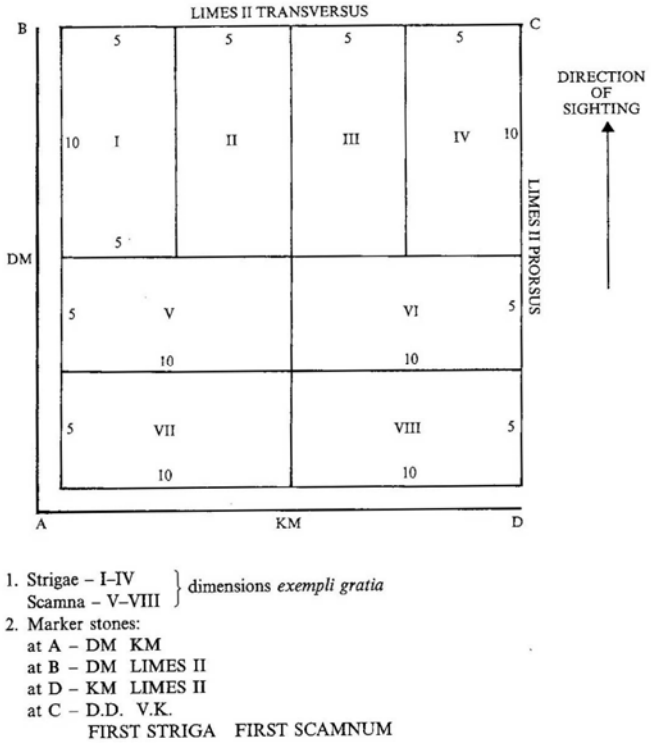


Figure 2.2: Alternate Division of Land by *Strigae* and *Scamna*
(Campbell 2000, 497 diagram 17)

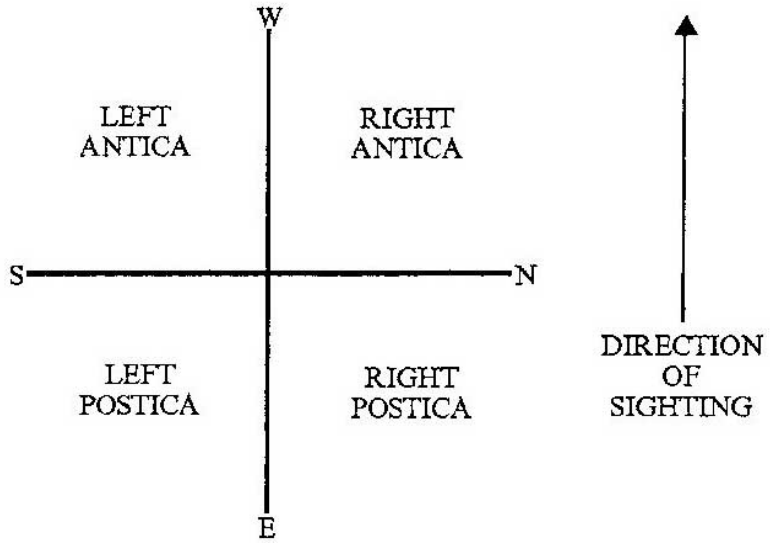


Figure 2.3: Principal Directions According to the Surveyor and Augur
(Campbell 2000, 491 diagram 9)

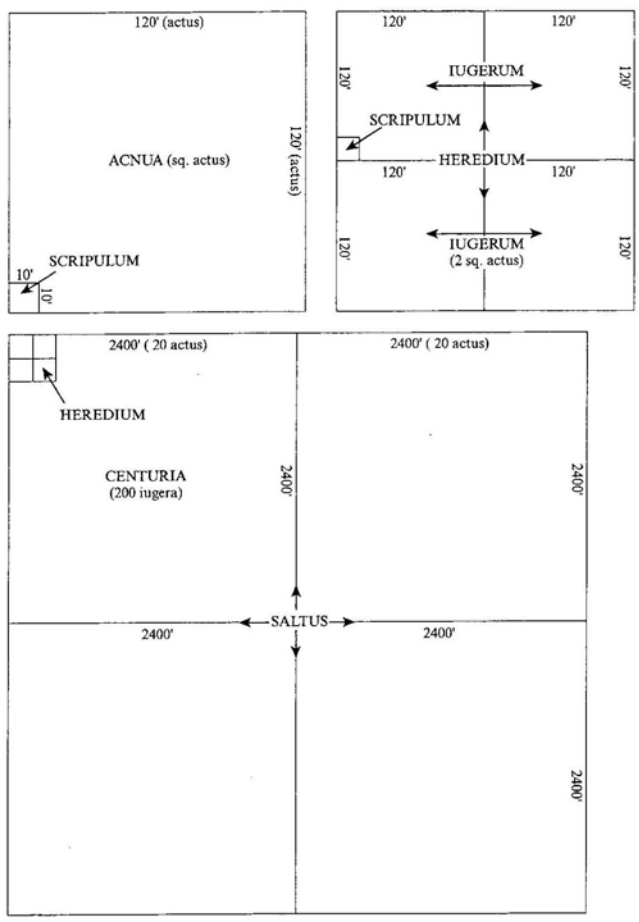


Figure 2.4: Units of Measure Used by Roman Land-Surveyors
(Campbell 2000, 485 diagram 2)

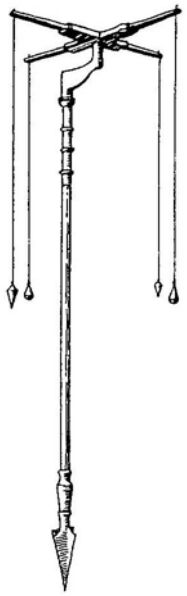


Figure 2.5: *Groma* or *Ferramentum* as Reconstructed from Metal Parts Discovered at Pompeii (Campbell 2000, 498 diagram 18)

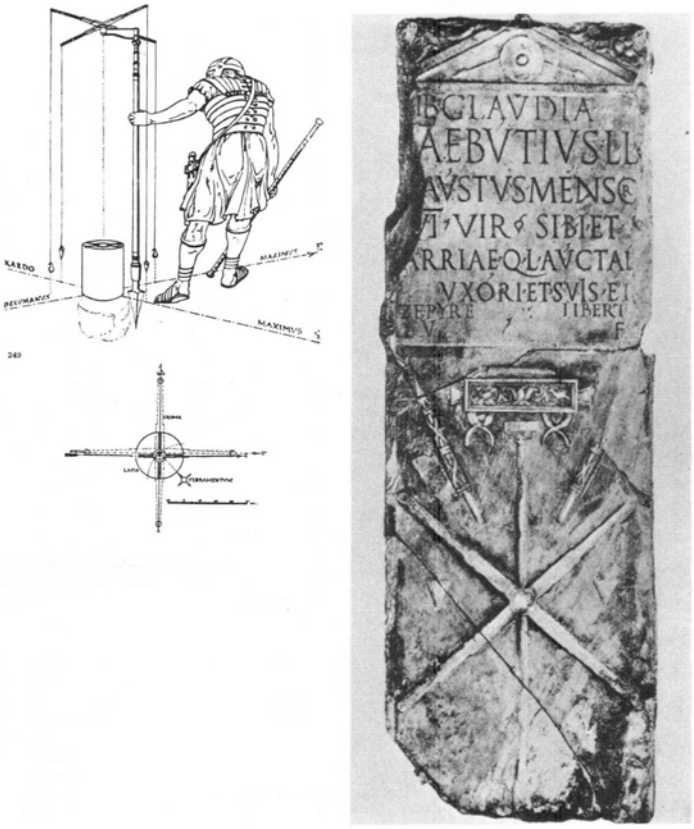


Figure 2.6a-b: Reconstruction of a Roman Agrimensor using a *Groma* (left) and the Stele of the Agrimensor Lucius Aebutius Faustus from Northern Italy Featuring a Dismantled *Groma* (right) (Rykwert 1974, 51 figs. 11-12)

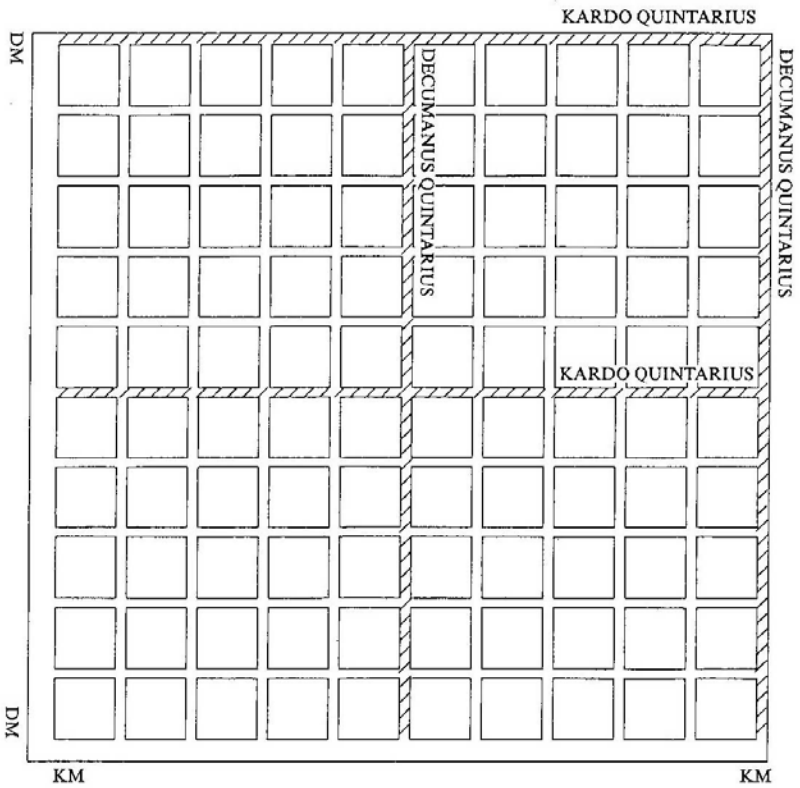


Figure 2.7: The *Quintarii* (Campbell 2000, 491 diagram 10)

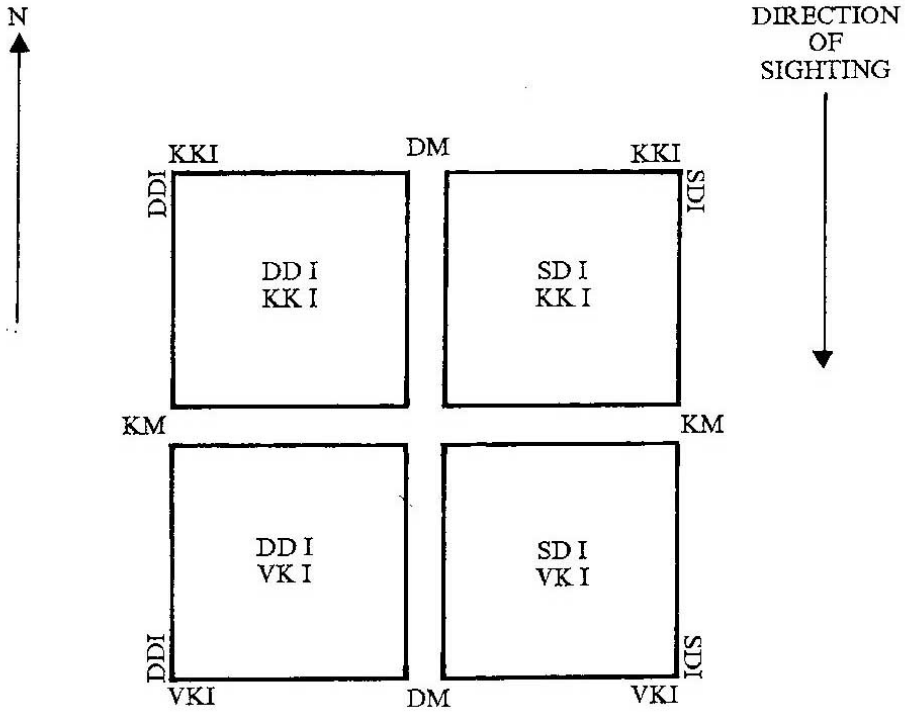


Figure 2.8: Labelling of *Insulae* According to the Hyginus I (Campbell 2000, 490 diagram 8)

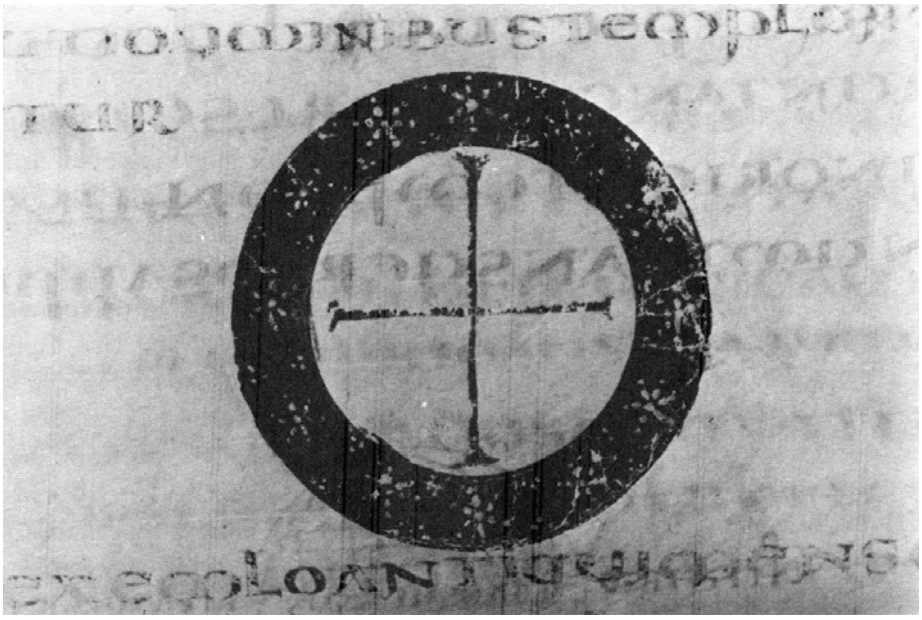
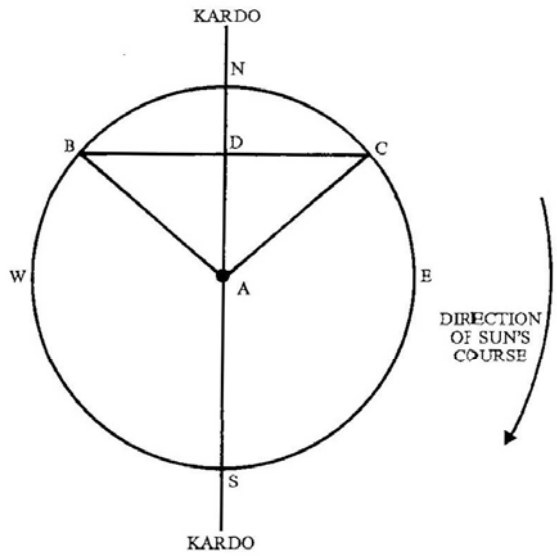


Figure 2.9: *Templum* of the Sky According to Hygenus Gromaticus with its Characteristic Circle and Cross (Rykwert 1976, 48 fig. 6)

Figure 2.10: Face of the Sundial Divided Up into the Hours of the Day (Rykwert 1974, 50 figure 9)



A = Gnomon
AB = Shadow marked as it shortens and enters the circumference of the circle
AC = Shadow marked as it lengthens and leaves the circumference of the circle
AD = Line bisecting BC; its continuation marks the kardo; any line drawn at right-angles to this marks a decumanus

Figure 2.11: Orienting the *Cardo* and *Decumanus Maximi* using a *Sciotherum* as a Sundial (Campbell 2000, 494 diagram 13)

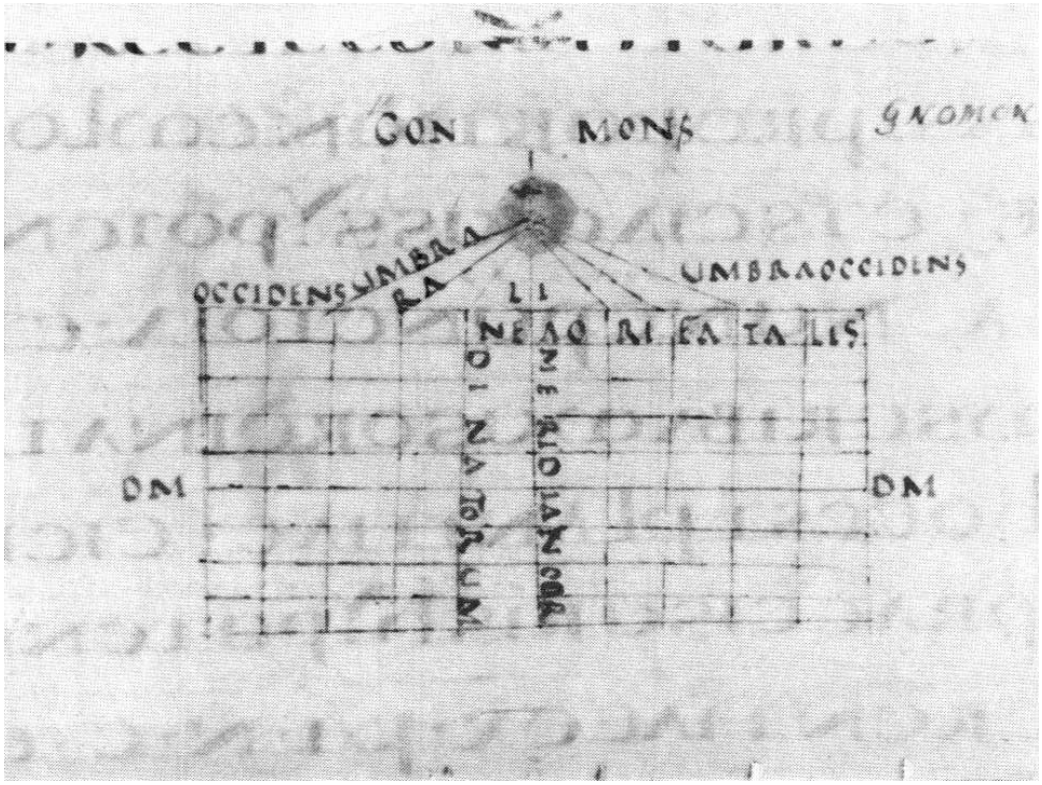


Figure 2.12: Hyginus' Use of the *Sciotherum* and *Groma* to Establish the Primary Intersection and Subsidiary *Cardines* and *Decumani* (Rykwert 1976 49, fig. 8)

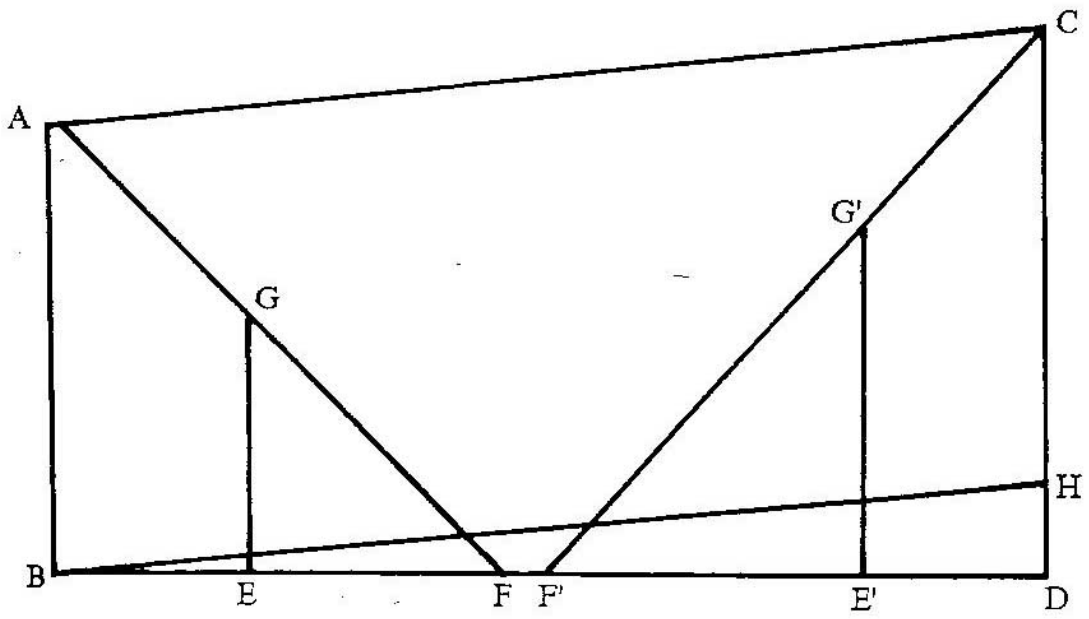


Figure 2.13: Hyginus' Use of Geometry to Create Parallel Lines
(Campbell 2000, 495 diagram 15)

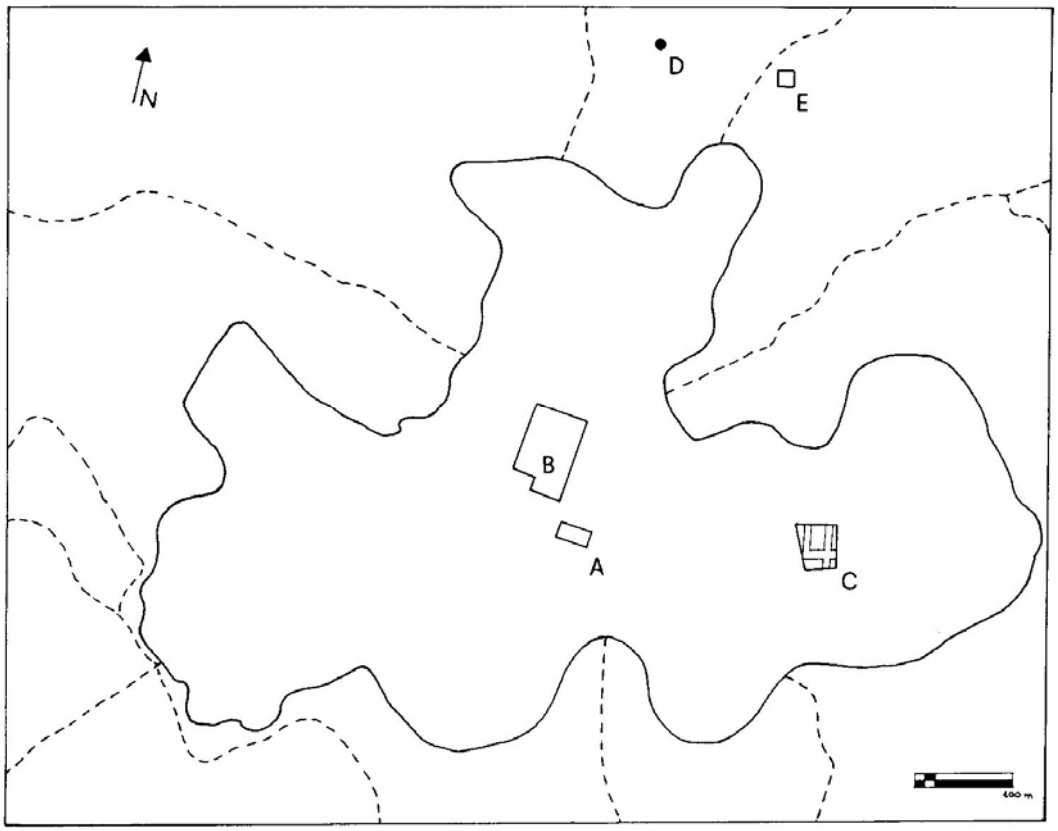


Figure 2.14: Site of Bantia Featuring (A) the Auguraculum, (B) a Medieval Abbey, (C) a Portion of the Regular Street Grid, (D) a Suburban Shrine (Torelli 1999c, 114 fig. 51)

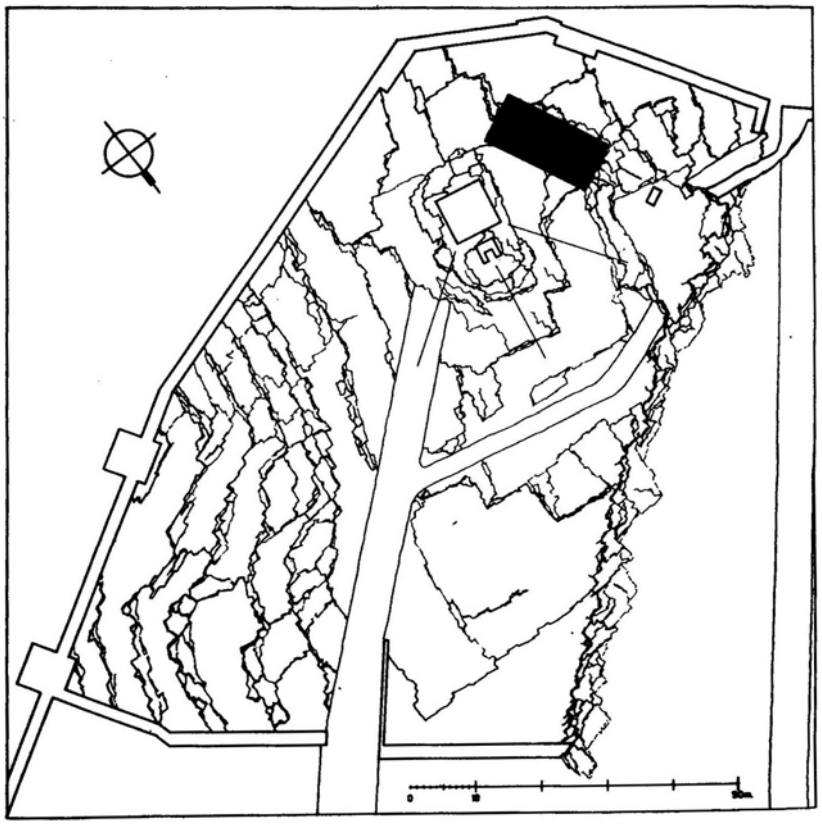


Figure 2.15: Augural Platform on the Arx at Cosa (Gros and Torelli 1988, 21 fig. 9)

Figure 2.16a-b: Small Bronze Augur Holding a *Lituus*, Discovered Under the Lapis Niger in the Roman Forum (left) and a Bronze Statuette of an Augur with his Head Covered, Holding a *Lituus* (right) (Rykwert 1974, 28 figs. 3-4)

Figure 2.17: Urban *Templum* Highlighting the Primary Intersection of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus Maximi* (Rykwert 1976, 62 fig. 26)

Figure 2.18: Inscribed Bronze Cross Attached to a Stone from the Temple of Aesculapius at Lambesis (Rykwert 1976, 49 fig. 7)

Figure 2.19a-b: Bronze Liver From Piacenza Demonstrating the Divisions According to Etruscan Haruspection (Rykwert 1976, 56 figs. 20-21)

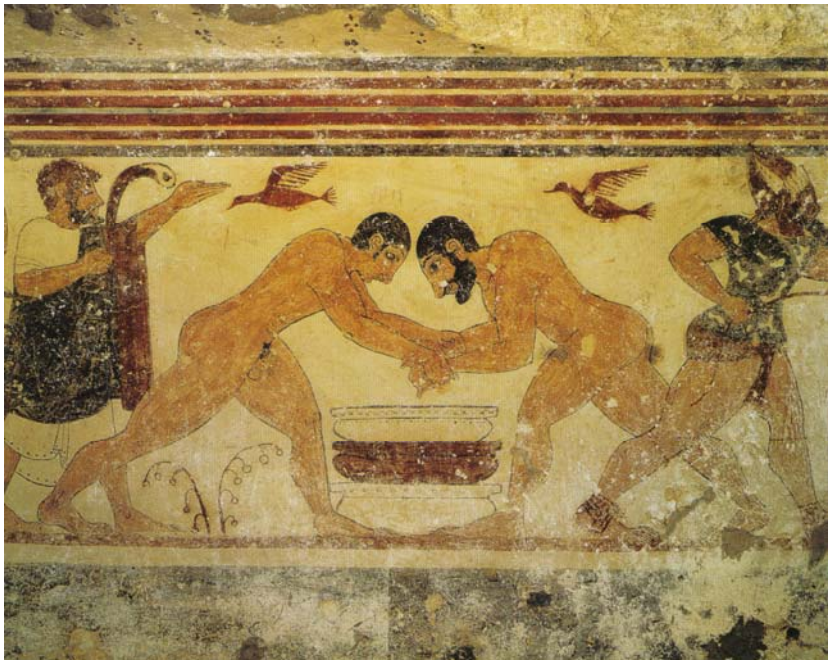


Figure 2.20: Scene from Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinii, Depicting Male Athletes Wrestling Above an Altar Shaped Base Identified as a 'Mouth of Hell' (Haynes 2000, 232 fig. 189)

Figure 2.21: Coin from Beirut from the Reign of Claudius Showing a City Founder Ploughing a *Sulcus Primigenius* (Rykwert 1976, 66. fig 33)

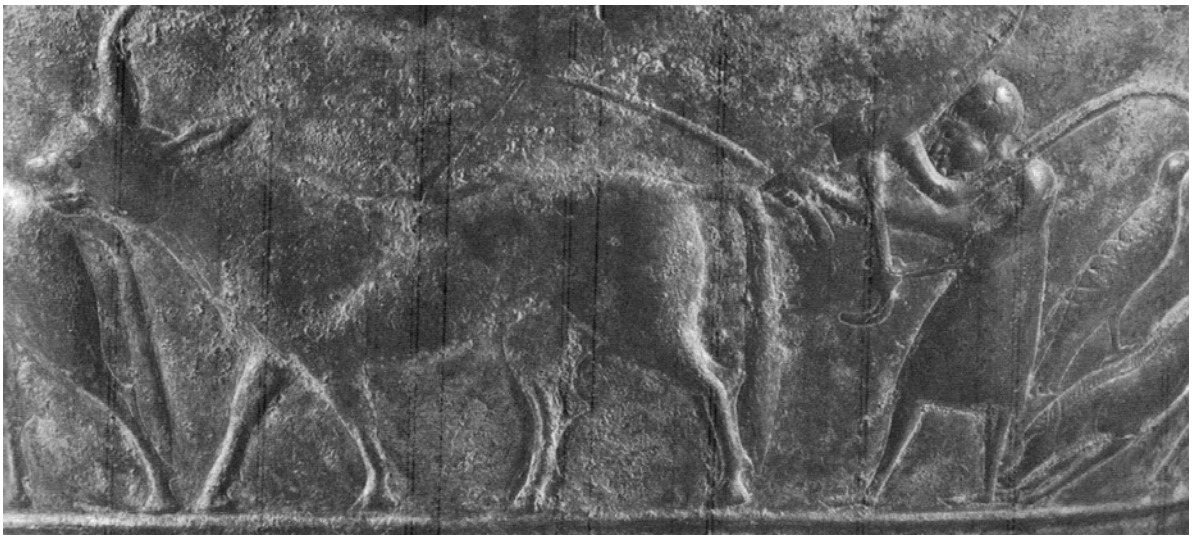


Figure 2.22: City Founder Carrying a Plough across the Threshold of a Gate During the Ploughing of the *Sulcus Primigenius*, from a Bronze Situla Found at Certosa, Bologna, Sixth to Fifth Century (Rykwert 1976, 69 fig. 38)

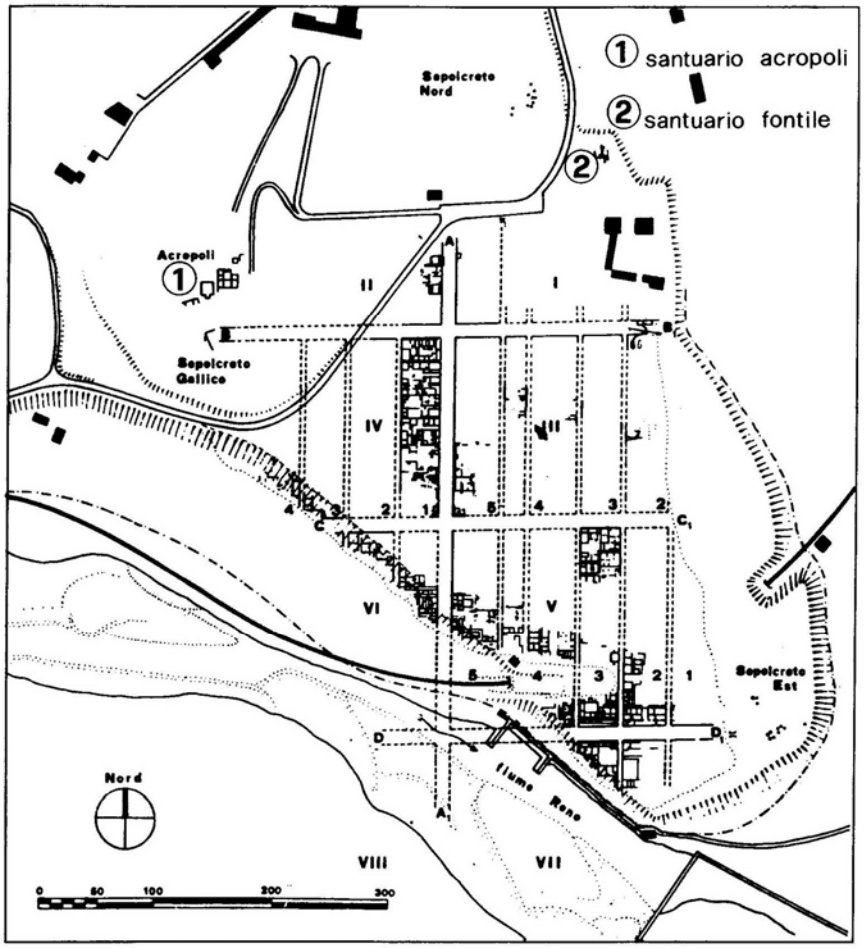


Figure 2.23: Plan of the Etruscan City of Marzabotto (Gros and Torelli 1988, 43 fig.21)

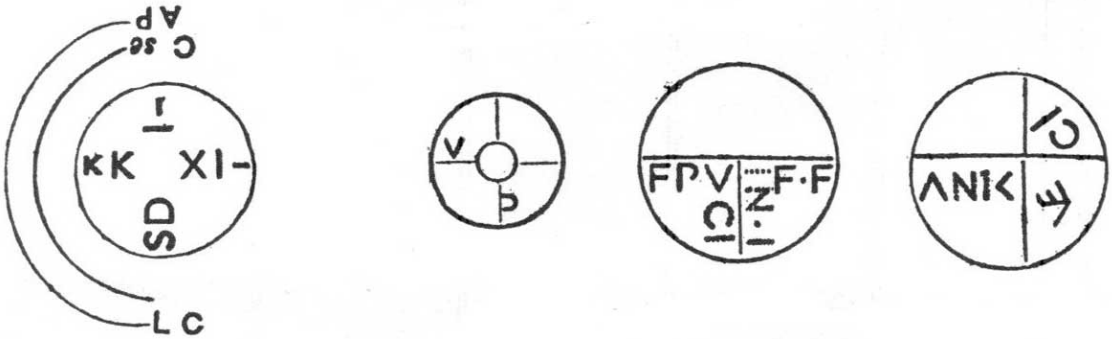


Figure 2.24: Examples of *Cippi* from the Gracchan Period (Rykwert 1976, 62 fig 25)

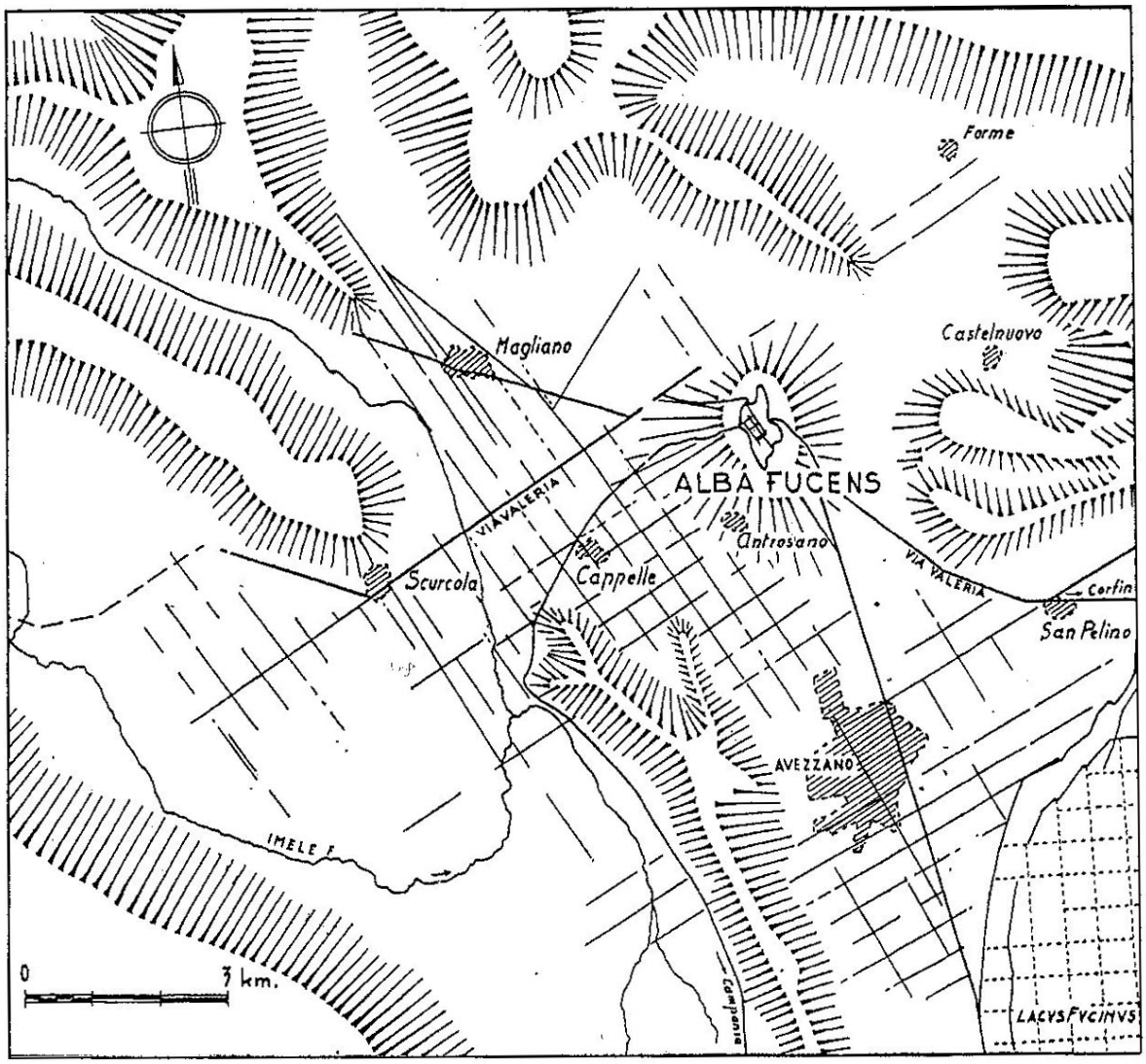


Figure 2.25: Centuriation around the Latin Colony of Alba Fucens
(Catalli 1992, 9 fig. 5)

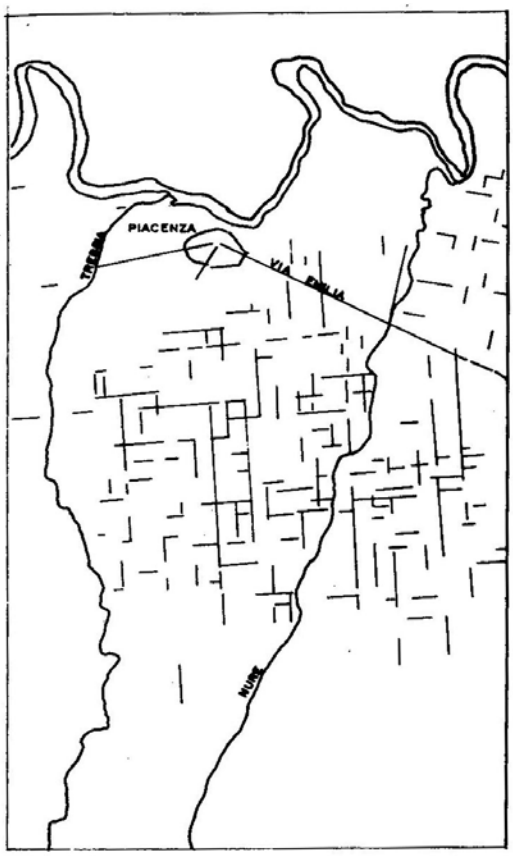


Figure 2.26: Centuriation around the Latin Colony of Placentia
(Gros and Torelli 1988, 147 fig. 55b)

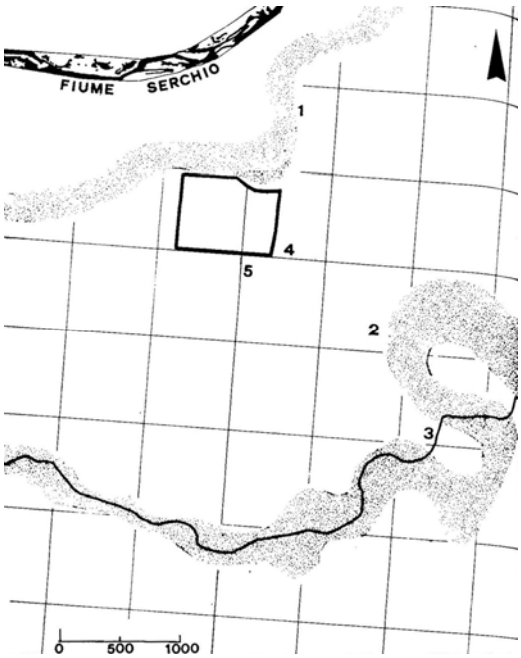


Figure 2.27: Centuriation around the Latin Colony of Luca
(Sommella 1988, fig. 23)

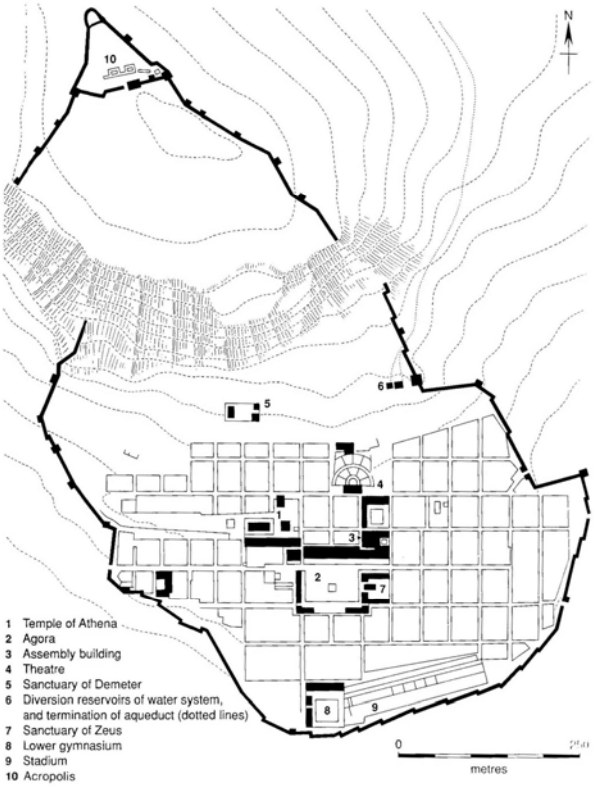


Figure 2.28: Plan of Priene, Fourth Century (Tomlinson 1992, 84)

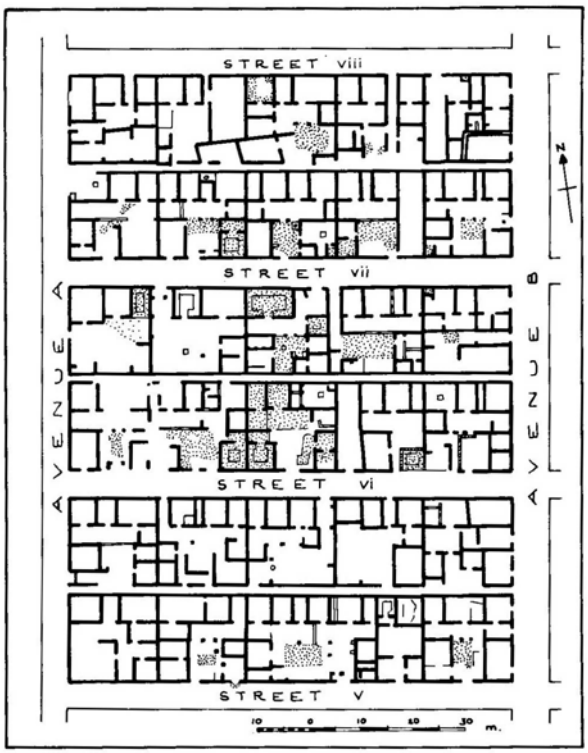


Figure 2.29: Domestic Quarter at Olynthus, Fourth Century (Castagnoli 1971b, 15 fig. 4)

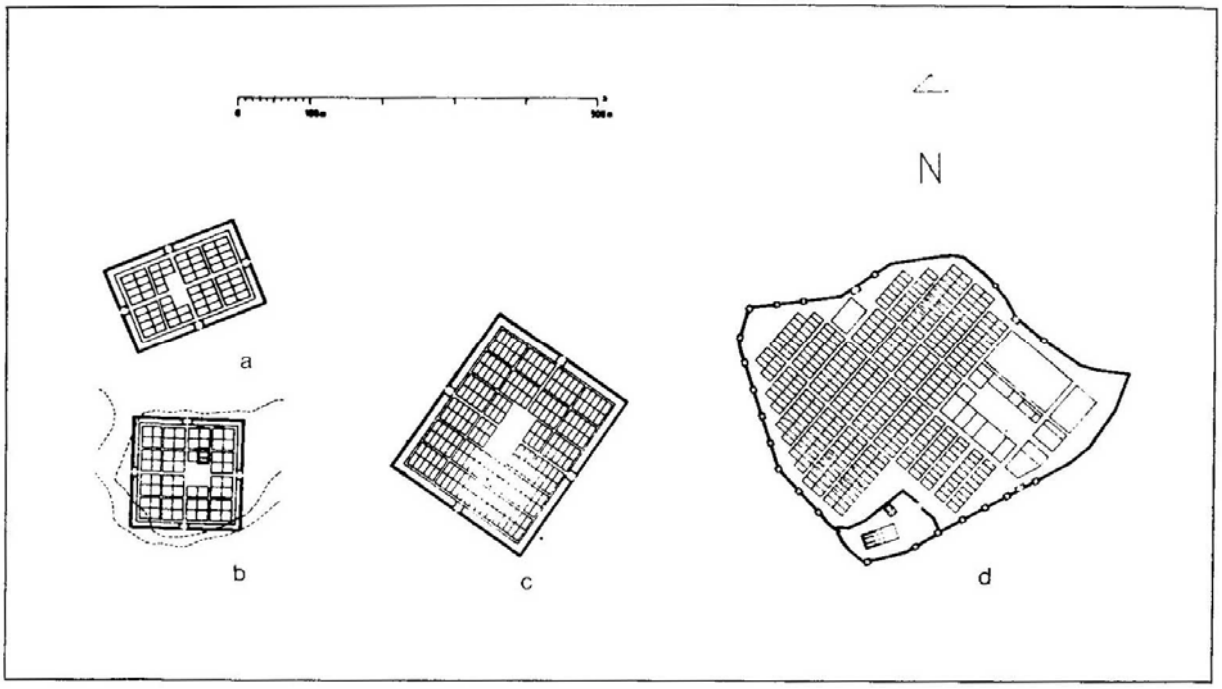


Figure 2.30: Variations in Size and Shape between the Citizen Colonies of (a) Ostia, (b) Puteoli, and (c) Pyrgi, and (d) the Latin Colony of Cosa (Gros and Torelli 1988, 148 fig. 56)

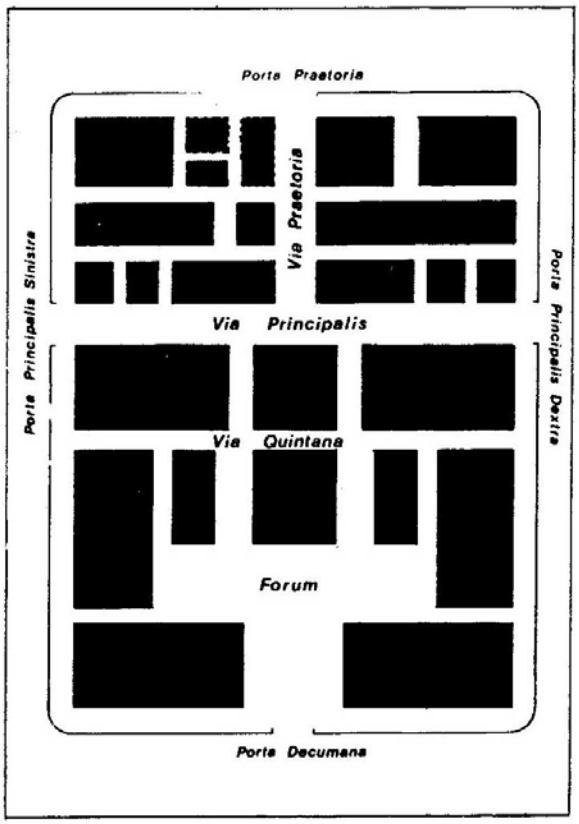


Figure 2.31: Typical Roman Military Camp Plan (Gros and Torelli 1988, 130 fig. 48)

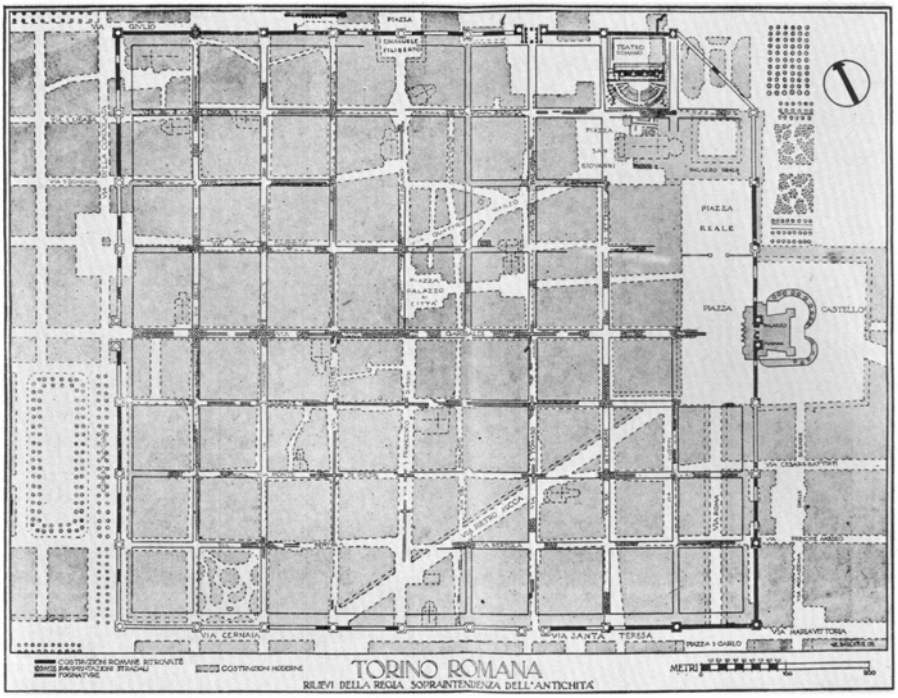


Figure 2.32: Plan of Turin (Castagnoli 1971b, 111 fig. 48)

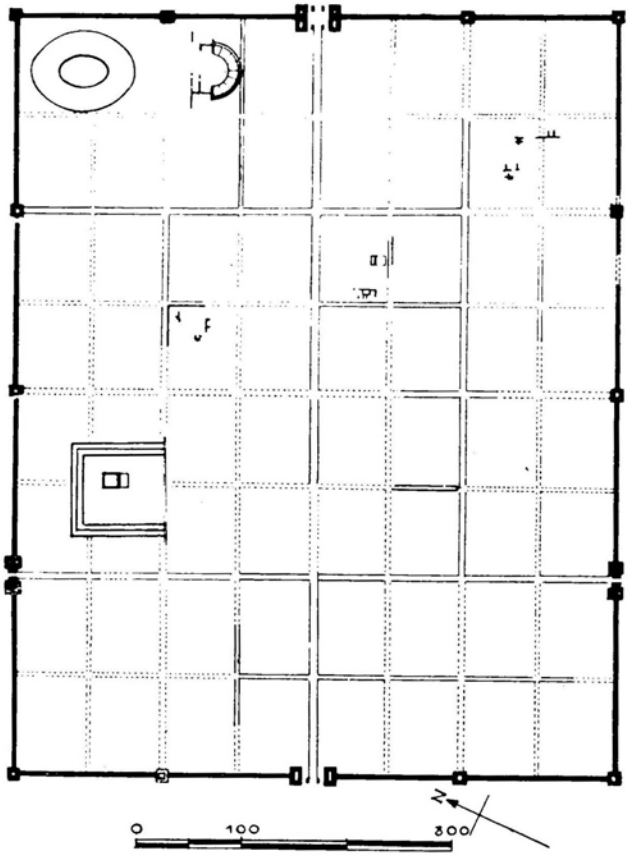


Figure 2.33: Plan of Aosta (Castagnoli 1971b, 113 fig. 49)

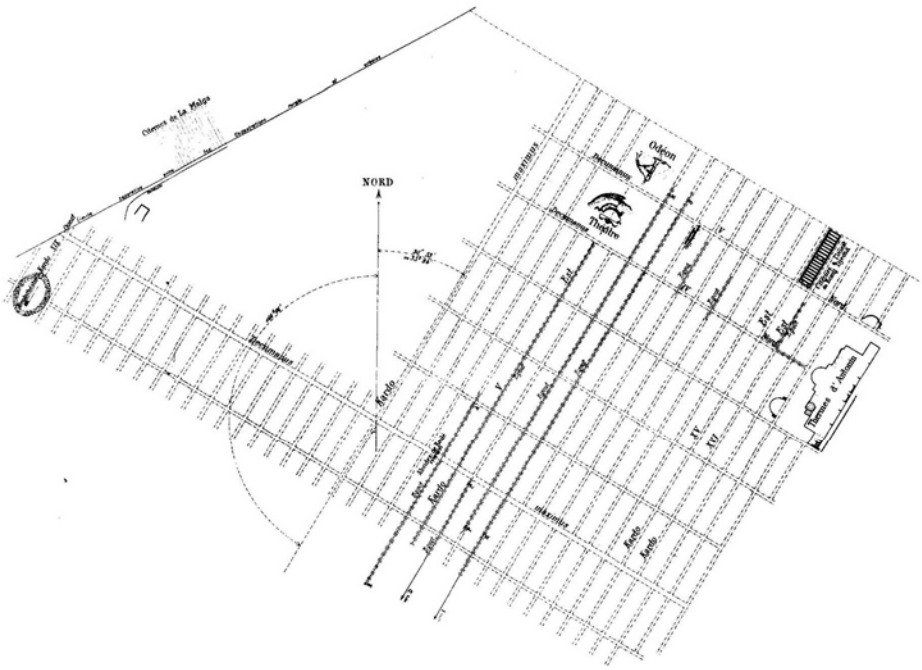


Figure 2.34: Roman Colony of Carthage (Castagnoli 1971b, 114 fig. 50)

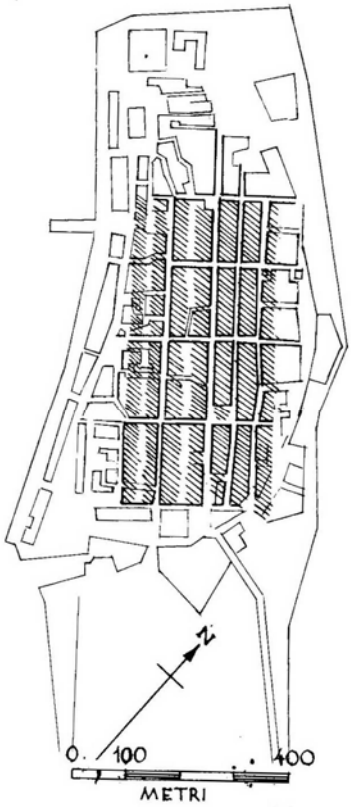


Figure 2.35: Roman Colony of Zara (Castagnoli 1971b, 114 fig. 51)

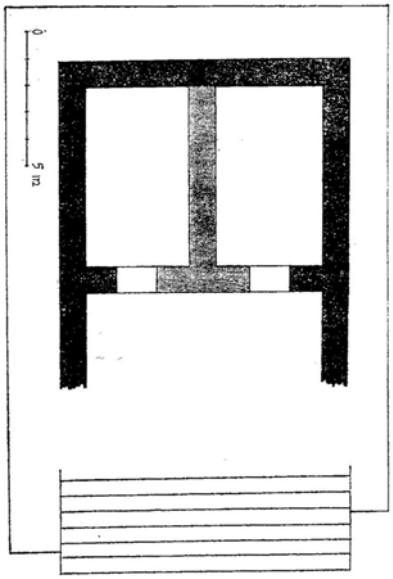


Figure 2.36: Small Temple on Petterino High Place at Alba Fucens
(Catalli 1992, 47 fig. 30)

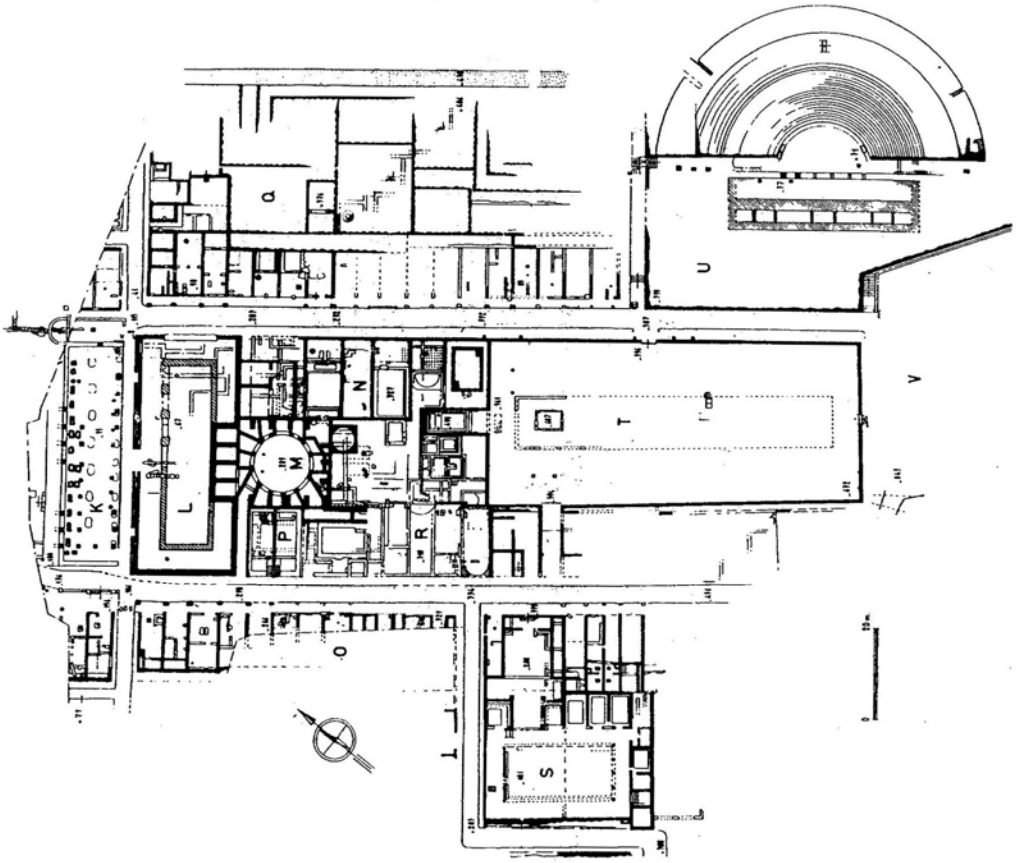


Figure 2.37: Area to the Southeast of the Forum at Alba Fucens, Featuring (K) Voting Pits, (L) a Basilica, (M) a Macellum, (T) the Porticoes of Hercules, and the Theatre (Serapeum not shown) (Catalli 1992, 28 fig. 16)

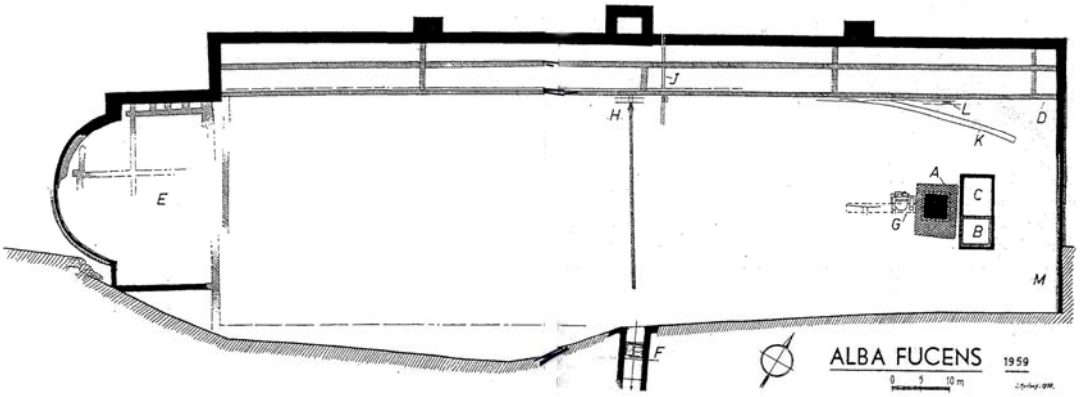


Figure 2.38: Extra-Urban Terrace to the Northwest of Alba Fucens Featuring a Heroön in the East (Catalli 1992, 10-11 fig. 10)

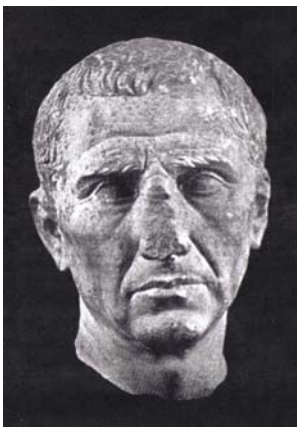


Figure 2.39: Head of a Youth Thought to Represent Emilius Lepidus, Discovered at Alba Fucens (Catalli 1992, 22 fig. 11)

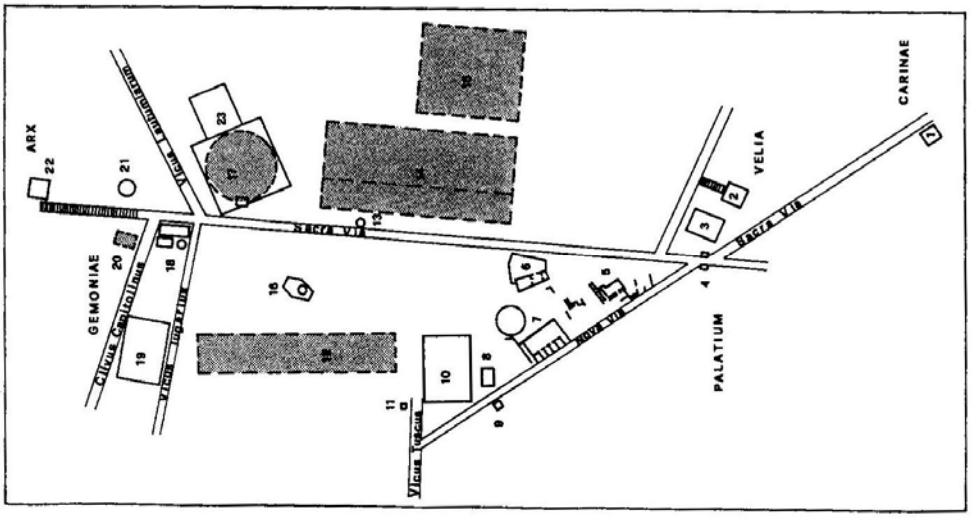


Figure 2.40: Schematic Rendering of the Roman Forum in the Archaic Period Featuring the Round Comitium Building and Adjoining Curia (Gros and Torelli 1988, 66 fig. 38)

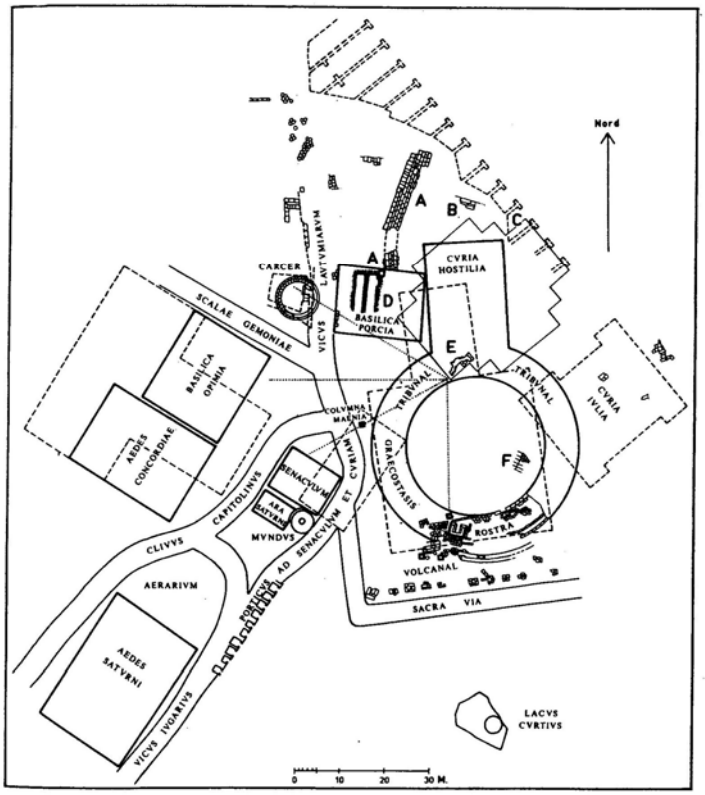


Figure 2.41: Reconstructed Phases of the Republican Comitium Complex at Rome
(Gros and Torelli 1988, 118, fig. 45)

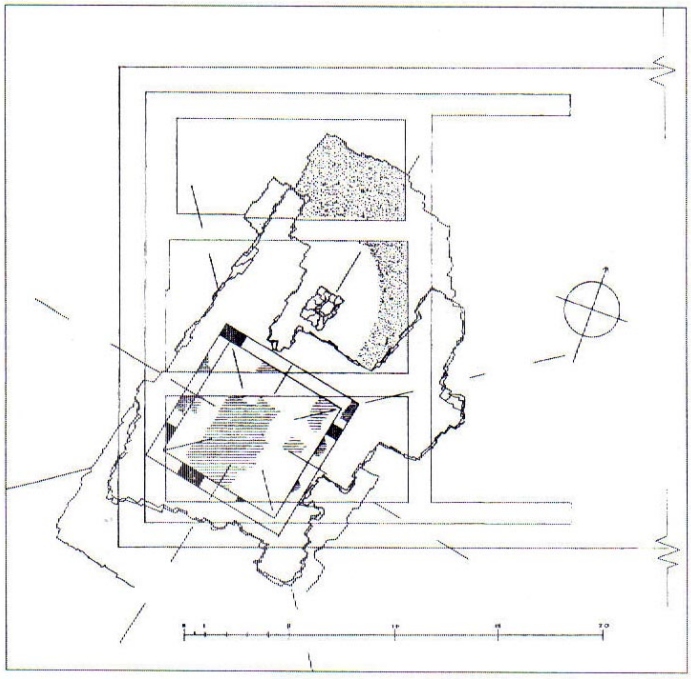


Figure 2.42: Auguraculum and Mundus Pit Below the Capitolium at Cosa
(Taylor 2002, 67 fig. 8)

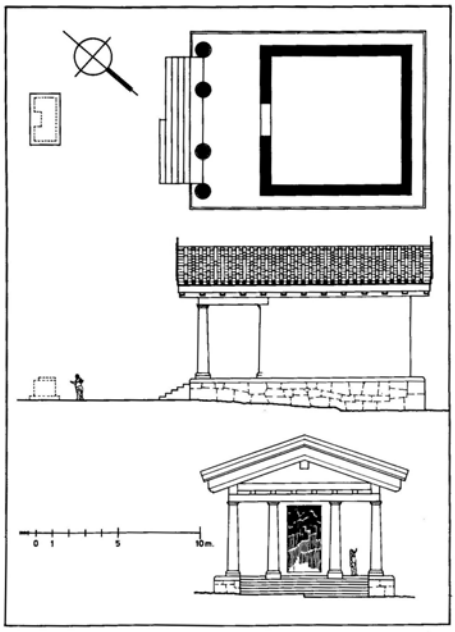


Figure 2.43: Temple D on the Arx, Possibly Dedicated to Mater Matuta
(Brown 1980, fig. 54)

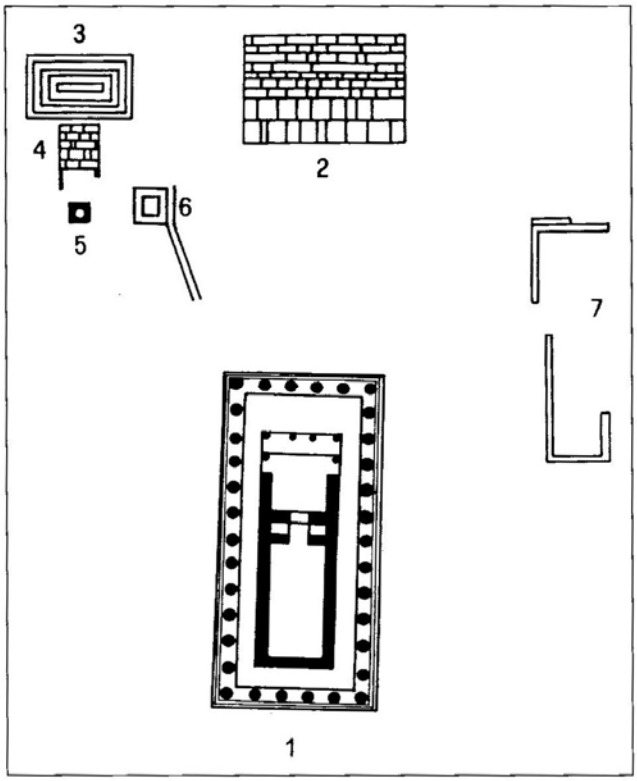


Figure 2.44: Northern Sanctuary at Paestum featuring (1) the Athenaion (Later Rededicated to Minerva), (2) the Athenaion altar, (3) the Greek Altar Zeus, and (4) the Roman Altar to Jupiter (Artemis Sanctuary Mentioned by Torelli is not Identified)
(Torelli 1999b, 52 fig. 29)

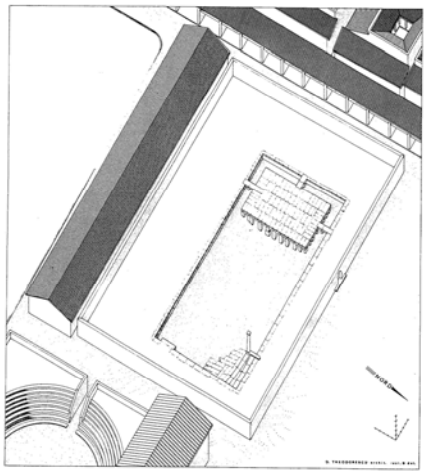


Figure 2.45: So-Called *Piscina Pubblica* Complex at Paestum (Greco 1983, 84 fig. 4)

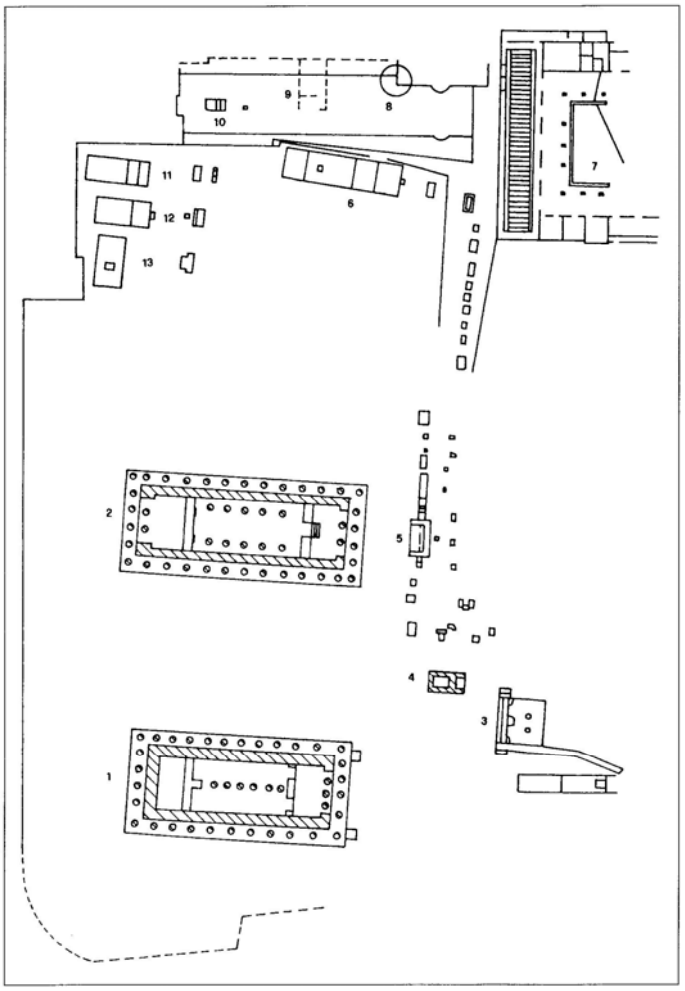


Figure 2.46: Southern Sanctuary at Paestum Featuring (1) the 'Basilica,' (2) the Temple of Neptune, (7) the Sanctuary of Aesculapius, and (10) the Small Italic Temple Associated with Mater Matuta (Torelli 1999b, 57 fig. 30)

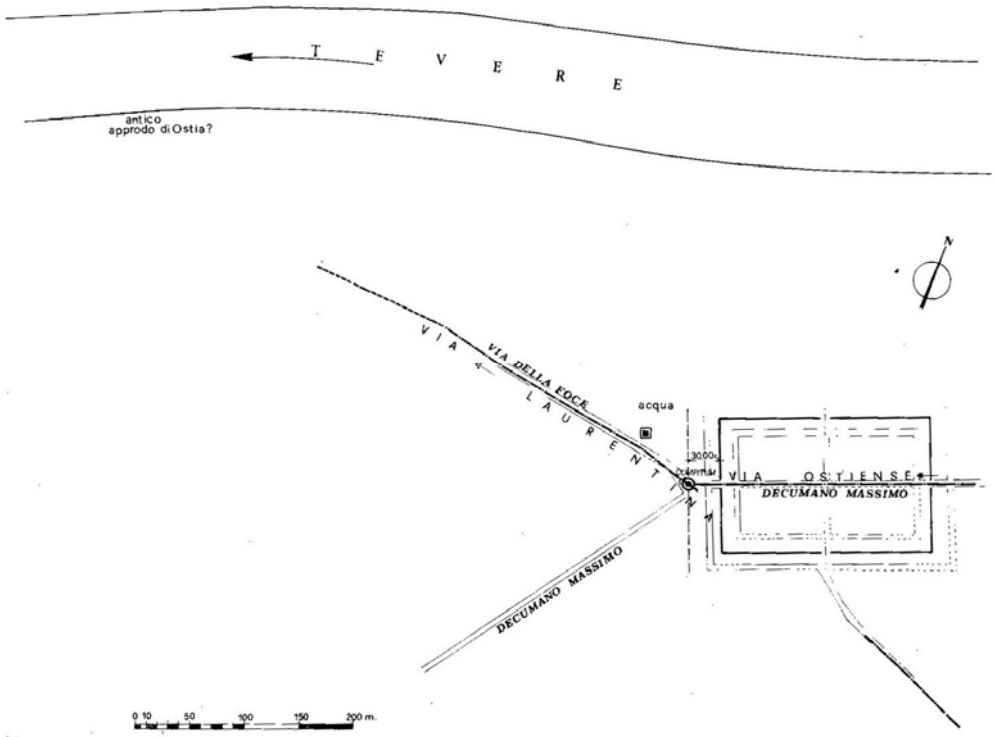


Figure 2.47: Location of the First Colony at Ostia at the Convergence of the Via Ostiensis and the Via Laurentina (Zevi 1996, 73 fig. 2)

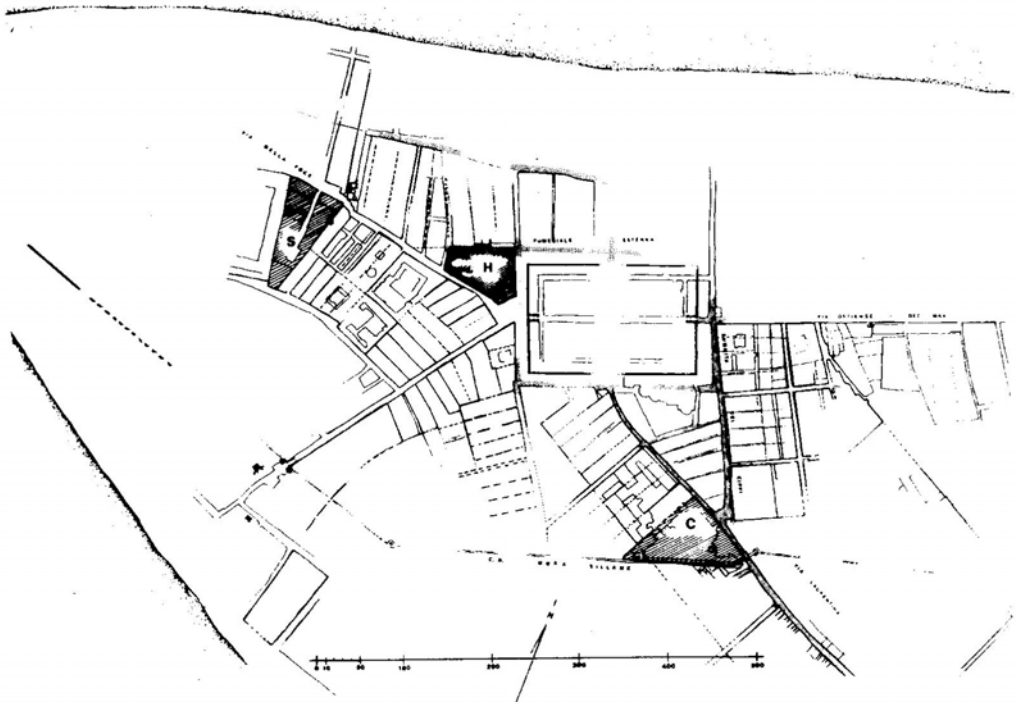


Figure 2.48: Plan of Ostia Highlighting the Central '*Castrum*' (Mar 1996, 116 fig. 1)

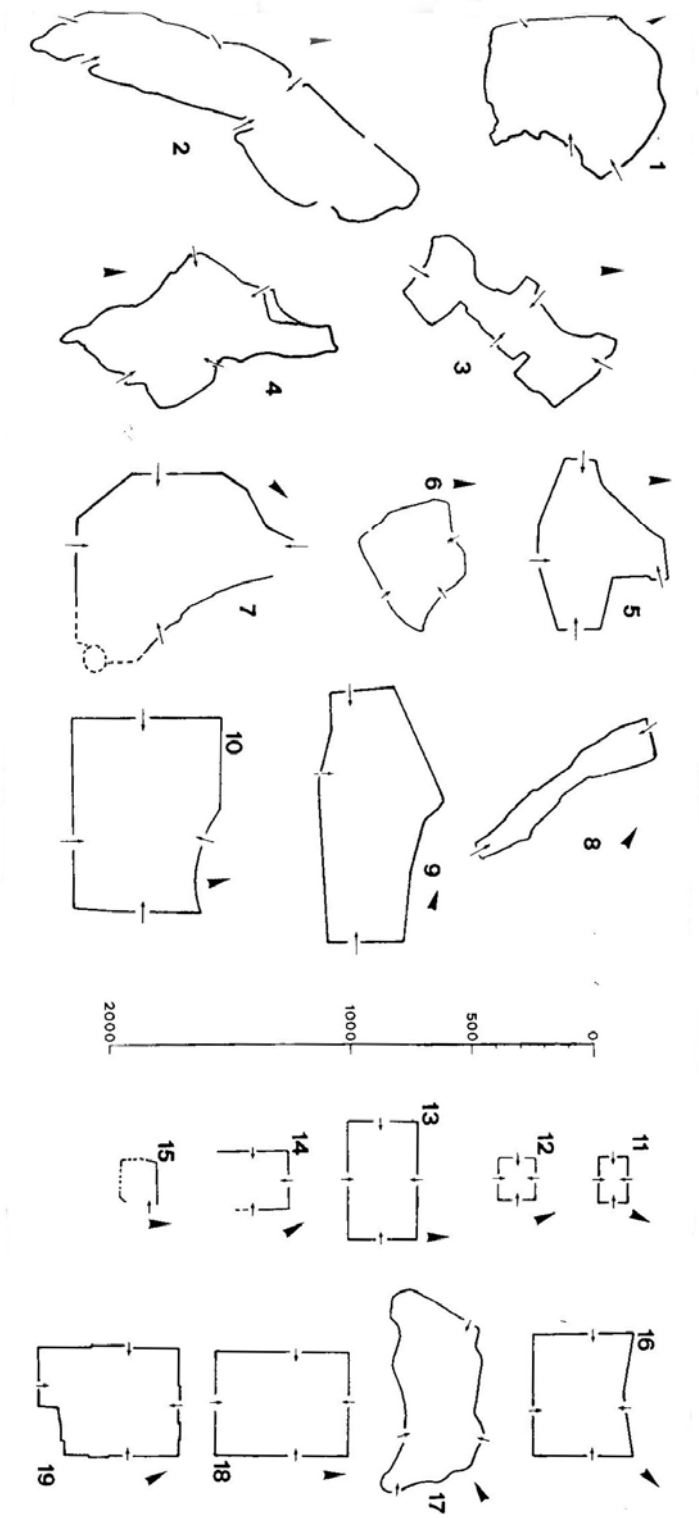


Figure 2.49: Shape and Scale of Various Latin and Citizen Colonies incuding 1. Norba, 2. Cales, 3. Suessa Aurunca, 4. Alba Fucens, 5. Hatri, 6. Cosa, 7. Ariminum, 8. Aesernia, 9. Aquileia, 10. Luca, 11. Ostia, 12. Minturnae, 13. Sinuessa, 14. Pyrgi, 15. Puteoli, 16. Pisaurum, 17. Saturnia, 18. Parma, and 19. Luni (Sommella 1988, fig. 69)

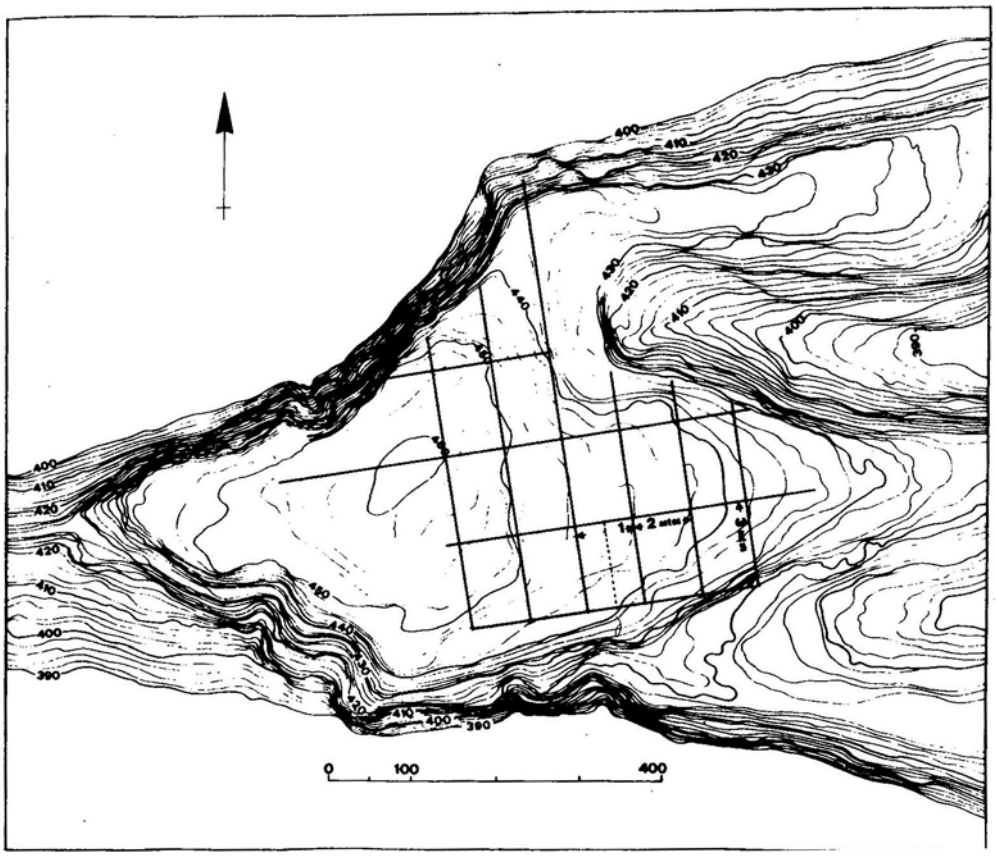


Figure 2.50: Latin Colony of Hatri (Gros and Torelli 1988, 139 fig. 51)

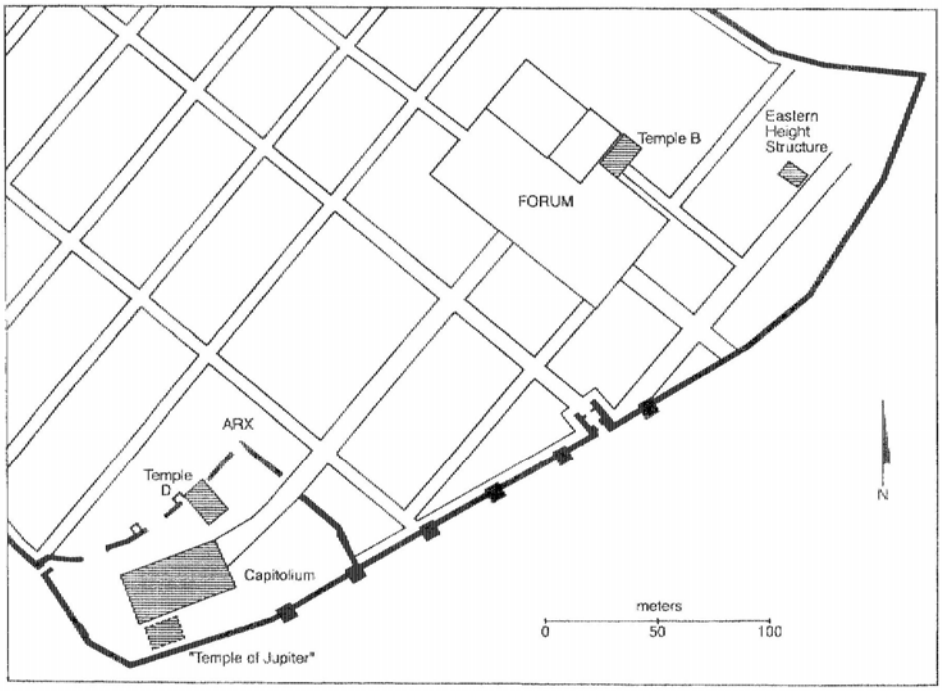


Figure 2.51: Detail of the Processional Way Leading from the Forum to the Arx Precinct at Cosa (Taylor 2002, 68 fig. 9)

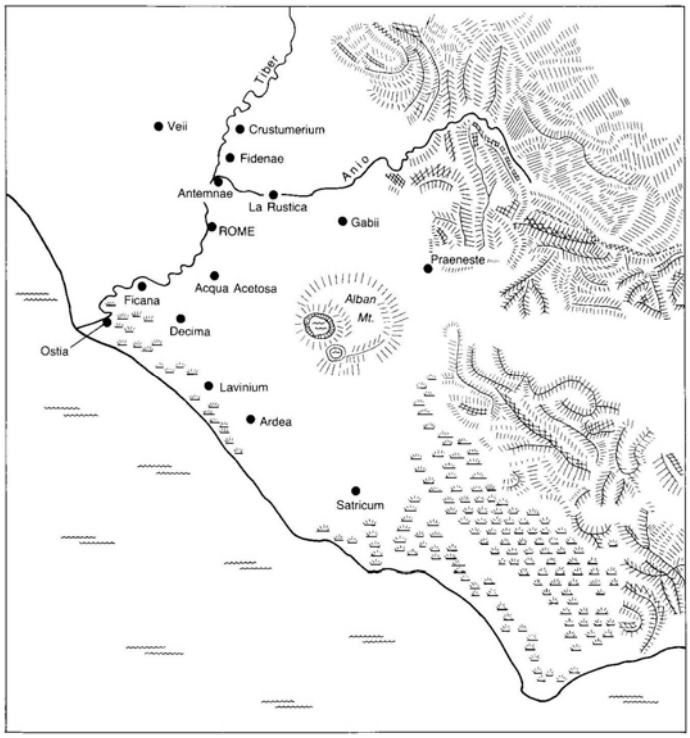


Figure 3.1: Rome and the Latin Cities of Latium (Tomlinson 1992, fig. 0.2)

Figure 3.2: Roman Cities of the Fourth and Third Centuries, Demonstrating the Spread of Latin Colonies throughout the Peninsula

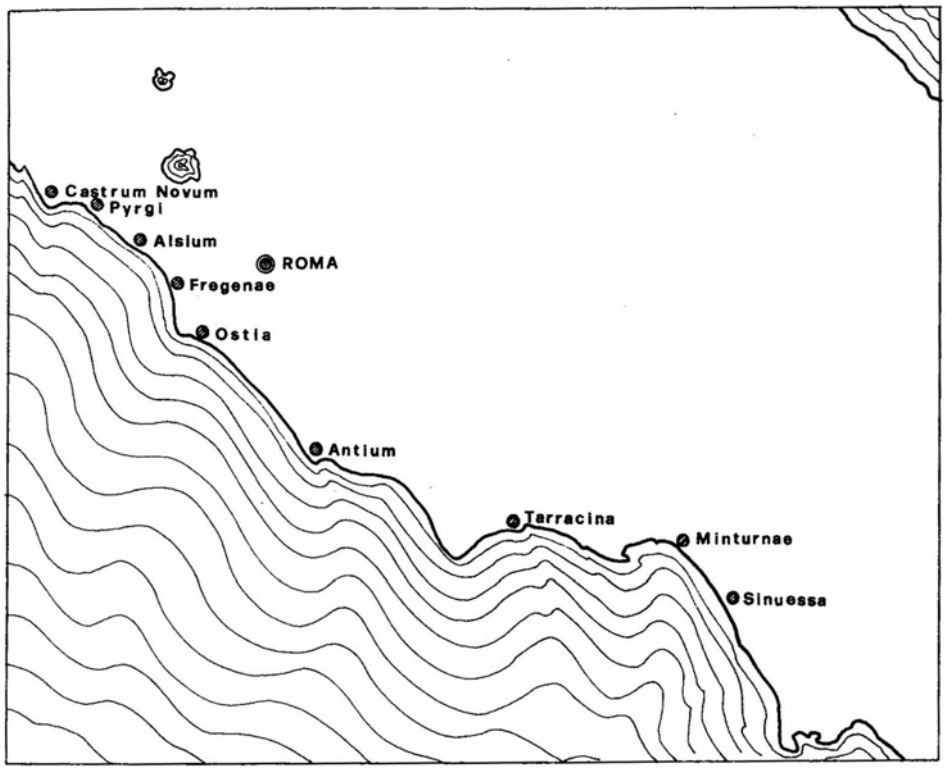


Figure 3.3: Map Highlighting the Location of Citizen Colonies along the Tyrrhenian Seaboard (Gros and Torelli 1988, 129 fig. 47)

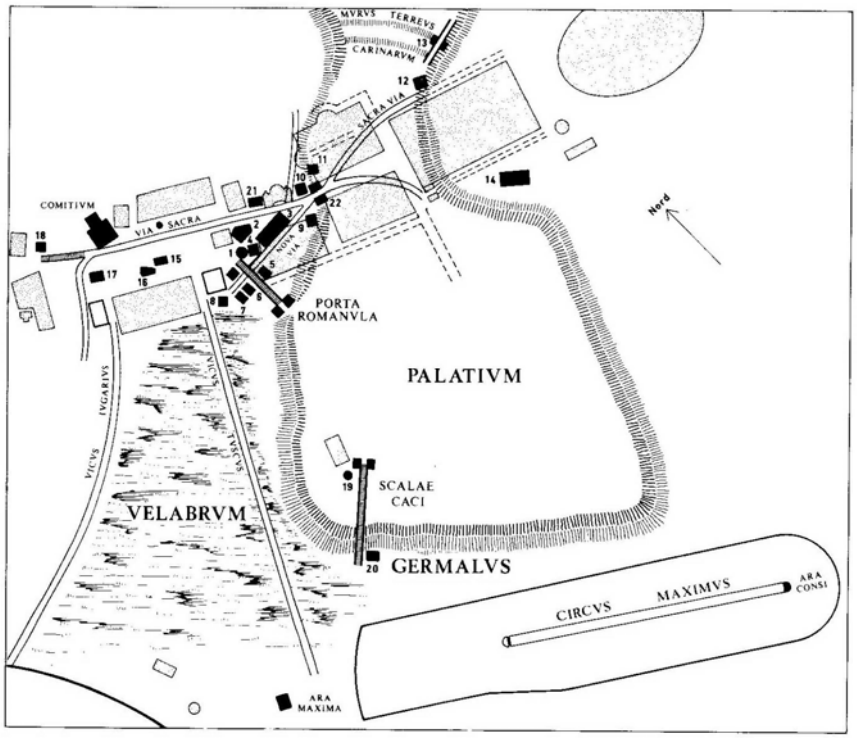


Figure 3.4: Archaic Rome Featuring the Topographical Underpinnings of the Palatine Pomerium in the Archaic Period (in black) (Coarelli 1985, 263 fig. 75)

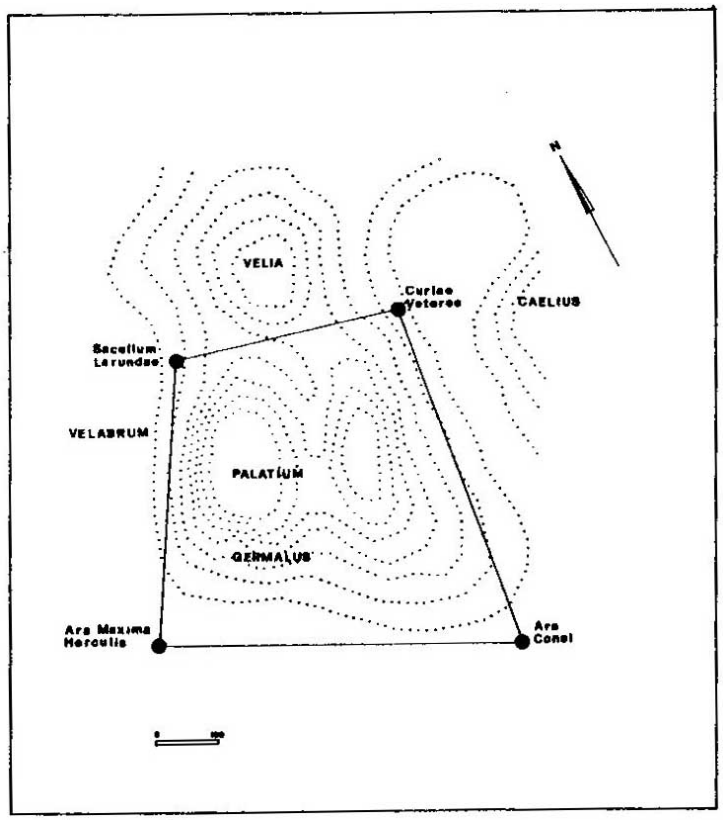


Figure 3.5: Square Pomerium of Romulean Rome as Suggested by Ancient Authors (Gros and Torelli 1988, 64 fig. 36)

Figure 3.6: Location of the Modern Town of Spoleto, Ancient Spoletium (http://www.spoletium.com/english/location.htm)

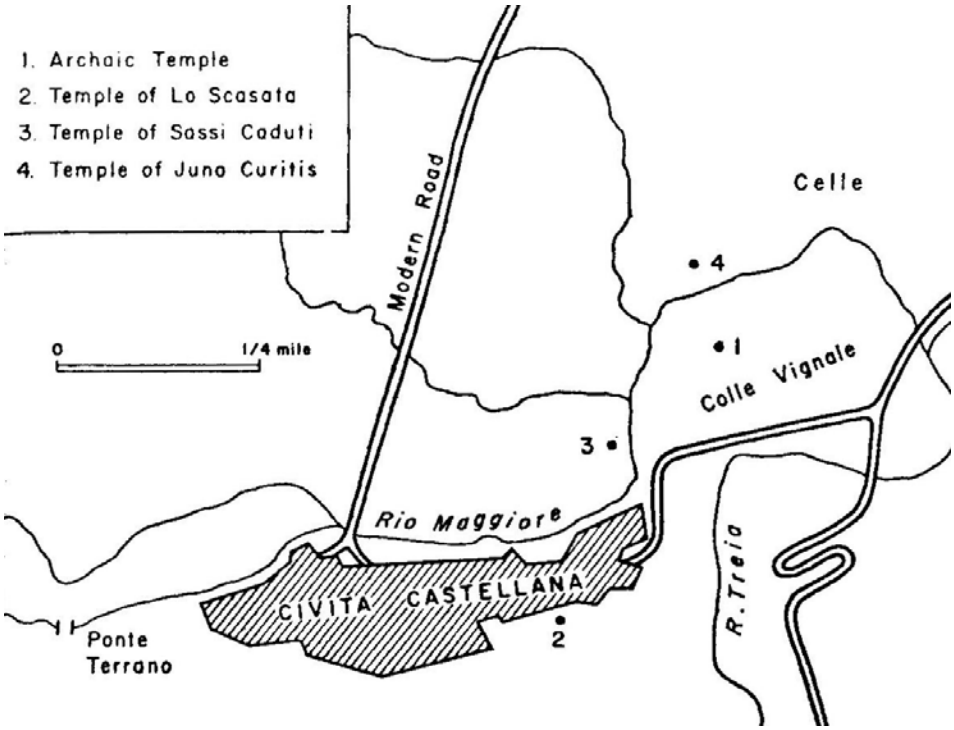


Figure 3.7: Location of the Extra Mural Temples Around Falerii Veteres, Modern day Civita Castellana (Scullard 1967, fig. 12)

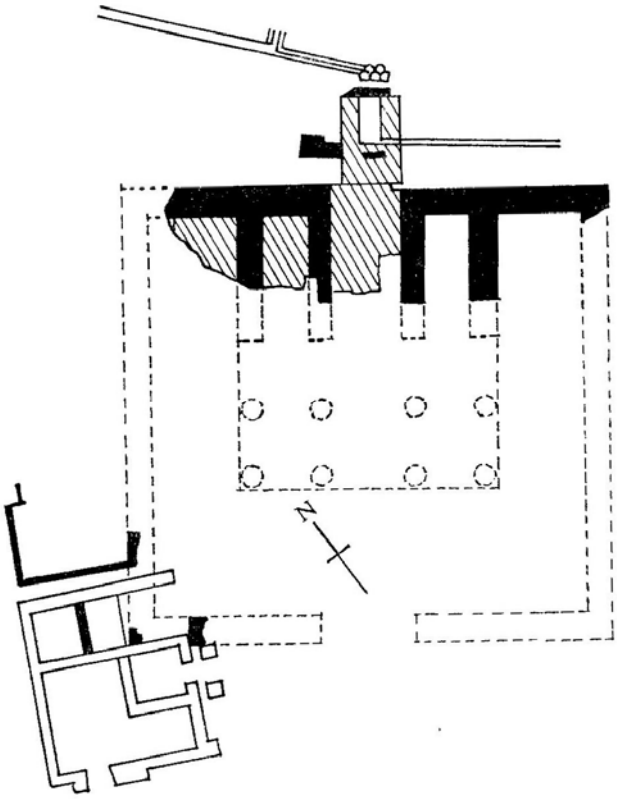


Figure 3.8: Contrada Celle Temple at Falerii Veteres (Boëthius 1993, 40 fig. 21)

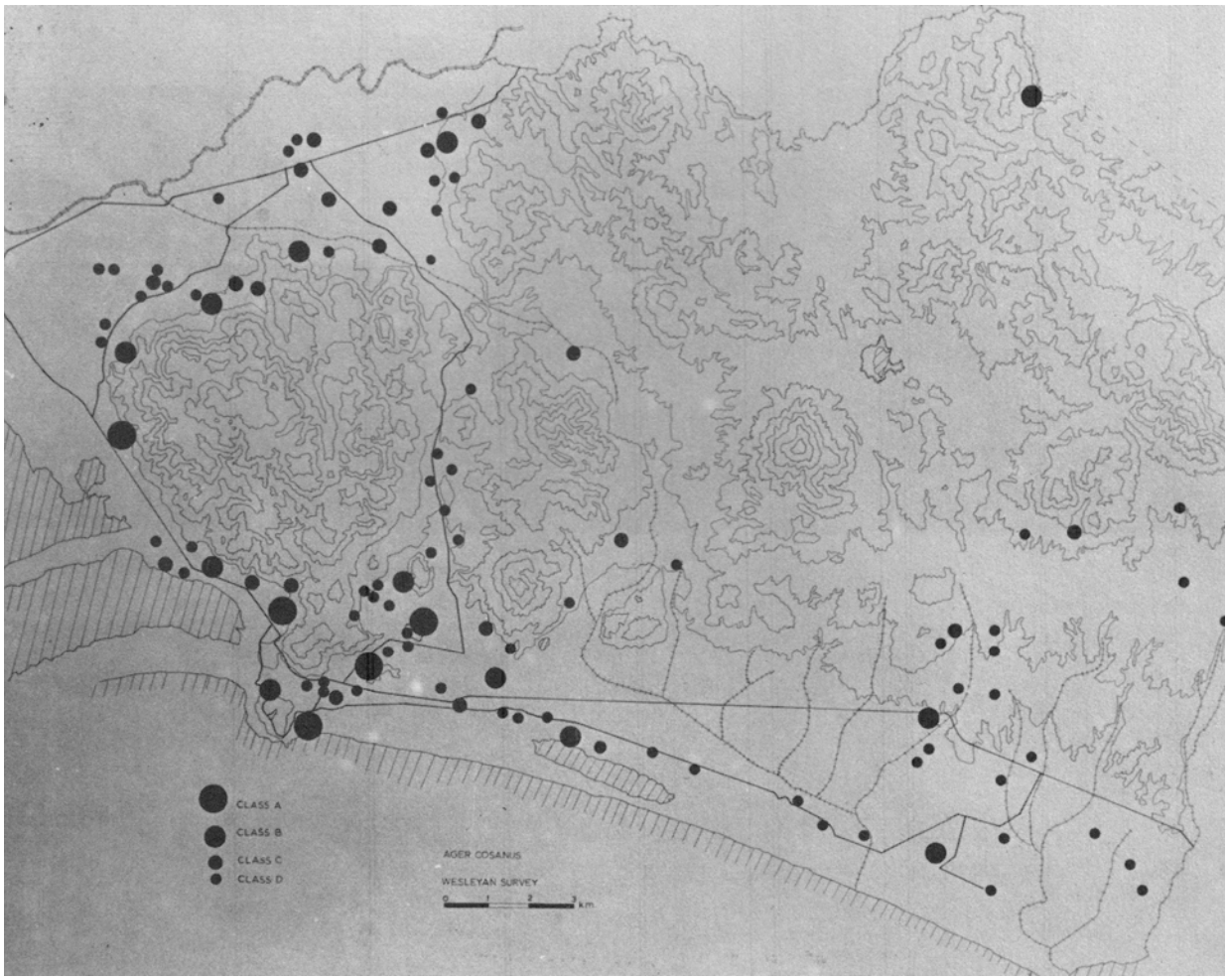


Figure 3.9: Farm Sites of the *Ager Cosanus* (Brown 1980, fig. 92)

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