Ancient Italy

Regions without Boundaries

edited by *Guy Bradley*, *Elena Isayev*
and *Corinna Riva*

UNIVERSITY
of
EXETER
PRESS

First published in 2007 by
University of Exeter Press
Reed Hall, Streatham Drive
Exeter EX4 4QR
UK
www.exeterpress.co.uk

© Guy Bradley, Elena Isayev, Corinna Riva
and the individual contributors 2007

The right of Guy Bradley, Elena Isayev, Corinna Riva
and the individual contributors to be identified as authors of this
work has been asserted by them in accordance with
the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

ISBN 978 0 85989 813 3

Typeset in 11/13pt Adobe Caslon
by JCS Publishing Services Ltd

Printed in Great Britain by Athenaeum Press Ltd, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear

Contents

List of Illustrations vii
List of Contributors ix
List of Abbreviations xii
Preface xiii
Maps xv

1 Why Italy? *Elena Isayev* 1

2 The Ancient Veneti: Community and State in Northern Italy *Kathryn Lomas* 21

3 At the Margins of Italy: Celts and Ligurians in North-West Italy *Ralph Häussler* 45

4 The Archaeology of Picenum: The Last Decade *Corinna Riva* 79

5 Etruria and the Etruscans: Recent Approaches *Vedia Izzet* 114

6 The Faliscans *Letizia Ceccarelli* and *Simon Stoddart* 131

7 Latium and the Latins: The Hinterland of Rome *Christopher Smith* 161

8 The Samnites *Edward Bispham* 179

9 Ancient Campania: Cultural Interaction, Political Borders and Geographical Boundaries *Mariassunta Cuozzo* 224

10 Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians? Societies and Settlements in South-East Italy *Edward Herring* 268

11 Romanization: The End of the Peoples of Italy? *Guy Bradley* 295

Index 323

CHAPTER I

Why Italy?

Elena Isayev

Introduction

From an aerial vantage point the Italian peninsula, with its spine-like Apennine range, stretches into the centre of the Mediterranean from the Alpine mountains. Such a perspective has become so natural to us now that we need to make a conscious effort to view the landscape at eye level, and to recognize that its illusory cohesiveness is partly a superimposed overlay used to aid narrative construction. This is somewhat paradoxical, since much of the attraction of researching Italy, especially its earlier periods, is fuelled by the sheer multiplicity of co-existing community forms and networks, often reaching far beyond the frame of the shoreline. On those occasions when the peninsula does become a crucible for unified action and governance, the underlying context of diversity serves to highlight the fragile and transient nature of any resulting organism. Evidence for this dynamic atmosphere is plentiful, and becoming ever more accessible, not only because of numerous archaeological projects, using increasingly advanced methods of recovery and interpretation, but also as a result of new paradigms that inform our thinking about society and the historical process.

The essence of this volume lies in the combination of these factors. It is therefore not a comprehensive study of all the areas of the peninsula. Rather, regions are used as case studies from which to explore both the history of communities that inhabited them and much broader themes, relevant not only to the study of the Mediterranean but also in providing long-term perspectives for issues at the heart of contemporary debate. We have deliberately excluded those regions that have received significant attention in recent English-language scholarship, and which are easily accessible, such as for example Umbria (Bradley 2000) and Lucania (Horsnaes 2002; Isayev 2007). The aim of this chapter is primarily to contextualize the different research trends and to highlight some of the ongoing debates that the contributions to this volume address.

If the above is an initial answer to the question 'why Italy?' then it could be summarized as 'why not Italy?' This apparently frivolous response embodies the extent to which the nature of scholarship of the peninsula has changed. Only ten years ago there would have been an expectation of a particular emphasis, which is reflected in the opening paragraph of the landmark review by Curti,

Dench and Patterson in the *Journal of Roman Studies*: 'For the historian of the Roman period, the archaeology of central and southern Italy raises . . . a fascinating variety of questions . . . it was here that Romans tested and perfected the techniques of organization and control of territory that were to be used with such success elsewhere . . .' (1996, 171). While the fundamental overview provided by this article reaches well beyond the interest in Rome, still the impetus of the research is presented as the city's rise to power, and the contextual expansion of the better-known narratives centred on Greece and Rome. Frustration with this agenda is partly expressed in the final section of the review: 'the problem remains that "Hellenization" and "Romanization" are concepts that cover, and sometimes conceal many different phenomena, and interpretations of these phenomena. What we really need now are further attempts to integrate the intricacies of individual cultural situations with explicitly theoretical treatments' (Curti et al. 1996, 181).

That appeal has been answered and its results are incorporated in the discussions here, but with different aims in mind. Many of the questions addressed in this volume are far removed from the specific historical circumstances of the two better-known civilizations, although they help to provide the context for the myriad of other, equally significant, processes witnessed on the peninsula. Notwithstanding the numerous works published since the 1996 *JRS* review, it remains one of the most well-used summaries for activity in Italy. While fundamental reports on new findings continue to expand the regional sections of library shelves, there has been little attempt to provide an integrated overview of the impact of new approaches, especially in English. Key recent syntheses and collected papers are cited in the 'Further Reading' section at the end of this chapter.

An underlying structure that persists through many of the studies of Italy, and indeed through this one, is regionalism, here organized geographically from north to south. The extent to which this categorization is more than an administrative or narrative packaging tool is a concern raised in the chapters of this volume, even if not explicitly. There are a number of key contexts where the issue is highlighted, particularly in discussions of identity, conquest, colonialism and cultural interaction. What is clear from the evidence is that it is in fact hard to keep to the boundaries. Either the phenomena being described reach beyond them, or there is such internal diversity that it is difficult to argue for the coherence of the area within. In the same way that the nation-state is not a natural unit but, as suggested by Anderson (1991), only one form of imagined community, neither is the region. One of the challenges is to understand the circumstances that may cause the imagined community to function regionally, rather than on the level of an individual settlement, the peninsula, or indeed the empire. Even Cicero questioned his own allegiances in *De Legibus* 2.5 (cf. Bradley, this volume). Was it to Rome or Arpinum that he looked for a definition of home? What are the causal factors and where does agency lie in the transformation of an abstract sense of belonging into a geographical reality? To access this type of information—the self-perception of ancient peoples at a given moment in time—we need to recognize the limits and opportunities offered by the evidence base.

In interpreting and integrating remains of material culture and ancient written sources, often compiled by outside observers, it is, therefore, crucial to have an awareness of the theoretical frameworks and distinct methodological tools that are being employed. Implicitly or explicitly, the contributors in this collection provide a wide range of approaches to the material, determined by the main focus of their inquiry and the types of evidence available to address it. The region therefore acts as a physical and mental space to test existing models and explore the impact of divergent forces on individual communities and broader societal forms. While each regional package is distinct, a number of overlapping themes are shared in common. The most prominent among them are urbanization, identity, state-formation, economy and cultural contact. Other subjects, such as gender and cult, are presented as areas of future opportunity and development, with discussions here only as starting points.

Landscape as Agent

Italy inspires a passion for landscape (Figures 1 and 2), which must be at least a subconscious reason for most authors beginning with a description of the topography. Mountains, valleys, coast and plains are all cited for their potential to aid or inhibit interaction and to provide an appealing environment in which to settle. The tone is on the whole positive; where previously mountain ranges were perceived as barriers, it is now accepted that such physical obstruction did not inhibit cultural interaction (Riva, in this volume). Instead, the landscape is described in terms of the opportunities it provides, with river valleys and passes seen as important routes and meeting points, not just gateways into hostile territory. The ridge of a mountain range can make as good a track as the bottom of a valley (Buck 1975, 101–7), depending on what is being transported, the purpose of the journey, and one's destination.

This change in outlook may be partly attributed to a shift from a Roman-centred to an Italian perspective. It need only be subtle, as demonstrated at the start of Bispham's chapter on Samnium, where he positions the reader's historical gaze to look out from within the Apennine-based community by altering the traditional role of the adversary: 'The Romans, their enemy in the "Samnite Wars" . . .'. This refocusing owes its existence, in part, to such interdisciplinary studies as Horden and Purcell's *Corrupting Sea* (2000), which, through an integration of anthropological findings with geographic models, shows the wide-ranging possibilities of landscape use and adaptability in the ancient world, even in seemingly harsh environments. In so doing, it calls into question

1 Abruzzo, Montagna della Maiella (photograph: Elena Isayev)

scenarios, partly fuelled by modernist 'fetishization' of the urban variable, that imply a universal preference for lowlands and plains, with the use of highlands primarily in times of threat.

Such views are closely tied to urbanization and colonization in the Graeco-Roman context, movements which do require vast, preferably flat, lands for expansion and division of territory. But such an image ignores the kind of wealthy settlements that thrive along river valleys, such as Matelica, deep in the heartland of Picenum, or those such as Albenga in Liguria, whose inhabitants consciously chose to remain on high ground rather than move to a coastal position until well into the first century BC. At the moment most of our inquiry is concerned with mono-directional movement from either highlands or non-centralized settlements to more urban environments and territories around newly established communication routes, especially roads and harbours. Such changes are usually associated with conquest and colonial scenarios and have the advantage of leaving a significant footprint in the material record, especially in the period of Roman hegemony.

For periods that precede such upheaval, and in order to provide a wider context, we can turn to the work of landscape archaeology. Some of the most

2 Molise, Monte Mileto (photograph: Elena Isayev)

recent projects include the ambitious Tiber Valley collaboration (Patterson 2004), investigations in south-east Italy focusing on urban landscapes (Attema et al. 2002) and workshops that test the application of theoretical models to the Italian peninsula (Camassa et al. 2000). These may include the use of systematic geophysics and LiDAR for mapping ancient sites, which is discussed by Ceccarelli and Stoddart. In the Treia catchment of the Faliscan area these demonstrate the shifts in intensity of occupation, both in terms of higher densities and nucleation. The methods used by such investigations are unparalleled in providing a long-term perspective for transformations in the settlement pattern over large areas, making them an important interpretative tool as long as there is a continuing decrease in the levels of uncertainty within their modelling scenarios. These projects, coupled with excavations, now provide sufficient evidence of sophisticated and thriving settlements in the highlands, occupied by powerful groups, such as, for example, those discussed in Häussler's chapter on north-west Italy, and Bispham's on Samnium, with similar patterns stretching from Umbria (Bradley 2000) into Lucania (Isayev 2007; forthcoming). In our aim to understand what informs an ancient community's sense of homeland, and the role of landscape in the selection of a settlement location, we need to

refocus our attention on positive choice, rather than necessity, when considering the reasons for the occupation of a particular territory.

Features in the landscape are used to provide an outline for boundaries, especially rivers and mountain ranges, although interestingly not forests, which must be—at least in part—due to our sketchy knowledge of their position and extent. They too, however, along with marshes and other more vulnerable natural environments, would have played a key role in articulating a community's space and sense of belonging. Phenomenological studies pioneered by Tilley (1994) provide possible theoretical frameworks in which to investigate such perceptions. The site of Arpi in south-east Italy provides a perfect opportunity for the application of their method. In trying to comprehend why a community would choose to invest its resources in a massive earthwork in the middle of a plain, enclosing an area of one thousand hectares, Herring considers recent explorations of the sensory impact of the structure in the context of its natural environment. Such a shift in perspective forces a rethinking of the experience and motivation for its construction and also a re-examination of traditional models of defence and urbanism that are used to comprehend the creation of hill-forts and other walled enclosures in ancient Italy.

Izzet's chapter further expands such an alternative approach by employing the idea of separation and distinction as the starting point. The tools used in the creation of a boundary or surface, to differentiate either social categories or space, may be as diverse as a wall or the body itself. Through such an outlook Izzet is able to reposition our view, for example, by taking the well-known phenomenon of Etruscan urbanization and considering its role in the creation of a specifically rural landscape. One of the challenges of such investigations is to understand how historical circumstances intervene in a community's interaction with the natural environment and how they affect the prominence of its role in decision making.

What the land itself has to offer fits into the category broadly defined as 'economy'. Usually this anticipates a discussion of the suitability of the terrain either for agriculture or pastoralism and the possibilities of mixed farming. Long-distance transhumance, as an area of interest, has receded into the background, but it still surfaces when the remains of a medieval *tratturo* provide an opportunity to reconsider landscape networks. A subject that has come to the fore more recently is that of natural resources and the impact of availability and access to raw materials. Ceccarelli and Stoddart's in-depth geological description of the volcanic strata underlying the Faliscan area, which is similar to that of Latium, demonstrates how it provided ideal settlement contexts with water sources replenished by numerous springs and a variety of rock types, including travertine and soft tufas, which could be easily converted into building materials. The better-known example of the Etruscan metal trade is believed to be primarily responsible for drawing Greek traders and craftsmen to Italy's west coast. The region's natural wealth may have provided perfect conditions to allow

Greek aristocracies to have an outlet for their own struggles and crises, as well as the export of artisan knowledge, notably in the creation of Pithekoussai.

Rome's foundation too, whatever may have been the roles of Romulus, Remus and Aeneas, was potentially largely determined by the access to raw materials, and especially the salt plains of Ostia. Grandazzi's (1997) suggestion that the salt trade was a significant contributor in establishing Rome's central place in the region is very appealing, and it also shifts our attention away from focusing solely on the importance of the Tiber. As Grandazzi (1997, 74–90) maintains, if this route, and the traffic on it, were the main reason for choosing the location for the settlement, then we need to explain why the port at Ostia was not created until the Republican period, and also what it was that brought traffic to the river in the first instance. The importance of rivers as conduits of products and ideas is examined in Riva's application of consumption theory to understand socio-political change. It provides a foundation for reconstructing the sophisticated networks that Picenum both participated in and fuelled. By tracing the intricate workings of the amber industry, or analysing the sources of the extraordinary wealth of Matelica with its import of technologies and objects, she highlights how such river routes functioned, allowing seemingly isolated sites to be integrated in the wider dialogue of Mediterranean elites.

Explanatory Frameworks

The landscape is more than just a backdrop against which history is played out. It is a key driver in the formation of settlement patterns and socio-economic networks. What alters is the extent and strength of its role, depending on the impact of other internal and external factors, which form the basis of explanatory frameworks for change, continuity and diversity. The remainder of this chapter will explore how these frameworks are employed and tested in the regions of Italy: to what extent is archaeological visibility a key factor rather than, for example, a historical event? Or should preference be given to external interaction rather than internal dynamic as the catalyst for change? And how do these explanations for specific processes hold in the light of much wider trends that can reach well beyond the peninsula?

The Funerary Record and Archaeological Visibility

Although most of the authors focus on different time frames for their investigation of the regions, on the whole the period covered tends to range from the Bronze Age through to Roman hegemony into the first century BC, with a concentration from the eighth to the third centuries. For this period the primary source of evidence is the funerary record, which offers considerable

opportunities but also comes with a health warning. As Bispham states, cemeteries are 'sexy'. Their material wealth and good preservation, and hence vulnerability to clandestine excavators, means that they are frequently prioritized for archaeological investigation. Often they are the only remains of a settlement, but conversely there are ancient sites for which no associated cemeteries are known. Furthermore, the end of a cemetery's use need not signify the end of a community's existence, as the evidence from Samnium and Lucania (Isayev 2007, 134–38, 163–67; cf. Bradley 2000, 46) demonstrates for the period spanning from the end of the fourth to the second century BC. In both regions there are plenty of other indicators, not only for the persistence of communities but also of their impressive strength, in particular in regard to their ability to raise vast armies.

One way to reconcile the gap or 'decline' in the funerary evidence is to consider different burial practices that may not leave a permanent record, for example cremation instead of inhumation and/or the absence of associated structures and material culture in grave deposits. Lomas attributes the move to less impressive burial assemblages in north Italy in the fourth century BC to a shift of power from small dominant groups to a wider ruling elite, while the deterioration of cemeteries in the first century BC is associated with the impact of a new Roman order, with a break in continuity and a relocation to new sites. In the context of the central and southern Apennines the decline in visibility of funerary wealth display is paralleled by increasing monumentality and heightened luxury of votives at sanctuary sites, such as, for example, at Pietrabbondante and at Rossano di Vaglio. Such a shift in focus, from display in the private sphere to investment in more public communal spaces, may be a result of, and also catalyst for, transformed ideologies. A bigger issue, which has yet to be fully addressed, is the relationship of such changes in north Italy in the fourth century BC to those occurring in the Apennine communities. A similar issue arises concerning the increase in wealth across Italy in the eighth to seventh centuries BC, in what has been controversially called the Orientalizing period, which is discussed by Izzet, Riva and Cuozzo. If they are part of wider trends that affect the whole peninsula, then we will need to ensure that the explanatory framework functions in a wider context and achieves a balance, being neither solely based around limited specific scenarios, nor so generalized that it ignores local diversity.

The cemetery evidence acts as a barometer for transformations in ideology and societal structures, for—as Cuozzo reminds us—funerary ritual is never neutral. It does not merely communicate but actively reproduces and legitimizes community values. The cautionary note that needs to be added to this is that burial evidence also can be, by its very nature, idealized, conservative (with inclusion of heirlooms), and not necessarily representative of the real population; since it can be exclusive it may be unreliable for identifying distinct community

groups.[1] To counteract some of these concerns and strengthen the robustness of the evidence base it is essential that cemeteries are not studied in isolation but entrenched, as much as possible, within their temporal and spatial context. There are two main ways that the funerary material is employed: 1) the positioning, size and spatial organization of the burial grounds that are used to explore notions of hierarchy, status and other forms of societal structure, as well as a community's centralizing tendencies; 2) the nature of funerary monuments and the structure of the graves, as well as the material deposited within them, further elucidate some of the themes above; in addition they also provide information about cultural trends, socio-economic networks and the impact of external influences on different elements within the community.

Some of the varied ways in which spatial, distribution and positioning may be interpreted are represented in the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa in Latium, which has over six hundred excavated burials. Smith describes how from 900 BC there appear to have been two burial groups distinguished by pottery techniques. Each group had within it a number of central cremations, possibly of heads of families, surrounded by inhumations. The division , which only breaks down in the eighth century BC, could be either representative of two kinship groups or two settlements.

A different scenario comes from north Italy from the cemeteries belonging to two substantial ancient settlements at Este and Padua, which lie thirty kilometres apart. Lomas observes that the main difference is that Este has a number of burial areas, each seemingly connected to a concentration of houses, while at Padua there was a clearly defined single burial site. There are other shared features of these cemeteries, however. From the seventh century BC there is clear status differentiation as suggested by the burial goods, with a mixture of cremation and inhumation. The burials were often in clusters, sometimes under communal earth tumuli, suggesting societal divisions by extended family groupings. In the fourth century these larger clusters were replaced by smaller-scale tombs for individuals or just the nuclear family. As noted above, this is in part interpreted as a move to a distribution of power among a wider elite group. But how to explain the choice of one or many cemeteries? This becomes a more acute problem when evidence for habitation is lacking, as for example in Iron Age south Hirpinia, where, as Cuozzo notes, it is unclear whether the cemeteries belong to centralized settlements or scattered villages.

From the numerous possible approaches to investigating the funerary monuments and grave assemblages, the focus of this section will be limited to one strand of inquiry: the accumulation and representation of wealth. The issues considered below are specific to a socio-economic interest in the funerary evidence, and do not encompass the multiple layers of meaning and

1 See for example the concerns raised by Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, in relation to south Italy.

multidimensional ideological spheres of action in funerary customs that are the focus of Cuozzo's chapter.

Increasing prosperity levels, of the kind seen across much of the peninsula in the eighth century BC, are dependent on the identification and recognition of objects and monuments that signify wealth. While a gold crown may be an uncontroversial example, the status of an imported Greek vase, or even a local imitation of one, is much more ambiguous. Furthermore, the conception and value of wealth is socio-culturally specific, meaning that similar objects may not have the same status across different sites, or in different periods within the same site. Status also need not be represented by an object; it could be, for example, the rite of cremation that distinguishes an elite individual, as its preparation may be difficult and expensive.

Assuming we can be sure of having recognized a community's increased capital, a subsequent question may be how it was achieved—through trade, control of routes and markets, provision of services, or conquest? It is an area that still needs much work, since the ancient economy is difficult to reconstruct, especially for earlier periods. This is particularly problematic if the goods being traded are made of perishable materials such as wool or food-stuffs, and the kind of services that may have been provided leave no trace either in the material or textual record. We are often left with no concrete proof whether, for example, mercenary services would have been a source of income for communities in Campania (Tagliamonte 1994), or whether the so-called 'scribe school' at the sanctuary of Reitia in the Veneto may have attracted investors or patrons. Nevertheless, it is only through exploring such possibilities that we can appreciate the complexity and dynamism of ancient society.

One approach to wealth accumulation is through the model of consumption that Riva applies to the material record from Picenum. The remains of cemeteries that lie along the river valleys of the region, both at inland sites and on the Adriatic coast, provide good comparative data for the reconstruction of exchange networks. Hence the presence of amber, which is found across Italy in the eighth to seventh centuries BC, has a particular place in Picenum, not only as part of the burial assemblage, but also as part of a crafts repertoire. There is some evidence to suggest that raw amber, rather than being imported directly into Greece, in some instances may have first been crafted at workshops in Picenum. With such a wide Mediterranean network we would expect to find a substantial amount of imported goods in Picene graves. This scenario holds true for the coastal site of Numana, which appears to have acted as an *emporion*. But it is not the case for the inland site of Matelica, which, although displaying significant wealth in its burial deposits, currently reveals a virtual absence of foreign objects. The main import at the site appears to have been technology that allowed the exploitation of new techniques and styles by local craftsmen. There is also evidence of the adoption of complex funerary ceremonies, incorporating elements from nearby regions, suggesting networks that spanned from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian, as well as Greece. As to the origin of such wealth, Riva points to the local elites' control of communication routes and access to raw materials as well as skilled labour. Strength in craftsmanship also appears to be a visible aspect of Novilara's wealth, as objects originating from the area have been found at a wide range of sites across Italy and around the Adriatic in Slovenia. However, there is no sign of wealth accumulation either in the cemeteries or in other contexts associated with the site. Riva suggests that the value of wealth may have been expressed differently from that found within other contemporary communities in the region. Such a scenario may help to contextualize the disparity in the levels of wealth in the cemeteries of northern Samnium, and those in south Samnium, especially in the Biferno Valley. Currently it is explained by its physical distance from areas of external influence, and lack of raw material and key trade routes, which could be exploited by the elite. But then how to explain the proliferation of major sanctuaries in this part of the region, with evidence of substantial investment of capital and clear ability to attract skilled craftsmen, who drew on the latest and most innovative styles for their architectural design and execution? According to Bispham these appear to have been the arenas for wealth display, particularly in the fourth to second centuries BC.

History and Causality

Most of the above discussion of the funerary material has been an exploration of the possible answers to questions beginning with 'what'. Only the very last scenario begins to bring in directly the element of 'why'. One of the areas where answers are sought, although progressively with more caution, is in the historical record. Is there a trace of an event—an invasion, a migration or a synoecism—which could explain the change in the material record? The dangers of such an approach are highlighted by many of the contributors to this volume, and some directly test the validity of historical explanations for visible transformations, or highlight the lack of any archaeological signs of a historical event taking place.

Häussler notes that the Roman conquest of north-west Italy is hardly recognizable in the archaeological record, and that change took place slowly and with persistence of pre-existing cultural trends. A more challenging task is to unpick the nature of the fourth-century 'Celtic invasion', which is seen as the catalyst for changes in the settlement and socio-cultural pattern in Cisalpine Gaul. Instead Häussler points to earlier contacts with La Tène communities in the fifth century, which may be seen as part of the cultural interaction with the Celts that is also discussed by Lomas in connection with north-east Italy. Both writers stress the unlikelihood that such changes are a reflection of a mass migration of new groups into the region. Häussler also provides examples of the variety of impacts of La Tène culture across the north-west region, with little evidence of its penetration south of the Po. As to those areas that did

see substantial changes in the fourth century BC, such as the move to small-scale fortified hilltop centres in the Ligurian Apennines, these he attributes to internal dynamics, arguing that it would be a mistake to see them as a defensive response to the 'invasion', especially as the chronologies for their construction are unclear. This settlement pattern also needs to be seen as part of a much broader Italy-wide trend that saw the flourishing of such hill-forts along the whole Apennine range in this period.

Conversely we need to make sure that we do not ignore the fact that some historical circumstances did leave a very clear footprint in the archaeological record. Hingley stresses the importance of balancing ideas of enabling against concepts of imperial force and the peripheralization of 'subject peoples' (2005, 120). Although his reference is to the Roman provincial context, it is also useful for analysing elite networks in earlier periods, especially his appeal that in taking a more balanced perspective we should not explore the lives of those who were enabled to the exclusion of those who were killed, marginalized and exploited (Hingley 2005, 115–16). In some cases, the two groups will not have formed mutually exclusive categories.

Cuozzo cautiously investigates the context of the changes in Cumae during the Iron Age. She distinguishes between the initial peaceful and dynamic cultural interaction in the early eighth century BC, which resulted from the newfound Greek *emporion* at Pithekoussai, and the transformations of the Cumaean community in the following period, which can only be understood in terms of a violent takeover of the site by the Greek settlers. Signs of a rupture in the history of Cumae are evident both at the site itself and also in the surrounding territory, which undergoes a partial 'archaeological silence'. The significant impact of the takeover becomes even more visible when considered in the context of other nearby Italic sites, such as Pontecagnano and Capua, which exhibit continuing growth and ongoing good relations with the Greek communities. In the example of Cumae, the historical narrative provides a wider context for the transformations visible in the archaeological record, which in turn illuminates the mode of conquest.

Moving to a different level of magnification to cover a wider area and time period, Bradley's chapter considers the impact of Roman hegemony on Italy. He explores the idea of an 'end' of Italian history, in a way that further challenges some of Fukuyama's conclusions in *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). Without negating the diversity of community responses to the process of conquest, Bradley draws on the similarities that could only be understood from a historical perspective of an Italy refocused around the new centre of Rome. Some of these elements are also teased out in the context of Cisalpine Gaul, where Häussler highlights changes in the elite competitive arena, at a time when the region finally received full Roman citizenship.

There is no doubt that the absorption into the Roman state realigned membership and allegiance, prompting an overwriting of identity, but it also created another phenomenon, which Bradley explores under the aegis of antiquarianism. The age of Augustus in particular, with its interest in origins, seems to have encouraged a resurgence of local traditions. This proliferation and positive reworking of regional identities, with a revival through archaism, is contrasted with the politically charged role of identities in the pre-Social War period. Such a subtle distinction is recognizable for the most part because we have the strength of the historical record as a guide for the period. In light of it we may want to reconsider a seemingly comparable reinvestment in Italic identities from the late third century BC, which may be represented through an increased use of local languages in the epigraphic record, especially Oscan, and a flourishing of traditional cult sites that could have acted as regional centres. Could this have been the beginning of the same process that gained momentum in the Augustan Age, which was interrupted by the Social War? If this was the case, then we can extend the context to incorporate Callimachus. Bradley notes that the poet was drawing on 'antiquarian and historical pictures of homeland', which must have been part of the same dialogue about origins as the Italians were having in the Hellenistic period. The continuing relevance of this trend can be partly seen in its appropriation by later poets such as Propertius. During the period of conflict between the Italian *socii* and Rome, revivalism of local traditions could have been usefully turned to political ends, taking on the role of resistance, while in the post-war era it helped in the building of a new 'Italian' identity.

External and Internal Forces for Change and Centralization

Crucial to our ability to comprehend the process of change is the articulation of the interplay between forces that are internally initiated and those that are externally driven. In recent decades, prompted by a post-colonial perspective, the focus has shifted from prioritizing external agents of change to recognizing the diversity of local responses, and the active role of internal mechanisms in initiating transformation. This has been achieved partly with the help of the long-term view provided by prehistoric archaeology. It has demonstrated that developments such as farming techniques, visual representation and the creation of writing, among others, can occur between groups separated by both time and space. Such transformations are often perceived in terms of a trajectory that moves towards ever more increasing complexity. But the hierarchical relationship between more and less complex societies is questionable, as is the assumption that more 'advanced' systems, once introduced, will be adopted. This latter point is even difficult to support in terms of technological innovation that, as Lemonnier (1993) has shown, may be prevented from being taken on due to a different belief system, or other boundaries. Some of these are explored by Cuozzo in the context of Campania through the paradigm of 'open' and

'conservative' communities. Such observations bring into question the driving forces behind a phenomenon such as centralization, a key theme in the study of ancient Italy. In what context is the process seen as outwardly initiated, and when is the change attributed to 'naturally' occurring local features that coalesce, given the right environment? Explanations are also needed as to why some areas chose to abstain from the process and under what circumstances it was reversed and areas became decentralized. The different forms that the inquiry takes may be examined by focusing on prominently 'urbanized' regions such as Latium and Etruria and considering them in the light of those where the category is less useful, such as south-east Italy and the Apennines.

The rise of 'urban society' which, as Smith notes, needs to be seen as an interconnected phenomenon, not simply one that affected individual sites, had its roots in the Bronze Age and was well underway by the eighth century BC, with prominent examples in Latium, Etruria and Campania. The landscape of these three regions surely had a role to play in the agglomeration of smaller sites, providing plateaux and low-lying clusters of hills creating the perfect environment for future cities. But the flat open areas in south-east Italy led to a different form of settlement pattern, which will be considered below. Smith describes how in Latium there was a clear move from an already densely occupied landscape in the Early Bronze Age, primarily made up of small sites of one to six hectares, to hundred-hectare settlements based on plateaux, which could accommodate populations of thousands. What made them cities was not their sheer size but their ability to control vast territories and the complex and stratified societal structures they contained. These are particularly evident from the sixth century BC in the organization of urban space and construction of monumental public buildings. The changes witnessed in settlements were paralleled by signs of increasing wealth and stratification in cemeteries and the monumentalization of cult sites.

For Smith the accelerated development of these communities is to be found in the presence of Phoenicians and Greeks and the resulting importance of trade routes and access to raw materials in the region. But such external influences are downplayed by Izzet in relation to the earlier phases of a similar urbanization process in Etruria. Questioning the validity of the model centred on interaction between cultures as the impetus for local change, instead she stresses that the origins of the complex state need to be seen as part of local construction with internal roots that extend back into the Bronze Age. Hence, the rise of princely society was not necessarily a response to 'Orientalizing' influences, but pre-dated them, as is suggested by the make-up of the burial assemblages. In Etruria, as in Latium, it was the seventh to sixth centuries that saw substantial increase in the power of cities. Izzet suggests that their centralized authority allowed incursion into the territory of middle-ranking settlements, which appear to have

been replaced by smaller sites, creating a densely occupied rural landscape by the fourth century BC.

How widespread the impact of such a city may have been is considered in some detail by Ceccarelli and Stoddart with a focus on the Faliscan area and the upsurge of Veii. In this region the pattern of settlement is similar in the Bronze Age to that of Latium and Etruria, with an intensifying occupation of the landscape, focusing on naturally defined tuff outcrops. But the pattern diverges in the Early Iron Age, when most settlements in the Faliscan zone are abandoned. By the eighth century there is again a resurgence of sites, which are larger and occupy different locations to those of the preceding period. To make sense of this progression the authors provide three possible scenarios, all dependent on our understanding of the relationship between these communities and Veii. The explanations are distinguished by whether preference is given to the internal dynamic of Faliscan communities, or to the influence and control of Veii. On the ground it is difficult to discriminate between the two processes, but an argument against the early power of Veii rests on whether it can be considered a 'political city' with central control of territory before the seventh century BC. Its role depends on the still unresolved questions of whether we can define the moment that a settlement becomes a city and how this would be related to the formation of a state.

While these questions are important, the evidence from the Apennines and south-east Italy provides an alternative approach to the problem and also highlights the danger of overemphasizing the process of urbanization. Bispham demonstrates how communities in Samnium clearly had power that was equal to that of states by any other name, although we would be hard pressed to identify an urban environment in the region before the presence of Roman colonies. Herring, on the other hand, provides examples of substantial centralized settlements, incorporating areas larger than sites in Latium and Etruria, and yet they lack features that would allow them to be categorized as cities, or as having the functions of a state. The Bronze Age in Samnium was characterized by an increase in the density of settlement, and also in the size of sites, much in the same way that has been observed for the other regions. Bispham states that the socio-economic complexity that is characteristic of this period may have been catalysed but was not caused by external interaction. Such a distinction is subtle but enough to shift the focus from an image of these communities as passive receivers to active appropriators of new trends.

By refocusing attention onto appropriation and choice we are better placed to recognize the varied responses across the peninsula to the intensified interaction with groups across the Mediterranean in the eighth century BC. The process had different results, leading to an urbanized landscape in some areas, and to smaller dispersed settlement forms in regions that incorporated more mountainous terrains. Forms of social complexity in the latter environment were organized around a system that was different from that of the urban context, but no less

sophisticated. Incorporated into it were cult centres that provided a gathering place for disparate sites and a focus for community investment, which could take the form of monumental structures, votives, or sacrificial obligations. Bispham highlights the substantial levels of surplus capital that would have been necessary to provide the quantities of prime cattle required as victims for the ceremonies at these sites. The 27-metre altar at the Lucanian sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio is further testimony to the colossal nature of these events (Isayev 2007, 224). By incorporating elements such as sanctuaries, it may even be possible to argue that levels of centralization were equal across both types of environment, but simply more visible, or more familiar to us, in the urbanized form.

The aggregative trend was also prominent in the south of Italy, but here again it took different forms. In south and central Puglia the flat plains that run into the Murge are characterized by a similar combination of large and medium-size settlements as have been noted in Etruria and Latium. Herring attributes this rise of urbanism to the influence of external interaction with the Greek world, and especially from the nearby colony of Tarentum. There is, however, debate as to whether non-Greek sites could really be called truly urban, since some, although reaching a hundred hectares in size with walled enclosures, do not necessarily contain other features typically associated with Greek-type cities. Without suggesting that they are at a lower hierarchical level, which is at times implied by the term proto-urban, Lomas (1994) instead chooses to see them as being representative of a distinctly regional form of city. To what extent then was the Greek city its model? More fitting is perhaps Bispham's earlier suggestion that interaction and new nearby colonies catalysed, but did not cause, the transformation of settlement and society.

Even more challenging is the situation in northern Puglia. What would have been the impetus for the creation of the (non-defensive?) bank and ditch enclosure surrounding the thousand-hectare site of Arpi, or other similarly sized open sites in this part of the region, which may have already existed from the eighth century BC? Herring, through a close investigation of the structures within the site, indicates that while there is a sense of a communal space embodied in the site as a whole, and clearly evidence of an organized joint effort in both choosing to move to a single location and in building the enclosure, there is little else to suggest the existence of a complex social system. Within the settlements, until the fourth century BC, there is no evidence of structured space or public areas, nor are there any amenities such as drainage. Up to now it has also not been possible to find evidence of demarcated spaces for different activities such as crafts and habitation, which all seem to be interspersed with each other. On the whole the settlements look more as if they were a conglomerate of villages and farms rather than functioning as a single organism.

These centres are distinct not only from the Greek city model, but also from other Italic sites, which makes them difficult to contextualize in terms of external influences. Instead Herring and his team turn to internal elements, focusing on what it may have been like to experience such environments, through the application of phenomenological approaches, and thus move closer to understanding the inspiration behind the creation of these settlement forms. The choice of an explanatory framework for any changes in a given pattern is dependent on the context of the phenomena being investigated, and how the framework allows the identification of the unique and the ordinary. It is questionable whether we can argue for the idea of 'the norm' that acts as a measure, of being more than just an investigative tool to help in building and testing paradigms. Hence a conscious awareness of the models we apply can ensure that we are not blind to processes that would not fit neatly within them. The diversity of possible explanations is embodied in such approaches as phenomenology, and by being open to them we can begin fully to take on board the findings of prehistoric archaeology, such as those outlined by Lemonnier (1993).

Conclusion

The historical interest in the formation and transformation of the processes embodied in these studies of Italy is not in itself new. The main difference in how we approach these themes today lies in the filters we use in looking at the past, filters that are a product of our contemporary environment. Thucydides' lens was coloured by Athenian imperialist tendencies, in the same way as Toynbee's was the result of the World Wars, and ours is defined by a post-colonial, post-modern, globalizing world perspective. This does not only mean that we ask different questions of the evidence base, but that our fundamental understanding of change and difference has been transformed. A move towards complexity is no longer considered along evolutionary lines with the assumption that, for example, a shift from a dispersed to a centralized settlement form represents a more developed state that communities strive to achieve.

Questioning the evolutionary explanatory framework has also affected how we comprehend cultural exchange. Romanization (or any 'ization') is not a package given by a more advanced imperial power to a primitive society that passively accepts the fruits of the greater culture. Rather, as Woolf (1998) has argued, it is about groups actively joining the debate as to what that cultural package is. It may even be argued that the preoccupation with regionalism expressed here is partly a reaction to nation-state mentalities that are increasingly challenged by global networks. Any answers that research in Italy provides become part of an ongoing dialogue not only about the past, but also between the past and the present.

FURTHER READING

The works cited here are those, primarily in English, which have been published since the 1996 *Journal of Roman Studies* review by Curti, Dench and Patterson. The most accessible volume is J.M. David's *The Roman Conquest of Italy* (1996), a translation of his French monograph which primarily expands the framework, largely textual, set up in earlier works on Italy, providing a context for Roman hegemony. But the most prominent historical synthesis for the Roman period which deals with traditional historical questions is Giardina's *L'Italia Romana* (1997). Otherwise, analysis usually takes the form of collected papers around specific themes, in particular: S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (2001); M. Torelli, *Tota Italia. Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy* (1999); A. Cooley (ed.), *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy* (2000); T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas, *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (1995), and the volumes compiled under the auspices of *Accordia*: K. Lomas and T. Cornell (eds), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* (1997); E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds), *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy* (2000). An important Italian series, with a focus on Magna Graecia, which also includes papers in English, is *Atti di Taranto*, especially the recent volume *Confini e Frontiera* (1999). Another publication that is the result of roundtable discussions is Camassa et al., *Paesaggi di potere* (2000); it stands out because of its focus on integrating and testing spatial modelling and theoretical approaches, developed largely by the British and Dutch schools, and their application to the Italian evidence.

A number of recent projects have concerned themselves directly with making the primary evidence base more accessible. The now almost complete set of *BTCGI* volumes provides a comprehensive resource for individual sites, particularly in Magna Graecia. Italian coinages have been brought together by Rutter in *Historia Numorum, Italy* (2001). But arguably, the field that has seen the highest level of activity has been that of epigraphy, with the appearance of two fundamental tools: J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (2000), and H. Rix, *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen* (2002). A further resource nearing completion is the *Imagines Italicae*, which provides both images and commentary on Italic inscriptions supplementing Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (1953) and *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Aside from being references that bring together scattered data—both geographically and in print—these works provide a quick snapshot of the spread and density of activity across the peninsula, contextualizing the better-known sites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London and New York.
Attema, P., Burgers, G.J., van Joolen, E., van Leusen, M. and Mater, B. 2002. *New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology*. Oxford.
Bradley, G. 2000. *Ancient Umbria. State, Culture and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era*. Oxford.
Buck, R.J. 1975. 'The Ancient Roads of Southeastern Lucania' *PBSR* 43, pp. 98–117.
Camassa, G., de Guio, A., Veronese, F. (eds) 2000. *Paesaggi di potere: problemi e prospettive. Atti del seminario, Udine, 16–17 Maggio 1996*. Rome.
Cooley, A. (ed.) 2000. *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*. London.
Cornell, T.J. and Lomas, K. (eds) 1995. *Urban Society in Roman Italy*. London.
Cornell, T.J. and Lomas, K. (eds) 1997. *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*. London.
Curti, E., Dench, E. and Patterson, J.R. 1996. 'The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches' *JRS* 86, pp. 170–89.
David, J.M. 1996. *The Roman Conquest of Italy*. Oxford.
Fukuyama, F. 1997. *The End of History and the Last Man*. London.
Giardina, A. 1997. *L'Italia romana: storie di un'identità incompiuta*. Rome.
Grandazzi, A. 1997. *The Foundation of Rome: Myth and History*. London.
Herring, E. and Lomas, K. (eds) 2000. *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy in the First Millennium BC*. London.
Hingley, R. 2005. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*. London and New York.
Horden, P. and Purcell, N. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea*. Oxford.
Horsnaes, H.W. 2002. *The Cultural Development in North-Western Lucania c. 600–273 BC*. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. 28. Rome.
Isayev, E. 2007. *Inside Ancient Lucania: Dialogues in History and Archaeology*. London.
Isayev, E. forthcoming. 'Unintentionally Being Lucanian' in T. Hodos and S. Hales (eds) *Local and Global Identities. Rethinking Identity and Material Culture in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge.
Keay, K. and Terrenato, N. (eds) 2001. *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization*. Oxford.
Lemonnier, P. (ed.) 1993. *Technological Choices. Transformations in Material Cultures since the Neolithic*. London.
Lomas, K. 1994. 'The City in Southeast Italy. Ancient Topography and the Evolution of Urban Settlement 600–300 BC' *Accordia Research Papers* 4, pp. 63–77.
Lomas, K. and Cornell, T. (eds) 1997. *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*. London.
Nenci, G. and Vallet, G. (eds) 1977–2001. *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle Isole Tirreniche*. Rome. (*BTCGI*).
Patterson, H. (ed.) 2004. *Bridging the Tiber. Approaches to Regional Archaeology in the Middle Tiber Valley*. London.
Potter, T.W. 1987. *Roman Italy*. London.
Riva, C. 2006. 'The Orientalizing Period in Etruria: Sophisticated Communities' in C. Riva, N. Vella (eds) *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London, pp. 110–34.
Rix, H. 2002. *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*. Heidelberg.

Rutter, N.K. (ed.) 2001. *Historia Numorum, Italy*. London.
Tagliamonte, G. 1994. *I Figli di Marte: mobilità, mercenari e mercenariato italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*. Rome.
Tilley, C. 1994. *Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments*. Oxford.
Torelli, M. 1999. *Tota Italia. Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy*. Oxford.
Untermann, J. 2000. *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*. Heidelberg.
Vetter, E. 1953. *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*. Heidelberg.
Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge.

CHAPTER 2

The Ancient Veneti

Community and State in Northern Italy

Kathryn Lomas

Introduction

Northern Italy poses an interesting series of problems for the historian and archaeologist. The area north of the river Po was regarded in the ancient world as not forming part of Italy at all,[1] yet this region was one with a number of rich and distinctive cultures. It had close contacts with both continental Europe and the Mediterranean world, and played a significant role in the economic and cultural development of Italy. Ancient sources name the principal groups of inhabitants as the Veneti (or Henetoi, in Greek), who occupied an area corresponding to the modern Veneto,[2] the Raeti, who were concentrated in the area to the north and west of this corresponding to modern Trentino, and the Celts and Ligurians of north-west Italy (Map 1). What these peoples called themselves, how they defined themselves, and whether they possessed an ethnic consciousness corresponding to these Greek and Latin sources, is much less clear, but the archaeology of the region indicates that the populations of these regions developed a rich and dynamic culture during the period between the Iron Age and the Roman conquest. The aim of this chapter is to examine how the culture and society of one area of northern Italy—the Veneto—developed and how the population may have defined their own identity between the emergence of urban societies in the seventh century BC and the Roman conquest of the region.

Greek and Roman writers provide a considerable amount of evidence for the Veneti and their development, and clearly had considerable interest in them, but this must be treated with caution for several reasons. First, most of this evidence is written much later than the high point of Venetic culture in the sixth to second centuries BC, which raises questions about exactly how accurate it was and what sources it came from. Greek authors from Hesiod onwards, for instance, incorporated the Veneti and their region into Greek myths and

1 Dionysios of Halicarnassus 1.35; Aristotle, *Politics* B296; Thucydides 6.34, 44, 7.3; Herodotos 3.137; Pallottino 1991, 41–45.
2 Homer, *Iliad* 2.851–52; Herodotos 1.196; Ps-Skylax 19; Polybius 2.17–18 and 23–24; Livy 1.1, 10.2.1–14; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.130–31; a full set of ancient sources for the regions is collected in Voltan 1989.