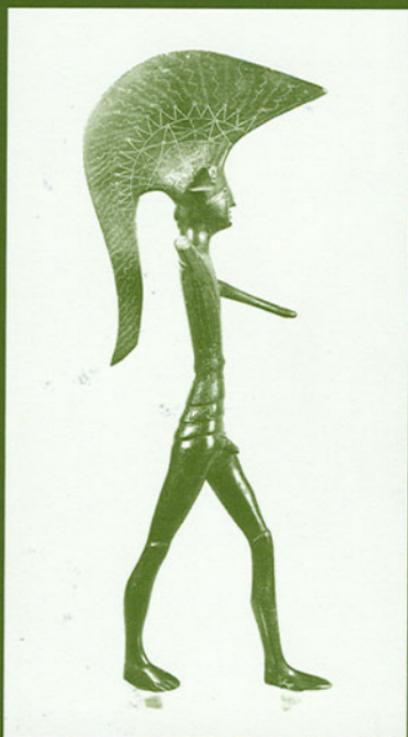


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ANCIENT UMBRIA

STATE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY IN
CENTRAL ITALY FROM THE IRON AGE
TO THE AUGUSTAN ERA



Guy Bradley

ANCIENT UMBRIA

Ancient Umbria

*State, culture, and identity in
central Italy from the Iron Age
to the Augustan era*

GUY BRADLEY

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Note that Toynbee acknowledges the conjectural nature of the territorial boundaries between cities on map 2 (*Hannibal's Legacy*, i. 596), for which our information is limited. The status markings are my own.

Abbreviations

<i>AFLP</i>	<i>Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università degli studi di Perugia</i>
<i>AION (Arch)</i>	<i>Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, annali del seminario di studi nel mondo classico, sezione di archeologia e storia antica</i>
<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest</i>	M. Corbucci and S. Pettine (eds.), <i>Gens antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest e Cracovia</i> , Exhibition catalogue (Perugia, 1989)
<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i>	M. Corbucci and S. Pettine (eds.), <i>Gens antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , Exhibition catalogue (Perugia, 1990)
<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a New York</i>	M. Corbucci and S. Pettine (eds.), <i>Gens antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria a New York</i> , Exhibition catalogue (Perugia, 1991)
<i>Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano</i>	M. Corbucci and S. Pettine (eds.), <i>Gens antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano</i> , Exhibition catalogue (Perugia, 1988)
<i>Arch. Class.</i>	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
<i>BDSPU</i>	<i>Bollettino della deputazione per la storia patria di Umbria</i>
<i>BSCF</i>	<i>Bollettino storico della città di Foligno</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> (various editions)
<i>City and Country</i>	J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), <i>City and Country in the Ancient World</i> (London, 1991)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>DdA</i>	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>

- EAA* *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* (1958–)
Guida Laterza M. Gaggiotti, D. Manconi, L. Mercado, and M. Verzar, *Umbria Marche: Guida archeologica Laterza* (Rome and Bari, 1980)
- Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, papers given at a congress, Göttingen, 1974 (Göttingen, 1976)
- ILLRP* A. Degrassi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* (Florence, 1957–65)
- ILS* H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892–1916)
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- MEFRA* *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*
- Mevania* A. E. Feruglio, L. Bonomi Ponzi, and D. Manconi, *Mevania: Da centro umbro a municipio romano* (Perugia, 1991)
- NSc* *Notizie degli Scavi*
- PBSR* *Papers of the British School at Rome*
- PCIA* *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*
- Peer Polity Interaction* C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Social Change* (Cambridge, 1986)
- Po* P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter* (Pisa, 1979)
- PP* *La Parola del Passato*
- Problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria* *I problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria: Atti del I convegno di studi umbri*, papers given at a congress, Gubbio, 1963 (Gubbio and Perugia, 1964)
- RE* A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–)
- SE* *Studi Etruschi*
- Territory, Time and State* C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Territory, Time and State* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Ve* E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953)

Note on citation of words in Umbrian and other non-Latin Italic languages

I have followed the convention that words which are written in the Umbrian or other non-Latin alphabets are printed in bold, and those in the Latin alphabet in italics. There is a general problem with the citation of Umbrian words for which there is no attested nominative form; readers should be aware that when the nominative is unknown, I have used either the stem or other declensional forms.

I

Approaching the history of ancient Umbria

1. Introduction

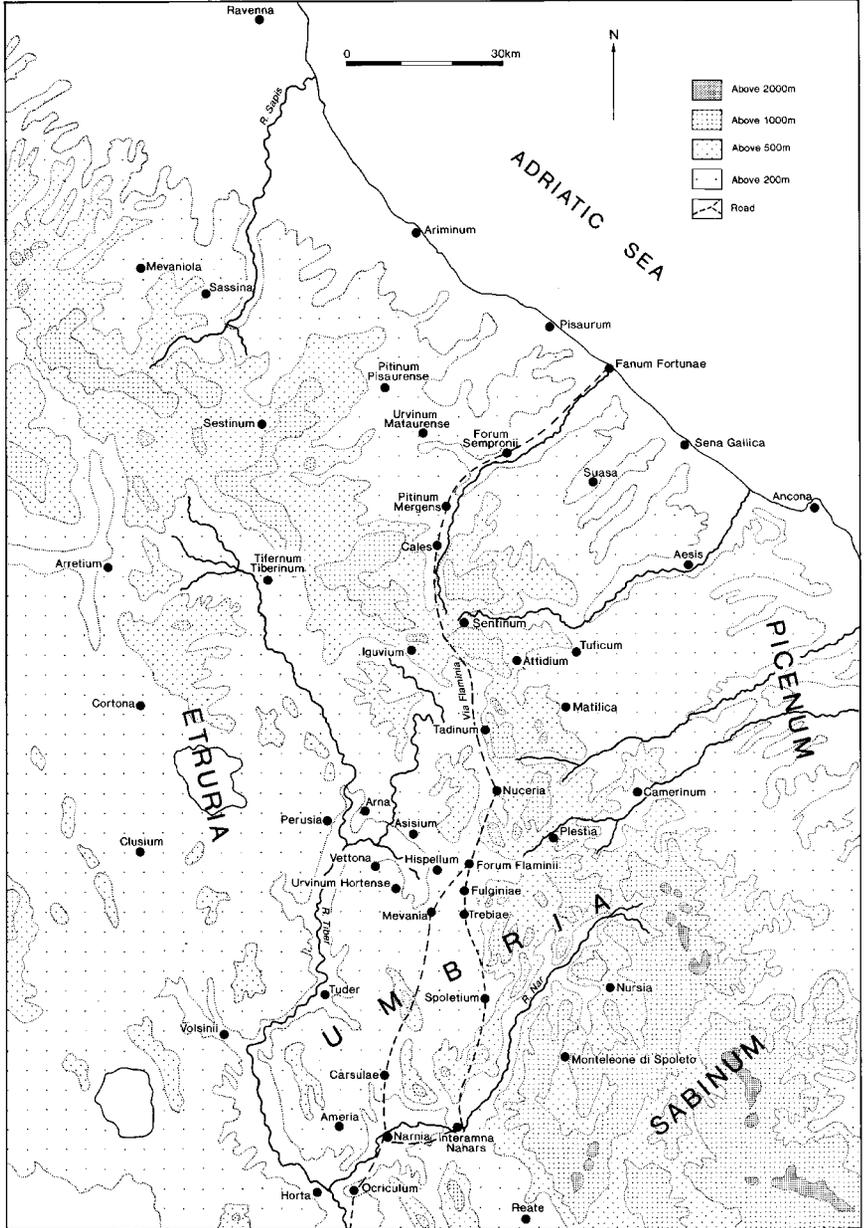
The Umbrians occupied a great many other parts of Italy also and were a very great and ancient people. (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1. 19. 1)

The Umbrians are thought to be the oldest race of Italy, as they were believed to be those whom the Greeks called Ombrii because they had survived the rains after the flood. The Etruscans are ascertained to have conquered 300 of their towns. (Pliny, *NH* 3. 112–13)¹

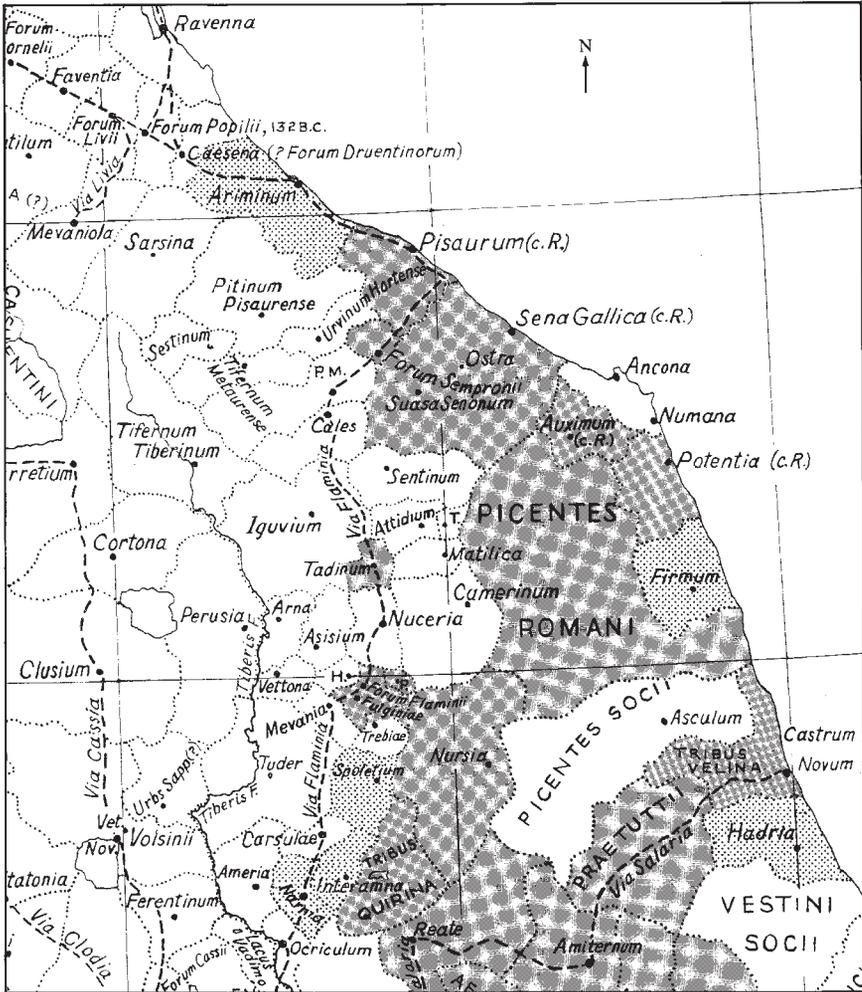
During the Roman imperial period, Umbria, the sixth of the eleven regions of ancient Italy, was made up of almost forty different communities, most of which can be identified with the hill towns characterizing the area today. In some cases, people had already lived on these sites for a thousand years; almost all had been occupied for at least half a millennium. These towns had their own distinct local identities and, we can suspect, local histories. There were, however, wider ethnic feelings that tied the inhabitants of this region together, and which gave Umbria more than simply an administrative significance.

Interest in the deep-rooted history of this region has fluctuated considerably. As we can see from the quotations above, the peoples of this region exercised a strong fascination for ancient authors. The collective identity possessed by the Umbrians in the Augustan era was traced back far in the

¹ Dion. Hal. 1. 19. 1: *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας ὤκουν Ὀμβρικοί, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μέγα τε καὶ ἀρχαίον.* Pliny, *NH* 3. 112–13; *Umbro- rum gens antiquissima Italiae existimatur, ut quos Ombrios a Graecis putent dictos quod in inundatione terrarum imbris superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Tusci debellasse reperiuntur.*



MAP I. Ancient Umbria



MAP 2. The political statuses of communities in Umbria in 91 BC (after Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*. Key: Roman areas are shaded, Latin areas stippled, and allied areas white. H. = Hispellum; P. = Plestia; T. = Tuficum; P.M. = Pitinum Mergens; c.R. = colonia Romana)

past, and it was thought that this ethnic group had played an important role in mythical prehistory. By contrast, they have received relatively little attention in modern works. Their history has been treated in only a sketchy fashion in studies of ancient Italy, while other peoples such as the neighbouring Etruscans, or the great opponents of Rome, the Samnites, form the subject of a growing number of monographs. The Umbrians are usually accorded an unimportant position in the history of the Roman Republic, being seen as putting up little resistance in the Roman conquest of Italy and playing a minor role in the build-up and course of the Social War. They are then often assumed to have become Roman after the Social War, which is taken to mark the end of their independent history. Work on the archaeological remains of the region has in many cases been little more favourable. The religious sites of the region have been thought to reveal a society dominated by agricultural and pastoral concerns, to which town life came late in comparison with Etruria. Their artistic production has been characterized as weak, heavily influenced by more prestigious surrounding cultures, and essentially derivative. Some scholars have used this to explain the rapidity of the Romanization of Umbria.

In fact this minimalizing picture does scant justice to the fascinating history of the region. A more balanced approach is possible if we look beyond the supposed failings of this people (when measured against notions of high artistic culture and the Graeco-Roman ideals of urban civilization), and assess the society of the region in terms which are relevant to the local context as well as to the imperial power of Rome. This is not designed to produce an apologetic history, which exaggerates the brilliance of this civilization and denies all shortcomings.² But it is often necessary to recognize change in various ways if we are to achieve a full understanding of the history of this region, and to adopt a more sympathetic approach if we are to explain the motivations of local people as well as of Roman participants in this history. The types of change we should consider include shifts in the identities of

² A tendency which Wilkins identifies in A. Ancillotti and R. Cerri, *Le tavole di Gubbio e la civiltà degli Umbri* (Perugia, 1996) ('The Iguvine Tables, Umbrian Civilisation, and Indo-European Studies', *JRA* 11 (1998), 425–30).

the population of the region, which emerge as much more subtle and complex than the simple adoption of Roman identity over time. It is also apparent that, although Umbria had a dense network of cities by the Augustan period, the pattern of urbanism was a product of a long, slow, and not altogether straightforward process. The region had developed a variegated settlement pattern by the time of the Roman conquest, with upland areas dominated by hillforts and sanctuaries like those found in Samnium, and some lowland areas apparently moving towards an urban situation along the lines of Etruria. Yet the uplands seem no less sophisticated or organized. State organization in Umbria was also strongly influenced by Etruscan forms, and its culture in the period after the conquest is seen to exemplify Romanization. But many elements of the identity and civic society of Umbrian communities continued under Roman rule. And while strong external influences are apparent in most eras, to see this as a sign of weakness is overly simplistic. Many extraordinary products of the culture of the region could be identified, from the votive statuettes now spread throughout the museums of the world, to the Iguvine Tables, the setting of Roman towns in the landscape, and perhaps even the poems of Propertius. This is to make no mention of works of art such as the Mars of Todi, or the chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto, which were imported from Etruria.³ Taken as a whole, the history of Umbria reveals important points concerning the nature of ancient cultures, the changes they undergo with the impact of imperialism, and the ways in which we should understand the creation of the Roman Empire.

Interest in the ancient history of Umbria has been evident for a very long time indeed. It was probably stimulated in the medieval period by the strong sense of independence and local identity amongst the cities of the region. Concern for local history is evident in the purchase by the Comune of Gubbio of the Iguvine Tables in 1458, today displayed in the Palazzo dei Consoli. Private collections of antiquities built up by local aristocratic families can often be traced back as far as

³ For the importance of putting this material in context, see F. Roncalli, 'La mostra, le ragioni, il progetto, la visita', in the 'Gens Antiquissima Italiae' series of catalogues (discussed below).

the Renaissance, although most have been dispersed and lost to the region.⁴ What have come down to us are collections that were begun by local cities in the eighteenth century, such as those at Bevagna and at Spello (where the *Hispellum Rescript* was displayed). This was a period in which local archaeology was pursued in many Umbrian cities by scholars (such as Giovanelli at Todi) who were stimulated by civic pride, but usually interested in preserving only the most artistically valuable finds, and rarely kept accurate notes of the circumstances of their discovery.⁵ Much of the material found in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was acquired by the Vatican, for example the Mars of Todi in 1835, as this area was (except for short interruptions) under papal control until 1860. The Vatican also oversaw extensive excavations of the major archaeological sites of Carsulae, in 1783, and Otricoli in the 1770s and 1780s;⁶ the main aim was the discovery of antiquities for its collections, which could then be conveniently shipped to Rome by river. The nucleus of what is now the archaeological museum for the modern region of Umbria (in Perugia) began as far back as 1790 with the collection of Friggieri, and was gradually built up with the incorporation of various other private collections, the most important of which was that of Bellucci. Despite its early start, it was constituted as a Museo Nazionale only in 1969, which means that material excavated within the modern confines of Umbria was until that point largely divided between Florence, Rome, and Ancona.⁷ Archaeology was also retarded in modern Umbria in comparison with surrounding areas like Tuscany and Marche because the region lacked its own archaeological superintendency until 1964.

Archaeological activity in modern Umbria has undergone a transformation since the 1960s in large part due to the work of the Soprintendenza, but also with the contribution of other Italian and foreign scholars. This has led to an enormous increase in the archaeological evidence available for

⁴ Pietrangeli, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 26.

⁵ Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 335 (Eng. trans. 337).

⁶ C. Pietrangeli, 'Lo scavo pontificio di Otricoli', *RendPontAcc* 19 (1942-3), 47-104.

⁷ Pietrangeli, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 30. By contrast, the museum for the Marche has had this status since 1906.

studying the history of the peoples of Umbria, especially in the last twenty years or so. The preservation of archaeological remains threatened by building work and by clandestine excavators (who continue to be active here as elsewhere in Italy) has greatly improved. In addition, there is an increasing trend to 'target' excavations, and some important projects have taken advantage of the availability of areas which have been undergoing restoration work, such as the Rocca at Spoleto. Other significant new excavations have taken place on the urban sites of Ameria, Hispellum, Mevania, Asisium, Ariminum, and Pisaurum, and at the rural sanctuaries of Grotta Bella, M. Torre Maggiore, M. Acuto, and M. Ansciano, to name but some.⁸ There has been important survey work, combined with excavation, in the territories of Iguvium and Plestia.⁹ Other fruitful projects, by scholars such as Monacchi, Sensi, and Tascio, have centred on the re-examination and reinterpretation of existing archaeological structures and older documentary records.¹⁰

Apart from the occasional monograph (on which see below), much of this work has been published recently in exhibition or museum catalogues, or in local history journals. Pride of place amongst the former must go to the catalogues of the 'Gens antiquissima Italiae' exhibitions, held at five locations world-wide between 1988 and 1991.¹¹ This project was motivated by the desire to display recent archaeological finds alongside material from the area of the modern region of Umbria in museums and collections, and to relate the whole ensemble to some sense of its original environment. Although

⁸ As one of the chief aims of this work is to put together archaeological and literary evidence, I have referred to towns by their ancient names; some sites, especially specific archaeological find spots within towns or archaeological sites in the countryside, must be referred to by their modern names, as we lack a known ancient equivalent.

⁹ C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Territory, Time and State* (Cambridge, 1994); L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey of the Colfiorito di Foligno Plateau: A Contribution towards the Study of the Population in the Territory of the Plestini', in C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds.), *British Archaeological Reports: Papers in Italian Archaeology*, 4 (Oxford, 1985), 201-38; L. Bonomi Ponzi, *La necropoli plestina di Colfiorito di Foligno* (Perugia, 1997).

¹⁰ e.g. D. Monacchi, 'I resti della stipe votiva del Monte Subasio di Assisi (Colle S. Rufino)', *SE* 52 (1984), 77-89; L. Sensi, 'La collezione antiquario-archeologica di Francesco Fratini', *BSCF* 12 (1988), 391-422; L. Sensi, 'Alla ricerca della collezione di Natalizion Benedetti', *BSCF* 13 (1989), 629-39; M. Tascio, *Todi* (Rome, 1989).

¹¹ *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano; Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest; Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado; Antichità dall'Umbria a New York.*

each catalogue has the same format and the same introductory essays, they largely deal with different ranges of material. Another important series has documented the local civic collections of archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic material relating to the Roman towns of Ameria, Iguvium, Mevania, Tuder, and Urvinum Hortense.¹² Since 1980 the main alternative medium for the publication of archaeological material, journals of local history, has also proliferated: the most useful of these are the *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università degli studi di Perugia (AFLP)*, the *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno (BSCF)*, *Picus*, and *Le Marche*. In general this recent work has greatly improved both the quantity and quality of archaeological evidence for the history of Umbrian communities. It is worth noting, however, that almost inevitably the publication of material has not quite kept up with the increasing pace of recent finds, and that most reports have been of a preliminary rather than definitive nature.¹³

Another very important strand of scholarship on ancient Umbria has been concerned with the epigraphic material in the Umbrian language, and in particular the translations and commentaries of the longest Umbrian inscription, the Iguvine Tables.¹⁴ By its very nature such work has concentrated largely

¹² M. Matteini Chiari and S. Stopponi (eds.), *Museo Comunale di Amelia: Raccolta archeologica. Cultura materiale* (Perugia, 1996); M. Matteini Chiari and S. Stopponi (eds.), *Museo Comunale di Amelia: Raccolta archeologica. Iscrizioni, sculture, elementi architettonici e d'arredo* (Perugia, 1996); F. Catalli, A. Caricchi, M. Munzi, and M. Matteini Chiari, *Museo Comunale di Gubbio: Monete* (Perugia, 1994); M. Mattieni Chiari (ed.), *Museo Comunale di Gubbio: Materiali archeologici* (Perugia, 1995); A. Feruglio, L. Bonomi Ponzi, and D. Manconi, *Mevania: Da centro umbro a municipio romano* (Perugia, 1991); M. Bergamini and F. Catalli, *Museo Comunale di Todi: Monete* (Perugia, 1991); M. Matteini Chiari, *Raccolta di Cannara: Materiali archeologici, monete, dipinti e sculture* (Perugia, 1992), for Urvinum.

¹³ Particularly regrettable is the lack of information on the excavation of the sanctuary at Plestia in the 1960s (for which U. Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze sui culti dell'Umbria antica', *Problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria*, 99–112, remains fundamental), and the absence of texts for important epigraphic finds from the sanctuaries at M. Torre Maggiore and the Villa Fidelia. However, note the exceptional full publication of the cemetery of Plestia: Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*.

¹⁴ Important among the works of the 20th cent. are G. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae* (Rome, 1937); G. Devoto, *Le tavole di Gubbio* (Florence, 1948); J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (Baltimore, 1959); A. Ernout, *Le Dialecte ombrien* (Paris, 1961); A. Prosdocimi, 'L'umbro', in *PCIA*, vi (Rome, 1978), 585–787; A. Prosdocimi, *Tavole Iguvine*, i (Florence, 1984), discussing only editions of the text and its engraving.

on Iguvium itself, detailing through the analysis of the text information on the religious and political institutions of the community that the Tables contain. Given the complexity and opacity of the Tables, much of the work on this text has been at a purely philological level, and when specialists such as Devoto have widened out to consider historical implications, their work has not always been convincing. There are certainly severe difficulties with the interpretation of substantial parts of the texts, which is not made evident in the continuous translations offered by modern commentators such as Poultney.¹⁵ Nevertheless the Tables offer an unparalleled insight into an Italian community before the Social War, and even adopting a cautious approach to the evidence certain basic, but immensely important, conclusions may be drawn. The 'minor' examples of Umbrian epigraphy have also received considerable attention. In particular, Vetter's edition of epigraphic material in the Italic languages was supplemented by Poccetti in 1979, whose catalogue has already been superseded for Umbrian material by G. Rocca's *Iscrizioni umbre minori* (Florence, 1996).¹⁶

This wealth of new material has brought considerable interpretative challenges, as well as opportunities. It is increasingly necessary to relate the Roman takeover and organization of the region to the society and culture that existed before the conquest. We now have much more information about continuities in fields such as urbanism and political organization, and of important discontinuities in aspects of local culture such as language, local artistic and craft production, and ritual activity. Yet as it stands, although these are common concerns of approaches to other areas of Italy (on which more below), there is no full-scale work in any language subjecting Umbria to an overall examination from prehistory to the Roman period.¹⁷ As

¹⁵ For a recent critique of this tradition see J. Wilkins in *Territory, Time and State*, 157–8, discussed below.

¹⁶ E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953); P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter* (Pisa, 1979).

¹⁷ Brief syntheses: F. Roncalli, 'Gli Umbri', in G. Pugliese Caratelli (ed.), *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civiltà dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campani e Iapigi* (Milan, 1988), 375–407; L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri: Territorio, cultura e società', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 51–61 (Eng. trans. 63–74) (and other catalogues in this series); L. Bonomi Ponzi and D. Manconi, s.v. 'Umbria', in *EAA* 2nd suppl. 5 (Rome, 1997), 875–87.

a result, the standard source of reference for most aspects of the history of Umbria in the Republican period is still William Harris's *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971). Harris's book is based on a very thorough examination of the available literary and epigraphic evidence, building on and carefully assessing earlier scholarly approaches to Umbria and Etruria, particularly that of De Sanctis. It deals with Etruria at much greater length than Umbria, as literary and epigraphic source material is much more abundant for the former region. Harris did not, however, aim to write a history of either of these regions in their own right, but instead focused on Roman policy and its effects. He was particularly concerned with the Roman conquest and intervention in these areas, and the course of Romanization. Although the critical rigour of the study remains impressive, it is increasingly evident that Harris's perspective on these crucial issues was relatively restricted. His work was written before the great acceleration in archaeological work on Umbria discussed above, but even so he made limited use of the material then available.¹⁸ In consequence, he was not able to consider the full extent to which the pre-existing structures and mentalities of Umbrian societies were altered by Roman domination. His focus on Roman imperialism also encouraged him to interpret the changes in culture and identity occurring in these regions as part of a straightforward and inevitable shift from Etruscan/Umbrian to Roman. In fact, as will become apparent, if we take a longer term perspective on the identities of the inhabitants of the region, the changes seem to be better characterized in terms of an increasing plurality of identities—local, Umbrian, and Roman—that come to exist alongside each other, rather than a simple replacement of one identity with another.¹⁹ So while this study has endorsed many of the general conclusions that Harris reached, there seems to be some

¹⁸ Cf. the partial employment of archaeological information in E. T. Salmon, *Samnum and the Samnites* (Cambridge, 1967), discussed by E. Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman and Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines* (Oxford, 1995), 5.

¹⁹ It is perhaps inevitable that by today's standards Harris's work seems to overlook many issues of ideology and identity, but it was already apparent to Gabba in 1974 that the curious Roman attitudes towards the Etruscans deserved more attention (*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 102 (1974), 90).

justification for attempting to provide a new picture of the progress and impact of Roman control.

Although this was not the main focus of his work, Harris envisaged the Umbrians as being politically organized into a large number of small, administratively autonomous states by the time of the Roman conquest; each then formed their own treaties with Rome. The various communities with their territories making up each of these states would appear more akin to the Etruscan model of city-states than to the wider ethnic organizations of the central Appennine 'tribes'.²⁰ This picture was largely in agreement with work on the Iguvine Tables, which has consistently seen these inscriptions as the product of an independent city-state, even though Harris did not make use of this work in these terms. However, the two most important recent monographs on the region to address questions of political and social complexity, Malone and Stoddart's *Territory, Time and State* (Cambridge, 1994) and Fontaine's *Cités et enceintes de l'Ombrie antique* (Brussels and Rome, 1990), have taken a more critical approach to earlier scholarship. Both works, concentrating on particular types of archaeological evidence, have portrayed Umbrian societies as lacking in state structures and urban development before the Roman conquest, and changing little until the eve of the Social War. Umbria would thus conform to the models of decentralized 'tribal' organization already hypothesized for the peoples of the central Appennines such as the Samnites.²¹

The collection of essays by Malone and Stoddart is much more than a report of the results of the archaeological survey and excavation carried out in the Gubbio basin, although these findings form the core of the book. It aspires to be a major work of interpretation and as such will be one of the central points of reference in this book. Part of its justification comes from a reaction against narrowly philological work on the Iguvine Tables. The authors instead aim to set the analysis of the Tables into a 'more solidly based' archaeological context by interpreting the new archaeological material produced by the 'Gubbio Project', and also by placing this in a wider

²⁰ Cf. A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, i (Oxford, 1965), 106–7.

²¹ The models produced by studies of other Italian peoples are discussed in Ch. 2.

regional context. In fact the work is implicitly critical of earlier archaeological interpretations of this region as well as of philological scholarship. This reaction is to some extent justifiable, and the book provides environmental and archaeological data to a level hitherto unavailable for Umbria, such as the excavation report of the Umbrian sanctuary of M. Ansciano. In terms of interpretation, however, this collection is itself controversially revisionist, and in its handling of the archaeological record of Iguvium sticks very much to a minimalist reading of the evidence.²² The ritual landscape of Iguvium in the fifth century BC is unfavourably compared with more elaborate Samnite sites such as Pietrabbondante, even though the latter was monumentalized only at a much later date. Both Umbria and Samnium are regarded as being made up of 'less developed and less urbanized' polities than the areas of Rome, Etruria, and the Greek colonies, and the society revealed by the Iguvine Tables 'cannot be called a state'.²³ The problems with using urban development as the definitive yardstick of political organization are explored in the next chapter. These negative views of the social complexity of Iguvium before the Social War stem from the very restricted results of the archaeological survey, but the reasons behind these results could in my opinion be much less straightforward than the simple poverty of material culture that the authors envisage.²⁴

The archaeological sections of the work seek support from a philological discussion of the Iguvine Tables by John Wilkins. He argues that large parts of the text are (perhaps deliberately) obscure, and that their engraving was probably a response to the religious revivalism of the Augustan period.²⁵ Wilkins makes some important points about the often unappreciated difficulty of understanding much of the text, and his rejection of some influential interpretations of certain sections, such as the laying out of a *templum* in which the flight of birds was to be observed (VIa. 8–14), makes it apparent how careful we need to be in using evidence from this

²² Cf. the review by S. Sisani, in *Ostraka*, 6/1 (1997), 195–8, with which I am in substantial agreement.

²³ *Territory, Time and State*, 177.

²⁴ Discussed in Ch. 5, s. 8.

²⁵ *Territory, Time and State*, 171.

source.²⁶ Nevertheless, it is important to note that the contents of substantial parts of the text (particularly in Tables I, VI, and VIIa, which contain two texts dealing with the same ceremonies, and Tables V and VIIb, concerning regulatory decrees) are understood well enough to form the basis for historical arguments about Iguvine society.²⁷ The revised date that Wilkins offers for the inscription of the texts on bronze tables is perhaps the most contentious argument contained in the book. It is certainly difficult to date the Tables with any precision, given that this has to be done almost wholly on the basis of letter forms. However, the most important recent study of this issue shows that the Etruscan parallels for the letter forms all dated to the third or second century BC, and only the Tables in Latin script have letter forms that could be placed in the first century.²⁸ Wilkins argues that the process of copying onto bronze took place at the end of the first century BC, and employed archaic letter forms (and the Umbrian language) because these appeared in the original text. However, he offers no parallels for the copying of the letter forms as well as the words of a text, especially for a period when Umbrian was no longer used, and the idea that there was a particular historical impetus for the engraving conflicts with the heterogeneity of the bronzes themselves, which were clearly not cast at one time.²⁹ It is in any case clear that the texts must have existed in some form in at least the second century BC, and that their content could well be considerably earlier.³⁰ It thus seems that the texts contradict rather than support the case for a minimalist view of Iguvium before the Social War, and it is untenable to maintain that the complex society reflected in the rituals emerged only in the late Republic.

²⁶ Ibid. 170.

²⁷ Note that even Wilkins's brief sketch of the contents of these Tables (ibid. 170–1) bears many resemblances to the 'traditional reading' (157–8) for them. The new edn. that Wilkins is working on should help clarify the extent of the interpretative problems, and is certainly much needed, given the strength of his disagreement with other commentators.

²⁸ For further discussion of the date of the Tables, and the wider context of the shift in Umbrian to Latin epigraphy, see Ch. 5, s. 4.

²⁹ As Wilkins recognizes (*Territory, Time and State*, 168). Cf. Sisani, *Ostraka* (1997), 197.

³⁰ Further discussed in Ch. 2, s. 3(d).

An additional problem is the limited use made of numismatic and literary evidence, which like the Tables provide an important counterweight to the evidence of the Gubbio survey. Although *Territory, Time and State* was generated by a valid concern with the previous scholarship on this region, and in its reporting of new archaeological investigations gives us invaluable material on, for instance, Umbrian ritual sites, there must be reservations about the applicability of its interpretative framework to Umbria as a whole in the period with which we are concerned.

Fontaine's book also examines a particular category of archaeological material, the walls of the ancient cities of Umbria, and his work catalogues and dates existing remains. This is not an easy task, as the material often survives only as exiguous traces and is very difficult to date securely, given that this must be based largely on construction technique and topographic situation. Nevertheless, his analysis is conscientiously executed and, in comparison with earlier studies which were often based on little more than guesswork, sets the study of these structures on an entirely new footing. Many of his specific observations have been adopted here, but I have been less convinced by some of the wider implications that he has drawn from this work. This is essentially for two reasons. First, it is worth questioning the diagnostic use of fortifications in assessing wider urbanistic, not to mention social and political, developments.³¹ Secondly, the difficulty of dating remains means that there is a danger of circularity in the argument, as some of the fortifications have to be dated on the assumption that more sophisticated examples must be related to the Roman presence in the region. Taken together with *Territory, Time and State*, Fontaine's conclusions form an important new direction in archaeological scholarship with which this work is in debate.

These two books provide useful analyses of important bodies of archaeological and philological material, and, especially in the case of *Territory, Time and State*, have wider chronological spans than *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. However, as

³¹ Some Umbrian cities (Iguvium, Fulginiae) were probably never walled; fortifications do not show an obvious correlation with other signs of urbanization. Examined further in Ch. 4, s. 3.

we have seen, their findings conflict both with Harris's work and also with the philological tradition on Umbrian epigraphy. The result in effect is that a divide has opened up in recent work between the disciplines of (text-based) history and philology on the one hand and archaeology on the other. This emphasizes the need to integrate the two different sets of material in any analysis, and it seems that a truly comprehensive historical approach is best able to construct convincing models for the history of this region.³² To this end my work draws on a wide range of more specialist studies in various relevant disciplines, particularly those of scholars such as Bonomi Ponzi, Manconi, and others on local archaeological material. It goes without saying, however, that while one of my aims has been to produce an up-to-date synthesis of this material, the proliferation of archaeological research means that no study of this nature can achieve definitive or complete coverage. The work of those scholars cited in the text and on which this book depends should be the primary point of reference for anyone wishing to achieve a full understanding of the archaeological basis for the history of the region. A similar point could be made for epigraphic and linguistic material, for which the studies by Devoto, Poultney, and Rocca, amongst others, remain fundamental.

Nevertheless, this work is intended to promote a wider appreciation of the history of Umbria in this period, and in particular to encourage the greater integration of its history in wider debates concerning ancient Italy. In fact, one of the most important trends that has influenced my choice of subject and methodological approach is the increasing awareness of the linkage between the histories of Rome and Italy. This is of course an inevitable consequence of the ever greater quantity of archaeological and epigraphic documentation for Italy. This material gives us new perspectives on a range of topics in 'Roman' history, of which I can highlight only a few examples. We are now able, for instance, to illuminate the role played in the course of the Roman conquest of Italy by the

³² For examples of studies that put the variety of source material for this region to good effect, see F. Coarelli, 'La Romanización de Umbría', in J. Blázquez and J. Alvar (eds.), *La Romanización en Occidente* (Madrid, 1996), 57–68; G. Colonna, 'Ricerche sugli Etruschi e sugli Umbri a nord degli Appennini', *SE* 42 (1974), 3–24.

political, military, and ethnic organization of the anti-Roman forces.³³ The agrarian shifts resulting from the Roman triumph, such as the growth of slave-run villa agriculture within Italy, can be quantified and illustrated by archaeological surveys and the excavation of the villas themselves.³⁴ Recent work on the build-up to and aftermath of the Social War has shown how the cultural evidence for Romanization adds a new dimension to the significance of this event.³⁵ The Augustan revolution that capped the changes in this period can no longer be separated from the iconographic and architectural trends that are evident throughout contemporary Italy.³⁶ There is also a realization that even outside this period when the histories of Rome and Italy converge, the development of Rome is bound up with changes elsewhere in Italy; a good example is the effect of the Orientalizing period (c.720–580 BC) on centres throughout Tyrrhenian Etruria, Campania, and coastal southern Italy, which saw the development of a princely aristocracy and the advent of urbanized settlements.³⁷

It is also true that the value of regional histories of Italy transcends their relevance to Roman history. Post-imperialist approaches have shifted attention away from dominant centres such as Rome, and have instead emphasized the importance of the various contexts in which such imperial powers operate. Nevertheless, Finley's vigorous attack on works such

³³ See for instance Salmon, *Samnum*; A. La Regina, 'I territori sabellici e sannitici', *DdA* 4–5 (1971), 443–59; A. La Regina, 'Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico', *AION (Arch.)*, 3 (1981), 129–37; S. P. Oakley, *The Hill-Forts of the Samnites* (Rome, 1995); Dench, *Barbarians*; G. Tagliamonte, *I Sanniti: Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani* (Milan, 1996).

³⁴ See e.g. the studies in A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds.) *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, i. *L'Italia: Insediamenti e forme economiche* (Bari, 1981); N. Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland: The City of Rome and the Italian Economy* (Cambridge, 1996).

³⁵ See e.g. the studies in *Hellenism in Mittelitalien*; M. H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1981), 153–60; M. Torelli, 'La romanizzazione dei territori italici: Il contributo della documentazione archeologica', in *La cultura italica* (Pisa, 1977), 75–89.

³⁶ See e.g. P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988).

³⁷ e.g. M. Torelli, 'Archaic Rome between Latium and Etruria', in *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1989), 30–51; C. Ampolo *et al.*, 'La formazione della città nel Lazio', *DdA* 2 (1980); T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London, 1995), ch. 4; C. J. Smith, *Early Rome and Latium: Economy and Society c.1000 to 500 BC* (Oxford, 1995).

as Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites* warns us against the complacent attitude that the subject deserves a book simply because there is new evidence to be relayed, and that relaying this information is a straightforward task.³⁸ His points focused on the need to formulate questions and aims of more than just local relevance, to create useful analytical frameworks within which to present the material, and to be aware of the wider context of the town or region under examination. Regional histories should respond to interpretative theories, and this work aspires to several more general historical aims. These are, on one level, to problematize and stimulate thought about the paradigms that govern the way we understand the history of this region, and to some extent all parts of the Roman Empire which went through the process of conquest and Romanization. On another level, some new conceptual frameworks are offered for understanding this history.

One major theme has been the question of how to understand the long-term changes in social complexity within the region from the Iron Age to the late Republican period. This study suggests that 'urbanization' has been over-emphasized as a diagnostic concept for the Appennine regions of Italy in the first millennium BC, creating a rather spurious hierarchy with the peoples of the Appennines such as the Samnites at the bottom, and Etruscan and Latin cities at the top. Yet a different evaluation could easily be made using other criteria, such as military effectiveness, which might reverse the positions on the scale. Instead the case is argued in this book for prioritizing state organization as the major interpretative theme, and for exploiting the full range of evidence relevant to it. This is a well-established concept in anthropology, and has the benefit in application to ancient case-studies of allowing us to recognize the variety of possible state structures that emerged, many of which were not (or at least not initially) characterized by a central city or 'proto-urban' site.

Another important theme is the scale and effect of Roman imperialism. The utility of the concept of Romanization for

³⁸ M. Finley, 'How it Really Was', in *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (London, 1985), 47–66. The centrality and usefulness of regional histories is stressed by Smith, *Early Rome*, 1. Dench, *Barbarians*, 218–21 considers possible new directions and approaches that can be adopted.

understanding the consequences of Roman military domination is critically examined, looking at the concept both as a theoretical construct and through a detailed analysis of the latest evidence. In fact if Romanization is set into the context of the whole range of long-term changes that the Umbrians underwent in culture and identity, then a much more balanced picture of its importance is gained. Even in straightforward empirical terms the evidence for material culture shows that Umbria had long been heavily influenced by its neighbours, particularly the Etruscan cities to the west. In terms of language, there are no clear signs before the Social War of a simple decline in Umbrian in favour of Latin. Although this situation changes after the Social War, specific evidence for shifts in identity, which material culture is often assumed to reflect, instead shows a substantial level of continuity. These continuities in identity, despite a clear change in elements of material culture, are striking, and illuminate an important feature of identity in the Roman period, that is its plurality. Individuals seem to have retained a strong sense of their local origin and their ethnic group, even alongside a fully developed sense of being Roman. Collective religious activities at various levels are likely to have continued to influence the first two senses in Umbria, just as many ethnic ceremonies and festivals continued in provincial contexts of the Roman Empire. This plurality is surely connected to the greater scale of imperial society, which provided individuals with a wider range of differentiated contexts within which to act than before.

Although Mouritsen has recently stressed the distinction between Italy before the Social War and the provinces of the Roman Empire, where the curious structure of alliances common to Italy barely existed, these trends in Umbrian history inevitably pose questions about general interpretations of the Roman imperial system.³⁹ This picture of continuity ties in with recent studies stressing the regional variability of the

³⁹ H. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification* (London, 1998), 74. See G. D. Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (Cambridge, 1998) for a recent restatement of how the Roman Empire brought fundamental change to Gaul; for some reservations, see S. L. Dyson's review in *CAJ* 9/1 (1999), 144–6.

process of conquest and ‘assimilation’, and helps us realize the limits of such changes.⁴⁰

The work is divided into broad chronological bands—pre-conquest, conquest to Social War, Social War to the reign of Augustus—within which the organization is thematic. This structure is intended to convey an overall picture of the region as a whole in these different periods, but I have also tried to highlight the continuation of many trends over these chronological borders. My final chapter brings together the conclusions of this study in an integrated form, looking at the application of the concepts discussed in earlier chapters and relating the situation in Umbria to comparable regions of central Italy. I have presented some of the primary material on which my interpretations are based in the form of appendices, in particular the archaeological evidence for sacred buildings, the known examples of Umbrian and pre-Social War Latin inscriptions, and the attestations of Roman treaties with Italian communities. The main purpose of this is to catalogue material in an accessible form, in many cases for the first time, but it also serves to keep the references in the textual discussions to a minimum.

2. Ethnic identity and regional definition

The modern region of Umbria was created with the unification of Italy in 1861. It incorporates much of the southern area of the ancient region, but has important differences. It excludes the northern part on the Adriatic side of the Appennines, and includes the once Etruscan cities of Orvieto (Volsinii) and Perugia, and the old Sabine centre of Norcia (Nursia).⁴¹ In antiquity Umbria was given its only firm geographical definition

⁴⁰ e.g. N. Terrenato, ‘*Tam firmum municipium*: The Romanization of Volaterrae and its Cultural Implications’, *JRS* 88 (1998), 94–114, identifying the stability of social structures and settlement systems in northern Etruria. See E. Curti, E. Dench, and J. R. Patterson, ‘The Archaeology of Central and Southern Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches’, *JRS* 86 (1996), 185–8, for the disruptive impact of Romanization further south.

⁴¹ This sometimes creates ambiguity in archaeological literature, which uses the term ‘Umbria’ in its modern sense as well as its ancient sense.

in the Augustan period, when it became the sixth of the regions of Italy. Pliny (*NH* 3. 112–14) records its extent. In the south it was essentially the land bordered by the Tiber and the Nar, encompassing Oriculum and Narnia, but not Monteleone di Spoleto or Nursia. It also covered the Appennine slopes on the Adriatic side of the watershed from Camerinum to Mevaniola, and the coastal district of the Adriatic from Aesis to Pisaurum.⁴² This is the sole point at which we have secure known boundaries, and as such will be the intended meaning of the term ‘Umbria’ in this work unless stated otherwise. There are grounds for thinking that this later definition had some basis in earlier ethnic divisions, as it corresponds largely to observations in the texts of Livy and Polybius.⁴³ But as we shall see, there is very little firm evidence for ethnic boundaries before the Roman conquest, particularly from within the region itself, and it is important not to assume that the sharpness of the later definition of Umbria necessarily went back in time.

When we turn to examine the image of the Umbrians in our sources, the earliest and overriding impression is of a very ancient ‘indigenous’ people in the Italian peninsula, who occupied a much more extended area of central Italy than their historical seat between the Nera, the Tiber, and the Adriatic slopes of the Appennines.⁴⁴ In the fifth century BC Herodotus wrote that rivers flowed into the Ister (the Danube) from ‘the most northern part of the country of the Umbrians’, implying that their territory went up to the Alps (4. 49).⁴⁵ He also records that the Etruscans first came to the area of the Umbrians when they migrated from Lydia (1. 94). Both these original holdings of the Umbrians (the Po valley in Herodotus’ time and Etruria in mythical prehistory) are also noted by other authors. Strabo has the most detailed account of the Umbrian presence in the Po valley (5. 1. 10), where he presents them as having struggled with the Etruscans for supremacy in the area; he says (perhaps following an earlier source) that Ariminum and Ravenna still had recognizable

⁴² Although Regio VI covered the *ager Gallicus* along the Adriatic coast, I do not deal with the Gallic or Roman settlement of this area.

⁴³ Examined in Ch. 3. ⁴⁴ F. Roncalli, ‘Gli Umbri’, 375.

⁴⁵ τῆς κατύπερθε κώρης Ὀμβρικῶν (4. 49).

Umbrian elements (5. 1. 7, 5. 1. 11).⁴⁶ The tradition that the Etruscans took land from the Umbrians is also found in Pliny's *Natural History* (3. 50, 3. 113) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 27. 4).⁴⁷ Other reputed conflicts of the Umbrians in the mythical past were with the Sicels (Philistus, probably early fourth century BC, quoted in Dion. Hal. 1. 22. 4), with the Aborigines (Dion. Hal. 1. 13. 3, 1. 16. 1), with the Pelasgians (Dion. Hal. 1. 19. 1, 1. 20. 4, 2. 49. 1), with the Ligurians (Dion. Hal. 1. 22. 5) and with the Sabines (Strabo 5. 4. 12).

The Greek geographers Eudoxus of Cnidus (*Periplus* 319) and Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplus* 16), probably writing in the first half of the fourth century BC, record that the Umbrians occupied part of the Adriatic seaboard, a notice which correlates with those recording their occupation of the south-eastern Po valley around Ravenna. Theopompus adds that, like the Lydians, they enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle and were effeminate in custom.⁴⁸ The Umbrians also came to the notice of Aristotle (*Meteorologica* 359^a) by about 340 BC, who reports a method which they used for obtaining salt by putting the ashes of reeds into water.⁴⁹

These early references to Umbrians must originate from the contact between local populations and Greek sailors and merchants travelling up the Adriatic to Spina and the Po valley. All the geographical references to Umbrians relate to their occupation of the Po valley and Adriatic coast, which is unsurprising given their distance from the Tyrrhenian coast (at least in historical times); even Herodotus' picture of the Umbrians occupying the land the Etruscans came to from Lydia is unlikely to stem from contact with Umbrians themselves via the Tyrrhenian coast. It seems likely that the Umbrian presence along the Adriatic coast explains why they featured prominently in the mythical histories of northern and central Italy found in Greek authors such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, some elements of which went back at least as

⁴⁶ Strabo was using the lost book 34 of Polybius, according to the commentary of F. Lasserre (ed.), *Strabon Géographie*, iii (Paris, 1967), 12–13.

⁴⁷ Lycophron may also refer to Etruscan–Umbrian conflict (*Alexander* 1359–60).

⁴⁸ Jacoby, *FGrH* 2B 115; a theme later repeated at Ps.-Scym. 220–1 M, [Arist.] *mir. ausc.* 80; cf. Persius 3. 74.

⁴⁹ Also recorded by his successor at the Athenian Lyceum, Theophrastus (in Pliny, *NH* 31. 83. 8).

far as Herodotus. The picture becomes more detailed in the fourth century, and with Philistus we can note the first sign of Sicilian interest in this people in the early part of the century, just as the Syracusan colony of Ancona was founded (Strabo 5. 4. 241).⁵⁰ Pseudo-Scylax places this *polis* in Umbrian territory, although there were probably Gauls in this area soon after he wrote.⁵¹

The characterization of the Umbrians as enervated by wealth suggests that they were equated with the (culturally close) Etruscans by Greek authors. It might seem that their joint 'occupation' of the Po valley, a famously fertile area of Italy, would provide a plausible reason for the formation of this image, but it is more likely that this originally stems from the supposed Etruscan connection with the Lydians. The Umbrian presence in the Po valley and along the Adriatic coast is attested by contemporary Greek writers such as Pseudo-Scylax and so probably reflects some sort of ethnic links between the inhabitants of these areas and those of the Apennines to the south and west in the fifth and early fourth centuries.⁵² What it cannot be taken to signify is that the area was part of a straightforward Umbrian ethnic region, which extended to the coast. Not only did Greek authors have a notorious tendency to lump diverse ethnic groups under single names, but there is also evidence from this area, recently reassessed by Colonna, which reveals a mixed ethnic situation.⁵³ This includes attestations of a language neither Etruscan nor Umbrian on stelae from Ariminum and Novilara (between Fanum and Pisaurum).

⁵⁰ In parallel to this we can note the appearance of Magna Graecia and Sicilian pottery within early 4th-cent. archaeological contexts documented at Ariminum, Numana, Ancona, Spina, and Adria (Ricconi, 'Antefatti della colonizzazione di Ariminum', 270). The identity of *Κοσύτη*, an Umbrian city that Ctesias (c.400 BC) records in a fragment preserved by Stephanus Byz. (*FGRH* 3C 688 fr. 59), is unclear.

⁵¹ Livy 5. 35. 2; Pliny, *NH* 3. 112.

⁵² See Colonna, 'Ricerche sugli Etruschi e sugli Umbri'.

⁵³ Dion. Hal., 1. 29. 1–2: 'The peoples of Italy have been confused under a common name quite as often as any peoples elsewhere. For there was a time when Latins, Umbrians, Ausonians, and many others were all called Tyrrhenians by Greeks, the remoteness of the countries inhabited by these nations making their exact distinctions obscure to those who lived at a distance.' G. Colonna, 'La Romagna fra Etruschi, Umbri e Pelasgi', in *La Romagna tra VI e IV sec. a.C. nel quadro della protostoria dell'Italia centrale* (Bologna, 1985), 45–65.

It is also worth noting that the use of the 'Umbrian' toponyms in Etruria recorded by Pliny (the river *Umbro* and the *tractus Umbriae* of *NH* 3. 51) to 'confirm' the ancient tradition that the Umbrians originally occupied this area of Italy is almost certainly misleading;⁵⁴ this tradition is always couched in terms of a mythical ancient past, even in Herodotus, and it is no longer thought useful to see the Etruscans as external invaders. This naturally also means that we cannot take the supposed servile population of Etruria to be an indigenous Umbrian substratum.⁵⁵ Some conflict is likely to have occurred between individual Umbrian and Etruscan cities, just as between Umbrian cities themselves, and this hostility probably gave rise to the elaborated tradition of wide 'ethnic' enmity in the mythical period of the arrival of the Etruscans in Italy.

Our question must now be whether these images of an Umbrian people before the Roman conquest correspond to the self-perceptions of the people being discussed. One possibility we must allow for is that the ethnic name was used by the Greeks to categorize a population with little self-identity.⁵⁶ Given the reservations expressed above about the Greek accounts, and the uncertainty about the extent to which they used local information, we need to turn to the more secure testimony of epigraphy, especially that from the region itself. First, however, there is important early testimony of the ethnic 'Umbrian' from elsewhere in Italy. An inscription on

⁵⁴ e.g. G. Devoto, 'Umbri ed etruschi', *SE* 28 (1960), 263–76 = *Scritti minori*, ii (Florence, 1967), 217–26.

⁵⁵ As does A. Restelli, 'Etruschi ed Umbri nel III secolo a.C.', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Conoscenze etniche et rapporti di convivenza nell'antichità*, *CISA* 6 (Milan, 1979), 150–7, with earlier bibliography.

⁵⁶ There is an interesting tradition that the name of the Umbrians came from their survival of a mythical flood: see Pliny, *NH* 3. 112 (quoted at the start of s. 1). This tradition could go back at least to Marcus Antonius (Gniphō) in early 1st cent. BC. See Servius, *Aen.* 12. 753: *sane Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse Marcus Antonius refert: hos eosdem, quod tempore aquosae cladis imbribus superfuerunt, Ombros cognominatos* ('Indeed Marcus Antonius reports that the Umbrians were an offspring of the ancient Gauls; and that this same people, because they survived the rains in a time of watery disaster, were called the Ombroi'). D. Briquel argues that this might be more than a typically simplistic ancient etymology, and may derive from a local Umbrian myth: 'Sur une explication antique du nom des Ombriens: une version Italique du déluge?', in *Etrennes de septantaine: Travaux de linguistique et de grammairie comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune* (Paris, 1978), 45–64.

a bronze bracelet found in 1979 in the central Abruzzo region shows that this ethnic designation was already being used by some inhabitants of central Italy as early as the fifth century BC.⁵⁷ Marinetti and La Regina classify the language of the text as South Picene. In La Regina's interpretation, part of the text reads **ombriien acren** which he takes to mean 'in Umbrian territory', although Morandi has doubted this.⁵⁸ Quite why this phrase should appear on the bracelet, and what it actually refers to, is obscure, but it must show that Greek authors were using a term that was current among Italian populations.⁵⁹ Several other interesting inscriptions show that this is not an isolated case. Two Greek vases, one from Gravisca and the other from Caere, both of the sixth century BC, have on them what appear to be names derived from this ethnic.⁶⁰ All these pieces of evidence demonstrate that the term 'Umbrian' was in use at an early date in contexts that were probably outside the territory of the ethnic group itself.

In the fourth and third centuries we have the first evidence from Umbria of the names of groups within the larger ethnic whole. Two fourth-century inscriptions on pieces of bronze were found together with votive material at Colfiorito recording the (dative) ethnic **pletinas**, which must relate to the name of the later Roman town, Plestia (Po 2). A bronze helmet found in Bologna and dated to the late fourth or early third century might record the name of Nuceria, **nuvkri** (Po 1).⁶¹ Tuder and Iguvium issued bronze coinage in the third century marked

⁵⁷ A. Marinetti, *Le iscrizioni sudpicene: Testi* (Florence, 1985), p. 233 'Ch. 2', who reads **Jmei : aniom : ombrijen : akren : postiknam : putii : knuskem : dunoioi : defia : uffu[]titiui : tefeii**. See also A. La Regina, 'Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico', *AION (Arch.)*, 3 (1981), 131-3; Dench, *Barbarians*, 201-2.

⁵⁸ A. Morandi, 'Cippo con iscrizione sabina arcaica dal territorio di Cures', *DdA* 5 (1987), 11, questioning **acren**.

⁵⁹ La Regina's conclusion (p. 132) that this was an "agro umbro" locale' on the basis of the (not particularly close) association in the Iguvine Tables (*Vb.* 8-18) between *postu acnu* (= yearly?) and the *agre tlatie* and *agre casiler* (which may be the lands of *decuriae*, see Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 225) does not convince.

⁶⁰ On the inscription $\delta\mu\pi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ next to a representation of what may be a slave on a 6th-century(?) Corinthian krater from Caere see Radke, s.v. 'Umbri', *RE* suppl. 9 (1962), col. 1746; R. Arena in *PP* 21 (1966), 477-9. On the dedication $\eta\rho\eta\iota\ \delta\mu\beta\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ from Gravisca see M. Torelli, 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *PP* 32 (1977), 398-458; H. Solin, 'Sulle dediche greche di Gravisca', *PP* 36 (1981), 185-7.

⁶¹ Heurgon and Peyre, *REL* (1972), 6-8.

with their respective ethnics (Ve 238), and three lead coins with the legends **amer** and **ameri** could record that of Ameria.⁶² There is also the Roman literary evidence, not however contemporary, that records the roles in the conquest of various Umbrian peoples and the formation of treaties with some of them, almost certainly soon afterwards.⁶³

Our other important source of information for local Umbrian identities in this period is the text of the Iguvine Tables, inscribed in the second century BC or a few decades either side, but recording elements that must originate much earlier. Throughout the Tables reference is made to the Iguvine community (*totar iouinar* in the genitive singular). Several extraordinary passages name what seem to be enemies of Iguvium, who are banished and cursed during the lustration ceremony (*Ib.* 16–17; *VIb.* 53–4, 58–9; *VIIa.* 11–12, 47–8).⁶⁴ It is worth quoting an example from the text:

eso eturstahmu pisest totar/tarsinater trifor tarsinater tuser
naharcer iabuscer nomner eetu ehesu poplu
(Thus shall he pronounce banishment: ‘Whoever is of the Tadinate community, of the Tadinat tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, let him go out from this army’: *VIb.* 53–4, trans. adapted from Poultney)⁶⁵

Tadinum was a neighbouring Umbrian community to the south-east. The Etruscans of Perugia and possibly Cortona were also neighbours of the Iguvines; the reference to the Tuscan

⁶² D. Monacchi, ‘Nota sulla stipe votiva di Grotta Bella’, *SE* 54 (1986), 97 n. 150, if they are not fakes.

⁶³ The peoples mentioned are the Camertes (Livy 9. 36. 7–8), the *plaga* of Materina (9. 41. 15), the Ocriculani, with whom the Romans entered into *amicitia* (9. 41. 20) and the Umbrian centre of Nequinum (10. 9. 8, 10. 1); Livy also mentions Mevania as a geographical point (9. 41. 13), and of course the Umbrians in general (9. 41. 8–13 and elsewhere). Treaties are firmly attested with Iguvium and the Camertes by Cicero in the *Pro Balbo* (47 and 46 respectively). For these passages see Ch. 3.

⁶⁴ Interpretations in H. Krahe, ‘Zu umbrisch Naharcum’, *Glotta* 26 (1957), 95–7; J. Loicq, ‘Les Peuples étrangers dans le rituel ombrien d’Iguvium’, in *Mélanges Piganiol* (1966), 683–98; G. Devoto, ‘Interpretazione umbre IV: Il nome “Naharko” e gli antefatti dell’umbro di Gubbio’, *SE* 33 (1965), 369–77 = *Scritti minori*, ii (Florence, 1967), 211–16.

⁶⁵ For *poplo-* as army rather than people (Poultney’s trans.), see Ch. 4, s. 5. For *eturstahmu* as equivalent to Latin *exterminato* see Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae*, 273; G. Meiser, *Lautgeschichte der Umbrischen Sprache* (Innsbruck, 1986), 231–6.

(Etruscan) *nomen* presumably means that the Etruscans referred to were of a separate *nomen* to the Iguvines. We might expect Iguvium to have been part of the Umbrian *nomen*, but the Narcan *nomen* poses a difficulty. This is probably best seen as a substantial grouping around the Nar river, whose name became incorporated into that of the *municipium* Interamna Nahars, and is perhaps also preserved in the modern toponym, S. Anatolia di Narco, further up the valley.⁶⁶ Yet Livy regards this area as Umbrian (10. 9. 8–9), and it was included in the sixth Augustan region (Pliny, *NH* 3. 113). The identification of *Iabuscer* (**Iapuzkum** in the Umbrian alphabet) with the Iapudes of Pliny, *NH* 3. 127, living at the head of the Adriatic or with the Iapyges of *NH* 3. 102 in Apulia is also problematic because of their much greater distance from Iguvium.⁶⁷

In what historical circumstances did this curious list come to be formed? There seem to be two main possibilities. The first is related to the consequences of the Roman conquest, when the two most important centres on the Nar river, Interamna Nahars and Narnia, and perhaps Tadinum further to the north, became Roman or Latin colonies: it could therefore be an expression of hostility towards ‘foreign’ settlers in the region.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Prosdocimi has ingeniously suggested that *Iabuscer* may relate to the presence in Iguvium from 168 BC of the exiled Illyrian king Gentius.⁶⁹ However, this still leaves the Etruscan name, and it is easier to explain the designation of Interamna and Narnia as Umbrian in Livy and the Augustan regional divisions if we envisage that their Umbrian identity relates to a period before their colonization (in the early third century BC) rather than after it. It is also better to interpret the list as stemming from a situation before the Roman conquest because after this point the foreign relations of communities such as Iguvium must have become governed by Rome.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Devoto, ‘Interpretazione umbre IV’, 213.

⁶⁷ Both peoples were considered to be of Illyrian origin: Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 275.

⁶⁸ See Ch. 3, ss. 4 and 5 for this influx.

⁶⁹ Livy 45. 43. 9–10; A. Prosdocimi, ‘L’umbro’, in *PCIA* vi (Rome, 1978), 594. See Ch. 5, s. 2. But the tables in Umbrian script are unlikely to have been inscribed much after the mid 2nd cent. BC, and could well be earlier (Prosdocimi, *Tavole Iguvine*).

⁷⁰ The implications of these passages for Umbrian unity are discussed in Ch. 3, s. 3.

The overall impression gained from this survey of the epigraphy generated within Umbria in the fourth and third centuries BC is one of particularism. This obviously contrasts with the image of the Umbrians as an unified ethnic group provided by Greek writers in the fifth and fourth centuries. We might see a seductive explanation for this in notions of a 'primordial' ethnic group, reflected in earlier references, which under the impact of state formation became divided into a number of smaller units retaining only vestiges of their earlier unity.⁷¹ However, it is important to take account of the variety of types of evidence, and their particular perspectives. Early Greek authors were probably using a term, Umbrian, that was already in circulation in an Italian context, but they were prone to generalizing about ethnic groups, and are unlikely to have had a good understanding of the complex mix of ethnic group identities along the Adriatic coast, let alone inland. They are therefore a poor basis for hypothesizing the identity of the inhabitants of the region as a whole. In contrast, while there was perhaps less reason for Umbrians themselves to mention the wider ethnic group on inscriptions, the regular early references to local identities, such as *Plestinus*, suggests that these were of far greater importance to them. This is certainly the impression given by the Iguvine Tables.

As we shall see, ethnic generalizations are not just a problem for this period, but continue to be misleading in the later history of the communities of this region. Nevertheless, the problem is most acute for the period before the Roman conquest, when local epigraphic evidence suggests that the ethnic situation was more likely to be mixed than homogeneous in many areas, such as the Adriatic coastal districts, and the Tiber valley.⁷² These ethnically mixed areas are certainly better seen as zones of interaction than borders between ethnic groups, an interpretation that has been applied to

⁷¹ This would accord with La Regina's work on the meaning of *touto* (equivalent to Umbrian *tota-*) in different areas of Italy, e.g. 'Note sulla formazione dei centri urbani in area sabellica', in *La città etrusca e italica preromana* (Bologna, 1970), 203; 'Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico', *AION (Arch.)*, 3 (1981), 130. But see discussion in Ch. 2, s. 3(c).

⁷² e.g. Tuder has produced more Etruscan than Umbrian inscriptions.

better understood situations in the ancient world.⁷³ In fact, the further back in time we go, the more fluid and confused ethnic boundaries within Italy seem to become, and for the period before the conquest it seems much more relevant to interpret the history of the region in terms of individual communities than a monolithic ethnic group.⁷⁴ In the centuries following, we find Umbrian communities joining together for defence against a Roman invasion, and fighting as a 'national army' under Roman command. It may be these activities that really activate a sense of common identity, which gradually becomes better defined in response to Roman demands and expectations.

These considerations obviously have an impact on the nature of a study such as this. The ethnic basis to the region may become only slowly apparent, and it is important when taking the Augustan designation as the geographical definition not to retroject what is at least in part a later construct onto earlier circumstances. We must be cautious, for instance, in assuming that evidence for one Umbrian community is evidence for the rest, and for the period before the conquest we should treat the region as an almost random geographical segment of Italy. This also means that evidence from outside this area that helps us understand the trends within, such as the rural sanctuaries at Pasticcetto di Magione (in the territory of Perugia) and Ancarano di Norcia (Nursia), or the Umbrian presence in the Latin colony of Ariminum reported by Strabo, can with care be brought into the discussion.

⁷³ e.g. C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1994).

⁷⁴ In 'Tribes, States and Cities in Central Italy', in E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds.), *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy* (London, forthcoming) I argue that ethnic boundaries became more defined within Italy towards the end of the 1st millennium BC.

Umbria before the Roman conquest

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the processes affecting Umbrian communities in the Iron Age (c.900–300 BC), a period conventionally ended by the Roman conquest. A variety of geographical areas need to be assessed, in which increasing social complexity leads to a wide range of different social and political ‘trajectories’. The most important shift in terms of the long-term history of the region is that many settlements in the lowlands begin to undergo urbanization towards the end of this period, which marks the first signs of the system of city-states that characterized this region until the end of the Roman Empire. It is evident, however, that assessing contemporary upland communities simply in terms of their failure to develop urbanistic structures does not do justice to their sophistication in this period, which matched that of the future city sites. Thus, one of the central aims of this chapter is to draw attention to the unsatisfactory nature of urbanism as the predominant diagnostic index of early Italian societies. As a model it encourages us to endorse many of the urbanocentric biases of ancient authors, and to adopt the distorting preconceptions (common to theories of social evolution) that a kind of primitive tribal organization preceded the more advanced city-states of the classical world.¹ I argue in this chapter that prioritizing the principle of state organization in our approach to the history of the ancient Italian regions provides a more satisfactory model. It is one which challenges many of these preconceptions and enables us to recognize the true diversity of the complex societies evident in different environments in central Italy.

¹ I have explored this issue at greater length in ‘Tribes, States and Cities’.

The processes inherent in state organization can continue to provide a framework for understanding the changes in Umbria until the Augustan period, and it is therefore a theme that will be revisited in subsequent chapters. Interpreting the development of the region in these terms raises the issue of what might be driving such changes, and so the possible evidence for the influence of Umbrian geography and of neighbouring regions is also explored. Shifts in social complexity are certainly linked to the emergence of signs for the widespread use of religious sites in the landscape, and the unprecedented levels of evidence for ritual activity which are now available need to be considered. Finally, this chapter deals with the nature of Umbrian culture in the period before the conquest, examining burial ritual, the local production of goods, and trans-regional trade.

2. State organization in the ancient world

The primary issue which I want to consider, the effect of urbanocentricity on our evaluation of early Italian societies, can be best introduced by an example. The territory of Samnium in the centre of the southern part of the Italian peninsula illustrates some of the difficulties which are posed by current models of Italian societies from the Roman conquest and the Social War. The peoples of Samnium are renowned for the prolonged wars they fought with the Romans for control of central Italy in the second half of the fourth and the early third centuries BC. When they came into collision with Rome, these peoples were threatening the security of lowland centres like Capua (343 BC). The battle with Rome involved the raising of large armies (which were apparently under a unified command), such as that which fought together with a Gallic force at Sentinum in 295 BC. Leadership in peace and war was probably provided by a range of governmental institutions in which power was invested, such as the *meddix tuticus* (the magistrate of the people), a senate, and various other offices and assemblies.² In the fourth and early third centuries these

² Salmon, *Samnium*, 77–101.

representatives formed treaties with Rome, and forged alliances with other peoples in Italy for mutual defence. Archaeology has revealed a complex territorial organization with a dense network of hillforts and impressive monumental sanctuaries, such as those at Pietrabbondante, S. Giovanni in Galdo, and Schiavi d'Abruzzo, but with only limited traces of urbanism in the mountainous areas away from the lowlands of the Adriatic coast before the Social War.³ The prominent role of Samnite communities in the Social War is further evidence of their wealth and organization.

In order to assess Samnite societies it is surely better to understand them in their own terms than to measure them against a yardstick of urban form, as ancient authors tended to do.⁴ As this criterion was clearly not of central importance to the Samnite élite before the Social War, they are always going to fall short of other peoples, such as those of Etruria and Latium, who valued urban culture much more highly and spent their wealth on elaborate city construction projects.⁵ The lack of urbanization in Samnium is as much a sign of its cultural difference as it is of its poverty. What is important is that the societies of Samnium, although constructed on decidedly different lines to the cities of neighbouring Latium and Campania, clearly had the organizational capabilities of states. Focusing on state organization allows us to appreciate the diversity of such early Italian societies, whilst avoiding the distortions of urbanocentricity.

Unfortunately, the urban viewpoint of ancient authors is readily adopted by many modern scholars, and in fact urbanization is the dominant index of assessment used in most studies of first millennium BC Italy.⁶ This is the result of

³ J. Lloyd in G. Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (London and New York, 1995), ch. 9; Tagliamonte, *I Samniti*, 156–202.

⁴ Strabo 5. 4. 2: 'These peoples live in villages, generally speaking, but they also have cities'; Livy 9. 13. 7.

⁵ Salmon, *Samnium*, 79 for a harsh verdict; on Salmon's preconceptions, and in general on this theme, see Dench, *Barbarians*, 5 and *passim*.

⁶ One example from amongst many: U. Moscatelli takes signs as diverse as family groupings of graves separated from others in the same cemetery, monuments inscribed with the South Picene script, and monumental sculpture such as the Castrano warrior, as signs of urbanization during the 'fourth phase' of Picene culture (c. 590/580–525 BC) ('Il problema dell'urbanizzazione nell'area della civiltà del ferro picena: Proposta per una diversa valutazione di elementi già noti', *Arch. Class.* 29 (1977), 191–6).

most discussions of social complexity concentrating on the Tyrrhenian areas of Italy, where the earliest states arose in the first centuries of the first millennium BC. These societies had formed into city-states by the sixth century BC, and so there has been little reason to treat state organization as an analytical concept separate from urbanization.⁷ This approach is unsatisfactory for several reasons. It not only leads to very unsympathetic judgements of communities in the Appennine regions, but also obscures the long-term nature of the shifts that took place in Tyrrhenian societies. Even within city-states, urban form is not actually equivalent to state organization, which should be the real subject of our discussion. If an urban infrastructure is created to cater for a more sophisticated society, the development of such sophistication is a process that must have begun already, usually at a point several centuries earlier.

The importance of the emergence of the state has been recognized in studies of archaic Greece for some time, and hence archaic Greece often features in comparative literature as an example of the rise of the state within the ancient Mediterranean.⁸ This work has established that there were a variety of different state forms that appeared in Greece,

⁷ Stoddart uses the term state, but does not attempt to define it (*Territory, Time and State*, 177). Harris thinks that the evidence is too poor to discuss Etruscan state formation, because we lack evidence as to when 'the inhabitants of early Veii, Tarquinii or Vulci started to believe that their cities had some extension or continuity beyond particular families': see 'Invisible Cities: The Beginning of Etruscan Urbanisation', in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*, I (Rome, 1989), 377. For work on early Rome connecting the two concepts, see e.g. C. Ampolo, 'La formazione della città nel Lazio: Periodo IV B', *DdA* 2 (1980), 165–92; Cornell, *Beginnings*, 97–103. There is a large literature on the institutions of states in ancient Italy, e.g. A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (Berlin, 1913); but what I am concerned with is the *formation and accumulation* of such institutions. For a similar approach see G. Tagliamonte, *I figli di Marte* (Rome, 1994), 103–23.

⁸ e.g. A. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State* (Cambridge, 1977); W. G. Runciman, 'Origins of States: The Case of Archaic Greece', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), 351–77; J. F. Cherry, 'Polities and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation', and A. Snodgrass, 'Interaction by Design: The Greek City State', in C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Social Change* (Cambridge, 1986); C. Starr, *Individual and Community: The Rise of the Polis 800–500 BC* (New York, 1986); I. Morris, 'The Early Polis as City and State', in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London, 1991), 24–57.

which the Greeks themselves described either in terms of the *polis*, or if less obviously centred around a single city, as an *ethnos*.⁹ The actual political nature of *ethnē* in Greece is disputed. The Greek dichotomy is an ancient categorization based more on the nature of governmental authority than on centralization or urbanization. The centralized states of Macedon and Epirus were classed by the Greeks as *ethnē*, as were areas with a number of towns within them, such as Arcadia, Achaia, or Boeotia.¹⁰ Furthermore, Greek authors were not always consistent in the use of the category.¹¹ In essence, *ethnos* seems to have been a negative classification: an area not solely controlled by a single city-state. The dichotomy in Greece between the *polis* and *ethnos* type of state offers an obvious parallel to the various systems in Italy. In Italy we can point to the contrast between the regions along the Tyrrhenian and southern Adriatic coast (Etruria, Latium, Campania, and Magna Graecia), and the upland areas of Samnium and the central Appennines. In the former, city-states on the model of the Greek *polis* became the dominant social organization: autonomous urban centres with demarcated territories, in which there were no other equivalent settlements. In the latter regions, territorial systems without major urban centres (at least along Graeco-Roman lines) were the norm until the second century BC or later. So it is clear that both Italy and Greece had states that did not conform to the ideal of the classical city-state: that is, not all states in these areas needed a single urban centre, dominant within its own territory. The recognition of this potential diversity, between city and what can be termed territorial state, should be central to our understanding of the process of state organization in central Italy, which produced a variety of state types, even within individual regions such as Umbria.

⁹ For a definition of these terms see the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, e.g. M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of 'Poleis'* (Copenhagen, 1996); M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Polis and City State: An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen, 1998).

¹⁰ e.g. Arist., *Politics* 1261^a: 'This sort of difference can be observed as between a *polis* and an *ethnos* where the people are not scattered in villages, but are like the Arkadians'.

¹¹ Runciman, 'Origins of States', 370.

(a) Conceptions of the state and the process of state organization

When we come to consider ways of defining a state in the ancient world, we find that it is more closely connected to the people that made it up and their mentalities than to physical structures in the form of a city centre or to institutions. For the Greeks, the most important element of the *polis* was its citizen body, not the physical urban structure. This is stated clearly by Thucydides in a speech given to Nicias: 'It is men who make the *polis*, and not walls or ships with no men inside them'.¹² The concept of the *polis* as a form of human association is integral to Aristotle's *Politics*; Sparta was considered to lack an appropriately monumental urban centre, but was recognized none the less as a *polis*. We may gain a sense of how the emphasis had changed by the second century AD from Pausanias (10. 4. 1):

From Chaeroneia it is 20 stades to Panopeus, a *polis* of the Phocians, if one can give the name of a *polis* to those who possess no government buildings (*ἀρχεῖα*), no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless they have boundaries with their neighbours, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly. [He goes on to estimate the 'ancient circuit' of Panopeus to be around 7 stades.] (Trans. Jones.)

Public buildings had become an almost universal feature of *poleis* in the Roman Empire, and their absence was unusual.¹³ Yet, Pausanias, despite his doubts, does regard Panopeus as a *polis*; political organization is still the only essential requirement.

Classical Greek thinking about 'the state' concentrated on the *polis*-type: philosophers who discussed the topic considered it the best form of human association. The dominance of the *polis* in the conceptual sphere is further demonstrated by colonization: Greek colonies sent out by *ethnē* such as Locris

¹² 7. 77. 7: ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί. This is an extraordinary situation, but the sentiment is widely echoed in other works (see Loeb edn., iv. 158 n. 1). If a rhetorical commonplace, it remains expressive of an attitude.

¹³ Such themes are undercut by Tacitus, *Agricola* 21, where the newly emerging urban structures and lifestyle of conquered Britain are signs of enslavement rather than civilization (*humanitas*).

and Achaia took the form of single urban centres with their own territories. But even Aristotle, who rarely mentioned *ethnē* such as Macedon, on the periphery of his home town Stagira, recognized that there were alternative forms of political organization (1261^a; see above).

In the Roman world people owed allegiance to the *res publica*, which had from early in its history ceased to resemble a *polis* in the territorial sense (it had citizens who were much too far away to visit the centre), whilst retaining the institutions of a 'city-state'. For Cicero, the phrase did evoke institutions, but these were intimately linked to a complex web of values, customs, and traditions (succinctly summarized in the *Pro Sestio* 98).

The modern concept of the 'state' arose in the Renaissance. In the medieval period the term had been used in the sense of the ruler 'maintaining his state', meaning his own position. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the word had come to embody the sense of the legal and political order which the ruler had to uphold and which took over from his or her person as the object of the citizens' allegiance.¹⁴ It is this abstract concept that modern social scientists and historians have applied to a type of social organization reached by communities as they increase in complexity, and which is characteristic of almost all of human society today. Radcliffe-Brown defined it as 'a collection of individual human beings connected by a complex system of relations. Within that organization different individuals have different roles, and some are in possession of special power or authority.'¹⁵ Various difficulties arise in applying this concept to societies other than those in post-medieval western Europe where it emerged. First, there are a huge variety of human state societies across the world today and in history, and it may be impossible to find a universally applicable definition. The number of competing definitions put forward by scholars suggest that the idea of the state does

¹⁴ Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, i (Cambridge, 1978), p. x.

¹⁵ A. Radcliffe-Brown, 'Preface', in M. Fortes and E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.), *African Political Systems* (London, 1940), p. xiii, quoted by Claessen and Skalnik, *The Early State*, 20; cf. Claessen and Skalnik's own definition in *The Early State* at p. 21; they survey work before 1978.

not have scientific edges that can be agreed on.¹⁶ Gledhill has pointed out that such definitions tend to be based on invented ideal types rather than on the analysis of actual ancient states. Comparisons with chiefdoms and other non-state societies studied by anthropologists could also be misleading: these might be divergent developments, that is, alternatives to states rather than their linear precursors, and there are similar problems of the vagueness of their definition.¹⁷ In short, the applicability to ancient Greek and Italian societies of ideal types, formulated from anthropological observation or from historical analysis (often of the earliest Near Eastern or New World states), is limited.

The way round these difficulties is to focus on the process of state organization, rather than on any hypothetical stages (such as chiefdom, early state, and state) that societies might pass through. It is important to recognize that the period of time involved in this process is often extremely long. Some ancient societies seem to have experienced periods of rapid change in social complexity, such as communities in the Aegean in the eighth century BC. But even here Morris has convincingly re-emphasized both the complexity of society in the so-called 'Dark Age', and the weakness of the Greek *polis* down to Hellenistic times.¹⁸ In a recent restatement of his position, he argued that a social and cultural revolution did take place in the eighth century BC, but he still saw this within the context of a long-term ideological shift in the Aegean world, and emphasized the peculiarity of this area within the wider Mediterranean.¹⁹ Morris's emphasis on the ancient state as more a way of thinking, a nexus of ideological and cultural

¹⁶ For a different emphasis to Radcliffe-Brown see M. Mann, *Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge, 1986), 37: 'The state is a differentiated set of institutions and personnel embodying centrality, in the sense that political relations radiate outwards to cover a territorially demarcated area, over which it claims a monopoly of binding and permanent rule-making, backed up by physical violence.'

¹⁷ J. Gledhill, 'Introduction', in J. Gledhill, B. Bender, and M. Larsen (eds.), *State and Society* (London, 1988), 10, 15.

¹⁸ Morris, 'Early Polis', 24–57. His work seems to be a reaction against the strong emphasis of Snodgrass on the transformation of Greek society around the end of the 8th cent. BC; see, for instance, Snodgrass's essay in the same volume.

¹⁹ I. Morris, 'Archaeology and Archaic Greek History', in N. R. E. Fisher and H. Van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London and Swansea, 1998), 71–4.

values, than a physical or institutional structure, represents a useful approach, and reminds us that we need to handle the evidence with care in order to trace these changes. His work also helps us appreciate the length of time over which states were organized.²⁰ In fact, as we shall see, the signs of this process in Umbrian communities are spread over a considerable period. A first possible symptom of change here might be the separation of an élite from the rest of society, visible through the deposition of prestige goods in graves from the seventh century onwards. The second possible indicator, the appearance of sanctuaries in the landscape, occurs in the late sixth and fifth centuries BC. It is only from the fourth century onwards that we have evidence for any type of urban development (the building of temples and fortifications), and it is not until the late fourth and early third century that the formation of treaties and the production of coinage provide further confirmation of the process.

It is also fair to say that the process has no real end. Designating late Republican Rome or classical Athens as the 'full development' of the ancient state does not make much sense. Herman has demonstrated, for instance, how Greek *poleis* of the fifth century BC still relied heavily on personal links between aristocrats for the conduct of foreign relations.²¹ Hopkins argued that social differentiation, akin to Radcliffe-Brown's 'roles' within the state, was apparent in Rome only from the late Republican period.²² The power of states in the ancient world never matched that of modern states, and so it is also problematic to use the latter as a yardstick for early Italian societies. In reality, ancient states tended to be dynamic entities; 'state formation', which implies an end to the process, was part of an ongoing change.

A further methodological consideration is that anthropological work has strongly criticized the notions of social

²⁰ Supported by Claessen and Skalnik (*The Early State*, 20–1) in comparative terms; cf. also the emphasis of Stoddart on Etruscan state formation as 'not an abrupt discontinuity but a development out of the preceding political landscape' ('Divergent Trajectories in Central Italy', in T. Champion (ed.), *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London, 1989), 96).

²¹ G. Herman, 'Treaties and Alliances in the World of Thucydides', *PCPS* 36 (1990), 83–102.

²² K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978), 74–96.

evolution which were dominant in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historiography. This has undermined the idea that human societies undergo evolutionary change along a single scale, from primitive (prehistoric and/or non-Western) to civilized (modern Western). The main problem with this approach is the value-laden judgement of all societies according to criteria most characteristic of western European societies.²³ This is now widely acknowledged, but it does seem necessary to retain some elements of relative comparison between organized communities. Mann, for instance, claims that some human societies underwent large leaps in their power due to technological innovations, which means that all states are certainly not equivalent in these terms. Some measurable indices of complexity are also defended by Gledhill, such as the scale of a society, or its structural differentiation.²⁴

When working on early Italy, it is difficult to escape from some concept of unidirectional change, which, as Cristofani recognized, sits uneasily with the emphasis of anthropological work on the synchronic comparison of societies.²⁵ But recognizing this general tendency should not lead us to simplify the picture, as some communities, far from increasing in complexity, collapsed or declined in importance, particularly as they were defeated or superseded by rival states in the competitive atmosphere of the pre-conquest period. So it is essential to appreciate that there were 'losers' as well as 'winners' in the history of Italy in the first millennium BC.

(b) Tendencies in ancient state organization

To trace the growth of state organization, it is useful to break the process down into its constituent parts. Whilst it is certainly worth considering general comparative work on this issue, it seems most useful to base our picture on the type of state that arose in the ancient Graeco-Roman world. The rise of the state, as the definition cited above implies, involves a greater complexity in human social organization. There is an increase both in communality, with larger groups and more

²³ Gledhill, 'Introduction', 2-3. ²⁴ Ibid. 3.

²⁵ M. Cristofani, 'Società e istituzioni nell'Italia preromana', *PCIA* vii (Rome, 1978), 56.

interactions between their members, and in the complexity of control over these inter-relations. These changes can be seen in terms of group definition and central authority.

The individuals that make up the state are categorized according to the groups to which they belong. Many of these aggregations transcend kinship organization. Groupings arise at different levels of organization. The largest category within the early Italian context is probably the *nomen*, for example the *nomen Latinum*. This can be equal to the state or, more commonly, larger than it, uniting a group of states.²⁶ The state itself eventually forms a group with a defined membership: citizenship was a crucial concept in ancient states. Having said this, its permeability to outsiders varied: movement into the citizen body was always easier at Rome, particularly in the archaic period, than in the Greek *polis*. The membership of a state could be defined in various ways. De Polignac has suggested that participation in shared cults initially played this role in archaic Greece.²⁷ Claessen and Skalknik considered it characteristic of early states that citizenship is determined by birth or residency in the territory of the state.²⁸ The demarcation of a 'territory' is clearly important, and is likely to be something that occurs as the state develops and a sharp division becomes necessary between those within and those without. The identification and distancing of outsiders is clearly part of this process, as in the Iguvine Tables, where members of neighbouring ethnic groups and polities are cursed and banished from the Iguvine citizen body before its lustration.²⁹ Citizenship at Rome, as in Greece, became defined by law at an early date, as the state accumulated a body of legal rules and procedures which controlled the holding of this status. Divisions within the citizen body allowing its articulated use were also important to the functioning of the state in ancient Italy, and presumably increased as the state became more complex. At Rome, these divisions governed the duties of a citizen, such as service in the army, voting, and participation in religious rituals.

²⁶ On the relationship between states and ethnic groups see Bradley, 'Tribes, States and Cities'.

²⁷ F. de Polignac, *La Naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris, 1984), 66–85 (Eng. trans. 60–81).

²⁸ *The Early State*, 639. ²⁹ See Ch. 1, s. 2.

The second major area of change marking the appearance of the state is that of central authority.³⁰ In ancient Italy this tended to be embodied in various power-holding offices and positions such as magistracies and priesthoods, or even kingship. There were also group decision-making bodies, such as senates and assemblies, which could regulate the life of the community through laws. Many scholars stress the importance of the means by which the decisions of the central authority could be enforced. In fact, Max Weber famously defined the state in these terms, as that agency within society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence.³¹ This ability is clearly vital, but judging by the necessity of even late Republican Roman magistrates to use their personal attendants and followers for protection and administration, we should not expect signs of 'police forces' or bureaucracies in the emerging states of early Italy (although equivalents to the Roman lictors or public slaves might be found). Levying an army for the defence of the state seems to have been a very important function of state authorities in early Italy.³² In their survey of comparative work, Claessen and Skalnik identified the ability to prevent internal fission and defend against outside attack (even if with limited effectiveness) as characteristic of the governments of early states.³³ This ability must have enhanced the legitimacy of a government in the eyes of the citizens of the state. In the unsettled conditions of archaic Italy, however, many private citizens of high social rank also seem to have been able to raise bands of armed men, and although this was perhaps mainly undertaken for offensive raids on neighbouring territories, it was (at least at Rome) a power that was only slowly monopolized by the state.³⁴

The position of rulers is often bolstered by an ideology which helps maintain the stratification of society. The power and continued dominance of the Roman aristocracy was

³⁰ Compare Claessen and Skalnik, *The Early State*, 639, and Runciman, 'Origins of States', 351.

³¹ *Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), 78; discussed by E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), 3-4.

³² M. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1983), 18, notes that the citizen militia armies typical of classical Athens and Republican Rome were not available for policing activities because they were only assembled to fight external wars.

³³ 'Models and Reality', in *The Early State*.

³⁴ Cornell, *Beginnings*, 143-5.

preserved not only by their monopoly on political and religious offices in the early Republic, but also through stories of their ancestors' self-sacrifice for the state, which were remembered in family histories. Another important feature of the central authority of a state is its permanency, for instance, its ability to survive changes of regime.³⁵ The origin of our modern concept of the state, discussed above, is grounded in a sense of stability. It is not necessary, however, for a state to be fully independent. States can exist in a meaningful sense within associations, such as federations or even empires, which constrain their actions (primarily in foreign relations) to varying degrees.

The way in which we investigate the growth of central authority is naturally governed by our sources. The only literary accounts which we have of the early history of an Italian state are those of Rome. This prevents us from following the progressive creation of institutions outside Rome itself. Occasionally we obtain information on the institutions of government from inscriptions, but this is rarely enough to enable any sort of institutional history to be written. Nevertheless, a less comprehensive picture is achievable. Various types of evidence are manifestations of central authorities in early Italy, such as the production of coinage, the formation of treaties, the standardization of weights and measures, and the existence of communal calendars. An urban centre may be developed in connection with the development of governmental institutions. The ideology of the state's authority has often been sought in the building of sanctuaries.³⁶ These are places of communal assembly where the rulers of states were able to express their power, for instance by the embellishment of buildings and by the display of extravagant dedications or captive weapons. It is these types of indication that can be examined for Umbria.

³⁵ Runciman, 'Origins of States', 356, places great importance on this; cf. R. Cohen and E. Service (eds.), *The Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution* (Philadelphia, 1978), 4. We must distinguish here between governments, which change, and states, which 'represent structures of political offices that are occupied by government agents' (D. Kurtz, 'Cultural Identity, Politics and Legitimation in State Formation', in M. van Bakel, R. Hagesteijn, and P. van de Velde, *Pivot Politics: Changing Cultural Identities in Early State Formation Processes* (Amsterdam, 1994), 31 n. 1) and are thus more durable entities.

³⁶ e.g. Cherry, 'Politics and Palaces', 29–32.

3. Patterns of settlement

(a) *Settlement in Umbria in the Iron Age*

The wealth of new evidence brought to light by recent archaeological work allows us to document the beginnings of settlement on city sites in Umbria in much fuller detail than would have been possible twenty years ago. Evidence of living places and of graves shows that settlement stabilized on many sites in the late Bronze or early Iron Age, demonstrating the profound antiquity of the hill towns in this area. My intention in this section is to consider the implications of this very ancient settlement pattern, particularly in terms of the geography and economy of the area. An interesting variety of settlement types emerges across the mixed terrain of the region, which includes systems of hillforts and villages in the mountains, and the first tangible traces of urban centres in the lowlands. The material culture of the inhabitants of the region, especially apparent in burial contexts, is examined in the next section, as this answers different questions about the nature of the influences on Umbria, the distinctiveness of its culture, and the emergence of social stratification.

A limited number of Roman city sites have produced signs of occupation in the Final Bronze Age (c. 1000–900 BC). These include the earliest burials in the Acciaierie cemetery, near Interamna Nahars, traces of huts or simply pottery fragments from the city centres of Ameria, Spolegium, and Iguvium, and sporadic material from the territories of Asisium and Mevania.³⁷ In general, however, settlement on the sites of most of the major Umbrian centres is first attested at some point in the Iron Age (from the ninth to the fourth centuries BC). For the first two centuries of the Iron Age, there is a relatively

³⁷ Interamna Nahars: see s. 4(b) below. Ameria: M. Matteini Chiari and S. Stopponi (eds.), *Museo Comunale di Amelia: Raccolta archeologica. Cultura materiale* (Perugia, 1996). Spolegium: L. Bonomi Ponzi et al., *Spoleto: Da villaggio a città* (Perugia, 1989), 11, 14. Iguvium: P. Braconi and D. Manconi, 'Gubbio: Nuovi scavi a via degli Ortacci', *AFLP* 20 (1982–3), 81; *Territory, Time and State*, 113. Asisium: A. L. Milani, *Il museo archeologico di Firenze* (Florence, 1923), 298; M. J. Strazzulla, 'Assisi: Problemi urbanistici', in *Les 'Bourgeoisies' Municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris and Naples, 1983), 152; D. Monacchi, 'I resti della stipe votiva del Monte Subasio di Assisi (Colle S. Rufino)', *SE* 52 (1984), 81; M. J. Strazzulla, *Assisi romana* (Assisi, 1985), 9–10. Mevania: *Mevania*, 30–6.

restricted amount of evidence, consisting of continuing burials at Interamna Nahars and the first graves in the cemetery of Plestia.³⁸ It is only with the onset of the Orientalizing period in Umbria, marked from the early seventh century BC by a greatly expanded trade in precious imported objects, that burials appear in or near the sites of Otriculum, Ameria, Tuder (although there is a small amount of earlier material from here), Spolegium, Mevania, Fulginiae, Nuceria, and Iguvium.³⁹ The seventh and sixth centuries thus form a crucial period. In the fifth and the fourth centuries, we have additional burial evidence from Tadinum, Hispellum (although this may only begin in the third century), Vettona, and Arna; there are also ceramic deposits of this period in the centres of Asisium and Ariminum. Further traces of pre-conquest pottery in stratigraphic layers suggest that Forum Sempronii, Pisaurum, Sarsina, and Ariminum were also occupied before the late fourth century BC.⁴⁰

³⁸ Material of this era from Cesi near Interamna probably relates to contemporary tombs: L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Il territorio di Cesi in età protostorica', in *Cesi: Cultura e ambiente di una terra antica* (Todi, 1989), 9–30, at 18. Both sites are regarded by Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 55 (Eng. trans. 67) as key points in the communications networks of prehistoric central Italy.

³⁹ Otriculum: E. Stefani, 'Otricoli: Avanzi di età romana scoperti a Colle Rampe e nelle località Palombara e Civitella', *NSc* 32 (1909), 278–91; C. Pietrangeli, *Otriculum* (Rome, 1943), 23–7; P. Santoro, 'Le necropoli della Sabina tiberina da Colle del Forno a Otricoli', *DdA* 3 (1985), 67–75. Ameria: brief reports by G. Erolì, *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1860), 118–21, (1864), 56–9, (1881), 216–21; Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 96 n. 146. Tuder: see s. 4(c) below. Spolegium: Sordini, *NSc* (1898), 6–9; C. Pietrangeli, *Spolegium* (Rome, 1939), 19, 71; Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Spoleto: Da villaggio a città*; M. C. De Angelis (ed.), *Spoleto: Il Colle della Rocca* (Perugia, 1994). Mevania: G. F. Gamurrini, *NSc* (1880), 22–3; G. Boccolini, *Mevania: Notizie storiche e archeologiche* (Cagli, 1909), 8; C. Pietrangeli, *Mevania* (Rome, 1953), 22–3; L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Nuove conoscenze sull'antica Bevagna', *BSCF* 10 (1986), 481–2; *Mevania*, 28–38. Fulginiae: L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Alcune considerazioni sulla situazione della dorsale appenninica umbromarchigiana tra il IX e il V secolo a.C.', *DdA* 2 (1982), 140; *Fulginates e Plestini: Popolazioni antiche nel territorio di Foligno* (Foligno, 1999), 27–9. Nuceria: L. Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Il territorio nocerino tra protostoria e altomedioevo* (Florence, 1985), 32. Iguvium: Braconi and Manconi, 'Gubbio: Nuovi scavi', 81–4; Fontaine, *Cités*, 366–7.

⁴⁰ Forum Sempronii: G. Gori and M. Luni, 'Note di archeologia e topografia forosemproniese', *Picus* 3 (1983), 87–114. Pisaurum: M. Luni, 'Scavi e scoperte: Pesaro', *SE* 51 (1983), 470–4. Sarsina: J. Ortalli, 'Sarsina', in *La formazione della città preromana in Emilia Romagna*, ii (Bologna, 1987), 392–3. Ariminum: G. Riccioni, 'Antefatti della colonizzazione di Ariminum alla luce delle nuove scoperte', in *La città etrusca e italica preromana* (Bologna, 1970), 263–73.

So we have good positive evidence that settlement had stabilized on most of the city sites of Roman Umbria well before the time of the conquest in the late fourth and early third century BC, and in many cases by the seventh or sixth centuries BC. We cannot be certain that this marks the beginning of settlement on all these sites, as the evidence we have is extremely fragmentary, but it is generally held that new sites were occupied in the first centuries of the Iron Age.⁴¹ Although our knowledge of the location of Bronze Age sites is limited, there is some evidence to back this up. The excavation of M. Ansciano (as part of the Gubbio Project) suggested that the occupation of upland hillforts may have been characteristic of settlement in that period. Bonomi Ponzi has suggested that the abandonment of Bronze Age sites in the Piediluco basin, south of Interamna Nahars, and in the Appennine zone near Plestia may be linked to the beginnings of these new Umbrian communities.⁴² It therefore seems that sites like Iguvium, Plestia, and Interamna Nahars were first occupied by populations that had moved from different places in the Bronze Age.

The sophistication of these early settlements should not be exaggerated. Despite the problem of recovering evidence (given that the continued occupation of most Iron Age sites prevents large-scale archaeological investigation), where we do have evidence of buildings they do not seem to have been elaborate. The earliest buildings in Umbria are probably represented by the wooden huts known from their post holes in and around the site of the later Roman *municipium* of Plestia (dating to the early Iron Age) and the Rocca of Spolegium (Final Bronze Age).⁴³ At both sites the scattered remains may relate to single, fairly extensive, settlements. It is not until the fifth century BC that more solid houses, with stone foundations and tiled roofs, appear in Umbria (at Tadinum and Pisaurum), some three centuries later than the earliest evidence in

⁴¹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 54 (Eng. trans. 66).

⁴² Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*, 139-40.

⁴³ Plestia: *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 55. For Spolegium see Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Spoleto: Da villaggio a città*, 11, 14.

Etruria.⁴⁴ There is no sign that the function of these particular structures was anything other than domestic, but there are some traces of buildings which appear to have been more distinguished. The most interesting evidence comes from Mevania, where the remains of a dwelling dating to the seventh to sixth century BC were excavated between 1980 and 1982:⁴⁵ it was a hut with dry-stone wall foundations, and was decorated with impasto architectural terracottas (to judge by the feline-head acroterion found in associated archaeological layers).⁴⁶ Another early decorated building is attested at Ocriculum by the discovery of an architectural plaque showing mounted cavalrymen in low relief. Parallels with contemporary friezes from Velitrae and Veii allow us to date it to 600–575 BC, and testify to Ocriculum's involvement in the cultural *koiné* of the major centres of southern Etruria and Latium during the sixth century BC.⁴⁷ Little more can be said about the purpose of these buildings, such as whether they were in any sense 'public', but they are a sign that some settlements were now more differentiated than simple collections of huts.

The rather unspectacular nature of these settlements may be related to small territory and population sizes. Many centres are attested by their cemeteries or building structures for the first time in the Iron Age. At least seven Iron Age settlements are known around the Valle Umbra. Most became self-governing cities in the Roman period, although some Iron Age centres, such as Campello near Spolegium, may never have

⁴⁴ Umbrian houses: L. Bonomi Ponzi and D. Manconi, s.v. 'Umbria', in *EAA* 2nd suppl. 5 (Rome, 1997), 880. At San Giovenale in Etruria, for example, structures with tiled roofs are attested from the late 8th cent. BC: see B. Olinder and I. Pohl, *San Giovenale*, ii/4. *The Semi-Subterranean Building in Area B. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 4, XXVI: II, 4* (Stockholm, 1981), 80–4. Note that D. Manconi, 'Il territorio di Bevagna: Inquadramento storico-topografico', *AFLP* 21 (1983–4), 118 n. 5, records the presence of pre-Roman pottery within stratigraphic layers at Spoleto, Assisi, Spello, Gubbio, and Bevagna.

⁴⁵ For the excavations see L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Nuove conoscenze sull'antica Bevagna', *BSCF* 10 (1986), 481–7; Bonomi Ponzi in *Mevania*, 39.

⁴⁶ For details of this terracotta, see Appendix 1.

⁴⁷ Pietrangeli, *Ocriculum*, 23–4; G. Dareggi, 'Una terracotta architettonica da Otricoli: Qualche considerazione sul centro preromano', *MEFRA* 90 (1978), 627–35. The similar terracottas from Velitrae and Veii are illustrated in M. Menichetti, 'Le aristocrazie tirreniche', *Storia di Roma*, 1 (Turin, 1988), 118–19.

attained independent status.⁴⁸ With many less than 10 kilometres away from their rivals, most territories were probably restricted. The largest cemetery is that of the Acciaierie at Interamna Nahars, which the excavators estimated contained several thousand graves. Other large necropoleis are attested at Tuder, where (from the eighteenth century to the present day) over 200 tombs have been discovered, and at Plestia, where 250 graves have been identified since 1962.⁴⁹ More typical are the twenty chamber tombs found near Ocriculum, or the four burials of the Malpasso cemetery near Tadinum. This might suggest that many communities were made up of tens, rather than hundreds or thousands, of members. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that these cemeteries contained only a proportion, perhaps a very small proportion, of the population.⁵⁰ Cemeteries were commonly restricted in access, and the archaeological visibility of graves is strongly conditioned by the nature of the funerary rituals carried out.⁵¹ It is worth noting that the communities of Ocriculum and Mevania were active in building fortifications and a temple respectively at times when there was a hiatus in their funerary evidence. It is also likely that the variation in numbers within these cemeteries reflects sizeable disparities in the communities that used them.

Beyond these considerations, the simple fact of a group of people living together is important: the larger the size of the group, the more likely that the group will develop a complex hierarchy and require representatives in order to work together. Morris notes that 'where there are permanent settlements of 500 or more people, constituted offices begin to emerge . . . and an agrarian community starts to take on the features of peasant society, including the division into socially stratified groups'.⁵² However, we know from studies of classical

⁴⁸ For Campello see L. Neri, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 61–2.

⁴⁹ Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 335–7 (Eng. trans. 337–9); Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*, 35.

⁵⁰ Polybius' figures for the manpower of the Roman army in 225 BC imply an average population of around 5,000 people per allied Umbrian community (see Ch. 3, s. 6).

⁵¹ I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City State* (Cambridge, 1987); Smith, *Early Rome*, 19–20, 41.

⁵² Morris, 'Early Polis', 42.

Greece that communities did not have to be huge to be politically organized. The 'typical' early *polis* had a population of between approximately 625 and 1,250, a territory of about 50 to 100 square kilometres, and an army of a few hundred fighting men according to Starr (using work based on modern rural population densities).⁵³

Moreover, the presence of burials and traces of habitation has significant implications for the development of a collective identity, as well as for social complexity. It is striking, for instance, that two of the centres with the earliest evidence of stable human frequentation, Ameria and Interamna Nahars, have traditions of early foundations preserved in later sources. According to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3. 114), 'Cato records that Ameria was founded 963 years before the war with Perseus'.⁵⁴ Cato is known to have used local sources for the *Origines*, and this notice, together with the record in the epitomator of Festus of the name of its founder, Amirus, suggests that there was a local myth that the city originated in a period well before the foundation of Rome.⁵⁵ In addition, an early imperial inscription from Interamna Nahars, perhaps from a public altar, was dated by the consuls of the year AD 32, '704 years after the foundation of Interamna'.⁵⁶ This would place the foundation in 673 BC, which was the period of the beginning of the necropolis at S. Pietro, the cemetery closest to the city centre. As with the record in Cato of the foundation of Ameria, little emphasis should be put on the actual date; nevertheless, this strongly suggests that the inhabitants believed in the continuity of the site from before the Roman conquest, despite the

⁵³ Starr, *Individual and Community*, 46. Nixon and Price, 'The Size and Resources of Greek Cities', in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford, 1990), 137, stress the variation in the size and resources of *poleis* masked by these types of figures, but they serve to make us aware of the possibilities in central Italy.

⁵⁴ Cato fr. 49 Peter: *Ameria . . . Cato ante Persei bellum conditam annis DCCC-CLXIII prodit*. This war took place in 171–167 BC.

⁵⁵ Sources: Chassignet, *Caton*, pp. xxvii–xxviii. Paulus-Festus 19L: *Ameria urbs in Umbria ab Amiro sic appellata*.

⁵⁶ *CIL* xi. 4170 = *ILS* 157: *Saluti perpetuae Augustae | libertatique publicae | populi Romani | Genio municipi anno post | Interamnam conditam | DCCIII ad Cn. Domitium | Ahenobarbum . . . | . . . cos. | Providentiae Ti. Caesaris Augusti nati ad aeternitatem | Romani nominis, sublato hoste perniciosissimo p.R., | Faustus Titius Liberalis VI vir Aug. iter. | p.s.f.c. (AD 32)*. It should not be connected with the amphitheatre, according to G. L. Gregori, 'Amphitheatralia I', *MEFRA* 96 (1984), 961–85.

fact that there was probably a substantial influx of Latin and Roman settlers in the third century.⁵⁷ Furthermore it seems possible to connect the early attestation in Umbrian inscriptions of the names of four communities, Nuceria, Plestia, Tadinum, and Iguvium, to the presence of pre-conquest cemeteries on these sites. We also have evidence for the communal names of Iguvium and Tuder in the third century BC from coinage (Ve 238), and of other sites from the Livian narrative of the conquest. Thus the archaeological evidence for the presence of a community on a particular site for several centuries before the Roman conquest is often paralleled by evidence for a common name and a communal sense of history.

(b) Economic and geographical considerations

The placement of these early traces of settlement within the landscape helps to explain what economic and geographical priorities might be at work (see Map 1). Most centres arose around the great valleys and basins in Umbria south-west of the Appennine watershed, such as the Tiber valley, the Conca Ternana between Narnia and Interamna Nahars, the Valle Umbra running from Arna and Perugia to Spolegium, and the Gubbio basin around Iguvium. These settlements shared certain geographical features. Virtually all were situated below the 500 metre contour mark, usually on the boundary between rich agricultural plains and the higher ground that provides forestry resources and pasturage. The mountain uplands are an ever-present feature of the Umbrian landscape, and all settlements were near enough to benefit from them. The most common location for settlement sites was on the steep and defensible spurs of the larger mountains rising over the lowland plains, such as Narnia above the Conca Ternana, and Hispellum looking across the Valle Umbra (see Pl. 2.1). But defence was not always an obvious priority in the siting of settlements, as Interamna Nahars, Fulginiae, and Mevania were positioned completely in the plain, even if the first two enjoyed reasonable protection from rivers. Much of the Conca Ternana and Valle Umbra was marshy in ancient times,

⁵⁷ For further discussion of the possible continuity of population at Interamna, see Ch. 3, s. 4.

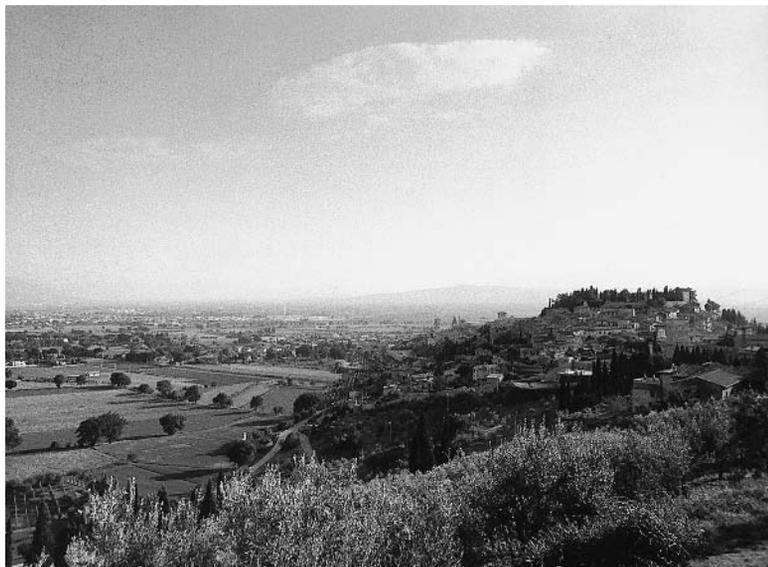


PLATE 2.1. View of Hispellum from the slopes of Monte Subasio, overlooking the Valle Umbra

and it was probably the Romans who were responsible for initiating schemes to improve their potential for agricultural use.⁵⁸ That these were not wholly successful is evident from ancient references to lakes in these basins. To what extent this hindered their exploitation in the period before the Roman conquest is uncertain. The clustering of early settlement in this region around these large basins and valleys must indicate that even in the Iron Age they were valued for their high-quality agricultural land, a point reinforced by the presence of towns such as Interamna Nahars in the low levels of the basins.

This and other evidence suggests that the Iron Age economy was based on a mix of agricultural and pastoral activities, rather than being predominantly pastoral, as some scholars have argued.⁵⁹ Tests on vegetational remains carried out as

⁵⁸ Fontaine, *Cités*, 27–8; see Ch. 3, s. 4.

⁵⁹ e.g. Fontaine, 'Entre le Tibre et l'Apennin: L'Organisation du territoire des Ombriens avant la conquête romaine', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 69/1 (1991), 164; Monacchi, 'Monte Subasio', 81.

part of a project surveying the territory of ancient Iguvium have suggested that the Iron Age was a period of substantial forest clearance. It is also worth noting that recent studies of Samnium have shown that, even in this upland region, farming was essentially mixed between agriculture and pastoralism before the Roman conquest.⁶⁰ In fact, although Samnium has some of the highest massifs of central Italy, it still contains substantial tracts of agricultural plain, as well as the cultivable slopes of the valleys leading down to the Adriatic. The major defeats inflicted on Roman armies by Samnite troops suggests that there was the agricultural base to put up heavily armed hoplite troops against the invaders; bronze representations of hoplite figures from the region probably illustrate the type of armour they wore. Nevertheless, for both regions, the ever present availability of large tracts of summer pasturage is likely to have led to the development of transhumance. This is the seasonal movement of grazing stock, especially sheep, between the high summer pastures in the Appennines and those lower areas suitable for winter pasturage. The need to control the summer pastures may explain why peoples such as the Umbrians and Sabines spread over both sides of the Appennine watershed.⁶¹ This implies that the great mountain ranges spread between ethnic groups were uniting factors as much as natural divisions, and so transhumance might partly explain why a sense of ethnicity formed.

Small-scale movements up and down the slopes of Umbrian mountains such as M. Subasio and M. Torre Maggiore must have taken place as long as there were grazing animals to feed. What is more difficult to ascertain is whether long-distance transhumance, for example between the Etruscan coastal plains and the mountain pastures of the Umbrian Appennines, could have predated the Roman conquest. Although these movements make the best possible advantage of the environmental variations in central Italy, they require several preconditions: long-distance movements presuppose a fairly specialized concentration on (above all) sheep rearing, which in turn would

⁶⁰ Dench, *Barbarians*, 111–25; Lloyd in Barker, *Mediterranean Valley*, ch. 9. Cf. Smith, *Early Rome*, 116–17, on Latium.

⁶¹ This has been suggested to me by Michael Crawford; cf. S. P. Oakley, review of Barker, *Mediterranean Valley*, *JRS* 87 (1997), 278, referring to a smaller area.

need an effective market system to dispose of the produce; and the pasturage would have to be available to those who needed it through some sort of communal ownership or leasing arrangement. In addition, to allow this free movement there would have to be at least an absence of hostility between the various areas through which the animals passed. The periods whose conditions best suited this form of activity seem to be the Roman imperial era and the early modern period, rather than prehistoric or 'protostoric' times, as has been established in studies of ancient pastoralism.⁶²

There was undoubtedly contact between the appropriate regions. As Bonomi Ponzi has pointed out, the discovery of Etruscan goods in Umbrian tombs provides evidence for links between lowland Etruria and the Appennine regions of Umbria.⁶³ For example, Etruscan bronzes from Volsinii and Vulci are found at Monteleone di Spoleto and Plestia. Although she takes this to be a sign that transhumance stimulated trade by creating well-trodden routes that could be used by commercial traffic, it is equally likely that commercial traffic used these routes at an earlier date than the long-distance migration of herds. The only basis for thinking that transhumance was the pioneering factor here is the assumption that pastoralism was the central basis for the economy of central Italy in the Iron Age, a notion that the recent research on Samnium has strongly challenged.

Access to agricultural land and to mountain resources are both key factors in the positioning of settlement in Umbria during the Iron Age. Settlement was also often located in close relation to long-distance routes of communication, which were strongly determined by the disposition of the Umbrian uplands.⁶⁴ The largest tract of mountainous area is formed by the main Appennine chain running from south-east to north-west, through the middle of this region. Most of the land here is over 500 metres high, with peaks reaching 1,000–1,500 metres. It forms a continuous block with the Appennine areas further south that run through modern Abruzzo and Molise.

⁶² See e.g. C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁶³ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 138.

⁶⁴ See Map 1. By 'uplands' I mean land higher than 500 m above sea level.



PLATE 2.2. An Appennine landscape near Iguvium

The Umbrian section of the Appennines between Fulginiae and Iguvium, although mountainous, is the one of the easiest to cross in central Italy. There are a number of low passes in this zone, for example the Bocca Serriola (730 metres), linking Tifernum Tiberinum in the upper Tiber valley to Urvinum Mataurense in the Metaurus valley; the Scheggia pass (575 metres), between Tadinum and Cales, used in the Roman period by the Via Flaminia; the pass near Plestia (821 metres) between Fulginiae in the Valle Umbra and Camerinum in the Chienti valley; and the Passo dei Fornaci (815 metres) between the Valnerina (ancient Nar) and the Chienti again, linking Interamna Nahars to Camerinum.⁶⁵ The important Via Flaminia route, which was almost certainly used before the creation of the road in 220 BC, was not the only itinerary to take advantage of these passes.⁶⁶ Umbria saw

⁶⁵ Proximity to the Scheggia pass was advantageous to Iguvium.

⁶⁶ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 138.

substantial trade between Etruria and Picenum and the Adriatic coast, using routes through Iguvium, Arna, and Asisium.⁶⁷

To the west of the route of the Spoletium branch of the Via Flaminia, in what is termed the sub-Appennine area, the mountain blocks are more isolated. Much of this area is made up of basins or rolling hills suitable for agricultural exploitation, but many of the massifs that bound and separate the basins are nevertheless substantial barriers. In the south-west, the Monti Amerini north of Ameria rise to 994 metres. Mountains of over a thousand metres ring the Conca Ternana. M. Acetella and M. Fiochi forced the Spoletium branch of the Via Flaminia to climb to 646 metres before entering the Valle Umbra. The Valle Umbra itself is surrounded by substantial peaks, including M. Subasio (1,290 metres) between Asisium and Hispellum, and M. Maggiore (1,428 metres) behind Trebiae, which provide a towering backdrop to the Valle Umbra. Communications routes largely skirted these massifs. Settlement tended to be situated where these routes cross each other or a river. Tuder, for instance, was positioned on a steep hill dominating the middle Tiber valley between Volsinii and Perugia. This was astride communications routes by both land and river running along the Tiber valley; other important routes crossed the Tiber at this point from Volsinii to the Umbrian hinterland.

(c) Hillfort systems

Cemeteries and buildings are not the only evidence of settlement dating to the Iron Age. There are also considerable numbers of hillforts, which have been identified by topographical study (the investigation of likely sites through the study of the landscape pattern, combined with observation on the ground) and aerial photography.⁶⁸ Dense concentrations are found in

⁶⁷ See L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Appunti sulla viabilità dell'Umbria antica', *BSCF* 9 (1985), 327-48; for trade through Arna from the Adriatic coast, see L. Rosi Bonci, 'Resta di klinai in bronzo da Arna', *Studi in onore di F. Magi: Nuovi Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Perugia*, 2 (1979), 181-99.

⁶⁸ Topographical study: M. Matteini Chiari, 'La ricognizione per un'ipotesi di definizione territoriale: Il territorio eugubino in età preromana', *AFLP* 17 (1979-80), 211-22; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 137-42; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey'. Aerial photography: G. Schmiedt, 'Contributo della foto-interpretazione alla conoscenza della rete stradale dell'Umbria nell'alto medioevo', in *Atti III convegno di Studi Umbri* (Gubbio, 1965), 177-210.

many mountainous areas of Umbria, including the territories of Iguvium, Plestia, Camerinum, and Ameria, as well as the Valnerina, the Monti Martani, and the massif of M. Torre Maggiore.⁶⁹ In terms of structure, hillforts are usually made up of a ditch (4–5 metres wide in examples around Plestia) and a bank of earth or stone (up to 4 metres high) around the highest points in the landscape (generally 600–1,200 metres, but most commonly 800–1,000 metres). The stone sometimes shows evidence of shaping so as to be fitted together rather than simply being piled up, but the action of weathering often makes such features indistinct. The area enclosed is usually restricted, although some of the largest circuits reach 1,300 metres in length.⁷⁰ This simple structure, and the lack of stratigraphic excavation, means that we are only able to date these hillforts through associated surface pottery and related cemeteries (discussed below).

In the regions in which they have been identified, the function of hillforts seems to have been predominantly defensive. They are usually sited in relation to lines of communication, often being placed in pairs on either side of a valley or other route. In addition, in most cases they are linked visually with each other. Oakley has argued that hillforts in Samnium were predominantly used as refuges rather than the more active controlling function commonly ascribed to them, and in Umbria it is likely that their function varied with the geographical possibilities. Hillforts might be only one part of the military ‘strategy’ of a population.⁷¹ The line of hillforts on the mountain ridge to the south-west of the plateau of Plestia looks like an attempt to protect territorial borders, which was facilitated

⁶⁹ See in general Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Dorsale appenninica’, 141, especially fig. 1; Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Gli Umbri’, 58 (Eng. trans. 70). For the territory of Iguvium see Matteini Chiani, ‘Territorio eugubino’, 211–22. For Plestia and Camerinum, see Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Topographic Survey’; L. Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Occupazione del territorio e modelli insediativi nel territorio plestino e camerte in età protostorica’, in *La civiltà picena nelle Marche: Studi in onore di Giovanni Annibaldi* (Ripatransone, 1992), 204–42. For M. Torre Maggiore see Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Territorio di Cesi’, 9–30, and ‘Monte Torre Maggiore e la montagna di Cesi nel quadro della storia del popolamento dell’Umbria centro-meridionale’, *Rassegna Economica*, 24/1 (1988), 15–28.

⁷⁰ For instance, M. Orve near Plestia: Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Topographic Survey’, 212.

⁷¹ S. P. Oakley, *The Hillforts of the Samnites* (Rome, 1995), 139–40, rejecting ‘unitary models’ of their role in favour of a more local organization.

by mountainous terrain.⁷² This area of plain is enclosed on almost all sides by mountains through which there are only narrow gaps for access, and these must have been the easiest points to control through armed forces. Such forces might use hillforts without being confined to them. In the sub-Appennine parts of Umbria, the terrain is much more open, with the major ranges generally isolated rather than interlocking, and these areas seem much less suited to such a system of control and defence.

The populations of the mountainous areas were certainly stable in their attachment to a territory, as they used particular cemeteries over long periods of time. Excavations at Monteleone di Spoleto and Plestia show that many hillforts have associated cemeteries at the base of the mountain they occupy. The presence of such cemeteries suggests that hillforts were permanently occupied centres, not just fortified places of refuge or temporary sites associated with the summer pastures used in transhumance. At Plestia, foundations of Iron Age huts have been found through archaeological investigation under the Roman city and as a result of agricultural work in several areas close by. These formed parts of villages which seem to have been abandoned in favour of the hillforts at the start of the sixth century BC.⁷³ Material indicating habitation is frequently found on the surface, such as the tiles and basic undecorated pottery common in sites in the territory of Plestia, and this correlates with the frequency of such traces in Samnite hillforts. Oakley believes that the latter were 'occupied for at least part of the year', and the same must be true of those in Umbria.⁷⁴

Most hillforts seem to have been organized in groups in which minor centres gravitated around a more complex central site. Judging by their cemeteries, and their positions,

⁷² Schmiedt, 'Contributo della foto-interpretazione alla conoscenza della rete stradale dell'Umbria nell'alto medioevo', 177-210, thinks this line may have the purpose of controlling transhumance movements from the Valle Umbra.

⁷³ *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 55; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Territorio plestino e camerte', 214. The earliest post-conquest buildings of Plestia yet found date from the 1st cent. BC: Bonomi Ponzi, 'La necropoli di Colfiorito di Foligno tra VI e IV sec. a.C.', in *La Romagna tra VI e IV sec. a.C. nel quadro della protostoria dell'Italia centrale* (Bologna, 1985), 280 n. 6.

⁷⁴ Oakley, *Hillforts*, 141-2; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 207, for Plestia.

M. Orve near Plestia and Colle del Capitano near Monteleone di Spoleto were probably the most important hillforts within their territorial areas.⁷⁵ Other, more minor, hillforts, such as M. di Franca and M. Trella around the plateau of Plestia, had correspondingly less rich cemeteries in the valley below, and seem to belong to a lower order within a sophisticated hierarchy. The Plestini had at least forty-eight forts in their territory.⁷⁶ The central hillforts within some systems are distinguished by the presence of buildings, and may have more than one circuit of walling, as at M. Orve. This particular site has some sort of building and artificial terracing of the area inside the fortification.⁷⁷ Another important hillfort is known at Col di Mori, about 3 kilometres north of Tadinum, on a mountain spur overlooking a sizeable upland plain which would later be crossed by the Via Flaminia. This site has traces of a fortified circuit, houses, and a small sanctuary building, which was used from the fifth century BC into the post-conquest period.⁷⁸ A cemetery discovered near the church of S. Facondino in the plain below contains graves dating from the fifth century BC to the late Republican period, and seems to correspond to the settlement above.

The complexity of these systems has some important implications for conventional views of the development of Italian societies. The presence of hillforts is usually taken as characteristic of a pre-urban system of *pagi* and *vici*. In Latin epigraphy *pagus* refers to local territorial divisions of the peoples of the central Appennines, and as such must be a Latinization of a variety of local institutions. *Vicus* is a standard term in late Republican Latin for a small nucleated settlement, and can denote villages within the larger administrative area of a *pagus*.⁷⁹ These terms have entered the Italian archaeological vocabulary as *paganico-vicano* (or its variants), and have been

⁷⁵ Matteini Chiari, 'Territorio eugubino', 219.

⁷⁶ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 212, and fig. 12.2.

⁷⁷ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Territorio plestino e camerte', 219.

⁷⁸ E. Stefani, 'Gualdo Tadino: Scoperte varie', *NSc* (1935), 155-73; E. Stefani, 'Gualdo Tadino: Scoperta di antichi sepolcri nella contrada S. Facondino', *NSc* (1955), 182-94; *Guida Laterza*, 172; Bonomi Ponzi and Manconi, in *EAA* 2nd suppl. 5, 880.

⁷⁹ M. W. Frederiksen, 'Changes in the Patterns of Settlement', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 343. This is further complicated by the new meaning, as a division of the territory of a town, that *pagus* adopted in the late Republic and early empire.

widely applied to societies in Italic-speaking areas assumed to be at a pre-urban stage of development.⁸⁰ The standard model of *pagus* and *vicus* settlement in the central Apennines is that proposed by La Regina, who sees it as functionally differentiated from city-based settlement.⁸¹ The archaeological records for this area show a pattern of settlement based around sanctuaries, hillforts, and villages (*vici*). These separate establishments performed a variety of functions for the inhabitants, functions which would be performed by a city in a more urbanized area.⁸² These might include:

- (i) residence;
- (ii) burial;
- (iii) protection from attack, using either fortifications or their naturally strong position;
- (iv) religious rituals;
- (v) commerce, through a market or a port, for example;
- (vi) political interaction and administration.

In this model, the number of different functions that must be performed depend on how sophisticated the state is, and increase as the state grows more complex. The central Apennine areas differed from the more urbanized Tyrrhenian coastal regions in that each community used a variety of different sites for different purposes, living in villages (*vici*) or hillforts, withdrawing to the latter for protection, and meeting at sanctuaries for religious and probably political activities.⁸³ La Regina also employed epigraphic evidence from the region to suggest that such areas were institutionally different from urbanized areas, with the *touto* (the Oscan word for the community) perhaps being equivalent to the whole ethnic group

⁸⁰ Frederiksen, 'Patterns of Settlement', 343; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 139. In general on Italian political organizations see Cristofani, 'Società e istituzioni'.

⁸¹ See La Regina, 'Note sulla formazione dei centri urbani', 191 ff.; 'Introduzione b. Dalle guerre sannitiche alla romanizzazione', in *Sannio: Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec. a. C.* (Rome, 1980), 29–42; on the territory around M. Vairano in Samnium, see *Abruzzo Molise: Guida archeologica Laterza* (Rome and Bari, 1984), 280.

⁸² A model discussed by R. Martin, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* (2nd edn., Paris, 1974), 30–47.

⁸³ The determinants of this type of settlement pattern must lie in historical as well as geographical factors; the extent of urbanization in Greece was affected by the preceding Mycenaean civilization (A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London, 1980), 44 and fig. 8; Morris, 'Early Polis').

(*nomen*), rather than a division of it. However, Letta has argued effectively that the Samnites and other central Appennine peoples were federated groups of small states rather than monolithic unitary states, thus making them closer to the organization of the city-state areas of Tyrrhenian Italy.⁸⁴

This model of settlement organization built up by La Regina can be applied usefully to different parts of Umbria in the first millennium BC. It enables us to recognize the varieties of state organization evident in ancient Italy, reminiscent of the *polis-ethnos* dichotomy in Greece, and also to appreciate how comparatively complicated states might operate without urban centres. The nature of the distinction between the two different models of settlement pattern in Italy and Greece is helpful in defining urbanization. In the lowland areas of Umbria, we can trace the development of urban societies through the gradual accumulation of functions on the sites of future *municipia*.⁸⁵

Nevertheless we do need to pose some questions about the use of this model, and explore some of the contrasts between Umbria and Samnium. First, there is the issue of terminology. As *pagus* and *vicus* are Latin and not Umbrian (or even Oscan) terms, their applicability to the archaeology of Umbria is debatable. Although *vicus* is attested on a number of occasions in the Latin epigraphy of Umbria, *pagus* is extremely rare.⁸⁶ This raises considerable doubt over the existence of

⁸⁴ C. Letta, 'Dall' "oppidum" al "nomen": I diversi livelli dell'aggregazione politica nel mondo osco-umbro', in L. Foresti, A. Barzanò, C. Bearzot, L. Prendi, and G. Zecchini (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica*, i. *Alle radici della casa comune europea* (Milan, 1994), 387-406.

⁸⁵ Other definitions of urbanism are possible (and legion), but the advantage of this theory is its simplicity and effective applicability to central Italy.

⁸⁶ The term *pagus* is attested at Cesi (C. Buettner, 'L'abitato umbro di Cesi e il santuario di S. Erasmo', *AFLP* 25 (1987-8), 55, perhaps relating to Carsulae); Degrassi identified a *tr(ibunus)* (*CIL* i. (2nd edn.). 2106 = *ILLRP* 668) from the territory of Spolegium, whom he thought was a magistrate of a *pagus* or *vicus* (*ILLRP* 2, p. 117), but S. Panciera, 'Ioudices', in V. Casale, F. Coarelli, and B. Toscano (eds.), *Scritti di archeologia e storia dell'arte in onore di Carlo Pietrangeli: Studi dell'accademia Spoletina* (Rome, 1995), 53-6, posits *Tr(ebiae)* here. *Vicus* is attested at Cales (*Antonine Itinerary*, p. 125), Camerinum (*CIL* xi. 5632), Fanum Fortunae (*CIL* xi. 6224, 6237), Pisaurum (*CIL* xi. 6362, 6378), Sestinum (*CIL* xi. 6013), and *vicus Martius Tudertium* (*CIL* xi. 4744, 4748, 4751), collected in B. Galsterer-Kroell, '*CIL*, XI: Index geographicus: provinciae, civitates, pagi, vici', *Epigraphica*, 37 (1975), 224-52. Note that one possible interpretation of an Umbrian inscription from Tifernum Tiberinum includes the word *vicus* (see Appendix 2).

pagi in the region before the Roman conquest. In fact, there is far more inscriptional evidence for these terms amongst the peoples of the central Apennines than amongst those of Umbria, Etruria, and Picenum.⁸⁷ It is also important that the settlement pattern based around hillforts and rural sanctuaries can only be documented in Samnium from the fourth century onwards, a period considerably later than in Umbria, where such systems exist from the sixth century.

Another consideration is that the division between the models of city-state and hillfort systems is much less sharp in practice than theory. In fact, rather than falling into two clearly defined types, ancient states varied across a spectrum. This ranged from independent city-states to federations of small towns (each with their own territories), to diffuse settlement with centres no larger than villages. These organizations might vary over time, as individual city-states developed within 'territorial' states, and cities came together to form a league or federation. The difference between states at either end of the spectrum might also be less than we would predict. Even in the context of the urbanized areas of Tyrrhenian Italy, ancient cities were rarely the exclusive providers within their territories of the services described above. Rural sanctuaries, for instance, were a vital component of religious life in Latium and Etruria as well as in Samnium.

In fact, regions of Italy previously considered to exemplify the functionally separated model have provided increasing evidence of urbanization, especially in the two centuries between the conquest of Italy and the Social War.⁸⁸ This ties in with a wider trend in which the hillforts attested in various ancient European societies have in recent years tended to be seen as urban, or at least symptomatic of complex societies. This is the result both of better archaeological investigation and of a growing dissatisfaction amongst archaeologists with the Graeco-Roman ideal of the city as an index of urbanism.⁸⁹ John Lloyd, for instance, argued that Samnite hillforts such

⁸⁷ Coarelli, 'Romanización', 60 stresses the difference between the *pagi* and *vici* of the Marsi, and the proto-urban settlements of Umbria.

⁸⁸ Lloyd in Barker, *Mediterranean Valley*, 207-12.

⁸⁹ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 106-7, for this trend concerning Gaul.

as M. Vairano and M. Pallano fulfilled many of the functions performed by the better known urban centres of Tyrrhenian Italy.⁹⁰ These hillforts often show traces of habitation and commercial activities. In studies of the late Iron Age in Gaul there has been considerable debate about the extent to which the small *oppida* (fortified centres) of the south and the rather larger *oppida* of the north such as Mount Beuvray can be considered urban.⁹¹ Recent studies of the situation in Umbria have suggested that the hillforts at M. Orve and Col di Mori exhibit evidence of 'proto-urban' organization in the fifth century BC.⁹² Such sites were certainly no less organized than the equivalent lowland settlements of the time, and few lowland polities have equivalent evidence for stable populations, building and fortifications in the fifth century BC. Many settlements that later became cities are on very similar types of sites to Col di Mori, defensible hills overlooking agricultural plains. In fact Torelli has suggested that cities such as Spolegium, Trebiae, Hispellum, and Asisium were tightly packed around the Valle Umbra precisely because they originated as *oppida*, by which he means presumably small defensive strong points.⁹³ The fortification system of Roman Ameria may actually preserve traces of a small walled circuit that predated the growth of the city (discussed below).

There has been a tendency in studies of the Italian Iron Age to see mountain areas as more backward than the lowlands, yet the sophistication of the archaeological remains in upland areas of Umbria already in the sixth and fifth centuries BC deserves to be appreciated. To some extent the complexity of settlement patterns in the mountains may have been better preserved than in the lowlands, as the population has been much

⁹⁰ Lloyd in Barker, *Mediterranean Valley*, 190, 208–9; see also J. A. Lloyd and A. Faustoferri, 'Monte Pallano: A Samnite Fortified Centre and its Hinterland', *JRA* 11 (1998), 5–22.

⁹¹ See J. Collis, *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield, 1984) for an optimistic view, and Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 106–12, for a more negative assessment.

⁹² Bonomi Ponzi, 'Territorio plestino e camerte', 219; Bonomi Ponzi and Manconi, in *EAA* 2nd suppl. 5, 880.

⁹³ P. Gros and M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il mondo romano* (Rome and Bari, 1988), 51: 'In alcuni casi, come quello testé citato dell'Umbria al pari di quello di Piceno, si direbbe quasi che lo sviluppo urbano abbia riprodotto senza mutamenti un'occupazione protostorica o arcaica per *oppida*.'

smaller and consequently there has been less building work.⁹⁴ However, the cemetery at Plestia—examined in section 4(a)—provides important support for the evidence of the settlement pattern, allowing us a glimpse of the acquisitive, ranked society that created the hillforts. Such societies are best interpreted, like the communities on the future city sites in the lowlands, as emerging states with their own identities.⁹⁵ In this respect they are similar to the lowland communities, but not identical. The extensive use of hillforts was more characteristic of upland societies, if only because the geographical context offered them positions far more suitable for setting them up. It is worth noting that only one hillfort in the sub-Appennine zones (M. Ansciano near Iguvium) has been fully excavated and published.⁹⁶ The results show that it was inhabited in the Bronze Age but then abandoned around 950 BC, when the ‘whole population collected on the slopes below the mountains of M. Ingino and M. Ansciano’ around the site of Iguvium.⁹⁷ It is doubtful, therefore, that the type of territorial settlement apparent at Plestia in the sixth century BC was ever representative of the lowlands.

Thus in comparison with the settlements of the lowlands, the hillfort societies of Plestia, Monteleone di Spoleto, and elsewhere can be seen as parallel adaptations to the different environment of the uplands. They were the product of the particular circumstances of the late Iron Age, when trade across the Italian peninsula through the mountains was very active, and these societies could exploit this movement for their own benefit. It seems less useful to see them as pre-urban systems, typical of a more primitive society than city-states, as they were probably a product of connections between the cities of Etruria and the peoples of Picenum, and the urbanization processes that at least the former were undergoing. This ties in with my earlier argument that the *polis* system (whether in Greece or Italy), for which we have evidence at a much

⁹⁴ This is even more true today, as the area of ancient Plestia suffered extremely badly in the earthquake of Sept. 1997.

⁹⁵ For a similar judgement, see Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Topographic Survey’, 213.

⁹⁶ *Territory, Time and State*, chs. 4 and 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 113. The mountain tops seem to have been reoccupied for cult purposes in the 6th to 3rd cents. BC.

earlier date, should probably be seen as contemporaneous to the 'territorial' state (or tribe) rather than as its natural successor.

(d) Cult sites and religious practices in the Iron Age

Another important feature of the Iron Age settlement pattern is the appearance of myriad places across the region showing evidence of ritual activity from the sixth and fifth centuries BC.⁹⁸ Studies of the development of social complexity in areas of the eastern Mediterranean have highlighted the importance of ritual activity for its role in social and political definition, and in consequence I want to pay special attention to the interpretation of this material.⁹⁹ Recent archaeological work has considerably added to our knowledge of sanctuaries in Umbria, with the publication of excavations at M. Ansciano, Grotta Bella, M. Acuto, and Ancarano di Norcia.¹⁰⁰ It should be noted, however, that the stratigraphy at all of these sites had been damaged by the activity of 'clandestini' (particularly at Ancarano, which has been known since the nineteenth century), and that in general the majority of the votive material from the region has been dispersed following unofficial excavations, and so is without provenance.

Most sanctuaries are known only from the presence of votive offerings rather than the remains of any built structure, but where it has been possible to undertake excavation, the sites of archaic sanctuaries have all proved to be simply constructed, with little architectural elaboration.¹⁰¹ The most basic type of structure seems to have been a platform, such as the dry-stone example recently excavated on the peak of M. Ansciano behind Iguvium. This may have had some type of wooden superstructure, given the copious amount of nails

⁹⁸ I have dealt with this subject in more detail in 'Archaic Sanctuaries in Umbria', *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz*, 8 (1997), 111–29.

⁹⁹ e.g. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 33, 52–65; de Polignac, *Naissance de la cité grecque*; Cherry, 'Polities and Palaces', 19–45; S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994).

¹⁰⁰ The last two sites are technically outside the Augustan region of Umbria.

¹⁰¹ The only recently excavated site that contained votive material but no accompanying structure was Grotta Bella (near Ameria), where the natural cave setting seems to have rendered any building work superfluous.

found at the site.¹⁰² Other sites, such as M. Acuto (perhaps in Perusine territory) and Col di Mori (near Tadinum) had small cult buildings. These may have been covered with the same kinds of architectural terracottas and tiles as the *sacellum* found not far away at Pasticcetto di Magione, near Lake Trasimene (an Etruscan area).¹⁰³ There often seems to have been some sort of bank or ditch around the sacred area, as at M. Acuto, or Colle San Rufino near Asisium, although it is not altogether clear whether these were there essentially to provide defensive protection. Many sites were clearly related to the landscape, occupying mountain peaks as high as M. Catria (1,701 metres), the shores of lakes such as that at Plestia, or caves like Grotta Bella.¹⁰⁴ Some sites had already been frequented in the Bronze Age, and the cult practices of the archaic period from the late sixth to early fourth century may have developed out of earlier traditions.¹⁰⁵

It is commonly accepted that the dispersed, usually rural, positions and the simple structures of these sanctuaries are characteristic of a *pagano-vicano* type of settlement.¹⁰⁶ This type of settlement is taken to be a feature of all Appennine areas

¹⁰² *Territory, Time and State*, 145: however, no post holes were identified in the excavated sections.

¹⁰³ P. Bruschetti, 'Il santuario di Pasticcetto di Magione e i votivi in bronzo', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 113–23; P. Bruschetti, 'Terrecotte architettoniche da un santuario sul lago Trasimeno', in *La coroplastica templare etrusca fra il IV e il II secolo a. C.: Atti del XVI convegno di studi etruschi e italici* (Florence, 1992), 319–23. Cenciaglioli, 'Santuario di altura', 200, notes tile fragments at M. Acuto.

¹⁰⁴ M. Catria: A. Vernarecci, *NSc* (1901), 416–17. Other peak sanctuaries include M. Pennino (Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Il territorio nocerino tra protostoria e altomedioevo*, 32), M. Maggiore (Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Spoletto: Da villaggio a città*, 1), M. Ansciano, M. Ingino (*Territory, Time and State*, ch. 5), M. Acuto (L. Cenciaglioli, 'Il santuario di Monte Acuto di Umbertide', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 211–26), and Colle San Rufino (Monacchi, 'Monte Subasio'). Plestia: L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Cultura e società del territorio plestino in età protostorica', in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 54–5; Feruglio in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 85–8; Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze'. Grotta Bella: Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'.

¹⁰⁵ Sites with Bronze Age material include the Rocca of Spoleto (M. C. De Angelis and D. Manconi, 'I ritrovamenti archeologici sul Colle S. Elia', in *La Rocca di Spoleto: Studi per la storia e la rinascita* (Spoleto, 1983), 19), Grotta Bella (Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 76), M. Acuto (Cenciaglioli, 'Santuario di altura', 198), and M. Ansciano (*Territory, Time and State*, ch. 4). Sisani, in *Ostraka* (1997), 196–7, plausibly interprets M. Ingino (seen as a seasonal transhumance station in *Territory, Time and State*, ch. 4) as a Bronze Age cult site on the basis of the exceptional quantity and type of faunal remains.

¹⁰⁶ For the meaning of this term, see s. 3(c) above.

in central Italy, from Etruria in the north to Samnium in the south. According to La Regina and others, in the Appennines sanctuaries provided political and economic centres in the absence of urban agglomerations. Colonna has also seen the sanctuaries of the Etruscan Appennines in this light, arguing that the type of territorial settlement accompanying such rural sanctuaries was 'anteriore, geneticamente e storicamente, alla città'. He points out that the evidence of votive deposits appears before that of architectural terracottas from temples within city sites in northern and Appennine Etruria, and this is also largely the case in Umbria.¹⁰⁷

It is certainly reasonable to assume that many of the sanctuaries in this region were used for more than simply 'religious' functions, given that this is so common for cult sites in the ancient world: we need only think of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the fairs that took place at the *Lucus Feroniae* north of Rome (3. 32. 1), or of the political function that great sanctuaries such as Pietrabbondante may have performed for the peoples of the central Appennines.¹⁰⁸ There is no real written or archaeological evidence to confirm this as a feature of early Umbrian society, but the idea receives some support from the association of fairs with such sites in the early modern period, which could stem from antiquity. However, we have seen that the relevance of the concept of *pagus* to archaic Umbria is unsubstantiated by ancient evidence, and we must also be aware of the potential diversity of settlement systems across the varied terrain of the region. It was stressed above that hillforts were probably not numerous enough in the lowlands to form a central part of the settlement system, yet lowland and upland zones were similar in terms of sophistication. Individual overall explanations that see territorial systems as the precursors of city-states in evolutionary terms tend to downplay both the considerable complexity of the uplands, and the role of the environment in determining diverse types of settlement. So the close link between a certain type of sanctuary that appears in the archaic

¹⁰⁷ G. Colonna, 'I santuari dell'Etruria settentrionale e appenninica', in *Santuari d'Etruria* (Milan, 1985), 160.

¹⁰⁸ Tagliamonte, *I Sanniti*, 201.



PLATE 2.3. Bronze plaque with dedicatory inscription to Cupra, from the sanctuary at Plestia (Colfiorito di Foligno). Fourth century BC

period and a *pagano-vicano* settlement pattern is too simplistic. There is a reasonably good fit with the sanctuary in the middle of the Plestine plateau, where a dedication to Cupra was found (Po 2: Pl. 2.3).¹⁰⁹ But sanctuaries like this in the high Appennine zones were, to the limited extent of our knowledge, little different in nature to those in the lowlands in the archaic period. Very similar votive deposits have been found on hills or in less obvious positions within or close to lowland settlement sites: these include the Rocca at Spolegium, Monte Santo at Tuder, Interamna Nahars, Ameria, Vettona (where the sanctuary was near to the cemetery), and possibly Asisium.¹¹⁰ Notwithstanding their form, these ritual sites are often taken, legitimately in my view, as a sign of the 'proto-urban' development of these centres.

¹⁰⁹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 201–38.

¹¹⁰ Spolegium: G. Sordini, 'Spoleto: Avanzi della primitiva cinta urbana, con porta e torre, recentemente scoperti', *NSc* (1903), 186–98; *Spoleto: Il colle della Rocca*, 46–8. Tuder: Roncalli, *Il 'Marte' di Todi*, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, ii/2 (Rome, 1973); *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 64. Interamna: P. Renzi, in V. Pirro (ed.), *Interamna Nahartium: Materiali per il Museo Archeologico di Terni* (Arrone, 1997), 82. Ameria: G. Erolì, *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1860), 118–21, (1864), 56–9, (1867), 169–72; Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella' 81, 84 n. 47. Vettona: Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, iii (unclassifiable series), on votive deposit; see also M. Scarpignato, 'Bronzi votivi da Bettona', *AFLP* 23 (1985–6), 241–57; *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 124–33. Asisium: M. A. Tomei, 'Lo scavo di via Arco dei Priori ad Assisi', in *Les 'Bourgeoisies' Municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris and Naples, 1983), 393–5.



PLATE 2.4. Remains of the sanctuary on Monte San Pancrazio near Oriculum

In some circumstances, peak sanctuaries seem to have been closely linked with lowland settlements. The most obvious case is that of M. Ansciano, where there is a sanctuary on one of the peaks rising above Iguvium. The Iguvine Tables lay great stress on the *ocar fis-* (the Fisian Mount), which is closely identified with the Iguvine community. If this mount is indeed a peak sanctuary, it suggests that this type of cult site in the vicinity of a settlement centre could play an integral part in the rituals of the community as a whole. Another peak sanctuary, on a spur of M. Subasio known as Colle San Rufino, appears to be very closely linked to Asisium. Two of the great mountain-top sanctuaries around the Conca Ternana, on M. San Pancrazio and on M. Torre Maggiore (see Pls. 2.4 and 4.1), could also be closely bound with settlements in the plain below, in this case Oriculum and Interamna Nahars.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ For M. San Pancrazio see R. Paribeni, in *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara* (1937), 359–63; Ciotti, ‘Nuove conoscenze’, 110–11; for M. Torre Maggiore, see Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Monte Torre Maggiore’ and ‘Territorio di Cesi’.

There is an interesting parallel here with the situation in Greece, where scholars like de Polignac have emphasized the role of rural sanctuaries in staking the claim of a community to its territory, binding the land to the city, and indeed in forming a community identity in the first place.¹¹² In Greece, it seems that rural sanctuaries were far from being symbolic of a pre-state society, but were rather an integral part of the *polis*. We should therefore be very cautious in seeing rural sanctuaries in Umbria as a sign of pre-civic organization.

It does seem to be a distinctive characteristic of the archaic sanctuaries found throughout Umbria that they were mainly used by local populations. The large number of minor sites and the predominance of local products in votive deposits strongly suggest that sanctuaries were closely related to particular communities.¹¹³ A similar situation existed in the Etruscan Appennines, where Colonna has suggested that the dispersal of sites is the result of their control by individual families. He pointed to the dominance of gentilicial names in the epigraphy of certain sanctuaries and the use of gentilicial names as the epithets of the 'resident' deity.¹¹⁴ There is very little comparable evidence of inscribed votives from Umbria, but what there is gives a strikingly different picture: both the epithet of the deity at Plestia and that of a cult site at Sestinum relate to the name of the whole community, rather than individual families.¹¹⁵ Although there is mention of (what might be) some sort of related family groups in the rituals of the Iguvine Tables (for example, the *Clavernii* and *Casilas* of *Vb*), the overall impression is very much that the whole community was involved in the rituals, and that the ceremonies were not under the control of one particular kinship association. The logical conclusion would seem to be that the use of local sanctuaries did indeed play a very important part in the creation of community identities, and that there may be a close link between the plethora of Umbrian cult sites in the archaic

¹¹² De Polignac, *La Naissance de la cité grecque*.

¹¹³ However, Richardson, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 195, uses the contents of the deposit at Cagli to demonstrate that it was obviously permissible to dedicate other votives apart from the products of the local workshop.

¹¹⁴ Colonna, 'I santuari dell'Etruria settentrionale e appenninica', 160.

¹¹⁵ Po 2; Rix, *SE* (1981), 351-3. See Appendix 2.

period and the large number of separate communities that are apparent later in the Roman period.

The vast majority of the votive material at Umbrian cult sites is made up of small bronzes. These usually took the form of small votive statuettes.¹¹⁶ Most are under 10 centimetres in height, and extremely schematic in form (see fig. 2.1), but there were larger schematic bronzes with elaborate decoration, usually 10 to 30 centimetres high (fig. 2.2). The most common types are schematic figures with outstretched arms, perhaps representing figures in the act of 'worship'.¹¹⁷ More distinctive figurines usually represent warriors, but there are also lesser numbers of figures identified as 'Herculeses', walking figures, 'dancers', and 'offerants'; besides these, simple representations of parts of the body (usually limbs) are found, as well as animals, including pigs, oxen, goats, and sheep. All these types were produced by simple processes of casting and filing, or in the case of sheet bronzes, cutting, in local workshops across Umbria and neighbouring areas of the Appennines. Virtually all were made of bronze, using metal ore either from sites in the Umbrian Appennines, or from the well-known sources in western Etruria.¹¹⁸ Most of the more distinctive forms are thought to have been derived from earlier Etruscan types, but the development of their geometric shapes were a particular artistic feature of these workshops (Pl. 2.5).¹¹⁹ The finest votive pieces were produced outside the region, probably in Etruria, and consist of near life-size bronze statues, such as the head of a young warrior from Cagli,

¹¹⁶ See Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*. He has categorized the votives into groups according to their stylistic affinities, and labelled the groups with one of their constituent find sites, even if this is not always their likely place of manufacture (e.g. the 'Esquiline' group was probably produced in southern Umbria). See also E. Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes: Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983) and 'Bronzes from Umbria', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 193-7. The dating of these pieces is discussed in Ch. 4, s. 4.

¹¹⁷ They include figures presumed male because of the projections representing their sexual organs, and figures presumed to be female which lack the projecting sex organs and have long clothing of some sort.

¹¹⁸ On this area as the source of metal in the Bronze Age see *Territory, Time and State*, 137; the variety of metalworking products in bronze from this earlier era found by the Gubbio Project (illustrated pp. 134-9) provides an important backdrop to the production of the archaic period.

¹¹⁹ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, 23-4; E. Richardson, 'Bronzes from Umbria', 193-7.

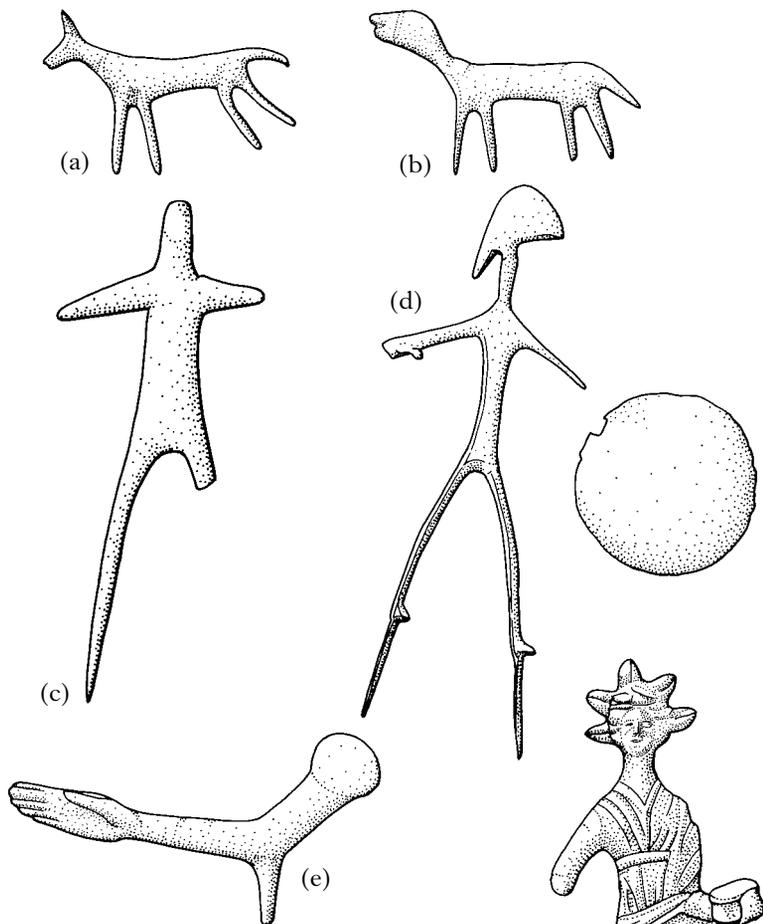


FIG. 2.1. Bronze votives (not to scale)

- (a) Representation of a bovine animal from Grotta Bella
- (b) Representation of an ovine animal from Grotta Bella
- (c) Schematic anthropomorphic bronze of the Esquiline group from Monte Torre Maggiore, late sixth–fourth century BC (approx. 4.5 cm high)
- (d) Warrior, late sixth–fourth century BC, from Grotta Bella
- (e) Anatomical votive representing an arm; chance find from Pasticcetto di Magione (6 cm long)
- (f) Female worshipper or priestess wearing radiate crown, from the territory of Tuder, third–second century BC (10 cm high)

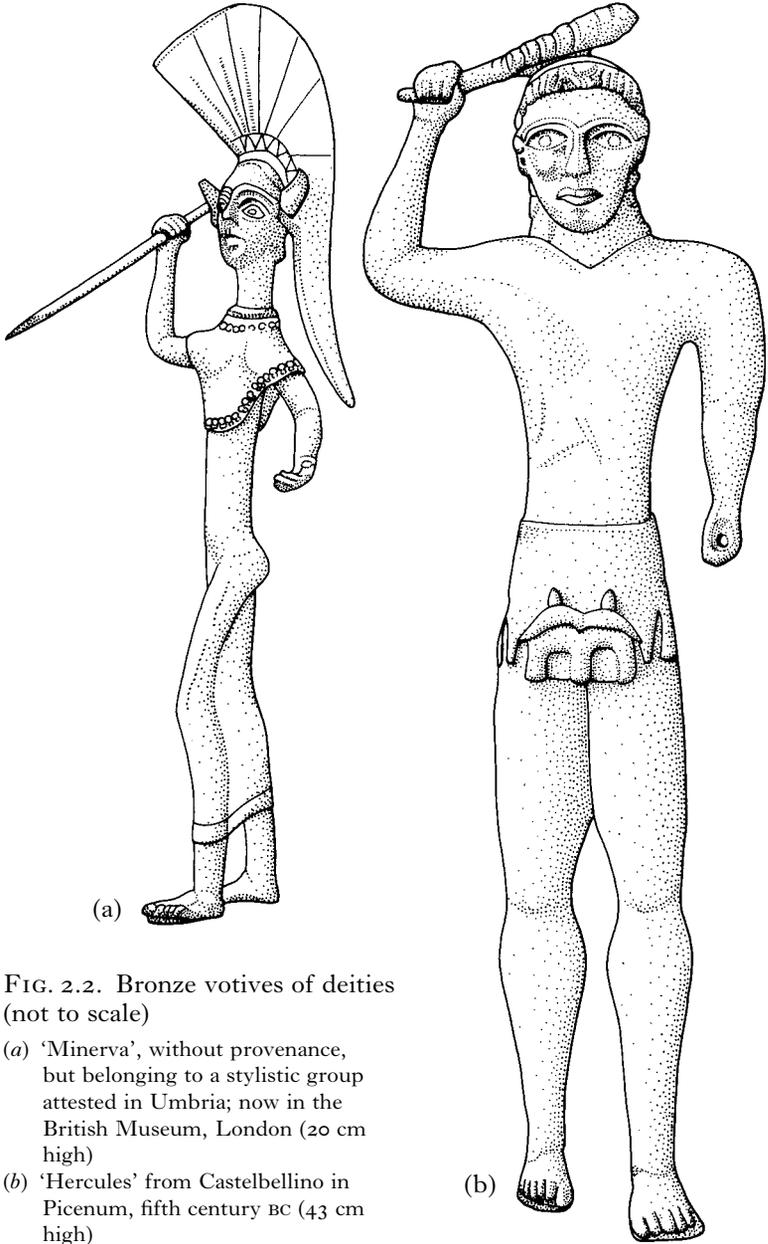


FIG. 2.2. Bronze votives of deities
(not to scale)

- (a) 'Minerva', without provenance, but belonging to a stylistic group attested in Umbria; now in the British Museum, London (20 cm high)
- (b) 'Hercules' from Castelbellino in Picenum, fifth century BC (43 cm high)



PLATE 2.5. Bronze statuette of a warrior, 26 cm high, from Monte San Pancrazio, perhaps fifth century BC

and the famous classical warrior from Monte Santo outside Tuder, known as the Mars of Todi.¹²⁰ An Umbrian inscription on this statue records, extraordinarily, its dedication by

¹²⁰ Cagli: *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, no. 7.11.

a man whose name suggests that he, or his ancestors, were Celtic in origin, reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of Tuder in the archaic period.¹²¹

Most of the figurines found in excavations were made up of schematic types, rather than the more elaborate local or imported examples. In the remains of the votive deposit at Grotta Bella, for instance, all but one of the 281 bronze figurines were of the simplest 'Esquiline group'.¹²² Similar proportions were found at M. Ansciano, where of the sixty-five figurines scattered across the platform, all but three were of schematic type, and these were of the barely more sophisticated 'Foligno' and 'Nocera Umbra' groups.¹²³ The huge quantities of the simplest figurines (1,800 were found at M. Acuto) must mean that significant numbers of people, probably from outside the social élite, used these sanctuaries.¹²⁴ Clearly there is a danger of underestimating the average level of wealth of the dedicators from the excavation results, given that all the sites had already been disturbed by clandestine excavators. The larger figurines are much less likely to have been lost in antiquity, or ignored by modern 'clandestini', and so very few examples, such as the warrior from M. San Pancrazio (Pl. 2.5), have been found archaeologically. The magnificent statue of the Mars of Todi only survived because it was carefully buried in antiquity and remained undisturbed until 1835. So it is certain that the Umbrian élite, for whom the better quality local examples were surely produced, must also have been active in these sanctuaries, which seem to reflect the full gamut of archaic Umbrian society.

Although we do not know for sure what form the structures within sanctuary sites took, it is clear from the sharp points on the lower surfaces of the votives themselves that they were designed for display, probably by being fixed onto a wooden surface. They may have been placed in a pit as a votive deposit, which is how we often find them, only when there

¹²¹ Ve 230; Roncalli, *Il 'Marte' di Todi; Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 64; M. Torelli, 'La società della frontiera', in *Todi: Verso un museo della città* (Todi, 1982), 55 ff. For the text of the inscription see Appendix 2.

¹²² Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'.

¹²³ *Territory, Time and State*, 145–52.

¹²⁴ Cf. P. Bruschetti in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 114.

were too many of them to have been exhibited within the sanctuary building. If we envisage the great array of bronze figurines that must have decorated every Umbrian sanctuary,¹²⁵ we may be able to explain the sudden proliferation of bronze votives at religious sites across the region from the late sixth century BC onwards, which marked a dramatic change from the sparse evidence of ritual practices in the Bronze Age and first three centuries of the Iron Age.¹²⁶ It seems likely that this striking pattern is the result of a large proportion of individuals within Umbrian society, and perhaps even whole communities, becoming drawn into some sort of competitive display within the context of sanctuaries.¹²⁷

Other types of votive material are also found in sanctuary sites, but in far smaller quantities than the ubiquitous bronze figurines. There are often considerable amounts of unworked bronze, which is sometimes marked with signs that probably pertain to its value.¹²⁸ Pottery was also dedicated in Umbrian sanctuaries, and at M. Ansciano seems to have included fictile representations of human faces.¹²⁹ Some fragments of Attic vases were recorded at the sanctuary of Plestia, but even allowing for the possible under-reporting of ceramic material, the general prevalence of locally produced figurines over other types of objects must be indicative of cultural preferences in

¹²⁵ Compare Pliny, *Ep.* 8. 8 (early 2nd cent. AD), on the sanctuary at the source of the Clitumnus river: 'You can study the numerous inscriptions in honour of the spring and the god which many hands have written on every pillar and wall'. For discussion of this sanctuary see Ch. 5, s. 7.

¹²⁶ Bronze Age sites are noted above. Two bronze fibulae from M. Ansciano date to the 9th/8th cent. and the 6th cent. BC respectively (*Territory, Time and State*, 145). For Iron Age burial ritual, see the next section.

¹²⁷ Monacchi ('Grotta Bella', 96) notes the intrinsic value of the metal in the votive figurines and in an unworked state left in Umbrian cult sites. We might compare the extraordinary elongation of some Etruscan votive statuettes, such as the so-called 'Ombra della Sera' from Volaterra, which may have been designed to make them stand out among a mass of other offerings. The comparative rarity of epigraphy on votives recording the name of the donor in Umbria must be set against the slow development of an epigraphic culture in this region, which begins only with the Mars of Todi.

¹²⁸ 40 kg were found at Ancarano di Norcia: see Schippa, 'Il deposito votivo di Ancarano di Norcia', 206; see also G. Erolì in *Bull. Inst.* (1864), 56-9 for Ameria. Two pieces excavated at Grotta Bella were marked with a lunar crescent and a star, but this material cannot be dated with any certainty.

¹²⁹ *Territory, Time and State*, 145.

this period.¹³⁰ The local styles of figurines were almost certainly produced in response to this preference, which means that their forms may have some ideological significance for the dedicators. The preponderance of bronze figurines is not confined to Umbrian sanctuaries in the archaic period, but is characteristic of a whole swathe of central Italy, generally to the east of the Tyrrhenian coastal districts.¹³¹ Of all the Italic regions, the production of bronze votives is probably most developed in Umbria, and yet this tradition ends completely here after the fourth century, while in areas such as Samnium the custom continues.¹³²

This archaeological testimony of cult sites and votive material is a vital source of information for any picture of Umbrian religion. The representations of animals and of warrior figures are usually taken to be a sign of the interest of this society in stock-raising and warfare.¹³³ Some of the figurines are likely to represent the users of the cult site, others clearly portray deities. Hercules is the god most easily recognizable, but Mars and Minerva are probably also represented by some male and female warrior figures (Pl. 2.5; figs. 2.2(a), (b)). Well-documented Italian sanctuaries, however, show how notoriously difficult it is to identify the incumbent deities on the basis of the ex-votos found there.¹³⁴ In fact, just as it is simplistic to take this material as a simple sign of the poverty or primitive level of Umbrian communities, so we should also take into account other evidence for the complexity of religious life.

The issues are put into sharp focus by a comparison of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for Iguvium. The Iguvine Tables were engraved only from the third or early second century BC onwards, but they imply the existence of documents of greater antiquity. It is, for instance, thought that Table I in Umbrian script and Tables VI and VII in Latin

¹³⁰ L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Colfiorito', in *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche* (Pisa and Rome, 1987), 373, notes red and black figure pottery.

¹³¹ A. Comella, 'Complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio e tardo repubblicana', *MEFRA* 92 (1981), 717–803.

¹³² This is discussed further in Ch. 4, s. 4.

¹³³ e.g. Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 80–1.

¹³⁴ D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, in *Latomus* (1961), 473–5; Comella, 'Complessi votivi'.

script derive from an earlier archetype, because, while they deal with the same subjects, the Tables inscribed at a later date (VI and VII) have more detail, some distinctively archaic word forms, and omit some phrases present in I.¹³⁵ In fact the religious system they describe shows very little sign of Roman influence, and is likely in much of its substance to go back to the conceptual world of at least the fourth and early third century BC.¹³⁶ The Tables reveal a complex ritual universe entirely unapparent from the archaeological remains of the local peak sanctuaries,¹³⁷ which were also used by the community before the Roman conquest.

The Tables document the procedures for a series of rituals, centring around the sacrifice of animals with numerous supplementary offerings.¹³⁸ The texts detail many things to be used in rituals, such as the parts of sacrificial victims, wine, *poni* (perhaps a paste like Roman *mola salsa*), and a variety of offering cakes. The exact translation of much of this technical vocabulary is obscure, and the details of many ceremonies are unclear.¹³⁹ Most commentators agree, however, that the rituals also involved the taking of auspices by observing the flights of birds,¹⁴⁰ the reciting of invocations, and processions of the citizens of Iguvium. These rituals were to be carried out for the benefit of the community, and in association with the Atiedian Brothers, who seem to be a religious confraternity within the town.

The two main public rituals are the purification of the **ukar**/ocar (Ia–Ib. 9; VIa. 1–VIb. 47), perhaps equivalent to the Latin *arx*, and the lustration of the *poplo*- of Iguvium (Ib. 10–45; VIb. 48–VIIb. 4).¹⁴¹ Tables II, III, and IV seem to

¹³⁵ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 23; Prosdocimi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 110.

¹³⁶ A full account of the contents of the Tables is beyond the scope of this section. The most accessible introductions are provided by Devoto, *Tavole di Gubbio*, 9–25, and Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 15–23.

¹³⁷ The excavated votive material was mostly made up of bronze statuettes, all of which depict either Mars or schematic worshippers (see above).

¹³⁸ Organic material in archaic Umbrian sanctuaries has received little attention, but the bones of cattle in the votive deposit at M. Acuto are probably the remains of sacrificial victims (Cencioli, 'Santuario di altura', 200).

¹³⁹ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 200.

¹⁴⁰ But not according to Wilkins, in *Territory, Time and State*, 170–1, the setting out of a *templum*.

¹⁴¹ For 'civic' terms like *poplo*- see Ch. 4, s. 5. Wilkins, in *Territory, Time and State*, 170, sees this as one ceremony of agricultural fertility.

document other occasions on which sacrifices were required.¹⁴² Table V, sides *a* and *b*, has decrees relating to the activities of an official known as the *adfertor*, and contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and the *tekuries* (perhaps *decuriae*) Clavernii and Casilas. It should not be assumed that these rituals formed part of a coherent overall group, as different batches of the text were engraved at particular points in time.¹⁴³ Prosdocimi considers both sides of Table I along with *IIa* to have been engraved as one such batch.¹⁴⁴ *I Ib* was incised soon after, by a different hand. *III* and *IV* were joined together as one double-sided tablet by clips, and may have been engraved before *I* and *II*. *Va* and *Vb*. 1–7 were incised together, but the last ten lines of *Vb* (8–18) use the Latin alphabet for the first time; presumably they were added at a later date.¹⁴⁵ Tables *VI* and *VII* were also inscribed at the same time, except for the four lines on *VIIb*, which were added at some later point.

The uncertainty affecting our reading of the Tables also means that it is difficult to be certain that a word represents the name of a deity. Devoto thought that nineteen gods were mentioned in the Tables, some with names familiar from Roman religion and epigraphic evidence from elsewhere in Umbria, the others otherwise unknown.¹⁴⁶ Characteristic of Iguvine religion is the complicated system in which deities are given attributes, which are often those of other deities. Mars and Jupiter appear in the forms Mars Grabovius and Jupiter Grabovius, and are thought to make up a 'Grabovian triad' with Vofionus Grabovius.¹⁴⁷ Another triad includes Šerfus Martius (with Mars apparently used as an attribute), Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, and Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, who are the deities of the lustration (e.g. *VIb*. 57–8). The latter two seem to be female deities subordinate to Šerfus

¹⁴² These are obscure according to Wilkins, *ibid.* 158, 171.

¹⁴³ Wilkins, *ibid.* 168–9.

¹⁴⁴ Prosdocimi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 109.

¹⁴⁵ It is nevertheless linked in its character to the rest of *V* (Prosdocimi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 109).

¹⁴⁶ Devoto, *Tavole di Gubbio*, 13; G. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae* (2nd edn., Rome, 1940), 178–9, lists the divine names and concepts familiar from Rome.

¹⁴⁷ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 259–60; Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae*, 182, noted that they are given the same type of sacrificial victim. He saw triadic ordering as a sign of Etruscan influence (*Tavole di Gubbio*, 14).

Martius, but the reasons for the connections between Iguvine gods are often beyond us. The range of other gods also apparently includes deifications of abstract concepts such as Ahtus Jupiter and Ahtus Mars (IIa. 10, 11), where Ahtus is the oracular power of these gods, and Spector (IIa. 5), perhaps the observer or god of augury.¹⁴⁸ Other epigraphic remains, both in Umbrian and in Latin, mostly reveal the names of different gods worshipped in other Umbrian centres, and give an impression of the uniqueness of Iguvine religion.¹⁴⁹

(e) *The beginnings of urbanization*

The first concerted signs of the urbanization of the settlements of this region appear in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. First, some sites were fortified with substantial, carefully built, walls. The small centre of Otriculum, on an elevated spur 100 metres above the Tiber valley, has several short sections of ancient walling around which the medieval town wall is built.¹⁵⁰ The blocks were probably measured in modules of the Attic foot, as at Veii and Falerii Veteres, and were laid in a pattern which was identical to the arrangement at Tarquinii. On the basis of these criteria, and comparisons with similarly sized Faliscan and southern Etruscan centres, Fontaine has plausibly dated the fortifications to between the mid-fifth and mid-fourth centuries.¹⁵¹

Just north of Otriculum, and also sharing borders with Etruscan cities, the Umbrian city of Ameria seems to have been another early fortified site. At least one part of the imposing city walls probably dates to before the Roman conquest.¹⁵² There are two different varieties of walling using closely fitted polygonal blocks of up to 3 metres across. The first phase of walling (Pl. 2.6) is more roughly finished than the second phase (Pl. 2.7), which is itself akin to the walls found at fourth- and third-century BC Latin colonies in central Italy, such as Cosa

¹⁴⁸ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 19; Devoto, *Tavole di Gubbio*, 14.

¹⁴⁹ See Ch. 4, s. 4, for a full discussion.

¹⁵⁰ M. Cipollone and E. Lippolis, 'Le mura di Otricoli', *Studi in onore di F. Magi: Nuovi Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Perugia*, 1 (1979), 59–64; Fontaine, *Cités*, 57–68.

¹⁵¹ Fontaine, *Cités*, 65.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 72–81. See Fig. 2.3 for the layout of the walls.



PLATE 2.6. Earliest section of polygonal walling at Ameria (1 on Fontaine's plan), perhaps fifth–fourth century BC



PLATE 2.7. Later section of polygonal walling at Ameria (6, east of the gate, on Fontaine's plan), fourth–first century BC

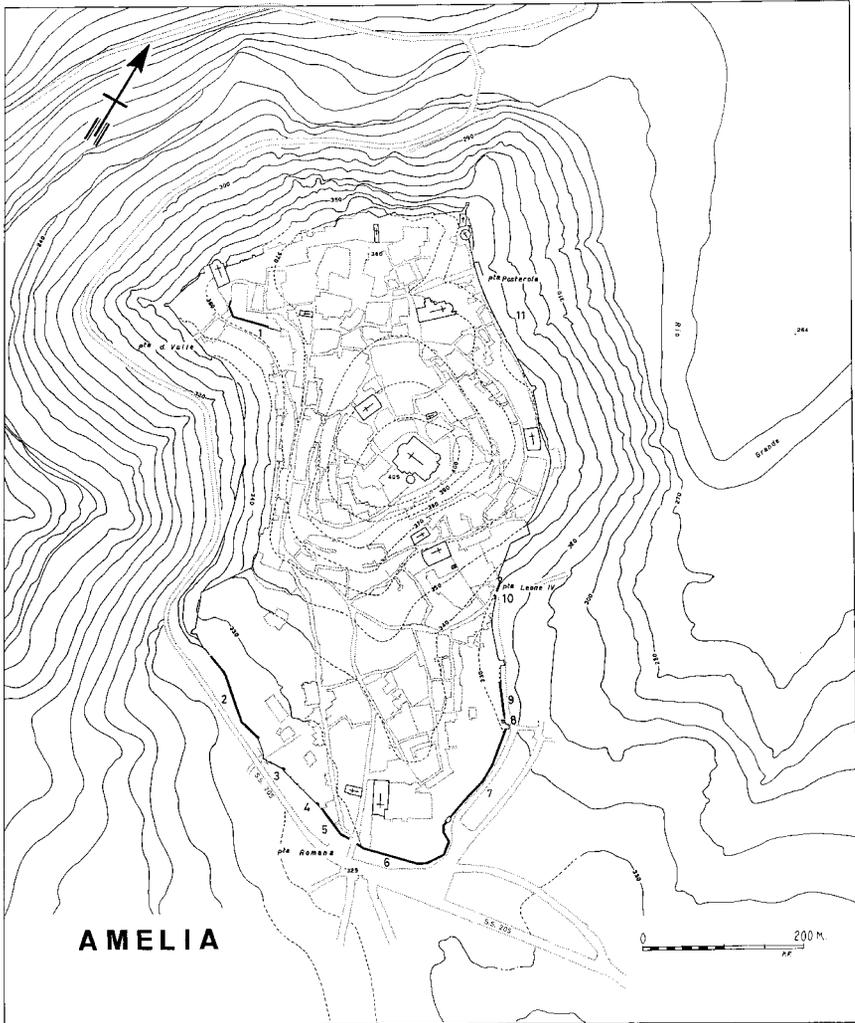


FIG. 2.3. Plan of Ameria, showing stretches of ancient walling (1–10) (from P. Fontaine, *Cités et enceintes de l’Ombrie antique* (Brussels and Rome, 1990))

and Alba Fucens. The position of this first section around the slopes of the acropolis of the hill (‘1’ on fig. 2.3) suggests that it belongs to a small nucleated settlement that developed before the Roman conquest; it can be related to the presence

of nearby tombs and votive material dating to the fifth and fourth century BC (for which see above).

At Vettona, a small hilltown just across the Tiber from Perugia, several small stretches of ancient walling made up of large rectangular blocks of stone are visible.¹⁵³ The closest parallel to this building technique is found in the city walls of Cortona, but these have never been precisely dated. We are thus reliant on the topographical indications collected by Fontaine.¹⁵⁴ The tiny size of the site, its distance from any of the major Roman routes through the region, and the fairly simple nature of the fortification layout, all tend to favour a date in the fourth century BC, although earlier or later dates are also possible.

Vettona and Oriculum are two of the smallest cities of ancient Umbria, their walls enclosing areas of only a few hectares.¹⁵⁵ It seems to have been the sites in the western parts of the region that were first fortified, which may be a sign that they were threatened by neighbouring Etruscan or Faliscan cities, or that they were emulating them. In terms of their construction techniques and appearance, the forms adopted certainly owed a great deal to earlier examples from these areas.

This period was also one in which the creation of monumental buildings gathered pace, although earlier structures had been set up at Oriculum and Mevania (see above). Temples dating from the fourth century are known at Tuder and Mevania and, if isolated architectural terracottas are significant, may also have existed at Ameria, Arna (Pl. 2.8), Asisium, and Iguvium. This marked the beginning of a trend in urban building that was to continue down to the Social War and beyond.¹⁵⁶ It is also worth noting that Spolegium, Interamna Nahars, and Fulginiae may also have served some sort of religious function for their communities, given that traces of votive deposits have been found in these places. This

¹⁵³ G. Becatti, 'Noti topografica sulle mura di Bettona', *SE* 8 (1934), 397-400; Fontaine, *Cités*, 309-13.

¹⁵⁴ Fontaine, *Cités*, 312-13.

¹⁵⁵ e.g. the 3 ha of Oriculum; see Fontaine, *Cités*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ See Ch. 4, ss. 2 and 3; the evidence is collected in Appendix 1. Note that this trend also affected some rural sanctuaries in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC, such as M. Torre Maggiore.



PLATE 2.8. Terracotta antefix, perhaps from Arna. Second half of the fourth century BC

is a sign of the accumulation of functions which was advocated as an index of urbanization above. The importance of this development for social complexity and communal identity has already been discussed. Urbanization is certainly an important index of state organization, as it is a physical sign of the growth in communal co-operation that the state involves. Social and economic centralization of the territory around a town must often have gone hand in hand with the growth of central authority. In economic terms, the drawing of wealth from the territory to set up monumental urban structures shows the control exerted by one part of society, probably the *élite*, over the hinterland.

The presence of public (including religious) spaces and buildings is usually assumed to indicate that the community had a stable central authority requiring a permanent seat

where its constituent parts might operate, and that its members regularly came together for ceremonies and communal decision-making. However, the role of ideology and the conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the urbanization of Rome should give us pause for thought. For instance, the literary tradition on archaic Rome records the great attention paid to building projects by the last three kings, and this is supported by the archaeological record of the transformation of the city in the sixth century. There is a strong case to be made for seeing this as a product of their insecure positions.¹⁵⁷ It therefore seems reasonable to treat the physical structures of urbanism as a product of political life, but not to take public buildings as proof that the institutions and central authority of the community had become permanent. Very often those rulers in the least secure positions, such as tyrants, were the ones most in need of the prestige of monumental building projects; urbanism was probably at least in part dependent on special political conditions.

On the basis of these significant, but fairly insubstantial archaeological remains, we cannot really begin to talk at this stage of a distinctive Umbrian urban culture. Much is simply a rather pale reflection of the urbanistic features found in fifth- and fourth-century Etruscan cities. Note for instance the use of the Attic foot at Ocriculum, or the design of architectural terracottas for temples, which were heavily influenced by Volsinii and Perugia.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless the Umbrian pattern of very small settlements closely packed together, each with their own distinctive identity, and probably mostly independent in political terms,¹⁵⁹ is one that has few close parallels in Italy. The cities of neighbouring Etruria were more widely spaced and seem to have consolidated wider territories at the expense of less successful rivals. Urbanization in Umbria predates that of most of the other 'Italic' peoples away from the Tyrrhenian seaboard. This should be seen as a consequence not only of the proximity of much of Umbria to urbanizing Etruscan and Faliscan communities, but also of the long-term

¹⁵⁷ Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 146.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁹ For this see Ch. 3, s. 3.

processes of state organization which had their roots in the earliest phases of settlement.

Some support for this optimistic picture comes in the distinctive form of the Iguvine Tables. We have seen that although the Tables were inscribed well after the Roman conquest, many elements may relate to an earlier situation, and the nature of the text suggests older archetypes. What emerges from the text is a strong sense of an 'urban mentality', with carefully specified areas of the settlement forming the setting for particular rituals, such as the *arx*, the gates, and public spaces like the *forum*.¹⁶⁰ The community is clearly organized, with a wealth of terms probably relating to citizen divisions and authoritative offices, and has its own collective identity, the Iguvine *tota-* (cited in the form *totar iouinar*).¹⁶¹ Many of these terms, and indeed large chunks of the text, are very poorly understood. Nevertheless, the complexity of this society, although surprising in the light of the poverty of archaeological remains from Republican Iguvium, is undeniable and, I would argue, at least partly the product of the extraordinarily long history of this community.¹⁶²

4. Culture and trade

Recent studies of the material culture of the region in the period before the Roman conquest by a number of Italian scholars have transformed our knowledge of this aspect of early Umbrian history. Older collections of local antiquities, such as that of Bellucci (now in the Museo Nazionale at Perugia), and the excavations of the cemeteries of cities such as Tuder and Interamna, have long provided scholars with a rich body of material. But it is only with the increase in archaeological activity and the study of the finds from the early 1980s onwards that a more comprehensive approach has become

¹⁶⁰ M. Torelli, 'Le popolazioni dell'Italia antica: Società e forme del potere', in A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Storia di Roma*, i. *Roma in Italia* (Turin, 1988), 73.

¹⁶¹ Coarelli, 'Romanización', 61. These terms are discussed in Ch. 4, s. 5.

¹⁶² This 'urban mentality' is to be the subject of a forthcoming study by Simone Sisani.

possible. The excavation and publication of sites such as the cemeteries of Plestia and Hispellum, and the ceramic dumps at Iguvium and Asisium, have provided a mass of accurately dated material with a precise provenance. This new evidence for the culture of the region has been the subject of important analyses, undertaken by various scholars in recent exhibition catalogues and in a series of articles by Bonomi Ponzi, who has set it into a wider regional context.¹⁶³

This new work allows us to address vital questions relating to our overall perspective on the historical changes within Umbria in the first millennium BC. For instance, how should we characterize the culture of the region in the period preceding the Roman conquest? To what extent is it useful to talk of an 'Umbrian culture' at all? Such questions are an important prerequisite for considering the ways in which the region was affected by Roman imperialism, the results of which are conventionally brought together under the heading of Romanization. We can also ask what material culture reveals about the economy of this region. How closely was Umbria linked to its neighbours? To what extent were certain areas, such as the high Appennines, more isolated than others?

The Bronze Age background was one of relative cultural homogeneity. The so-called 'Appennine culture' of the Middle Bronze Age (c.1700–1300 BC) is found not only in Umbria, but also in Etruria, in Latium, and in Picene areas.¹⁶⁴ The culture of all these areas became more differentiated in the Late Bronze Age (c.1300–900 BC), being conventionally classified either as sub-Appennine or as Protovillanovan,¹⁶⁵ and during the first centuries of the Iron Age (c.900–300 BC) scholars have identified the beginning of the stabilization of the ethnic

¹⁶³ For the exhibition catalogues see Ch. 1, s. 1. Articles by Bonomi Ponzi include 'Gli Umbri: Territorio, cultura e società', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest* and the Leningrad and New York versions of the catalogues; 'Aspetti dell'ideologia funeraria nel mondo Umbro', in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità* (Assisi, 1996–7), 105–26; 'La koiné centroitalica in età preromana', in G. Maetke and L. Perna (eds.), *Identità e civiltà dei Sabini* (Florence, 1996), 393–413.

¹⁶⁴ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri'.

¹⁶⁵ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 53 (Eng. trans. 65) notes Protovillanovan 'episodes' at Pianello di Genga, Monteleone di Spoleto, and in phase I of Interamna Nahars.

groups whose positions are known from the conquest of Italy onwards. This is based on the supposed coincidence of the archaeological cultures in the early Iron Age with linguistic groups and literary references to peoples. I have suggested elsewhere, however, that the much later date of the linguistic and literary evidence makes this equation very insecure, and that in reality the position of later ethno-linguistic groups is essentially determining our interpretation of the archaeological record.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the archaeological situation in the early Iron Age is more differentiated than in the preceding period.

In considering the extent to which there was a unique 'Umbrian culture' in the Iron Age, we need to look at trade, exchange, and production. The most detailed picture comes from the cemeteries of Plestia, Interamna Nahars, and Tuder, each of which are worth examining in some detail.

(a) *Plestia*

The Plestine plateau has probably always constituted an important through route to Picenum and the Adriatic from the Valle Umbra, but the expansion of trade between Etruria and Picenum in the sixth and fifth century must have been the most important factor in the extraordinary development of the settlement here in the period before the Roman conquest.¹⁶⁷ The plain is also crossed by other paths running along the Appennine chain to Nuceria and Tadinum to the north and Monteleone di Spoleto, Nursia, and Sabine and Samnite territory to the south. Two hundred and forty-eight tombs in all have been excavated since 1962.¹⁶⁸ The graves were arranged in at least four separate groups, with a path running around them.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ 'Tribes, States and Cities'.

¹⁶⁷ This trade: Lollini in *PCIA* v. 160-1. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 139, notes the widespread diffusion of bronzes from Volsinii and Vulci in Adriatic Italy in the 6th and 5th cents.

¹⁶⁸ See Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 137-42; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Cultura e società del territorio plestino in età protostorica', in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 54-5, and in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 76-88; Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*.

¹⁶⁹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Ideologia funeraria'.

The excavators have divided the material into four different chronological phases. In the first, from the ninth to the seventh century BC, the locally produced tomb furnishings were very basic, usually consisting of an impasto vase and a few clothing-related objects, such as fibulae. The material, culturally close to that found in contemporary burials at Interamna Nahars, and in Latium, suggests that the society was not strongly stratified. In the second phase, during the seventh century BC, the burials had new types of furnishings, such as iron weapons and bronze dishes. Local impasto pottery, which was much more common than imported material, was by now wheel-made in standardized forms by specialized craftsmen.¹⁷⁰ There was also a local metalworking tradition.

The third phase, from the sixth to the first half of the fourth century, saw an increase in the number of tombs, and in the overall quantity and quality of grave goods. Some graves contained bronze equipment for dining, imported Greek red and black figure vases, and large quantities of impasto pottery. The impasto pottery was made locally, such as the example illustrated from Tomb 6 (Pl. 2.9), but more foreign goods were imported now than before. The concentration of the highest quality furnishings in a few graves seems to show the increasing stratification of society, with the rise of an aristocratic class. Tomb 6 is a typical example of such a 'princely' burial, illustrated in fig. 2.4.¹⁷¹ The last phase of the cemetery, from the second half of the fourth century to the end of the third century BC, saw a decline in the quality of the grave goods. If this reflects the wealth of the community, rather than a change in funerary custom, it may be the result of the extension of Roman power into this area of central Italy and the interruption of the trade routes controlled by this community. The burials in this cemetery cease in the third century BC; the minor cemeteries found in the surrounding territory are generally datable from the late sixth to the fourth century BC.¹⁷² The

¹⁷⁰ Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*, 60.

¹⁷¹ Published in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 76. The imported bronze material from this phase is mostly from Volsinii or Vulci, but there are some bronze and ceramic objects of Picene type.

¹⁷² These are less differentiated in character than those in the central cemetery of Plestia. See Bonomi Ponzi, 'Dorsale appenninica', 142.



PLATE 2.9. Impasto vase with lid, from Tomb 6 at Plestia (1 on the plan), end of the sixth–start of the fifth century BC

ending of easily identifiable burials could be linked to the creation of the Roman *praefectura* of Plestia on the shores of the lake, but the continuing use of the sanctuary, and its decoration with architectural terracottas, suggests that the pre-existing population continued to live here.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 233. Plestia was probably a community of Roman citizens before the Social War, see Ch. 3, s. 5; its cemetery has not yet been discovered. For the sanctuary see Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze', 104; the terracottas are mentioned in *Fulginate e Plestini*, 17.

Tomba 6

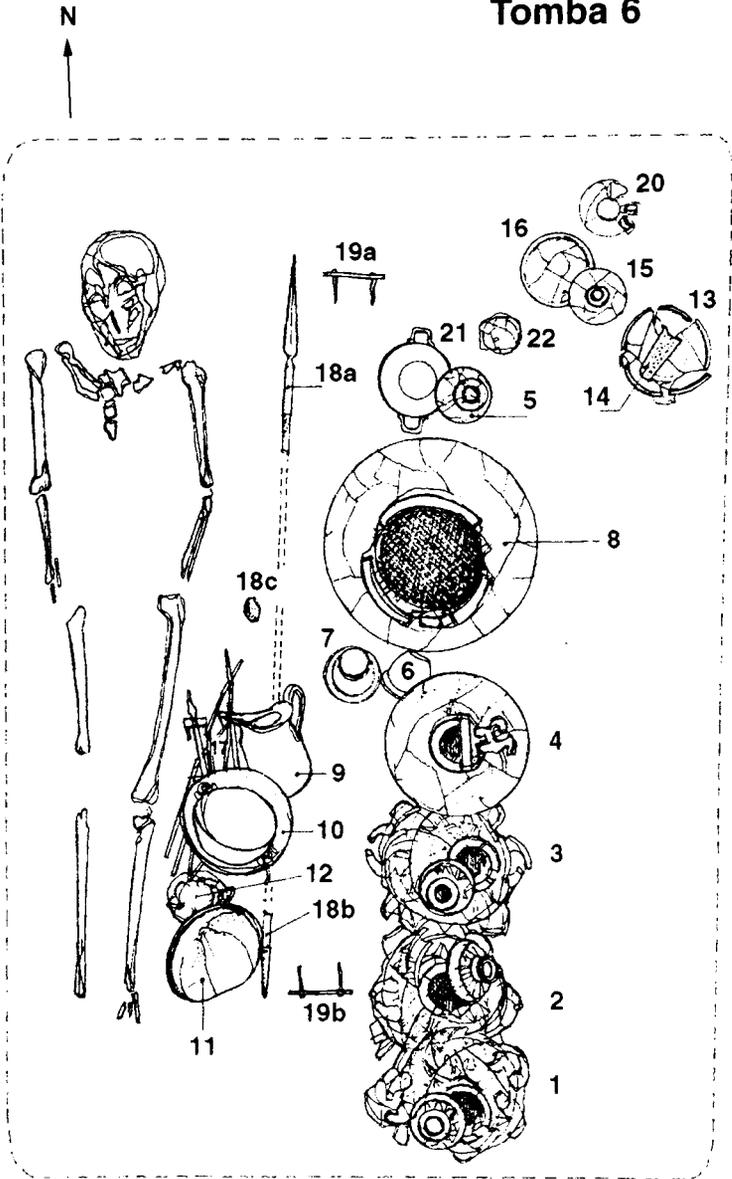


FIG. 2.4. Tomb 6, Plestia. Male inhumation of the late sixth–early fifth century BC. The body is flanked by bronze banqueting equipment (9–11), including spits (17), a spear (18), and pottery (mostly impasto, with an Attic black figure kylix, 21)

(b) Interamna Nahars

Interamna Nahars occupies a lowland site surrounded on three sides by water, and has in its vicinity Umbria's most substantial Final Bronze Age/early Iron Age cemeteries.¹⁷⁴ As the most important site in the Nar valley, its inhabitants have been identified as the people of the Narcan name mentioned in the Iguvine Tables.¹⁷⁵ The burials here are conventionally divided into three phases. In the first phase (tenth century BC), inhumation and cremation of the dead is evident in the eastern zone of the Acciaierie cemetery, discovered in 1875 at a site 1.5 kilometres outside the Roman city.¹⁷⁶ The ashes of cremated bodies were placed in ceramic urns, which were then buried in pits. Those inhumed were laid in trenches which were then covered with pebble tumuli and surrounded by stone circles, a rite also found in cemeteries in the Po valley and Appennine areas of Italy. In phase two, in the eighth century BC, inhumation burials came to predominate. By the third phase of the cemetery (seventh century), cremation burials had disappeared altogether and subsequently only inhumation was practised. Another cemetery, at S. Pietro in Campo, on the northern periphery of the Roman city site, entered use in the seventh century, with the Acciaierie site declining in importance. No pattern in the distribution of the burials was discerned by the excavators, but Bonomi Ponzi has recently suggested that they were organized in groups like that of Plestia.¹⁷⁷ Much of the ceramic material in the graves is of local production, especially in the earlier phases; there were also many bronze and some ivory objects. The grave goods show

¹⁷⁴ For the site Varro, *LL* 5. 28 and Paulus-Festus 16L s.v. *Amneses*; Fontaine, *Cités*, 116–17. The number of graves in the Acciaierie cemetery was estimated by the excavators at 2,500, of which 300 were found in the 19th cent. (Grassini, *BDSPU* 44 (1947), 34–8). See also L. Lanzi, 'Scoperte varie nell'Acciaieria, nell'intorno della città e nel suburbio', *NSc* (1901), 176–81; L. Lanzi and A. Pasqui, 'Scoperte nell'antica necropoli presso le Acciaierie', *NSc* (1907), 595–6; L. Lanzi and E. Stefani, 'Scoperte di antichità in contrada S. Pietro in Campo, Acciaierie e Cascata delle Marmore', *NSc* (1914), 3–68; E. Stefani, 'Scoperta di antichi sepolcri nella contrada S. Pietro in Campo', *NSc* (1916), 191–226; *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 43–54; Pirro, *Interamna Nahartium*.

¹⁷⁵ See Ch. 1, s. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately the stratigraphy had been disturbed by the building here (*NSc* (1916), 208).

¹⁷⁷ 'Ideologia funeraria'.

influences from a wide range of different areas: southern Etruria, Latium, and the Adriatic.¹⁷⁸ The S. Pietro cemetery seems to fall out of use before the Roman period, but the precise date is controversial. Several inundations interrupted the burials, leaving thick layers of sediment.¹⁷⁹ By contrast, the Acciaierie cemetery may have continued in use.¹⁸⁰

(c) *Tuder*

Tuder is positioned on a hill controlling one of the easiest mid-Tiber fords, and was a crossroads for traffic both along the Tiber valley and between Etruria and central Umbria. It is striking that, of all the centres bordering with Etruria, Attic vase remains are concentrated here: Tuder was probably the primary trade conduit for this material from Etruria to places in the Umbrian Appennines such as Plestia, Tadinum, and Nuceria, where substantial traces of Greek imports have also been found. Tuder is one of the Umbrian cities most profoundly influenced by Etruria, and its mixed, 'frontier' character has been underlined by Mario Torelli.¹⁸¹

The cemeteries of Tuder have been extensively excavated since the eighteenth century. Well over 200 graves are known to have been discovered in the Peschiera, S. Raffaele, and Le

¹⁷⁸ *Guida Laterza*, 8.

¹⁷⁹ Fontaine, *Cités*, 113, thinks that there is a hiatus in the evidence between the 7th cent.—which is the latest date given to the tombs by Stefani, *NSc* (1916)—and the Roman period. But a gap in the evidence could be due to a change in funerary custom rather than a break in the occupation of the site, and as we have seen above, walls and temples are attested in many communities at times when there is no evidence of burials.

¹⁸⁰ According to De Angelis, *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 44, this cemetery is commonly dated from the 10th to the 4th cents. BC (cf. U. Ciotti, s.v. 'Interamna Nahars', in R. Stillwell (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), 411; Renzi, in *Interamna Nahartium*). There is no published information to my knowledge on Roman graves of the Republican era, but tombs of the 2nd cent. AD were discovered in 1943 on the Acciaierie site (Grassini, *BDSPU* 44 (1947), 34–8), a sign of uninterrupted use?

¹⁸¹ Torelli, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 55 ff. Inscriptions in Umbrian, Etruscan, and even a bilingual example in Latin and Celtic have been found here (M. Cipollone, 'Presenze celtiche a Todi', in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 50). Etruscan material: G. Buonamici, 'Brevi osservazioni su alcune epigrafi etrusche provenienti da Todi, conservate nel museo di Pesaro', *SE* 13 (1939), 415–26; three Umbrian inscriptions, coin legends: Appendix 2; Catalli in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 141.

Logge areas on the southern slope of the hill.¹⁸² The long history of excavation, most of which was undertaken by individuals in an unofficial capacity, combined with the frequency of landslides on the southern side of the hill, means that while there is an abundance of material, it is often impossible to relate this to specific tombs.¹⁸³ The only material to be preserved is that in the Villa Giulia and in the Florence archaeological museum (from tombs found between 1886 and 1915), and that in the storerooms of the local museum.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, some conclusions are possible from these collections. The burials date from the late seventh century to the third century BC. The largest number of graves are inhumations, usually in trenches but with a few chamber tombs.¹⁸⁵ Some cremation urns have also been found, particularly from the early period.

For the sixth and fifth centuries, a small number of graves have been found in the Le Logge and S. Raffaele cemeteries, although many of these had very rich equipment. The tomb furnishings in the sixth century included some Faliscan and Etruscan vases, Etruscan bronzes, a few Attic black figure vases, and some panels from a bronze chariot, attributed by Torelli to Volsinian workshops.¹⁸⁶ This material, particularly the chariot burial, points towards the presence of a powerful aristocracy capable of concentrating substantial wealth in its own hands. This class seems to have been consolidated in the fifth century, when imports of Attic red figure vases steadily increased to a peak around 450 BC.¹⁸⁷ Such developments are typified by a magnificent tomb of 450–425 BC at S. Raffaele.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² G. Becatti, *Tuder-Carsulae* (Rome, 1938); M. T. Falconi Amorelli, *Todi preromana* (Perugia, 1977); *Todi: Verso un museo*, 49–124, 139–49, with the syntheses of Tamburini 49–54 and Torelli 54–8; M. Tascio, *Todi* (Rome, 1989), 13–17; *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 63.

¹⁸³ See Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 335–7 (Eng. trans. 337–9) for the history of the excavations.

¹⁸⁴ The discoveries between these dates were partially recorded in *Notizie degli Scavi* (bibliographical details are collected in Tascio, *Todi*, 13 n. 3). For the material in Todi museum, see Falconi Amorelli, *Todi preromana*.

¹⁸⁵ Geological factors inhibited the creation of the latter (Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 336 (Eng. trans. 338)).

¹⁸⁶ Torelli, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 55.

¹⁸⁷ Tamburini, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 52.

¹⁸⁸ Torelli, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 57, catalogued at 142–4; Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 336 (Eng. trans. 338).

This contained iron and bronze arms, bronze *symposium* equipment, and about sixty Attic vases, objects accumulated over a chronological period of about a century.

In the second half of the fifth century, the Peschiera cemetery entered into use. The tombs here had less rich equipment but were much more numerous than those of the S. Raffaele and Le Logge cemeteries, and seem to show that a wider spectrum of the society was burying its dead with items of value. This is presumably a sign that a new social structure had developed, with a larger élite able to share in the increased wealth of the community.¹⁸⁹ New ways of disposing of wealth are evident through offerings made at sanctuaries, such as the Mars of Todi, and through the monumentalization of the sanctuary sites themselves. These signs of urbanization correspond to the most intensive period of use of the Peschiera cemetery, from the mid-fourth to the early third century BC, when large numbers of Faliscan and Etruscan vases were imported. The number of burials declined after this point, and ended after the third century BC.

A substantial group of artisans was also producing bronze statuettes for votive purposes and imitations of imported pottery types.¹⁹⁰ The presence of bronze workshops has been deduced from the distribution pattern of several of Colonna's stylistic groups of votive statuettes, such as the 'Amelia group', which centres on Tuder.¹⁹¹ These bronzes were probably made in the period between the late sixth and the early fourth century, and local pottery was produced in the late sixth and fifth century BC.¹⁹² This tradition of local production continues after the conquest, with the imitation of black slip pottery in the third century and beyond.¹⁹³

(d) *General observations*

Various common trends (but also significant differences) emerge from the examination of these three cemeteries. If we

¹⁸⁹ Torelli, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 56.

¹⁹⁰ Tamburini, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 54; Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, 205 (for references).

¹⁹¹ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*. Amelia group distribution: Monacchi, 'Monte Subasio', 77 ff.

¹⁹² Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 343 (Eng. trans. 347).

¹⁹³ *Todi: Verso un museo*, 107.

are to build up a representative picture of the culture of the region, we must relate these features to evidence from other sites as well. We can begin by considering tomb types, given that funerary contexts provide most of our evidence for this period.

Inhumation is the most commonly attested funerary rite, but cremation was also used in two specific time periods, in the Final Bronze/early Iron Age (c.1000–700 BC), and in the period after the Roman conquest.¹⁹⁴ We have seen, for instance, that the two rites were mixed in the first phases of the Acciaierie cemetery at Interamna Nahars, but by the end of the eighth century were entirely inhumation. The reappearance of cremations in the last three centuries BC, probably under the influence of nearby Etruscan centres such as Perugia (where mixed rites are attested from the mid-fifth century), and perhaps also Rome, would seem to indicate that these rites are unlikely to be a sign of different ethnic groups in the earlier period.¹⁹⁵ The typical inhumation was in a rectangular trench lined with stones. The tombs were often positioned, either singly or with other burials, within stone circles. These were then usually covered with stone tumuli, which gave them a monumental appearance, and were clearly designed to accentuate the social prestige of the deceased. This type of tomb is found not only in Umbria but also in other 'Italic' areas, stretching from the foothills of the Po valley in the north to the high Appennines of the Marsi in the south, and in the Orientalizing period was employed even in Etruria and Latium.¹⁹⁶ The continued appearance of this kind of tomb at Umbrian sites such as Hispellum and in other central Appennine areas even after the Roman conquest has been connected to the persistence of a gentilicial social organization, which these tombs are thought to signify.¹⁹⁷ They are, however, by no means the standard form of Umbrian burial in any period, and their prolonged use in some cemeteries may be due

¹⁹⁴ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Ideologia funeraria', 107–9.

¹⁹⁵ For later cremations see Manconi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado*, 152–92 (on Hispellum), and Feruglio, in *Mevania*, 55–60.

¹⁹⁶ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Ideologia funeraria', 113–15. They are found in the Umbrian cemeteries of Interamna, Cesi, Iguvium, Hispellum, Tadinum.

¹⁹⁷ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Ideologia funeraria', 115.

to no more than cultural conservatism. In the zone adjacent to the Tiber valley, signs of aristocratic power often took a monumental form well known from Etruscan cemeteries, the chamber tomb. Examples dating to the seventh century are found in the vicinity of Oriculum, and at Ameria such tombs date to the fifth and fourth centuries BC.¹⁹⁸ The most famous example, however, is that at Monteleone di Spoleto, far from the Tiber in the Appennine hinterland. This tomb, excavated at the start of the twentieth century, contained a magnificent chariot burial.¹⁹⁹ The chariot itself can be dated to around 550 BC by its style and by the extravagant accompanying tomb furnishings; it has beautifully crafted bronze panels decorated with what seem to be scenes from the life of Achilles, illustrating the penetration of Mediterranean cultural themes deep into the mountain valleys of the Appennines (Pl. 2.10).²⁰⁰

Tombs such as this clearly demonstrate the presence of an élite differentiated from the rest of society, and the emergence of such a class is most evident from the seventh century BC (the beginning of the Orientalizing period). The importance of the actual ritual that accompanied the burial is clear from remains at Plestia of funerary banquets and from the careful arrangement of items in the grave.²⁰¹ Many burials in this period at Tuder and Plestia show the great interest of this class in the acquisition of prestige goods, some of which were deposited alongside the deceased. In the judgement of Torelli, those in Tuder and Monteleone di Spoleto were on a level with the richest in Picenum and richer than any others in the central Appennines to the south.²⁰² The funerary evidence

¹⁹⁸ See s. 3(a) above.

¹⁹⁹ For the chamber tomb, see Minto in *BPI* 44 (1924), 145 ff. Monteleone later formed part of Sabinum, but the uncertainty of early ethnic borders and the comparability of the site with 'Umbrian' centres means that it can usefully be considered here.

²⁰⁰ O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 151. He thinks it is a local work, perhaps made by immigrant craftsmen, but Torelli's view that the bronze panels were Volsinian in origin (*Todi: Verso un museo*, 55) is more plausible, given the lack of comparable objects produced in this area of the Appennines. For the social significance of chariot burials, see G. Colonna, 'L'Italia antica: Italia centrale', in A. Emiliozzi, *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi* (Rome, 1998), 15–23.

²⁰¹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Ideologia funeraria', 115–18.

²⁰² Torelli, 'Popolazioni dell'Italia antica', 62, 73.



PLATE 2.10. Bronze chariot fittings from a chamber tomb at Monteleone di Spoleto, c.550-525 BC

from Tuder seems to undergo a further shift (not well attested at Plestia), with signs of the appearance of a wider social élite.

There is evidence for the local production of pottery from the beginning of the Iron Age, and indeed locally produced goods were the dominant feature of early funerary ensembles. The pottery was made from coarse 'impasto' clay and took fairly simple forms, becoming more complex and being decorated with incised designs from the sixth century onwards at Plestia. It was wheel-made in local workshops throughout the region, and fired in kilns such as that discovered in Mevania, dating from the seventh century BC.²⁰³ This pottery never reached the artistic level of products in the neighbouring regions of Etruria and Picenum, and does not seem to have been exported much outside the local centres where it was produced.²⁰⁴ However, from the late fifth century onwards, more refined types were made in some of the most Etruscan-influenced towns of western Umbria. Ameria and Tuder produced bucchero pottery in this period, as well as black slip ware in the late fourth century and in the post-conquest period.²⁰⁵ The very close link between these centres and the Etruscan city of Volsinii may be supported by the discovery of two plates found in Tuder but made in Volsinii, which appear to be marked by a potter from Ameria.²⁰⁶

Within the context of dedications in sanctuaries, we have also seen that there was a vigorous, if rather repetitive, tradition of metalworking in Umbria from the late sixth century until at least the early fourth century BC.²⁰⁷ The workshops themselves are difficult to identify with precision, and in many cases may have consisted of individual, itinerant, craftsmen. But this productive activity was copious and widely spread, and Tuder again emerges as a very important centre. Aside

²⁰³ L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Nuove conoscenze sull'antica Bevagna', *BSCF* 10 (1986), 481–7; Bonomi Ponzi in *Mevania*, 39. This is perhaps where the impasto acroterion discovered nearby was fired.

²⁰⁴ e.g. Renzi in Pirro, *Interamna Nahartium*, 69–70.

²⁰⁵ *Todi: Verso un museo*, 52–4; M. Matteini Chiari and S. Stopponi (eds.), *Museo Comunale di Amelia: Raccolta archeologica. Cultura materiale* (1996), 21–2.

²⁰⁶ Ve 231; see Appendix 2. Note, however, that the alternative word division of Meiser would undermine this hypothesis.

²⁰⁷ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, 23, notes the absence of an indigenous artistic metalworking tradition in the 7th and 6th cents.

from votive statuettes, many metal items found in graves, especially weapons, armour, and ornaments such as fibulae, seem to have been manufactured locally. Some use may have been made of the ore deposits in the Appennine areas near Tadinum, Plestia, Monteleone di Spoleto, and M. Nerone.²⁰⁸ Unlike the figurative tradition, production of other items probably took place throughout the Iron Age. It can only be attested on a limited scale in the early Iron Age at Interamna Nahars and Plestia, but reached a substantial peak from the seventh to fifth centuries with the changes of the Orientalizing period.

Over the span of the Iron Age, imported goods were increasingly pervasive in Umbrian culture. In particular, importation provided the prestige items found in great quantities in Umbrian graves from the beginning of the Orientalizing period in the early seventh century. The most important sources were Picenum and (especially) Etruria. South Etruscan products were the most prevalent in the earlier phases of the Orientalizing period, and the influence of this region was also manifested in local pottery styles. There was a shift from the late sixth century, when Volsinii took over the position of fulcrum for trade with Umbrian territory, and imported Greek pottery also appears in funerary sites. Small quantities of black figure pottery were followed by 'a constant and regular import of Attic red-figure pottery'.²⁰⁹ Tuder was certainly the chief conduit through which this material was imported from Etruria, as the great quantities found there testify, but an important role was also played by Numana on the Adriatic coast, especially for material reaching the Umbrian Appennines.²¹⁰ As all types of imports increased in the Orientalizing period, local production held its own, and indeed expanded. Refined imported goods essentially seem to have occupied a different niche in the Umbrian market from local products, at least until the fourth century BC. In the second half of the fourth century, Falerii and Rome gradually took over from Volsinii as the dominant source of imported goods, and their products also began to replace locally made

²⁰⁸ Bonomi Ponzi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado*, 118.

²⁰⁹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 60 (Eng. trans. 73).

²¹⁰ Bonomi Ponzi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 144 (Eng. trans. 145); Bruschetti, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 343 (Eng. trans. 347–8).

impasto pottery in funerary contexts.²¹¹ Umbrian production did not cease, but turned to imitating these new imported forms for models, as is clear from the locally produced black slip pottery found widely in Umbrian centres, such as the recently published graves of the late fourth to late third century in the Portonaccio cemetery at Hispellum.²¹² Earlier impasto pottery had drawn on outside models for inspiration in terms of form and decoration, but the results were more distinctive to the region than this new material, typical of the whole of central Italy.

To what extent does this situation allow us to talk of a single, distinct, Umbrian culture? It is worth noting that there is a clear shift over time. In the ninth and eighth centuries the strong similarities between the two main known Umbrian cemeteries, at Plestia and Interamna, have led some scholars to talk of a 'Terni-Colfiorito facies', which was particularly influenced by the culture of Sabine and Latial areas.²¹³ From the seventh century onwards, the situation becomes considerably more complex, as more cemeteries come into use, graves contain much greater collections of goods, and imports greatly increase. The culture that develops at Plestia can be considered part of a wider 'central Italic koiné' covering much of Umbria and the surrounding Apennine areas.²¹⁴ The community at Plestia was heavily influenced by the culture of Etruscan cities, but the centres on the western side of Umbria, Ameria, Tuder, Vettona, and Arna, were even more closely linked to Etruria, as their geographical position might lead us to expect.²¹⁵ In fact, Stopponi has seen the culture of Ameria as being conditioned far more by the cultural area of the Tiber valley, with its ethnic mix of Etruscan, Umbrian, and Faliscan centres, than by any links with the central and

²¹¹ L. Bonomi Ponzi, in G. Antonucci (ed.), *L'Umbria meridionale dalla protostoria all'alto medioevo* (Terni, 1995), 66.

²¹² Manconi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado*, 152–92.

²¹³ Bonomi Ponzi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 144.

²¹⁴ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Koiné centroitalica'.

²¹⁵ The main evidence is funerary, but note the presence of Etruscan inscriptions on urns and an Etruscan boundary cippus from Vettona (*Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 163); Livy implies that Arna is in Etruscan territory (10. 25. 4), which would not be based on the regional arrangements of his own time.

eastern Umbrian districts.²¹⁶ The cultural situation across the region as a whole is complex and diverse, and characterized by its openness to influences on all sides.

The scholarly consensus is firmly in favour of the coherency of this region as a distinct cultural and ethnic entity in the pre-conquest period, and several influential scholars have recently restated their support for this position.²¹⁷ But it is worth bearing in mind recent theoretical approaches to the archaeology of ethnic groups, which have emphasized the constructed nature of most archaeological cultures.²¹⁸ These approaches pose serious questions for those who wish to see ethnic identities reflected in the archaeological record, and in the light of our survey of the archaeological situation, undermine the need to see Umbria as a unified culture. If anything, we should begin to think more in terms of the local community identities that are evident from Umbrian epigraphy, and which helped determine the pattern of ritual activities, urbanization, and interaction with Rome (examined in the next chapter). These considerations also create difficulties for theories that use archaeology to support ancient literary claims of a wider distribution of the Umbrians in their earliest history.²¹⁹ If Umbrian culture is not specific enough in any period to define the region, then elements of it, such as bronze figurines, or tombs with stone circles, are unlikely to be useful signs of ethnic identity.

There are some interesting implications for our picture of Romanization, which we should no longer see simply in terms of the annihilation of a nationally distinct culture as it is eroded and absorbed by the larger entity of Rome. Instead, we need to think in terms of a more qualified process, in which the complex and shifting set of influences evident in the

²¹⁶ S. Stopponi, in Matteini Chiari and Stopponi, *Museo Comunale di Amelia*, 19.

²¹⁷ Torelli, 'Popolazioni dell'Italia antica', 62; Bonomi Ponzi, s.v. 'Umbria', in *EEA* 2nd suppl. 5 (Rome, 1997), 879.

²¹⁸ S. Shennan (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (London, 1989); C. Gamble, P. Graves-Brown, and S. Jones (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities* (London, 1996); S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London, 1997). I have examined the application of these theories to central Italy in 'Tribes, States and Cities'.

²¹⁹ Such as Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 58 (Eng. trans. 70); Colonna, 'Etruschi ed Umbri', is more cautious.

Iron Age is gradually replaced by the more homogeneous and constant influences of Rome and the Latin colonies. In fact, as we shall see, many pre-existing factors, such as links with Etruscan cities, remain important factors in the development of Umbrian culture for some time after the conquest.

5. Conclusion

The social changes of the Iron Age were closely linked in chronology to the flourishing of Picenum and (above all) the Etruscan cities of Perugia and Volsinii in the fifth century BC, reinforcing the importance of the trade between them as a factor in Umbrian history. The vicinity of these powerful and sophisticated cities helps to explain the heavily Etruscanized nature of Umbrian culture in the pre-conquest (and indeed post-conquest) era. Specific details such as the borrowing of the Umbrian *maronate* magistracy from Etruria demonstrate the extent of Etruscan influence on communal structures, presumably as they were developing.²²⁰ We have seen how the Umbrian centres closest to Etruria were the first to be fortified, and that the style of Umbrian votives and temple terracottas was adopted from Etruscan models. The earliest examples of Umbrian epigraphy, the inscriptions on the Mars of Todi and the plaques from Plestia, used an alphabet apparently borrowed from Volsinii. Coarelli has even recently identified one of the deities of the common Umbrian sanctuary at the Villa Fidelia as the Volsinian *Nortia*.²²¹ It is clear that the beginnings of the process of state formation amongst the Umbrians owed a great deal to this dominant influence. It would therefore seem likely that we could use this to explain why the political organization of Umbria, evident during and immediately after the Roman conquest, was effectively a smaller scale version of that in Etruria, with separate peoples, many of whom were by then organized into city-states, coming together with other members of the ethnic group for religious and perhaps defensive purposes. Certainly many city-state structures, such as particular annual magistracies,

²²⁰ See Ch. 4, s. 5.

²²¹ Coarelli, 'Romanización', 63.

could easily have been adopted at a site like Tuder, bordering on Etruria, and then passed to more 'internal' Umbria by peer polity interaction: there is a strong sense of inter-state rivalry evident in the Iguvine Tables (with Tadinum), and many of these centres were probably of roughly equivalent size. Nevertheless, when we come to look more closely at the information available from the Iguvine Tables, we will see that, although there are signs of Etruscan influence, the overall impression of the Iguvine state structures is of a unique range of elements.

In my earlier discussion, I suggested that placing too great an emphasis on urbanization obscured the diversity of state formation processes and, in particular, devalued 'territorial' states. It is much more helpful to see the lowland and upland zones as undergoing contemporary transformations, rather than regarding the situation in the Appennines as a more 'primitive' precursor of city-based society. The society of Plestia was probably no less wealthy or complex than those of the urbanizing communities of the lowlands and represents a parallel development in a different environment. Appreciating the diversity of the various state systems in this region is important for understanding the differing impact of the Roman conquest in different areas. Mountainous societies like that of Plestia, which were more dependent on trans-Italian trade routes, suffered when the expansion of Roman power led to a reorientation of these routes onto a north-south axis centring on Rome.²²²

Furthermore, although this region was formatively influenced by Etruria, it would be wrong to regard it and other Italic areas as having cultures simply more backward and peripheral than the 'advanced' Tyrrhenian regions. On the eve of the Roman conquest, the settlements of Umbria had important differences from those in neighbouring Etruria. Perhaps because there had been no opportunity for the more successful centres to build up hegemonies, each Umbrian community must have had a comparatively restricted territory in comparison with that of an Etruscan city-state. The copious mountainous hinterlands of the region were controlled by

²²² Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 60 (Eng. trans. 73).

territorial polities, rather than being under the power of low-land centres. In some respects this fragmented scenario represents a much more complicated and potentially dynamic situation than that in contemporary Etruria, and provides an important and instructive example of the effects of Roman imperialism.

The Roman conquest and colonization of Umbria

I. Sources

This chapter covers the Roman conquest and reorganization of Umbria in the late fourth and third centuries BC and the involvement of Umbria in the Hannibalic War. We saw in Chapter 2 that settlement had begun on many of the later city sites by the time of the conquest, and in most cases went back for several centuries. Archaeological evidence shows that there were important social changes in the Iron Age, which I suggested could be understood as the beginnings of state organization. With the conquest we gain our first detailed literary picture of Umbria, and in the next two centuries substantial epigraphic documents become available. These allow us to explore the political and institutional dimension to these social changes. In fact some important conclusions can be drawn about the pre-Roman organization of Umbria from the Livian account of the Roman conquest of the region. In this chapter I will examine how the conquest of Umbria proceeded, how the Romans turned the control won by military victory into a hard and lasting institutional framework, and what criteria governed the different ways in which various areas were treated.

Several types of source are available to us: literary, archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic. The literary sources for the Roman conquest and colonization of Umbria are dominated by the histories of Livy and Polybius, with some supplementary information given by Diodorus, Appian, and Cassius Dio. They give a picture of the region that is virtually unprecedented in its detail and relevance; perhaps only the geographical descriptions of Umbria by Strabo and the Elder

Pliny are of comparable value. Livy provides the most important account of the Roman conquest down to 293 BC; some of his particular points can be corrected from the information (but not the silences) in Polybius and Diodorus. For the period after 293, when we only have brief and unreliable epitomes of Livy, the quantity of our information greatly decreases. Polybius covers part of this period in a useful account of Roman hostilities against the Gauls (2. 14–35), but ignores anything that was not connected with Gallic invasions. Moreover, this digression is not part of his main narrative and in consequence is fairly brief by comparison. Diodorus and Cassius Dio are both fragmentary for the early third century, leaving us with only a sketchy picture of what was probably a crucial period in the history of Umbria.

Even when we have fuller narratives, the picture conveyed is selective and in many ways problematic. One difficulty is that the interests of ancient historians such as Livy and Polybius mean that their accounts tend to be much more detailed on the causes and progression of hostilities than on the crucial aftermath of the Roman victories. After the defeat of local communities, the Romans intervened heavily in the region, binding some peoples to them by treaties, confiscating land from others, and sending settlers to some areas: all of these consequences are of major importance for our assessment of the effects of Roman imperialism. So although Livy and in particular Polybius provide useful snippets of information on the Roman organization of Umbria, no weight at all should be placed on their silences on such matters.

Nevertheless we are able to supplement the literary evidence with other sources of information. In particular, epigraphy provides important information on the institutional organization of Roman Umbria. Both Umbrian and Latin inscriptions are useful in this context, providing contemporary evidence for political structures (and therefore Roman arrangements) in the third and second centuries. In addition much can be deduced from those aspects of the organization of Umbria that survive in the period after the Social War, when the bulk of Latin epigraphy is found. We also receive some help with mapping the physical aspects of the Roman intervention in Umbria in the third century from archaeology, which provides some useful

new perspectives in a field which has hitherto been heavily reliant on the institutional evidence in literary and epigraphic sources.¹ The archaeological coverage of this region by survey, something which we might expect to be extremely useful in mapping the effects of colonization, is fragmentary: two investigations have been conducted in Umbria to date, in the areas around Iguvium and Plestia.² The only centuriation found within Umbria, to my knowledge, is that around Hispellum, but relates to a much later veteran colony of the triumviral period.³

A further issue is the historical reliability of the annalistic accounts of this period, on which Livy, and to a lesser extent our other literary sources, depend. Livy's narrative has been the subject of an extensive debate which has gradually illuminated the complexity and difficulty of this issue.⁴ Like most ancient histories, his work was not based on original research into documentary sources, but instead compiled using the pre-existing histories of Rome, beginning with that of Fabius Pictor in the late third century BC. These annalistic histories gradually became more reliable as they dealt with later periods. There was certainly some sort of contemporary documentary basis to the annalistic tradition for the late fourth century onwards, which probably consisted primarily of the *Annales Maximi*. Other sources of information, such as family histories and oral tradition, were also available, although the precise extent to which they were used by early annalists is unsure.⁵ It is now established with some certainty that these means helped to preserve accurate reports of major events during the Roman conquest, such as military victories, defeats, and treaties, and consistent records of magistrates and priesthoods. In my opinion this makes it difficult to sustain

¹ See the discussions of Interamna Nahars and Plestia in ss. 4 and 5 (below).

² The provisional results of the Gubbio Survey have been published in *Territory, Time and State*. For a discussion of this work see Ch. 5, s. 8. Matteini Chiari's survey of the territory of Iguvium ('Territorio eugubino') concentrates on hillforts. The survey work around Plestia conducted by the Umbrian Soprintendenza has only been published in a summarized form (Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 201-38) but it has provided important information concerning Roman settlement in the area.

³ D. Manconi, P. Camerieri, and V. Cruciani, 'Hispellum: Pianificazione urbana e territoriale', in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità* (Assisi, 1996-7), 375-429.

⁴ I can provide only a brief outline here.

⁵ S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X*, i (Oxford, 1997), 24-33.

the sort of sceptical approach to the text of Livy that was taken by Beloch.⁶

At the same time, it is important not to ignore the limitations of Livy's history and of ancient historiography as a whole. The writing of history was dominated by literary aims and entertainment, rather than any modern sense of factual proof. Invention of even 'structural' records certainly took place on some occasions and, in accordance with the principles of Hellenistic historiography, details were extensively manufactured, often in a standardized form.⁷ Livy's history was also strongly determined by various preconceived ideas. His narrative emphasized the moral excellence of mid-Republican Rome, and attempted to illustrate how this enabled Rome to fulfil its destiny as a great imperial power.⁸ Furthermore, Livy and all these other historians were heavily Romano-centric, and dealt with Italian peoples only in the context of Roman involvement or interest in this region. An Umbrian perspective on the events that took place in the late fourth and the third centuries BC may have once existed, but it is now utterly lost, and there are no readily discernible traces of its effect on the historical narratives that survive to our time. The particular bias of the available literary sources makes them difficult to use in the context of a work like this that adopts a regional perspective on ancient Italian history. It means that these sources unintentionally provide a great deal of information about the Graeco-Roman filters shaping the ways that other societies were viewed and about the imperialist values and ideology that conditioned these ways of seeing. Work on classical Greek literature, for example, has illuminated the great extent to which accounts of foreign peoples were constructed as the 'other' of the Greeks.⁹ This type of source is not likely

⁶ K. J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926). For more conservative approaches, followed here, see G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, II (Turin, 1907; 2nd edn., Florence, 1960); Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*; T. J. Cornell, 'The Conquest of Italy', in F. W. Walbank *et al.* (eds.), *CAH* VII/2 (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1989); Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, ch. 3.

⁷ T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics: Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature* (Leicester, 1979), part 1; Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, 75–85.

⁸ Dench, *Barbarians*, 19–20.

⁹ F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus* (Eng. trans. Berkeley, Calif., 1988); E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989).

to provide sympathetic or nuanced accounts of conquered Italian peoples, to whom we find attributed various stock shortcomings. Nevertheless even the distorted and selective images of Italian peoples can often be used in the reconstruction of their history, given a full appreciation of the biases inherent in the source material.¹⁰

2. The Roman conquest

Our literary sources present the assertion of Roman control over Umbria in the late fourth and early third centuries BC as having been achieved by a combination of war and diplomacy. The Romans seem to have fought only a couple of substantial battles against the Umbrians, and one siege is recorded as having taken place, that of Nequinum. As a part of this process quite a large part of Umbria must have been annexed and then subjected to Roman or Latin settlement. The Umbrian communities that did not suffer this fate were probably controlled by treaties, which will be examined separately below.

The first Roman contact with an Umbrian community of which we have any record is the expedition through the Ciminian forest to Camerinum on the Adriatic side of the Apennines in 310 BC (Livy 9. 36. 1–8).¹¹ In 311 BC an Etruscan force besieged the Latin colony of Sutrium, the first move mentioned by Livy in the war between Rome and the Etruscans and Umbrians (311–308 BC). The consul of 310 BC, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, defeated this force, the survivors of which withdrew into the Ciminian forest. A brother of the consul crossed the forest on a reconnaissance expedition, reaching the Umbrian Camertes, with whose ‘senate’ he formed an agreement of friendship and alliance (*de societate*

¹⁰ For this approach, see Dench, *Barbarians*, part 2.

¹¹ In the context of an earlier digression on whether Alexander the Great could have defeated Rome, Livy talks of Roman armies fighting the Gauls in Umbria ‘when all the Latin allies were in revolt’ (9. 19. 2–3) and says that Alexander would have found that ‘part of Umbria . . . [consisted of] either powerful friends of the Romans or their defeated enemies’. This passage also includes, however, the Picentes and the western coast of Magna Graecia as allies or defeated enemies of Rome and so does not seem accurately to reflect the extent of Roman control in Italy at a specific time.

amicitiaque) in the name of the consul.¹² This agreement appears to be the famous equal treaty attested by several sources later in antiquity.¹³

The veracity of this passage has been questioned. Camerinum, on the other side of the Appennines, is a surprisingly remote destination for a spying mission through the Ciminian forest. The special nature of the treaty and the fact that there was a Roman defeat here in 295 BC has been used to suggest that the episode allegedly dated to 310 was an invention and that the real date of the treaty was 295.¹⁴ Some critics have also explained this passage as originating in a reference to Clusium, a city much nearer to the Ciminian forest, which according to Livy (10. 25. 11) was once called Camars.¹⁵ However, these objections to the Livian account are not decisive. Documents such as treaties are likely to have been conserved at Rome and many will have been available to historians and antiquarians.¹⁶ Polybius, for instance, claims to have recorded the text of Rome's treaties with Carthage, which were engraved on bronze tablets in the treasury of the aediles (3. 26. 1), and it is possible that treaties with Italian states were also preserved in this way. The date of the formation of treaties was important and was probably entered into the regular yearly records, perhaps the *annales maximi*, that underlay the annalistic tradition. The fact that the Camerinum treaty was famously favourable to the Umbrian community also fits with the uniqueness of the situation recorded by Livy:¹⁷ it was reputedly drawn up at a time when the Camertes and the Romans first came into contact, rather than after a military defeat (which seems to have been the usual situation). De Sanctis took the treaty to be generated by mutual concern on the part of both parties about the threat posed by the Gauls; the Camertes were a powerful grouping, judging by

¹² The text concerning the identification of the consul's brother is corrupt: see R. M. Ogilvie, 'Notes on Livy IX', *Yale Classical Studies*, 23 (1973), 166.

¹³ See the section on treaties, below.

¹⁴ Beloch, *Römischen Geschichte*, 443. For difficulties with Livy's version see Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 55–6 and 99.

¹⁵ e.g. M. Sordi, *Roma e i sanniti nel IV secolo* (Bologna, 1969), 96–7; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 331 n. 103, rejects this idea.

¹⁶ Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, 34–5.

¹⁷ On the treaty, see e.g. Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 46.

the resources they promised on this occasion and supplied at later dates.¹⁸ The Roman spies, by reaching Camerinum, must have traversed much of Umbria. Their reconnaissance was followed over the next two years by a phase of heavy Roman involvement in the area.¹⁹

First there was a plundering operation at the foot of the Mons Ciminius (Livy 9. 36. 11–14), which provoked Etruscans and ‘neighbouring parts of Umbria’ to raise a large force (9. 37. 2). This was defeated either at Sutrium or near Perugia (which Livy gives as a variant), and in consequence Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, *ferme capita Etruriae populorum* (‘pretty much the leaders of the Etruscan peoples’) were given a truce of thirty years (9. 37. 12). An Umbrian army was apparently defeated alone later in this year (Livy 9. 39. 4). Both these notices seem to be contradicted by Livy’s later description of the Umbrians in 9. 41. 8 as ‘a people untouched by the disasters of war, except when their land had suffered the passage of an army through it’.²⁰ Some editions of Livy’s text leave out the second defeat altogether.²¹ The immediate context is obscure because the text is corrupt, and almost certainly has a lacuna here.²² It comes just before an Etruscan defeat at Lake Vadimon, widely taken to be a fabricated duplication of a victory over the Etruscans at the same site in 283 BC reported by Polybius (2. 20. 2–3).²³ Despite the doubts, the Umbrian defeat, which is distinct from the alleged Vadimon victory, should be retained.²⁴ For Ogilvie a typically elaborated non-engagement, and perhaps occurring on Etruscan soil, it may not have been any sort of ‘disaster of war’ for the Umbrians, hence the notice at 9. 41. 8. It is possible that this

¹⁸ *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 334, followed by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 56, 59. Camerinum’s resources: Livy 9. 36. 8; see also Livy 28. 45. 21 and Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 50, both discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁹ 310 and 308 BC, 309 BC being an invented ‘dictator year’.

²⁰ Ogilvie, ‘Notes on Livy’.

²¹ Left out of W. B. Anderson’s edn. of book 9 (Cambridge, 1909), followed by B. O. Foster in the Loeb (1926). Included by Weissenborn and Muller in the Teubner (1909) and Conway and Walters in the Oxford Classical Text (1919).

²² S. P. Oakley, personal comment.

²³ De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 331; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 56, because the site is the same, although this seems inconclusive.

²⁴ See Ogilvie, ‘Notes on Livy’, 167.

episode is what Diodorus refers to (20. 44. 9), when the Roman consuls are said to have crossed Umbria into Etruria.

Livy records more substantial Roman intervention in the area for the next year, 308 BC (9. 41. 8–20). He says that the Umbrians raised an army, induced many Etruscans to rebel, and threatened to attack Rome. The consul then operating in Etruria, P. Decius Mus, retreated to defend the city, and his colleague, Q. Fabius Maximus, marched from Samnium and engaged the enemy near Mevania. On the arrival of the Roman army at Mevania some Umbrians wanted to withdraw into their fortified towns (*urbes munitas*)²⁵ and others to surrender, but all were carried into battle by the district (*plaga*) of Materina. The Romans supposedly won the battle, hardly needing to use their weapons: Livy portrays the Umbrians as initially aggressive, but soon enfeebled by fear, and too disorganized to be capable of effectively resisting Roman military power.²⁶ The advocates of war (presumably Materina) were the first to surrender, followed by the rest of the Umbrian peoples; the Oriculani were singled out to be ‘received into friendship with a promise’.²⁷

Despite the preposterous details of the battle, there are no substantial grounds for rejecting the historicity of the campaign itself.²⁸ Diodorus’ confused and bald account of this year is an inadequate basis on which to correct Livy, and probably simply omits the Umbrian ‘revolt’, described in Livy as ‘a trivial sequel to the Etruscan war’ (9. 41. 16). The alliance with Oriculum presupposes that more occurred than Diodorus’ simple passage of a Roman army through Umbria. Livy’s narrative, taken at face value, implies that Umbria was not the designated *provincia* of Fabius Maximus, and that this intervention was therefore not preplanned. As was typical in

²⁵ The mention of *urbes munitae* cannot be taken literally as evidence of urbanization, as Livy is notoriously vague with such terms, and also uses this phrase when talking about the largely non-urbanized Marsi (10. 3. 5).

²⁶ Noted by A. Giardina, ‘L’identità incompiuta dell’Italia romana’, in *L’Italie d’Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rome, 1994), 44; the Aequi are also cast in the same light by Livy (9. 45. 10–18).

²⁷ *Itaque inter ipsum certamen facta deditio est a primis auctoribus belli. Postero insequentibusque diebus et ceteri Umbrorum populi deduntur; Oriculani sponsione in amicitiam accepti.*

²⁸ See Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 56–7; contra De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 334.

Roman military operations, however, the actual fighting took place on the enemy's soil. Even though the writers in the annalistic tradition tried to present this campaign as a defensive action it was effectively a Roman invasion, if not in this case part of any larger scheme. The reported fears of an Umbrian incursion could be an authentic reflection of contemporary imperialist paranoia, but it is equally likely that the threat was exaggerated, either by the victorious general or by later annalists, in order to make the Roman victory more impressive and to justify the Roman invasion. The strategic importance of the area of Mevania is clear: the Valle Umbra was a vital route to Perugia and the rest of the north-eastern Etruscan states, the major opponents of Rome in the 311–308 BC war. This was the central hub of Umbria, and seems to have had the highest concentration of settlements, all of which are likely to have been involved in a military engagement with the Romans here. The district of Materina is not known from any other source, and its obscurity is further evidence against the invention of the passage.²⁹

The agreement of friendship with a promise (*sponsio*) secured with the Otricoli, whose settlement on the site of modern Otricoli dominates a stretch of the Tiber valley, also shows that the Romans were interested in securing this route to the north. Livy is using the term *sponsio* in a loose rather than a technical sense, as such an agreement was binding only in Roman law if contracted between Roman citizens,³⁰ which the Otricoli were not. It seems likely that this agreement was formalized later as a treaty. A treaty that controlled the hostile military potential posed by their fortified centre must have existed before a Roman army would venture the siege and colonization of Nequinum in 300–299 BC, which was further up the Nar valley.³¹ Furthermore we have seen that Livy used the phrase 'friendship and alliance' (*societate amicitiaque*) to

²⁹ De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 348 n. 10, suggests an identification with Matelica. See Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, 63–7, for the likely authenticity of such names.

³⁰ M. H. Crawford, 'Foedus and Sponsio', *PBSR* 41 (1973), 1–7.

³¹ Cf. G. Vitucci, 'A proposito dei primi contatti fra Umbri e Romani', in *Problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria*, 300; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 57. The city walls of Otriculum, still partially extant today, probably date from the 5th or 4th cent. BC: see Fontaine, *Cités*, 65, discussed in Ch. 2, s. 3(e).

describe the treaty formed between Rome and Camerinum (9. 36. 7), and the reception of the Oriculani into Roman 'friendship' (*amicitia*) (9. 41. 20) may have led to the same result.³² It is widely assumed that this would have been an 'equal treaty' (*foedus aequum*) because the Oriculani did not take part in any fighting, but this is not at all certain.³³ None of the other Umbrian peoples are said to have entered agreements with Rome, and the Roman sources do not claim that they were breaking any treaties when they fought Rome as a collective force in the Sentinum campaign (295 BC). This is an argument from silence, but it does suggest that the formation of treaties with the majority of Umbrian states did not occur until after Sentinum. Perhaps treaties were denied to defeated Umbrian communities as they were to Etruscan cities at this time.

The involvement of the Umbrians in this war between Rome and the Etruscan states of Perugia and Volsinii was predictable given their geographical position and cultural links to these cities. It is clear that the defeat in 308 was preceded by a period in which Roman penetration beyond the Ciminian forest provoked a reaction from the nearest Umbrians, perhaps those of Tuder and Ameria, as well as the Etruscan cities of the area. Restelli has seen this as a new era of co-operation between the Umbrians and Etruscans after a long tradition of hostility, but the evidence for this earlier stage in a mythical prehistory is problematic, and according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7. 3. 1) Umbrians, Daunians, Etruscans, and other peoples had come together to attack Cumae in 524 BC.³⁴ The association between the Etruscans and Umbrians recurred at Sentinum in 295 BC, during the Social War in the early first century BC

³² Note Livy's equation of the *amicitia* that four of the central Appennine peoples had sought in 304 BC with the *foedus* they were given (9. 45. 18), even though these peoples had been fighting Rome.

³³ e.g. Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 105; A. N. Sherwin White, *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1973), 121–2. This episode cannot have involved the allied Camertes: Livy must be generalizing when he records the surrender of *ceteri Umbrorum populi*.

³⁴ Restelli, 'Etruschi ed Umbri', 150; see also L. Aigner Foresti, 'Etruria orientale, Umbria occidentale: Un'area di confine', in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità* (Assisi, 1996), 11–27. Anti-Cumaean expedition: G. Colonna, 'Il santuario di Cupra fra Etruschi, Greci, Umbri e Picenti', in *Cupra Marittima e il suo territorio in età antica* (Tivoli, 1993) 7–8. This digression in Dionysius seems to originate from a local Cumaean source.

and also had a religious dimension that was recorded in the Hispellum Rescript of AD 333–7 (*ILS* 705; for the text of this important inscription, see Chapter 5, section 10). It is paralleled by the profound Etruscan influence on Umbrian culture evident from at least the sixth to the first century BC, and by the fluidity of movement between the regions shown by the quantity of Etruscan inscriptions found in Umbria. It is important, however, that we realize that this well-attested tradition of co-operation is most likely to represent the actions of individual city-states, particularly those in close proximity to the Tiber valley, rather than the two entire ethnic groups. As we shall see, this is most obviously demonstrated in the Social War. However, it is often obscured by the lack of a definite article in Latin (so that *Umbri* could mean ‘some’ as well as ‘the’ Umbrians) and by the tendency of ancient authors to generalize about ancient ethnic groups.³⁵

After the important episode of 308 BC, no further contact between the Romans and Umbrians is recorded until 303 BC, when the Roman consuls are said to have conducted a minor expedition into Umbria to destroy a raiding party operating from a cave (Livy 10. 1. 4). Livy states that the expedition was mounted ‘so that the year should not pass without any war-like activity’ and this has tentatively been suggested to reflect contemporary Roman expectations of yearly warfare.³⁶ The strangeness of the report makes it unlikely that it was a later invention, but also suggests that there was a more complicated context to this battle.³⁷ The Romans clearly maintained an interest in Umbria, and this apparently insignificant episode presaged more momentous Roman intervention.

In 300 BC Roman forces led by the consul Q. Apuleius Pansa began the siege of Nequinum (Narnia) (Livy 10. 9. 8–9). This was a site of vital strategic significance, dominating the most

³⁵ The political autonomy of separate Umbrian states is analysed in the next section.

³⁶ S. P. Oakley, ‘The Roman Conquest of Italy’, in J. Rich and G. Shipley, *War and Society in the Roman World* (London, 1993), 16.

³⁷ The rich votive deposit of Grotta Bella between Ameria and Tuder shows that caves were used for religious purposes in Umbria (Monacchi, ‘Grotta Bella’) and given the role of sanctuaries such as Pietrabbondante in the commemoration of military victories (La Regina, ‘Aspetti istituzionali’, 22; Dench, *Barbarians*, 138–40), it is not inconceivable that such Umbrian cave sanctuaries had some sort of military as well as ritual connotations.

important route into central Umbria via the gorge of the Nar river, at a point where (in later times) the two branches of the Via Flaminia running northwards from Rome split. The assignment of a consular army to the siege must have been the result of a conscious decision to put Umbria more firmly under Roman control, perhaps designating it as a *provincia* for the first time. Nequinum fell to the Romans in 299 BC when, according to Livy (10. 10. 1–5), two townsmen let a small Roman force into the city by treachery. Such an apparently catastrophic action was not by any means unique and can be explained in the light of the help sometimes given to the Romans by the local aristocrats of other Italian towns, for example at Neapolis in 326 BC (Livy 8. 25–7). These towns were frequently divided on class lines, and as the Romans usually entrusted the management of conquered towns to their local élites, submitting to Roman hegemony might have been an attractive prospect.³⁸ It seems at least possible that such people may have been enrolled in the Latin colony that was sent here, named Narnia after the river Nar.³⁹ Livy describes it as being created ‘against the Umbrians’ (*contra Umbros*), which suggests that its ostensible purpose was as much to guard against a repeat of the threatened Umbrian invasion of 308 BC as it was to secure the route to the north. The creation of the colony must have entailed the confiscation of much of the prime land of the Conca Ternana.

The nature of the Umbrian settlement that preceded the colony, whether hillfort of a territorial community or small city, is difficult to judge from the Livian account. Livy attributes the resistance of the centre to its topographical position rather than to the strength and resources of the Nequinates, who were easily overwhelmed when the defences were breached.⁴⁰ The report that the army returned to Rome enriched with spoil might have been generated by the established image of the Umbrians as a wealthy people.⁴¹ And, although intriguing, we

³⁸ See Cornell in *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn.), 387.

³⁹ This is examined further in s. 4 below.

⁴⁰ Giardina, ‘L’identità incompiuta’, 44 n. 160, takes this as reinforcing the impression of weakness conveyed in the account of the Mevania defeat.

⁴¹ Theopompus, *FGrH* 2B 115; Pseudo-Scymnus 220–1 Müller; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 80; Roncalli, ‘Gli Umbri’, 377–8.

cannot place any serious weight on Livy's use of the term *urbs* (alongside *oppidum*) or on the detail of the houses built up against the town walls, given the absence of archaeological confirmation.⁴² Despite all this, the general impression he gives of a well-established settlement with considerable resources is supported by the difficulty of the siege operation for the Romans, which took more than one campaign season and resulted in a triumph for the victorious Roman commander.⁴³

The battle of Sentinum in 295 BC probably marks the swan-song of Umbrian resistance. According to Livy, an alliance between Samnites, Etruscans, Gauls, and Umbrians was formed in 296 BC under the moving spirit of the Samnite general Gellius Egnatius (10. 18. 2). The Etrusco-Umbrian alliance had precedents, but the coming together of all four peoples is a clear sign of the extraordinary nature of their resistance to Rome. In the following year there seems to have been considerable military activity in Umbria, probably the major scene of battle because it occupied the pivotal position amongst these peoples. At the start of 295 BC the camp of the praetor Appius Claudius Caecus was placed near the town of Aharna (Livy 10. 25. 4), probably Arna just across the Tiber from Perugia into Umbria. After his army was taken over by the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus at the start of the military season, it was defeated near Camerinum (Polybius 2. 19. 5). The enemy is variously reported as Samnites and Gauls (Polybius), Senonian Gauls, or Umbrians; Livy (10. 26. 12) gives alternative versions, but revealingly thinks that such

⁴² Fontaine, *Cités*, 425, thinks that it could just as likely be 'la place fortifiée d'un état territorial (*pagus*)' as an *urbs* in the strictest sense of the term (defined p. 422), but the difference between such types is not necessarily great. He dates the exiguous vestiges of polygonal walling to the start of the colonial period on the basis of the high-quality workmanship (p. 101). Tombs without grave goods found near the Duomo in 1936 which had been considered 8th cent. BC (P. Dorello, 'Il rinvenimento di tombe preromane nella città di Narni', *BDSPU* 46 (1949), 162–7) have recently been related to the late Roman period by L. Pani Ermini, 'Note sulla città di Narni nell'altomedioevo', in G. Binazzi (ed.), *L'Umbria meridionale fra tardo-antico ed altomedioevo* (Perugia and Rome, 1991), 140–1. The building of houses so that their outer walls formed a protective circuit for the community is recorded by Aristotle, *Politics* 1330–1 and Plato, *Laws* 6. 778–80 as a traditional technique of fortification.

⁴³ M. Fulvius Paetinus was granted a triumph *de Samnitibus Nequinatibusque*: A. Degrassi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 13. *Fasti et elogia, fasc. 1. Fasti consulares et triumphales* (Rome, 1947), 72.

a defeat would have been much more likely to have been inflicted by Gauls than Umbrians.⁴⁴ Livy claims that this battle was fought in Etruria at Clusium (10. 25. 11), 'which used to be called Camars', but he is clearly mistaking the correct location, reported by Polybius, which is also much more topographically likely in the context of the campaign as a whole. However, the subsequent references to Clusium in the campaign do not need to be emended to Camerinum: the Clusine deserters (Livy 10. 27. 4) at Sentinum are perfectly plausible; Clusium was a better target for the diversionary Roman attack than Camerinum (Livy 10. 27. 5), being twice the distance away on the other side of the Appennines and probably not having Camerinum's favoured allied status. It therefore appears likely that the part later played by Clusium in the campaign inspired Livy (or one of the earlier annalists) to change the site of the Roman defeat to Clusium, believing that its earlier name was close to that of Camerinum.

The Roman strategy of diverting the Umbrian and Etruscan forces to the defence of Clusium seems to have worked. They had joined forces with each other before the battle (Livy 10. 27. 3), and neither Polybius nor Livy mentions them in their accounts of the battle. In fact, Livy states in 10. 27. 11 that, had Umbrians and Etruscans been present, the Romans would have lost. Whether or not they were defeated with the Perusini and Clusini in Etruria by the Roman diversionary force (Livy 10. 30. 1–2), this campaign seems to have been the decisive blow to the independence of many Umbrian communities. It was probably now that most were bound to Rome with treaties, and confiscations of Umbrian territory used to create *ager publicus*.⁴⁵

Subsequent events in the conquest of Umbria can be followed only in outline form, as Livy's complete narrative ends in 293 BC; the scanty sources that remain serve to highlight the quality and richness of Livy's work. It may have been around the time of M'. Curius Dentatus' conquest of Sabinum in 290 BC (Livy, *Per.* 11) that Fulginiae and Plestia were incorporated into the Roman state and given *civitas sine suffragio*, and that

⁴⁴ Giardina, 'L'identità incompiuta', 44.

⁴⁵ Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 358–9, who thinks this is when Fulginiae and Spoletium were incorporated into the Roman state, but see s. 4 below.

Interamna Nahars was colonized.⁴⁶ We next have a brief notice in a fragment of Dio, perhaps for 282 BC: he says that when the Tarentines prepared for war against the Romans they sent men 'to the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, and so caused a number of them to secede, some immediately and some a little later' (book 9, frag. 39). No further information on Umbrian involvement in this episode is available, but it suggests that an undercurrent of hostility to the Romans remained and that further military action took place. Such notices help provide an idea of the extent of the events which are now lost to us.

The Roman conquest of Umbria seems to have been concluded in the 260s. A triumph of D. Iunius Pera and N. Fabius Pictor *de Sassinatibus* is recorded for 266 BC. In addition the *Epitome* of Livy book 15 has the following notice, probably referring to 268–265 BC: *Umbri et Sallentini victi in deditionem accepti sunt*. The combination of these two pieces of information must mean that the Sassinates (centred around Sassina on the northern slopes of the Appennines) were the last of the Umbrians to be conquered, being the most northerly.⁴⁷ Clearly they were regarded as almost a separate people by the Romans, given that they were listed as distinct from the rest of the Umbrians in the document used by Polybius in enumerating the allied forces available to the Romans in 225 BC (2. 24): this strongly suggests that the Roman arrangements of allied contingents, and their perceptions of the ethnic groups of Italy, were determined by the forces they came up against during the conquest. The triumph awarded to their conqueror implies that the Sassinates were a powerful military force. The cause of their war with the Romans is unclear, but De Sanctis plausibly suggests that they had joined the insurrection of the Picentes, sharing this people's concern at the foundation of Ariminum (268 BC) which boxed them in to the north.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio: L'Organisation de la conquête jusqu'à la guerre sociale* (Rome, 1978), 221–6; the evidence is examined in s. 5.

⁴⁷ See Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 84. The context of the period (for which see M. R. Torelli, *Rerum Romanarum Fontes* (Pisa, 1978)) makes it unlikely that the Sallentini mentioned in the *Epitome* should be equated with the Umbrian people called the *Dolates cognomine Sallentini* recorded by Pliny, *NH* 3. 113, rather than the people of the south-eastern peninsula of Italy. Sarsina (Sassina) and the Sassinates are listed as Umbrian by Strabo (5. 2. 10) and Pliny (*NH* 3. 114).

⁴⁸ De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 422–3.

3. Treaties and the political organization of the Umbrians⁴⁹

Although the peoples of Italy must often have made agreements with each other, we are much better informed on the character and content of the treaties which they made with Rome. The Romans formed treaties with a large number of societies during and in the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Italy. When their dominance was complete, these treaties formed the basis of their control over those parts of Italy that had not been absorbed directly into the Roman state: the *foedus* must have been the main mechanism governing the relations of the Umbrian states that were not of Roman or Latin status with Rome.

The content and classification of such treaties have been the subject of much debate. Recent discussions have concluded that it is unhelpful to divide treaties into one of two rigid categories, equal (*aequum*) and unequal (*iniquum*).⁵⁰ The former seems to have been a technical term in Latin, but, as Badian points out, the latter is too undiplomatic to have been used officially.⁵¹ In reality the treaties formed by Rome with Italian communities are likely to have been quite diverse, as they were only beginning to be used systematically in the era of the Roman conquest and because they were formed in very different circumstances.⁵² Alliances formed with states which had not been involved in hostilities against Rome, such as Camerinum and (more speculatively) Oriculum, are likely to have been the most favourable in their terms.⁵³ Iguvium is the only other Umbrian state with an explicitly attested treaty, but this was probably formed after the defeat of the anti-Roman

⁴⁹ For a list of treaties explicitly attested by ancient sources, see Appendix 4.

⁵⁰ E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford, 1958), 25–8; V. Ilari, *Gli italici nelle strutture militari romane* (Milan, 1974), ch. 2.

⁵¹ *Foedus aequum*: Proculus, *Digest* 49. 15. 7. 1; Livy 28. 45. 20 (quoted below); Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 20. 46 describes Camerinum's treaty as *omnium foederum sanctissimum atque aequissimum*, implying that there were differences between equal treaties.

⁵² Later treaties alone survive as epigraphic texts.

⁵³ The prestige of the Camertes' treaty was such that over 500 years later, when it had lost all legal meaning, they applied to Septimius Severus for its renewal (*CIL* xi. 5631 = *ILS* 432 (AD 210)).

coalition in the Sentinum campaign and will therefore have been less generous in its terms.⁵⁴ Quite how such terms differed is uncertain. It now seems unlikely that 'unequal' treaties with Italian states were characterized by the inclusion of the clause, recorded by Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 35, saying 'let them uphold the greatness of the Roman people in a friendly way' (*maiestatem populi Romani comiter conservanto*), an explicit recognition of Rome's superiority.⁵⁵ Sherwin-White sees the difference between equal treaties and unequal ones in that the former only required the allied state to provide military forces to help defend the other party, Rome, when it was attacked: a 'defensive alliance of equal partners'.⁵⁶ Livy's record of the contributions to Scipio's African expedition of 205 BC, appears to offer some support for this (Livy 28. 45. 13-21):

Etruriae primum populi pro suis quisque facultatibus consulem adiutores polliciti [list of contributions of Etruscan cities] . . . Umbriae populi et praeter hos Nursini et Reatini et Amiternini Sabinusque omnis ager milites polliciti. Marsi Paeligni Marrucinique multi voluntarii nomina in classem dederunt. Camertes cum aequo foedere cum Romanis essent, cohortem armatam sescentorum hominum miserunt.

(First the peoples of Etruria promised that they would aid the consul, each according to their means . . . The peoples of Umbria and in addition the Nursini, Reatini, and Amiternini, and the whole Sabine territory promised soldiers. Many Marsi, Paeligni, and Marrucini gave their names as volunteers for the fleet. The Camertes, although they had an equal treaty with Rome, sent an armed cohort of six hundred men.)

In fact, that the Camertes 'decided' to contribute troops on this occasion, and probably on many prior unrecorded occasions,

⁵⁴ Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 47 (discussing the enfranchisements of Marius): *neque Iguviniatum neque Camertium foedere esse exceptum, quo minus eorum civibus a populo Romano praemia virtutis tribuerentur* (Neither in the treaty with Iguvium nor with Camerinum was there any saving clause stipulating that rewards of valour should not be bestowed upon their citizens by the Roman people).

⁵⁵ Cicero himself says that not all treaties included this clause, which is only attested in treaties with states outside Italy. Discussion (in addition to those works already cited): H. Horn, *Foederati* (Frankfurt am Main, 1930); Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, i. 258-66; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 98-113; Sherwin White, *Roman Citizenship*, ch. 4; E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London, 1982), 66-8.

⁵⁶ *Roman Citizenship*, 121.

is to be expected.⁵⁷ Scipio was explicitly invited to seek military contributions, but in most cases the need to defend Rome could be invoked, which even 'equal partners' were not in a position to deny.⁵⁸ In addition, 'equal partners' within Italy would have their foreign policy curtailed as effectively as any other allies: all were surrounded by other allies of the Romans, or by Latin or Roman areas, which obviously could not be attacked. Thus the implications of alliance with Rome were in practice pretty much the same for all, whatever their treaty conditions.

My investigation of the use of treaties by the Romans in this particular area is not intended to add to this well-worn debate. Instead I want to focus on two rather neglected questions: what do these treaty arrangements tell us about these communities at this time, and about the way the Romans perceived them? First we have to establish what the pattern of treaties was in Umbria. We have seen that there is specific evidence for treaties with Camerinum, Ocriculum, and Iguvium. There are further indications that two other Umbrian peoples, the Tudertines and the Amerini, were not Roman citizens before the Social War, and thus will have almost certainly been of allied status; the evidence does not necessarily imply that Tuder and Ameria were autonomous communities which had their own bilateral treaties with Rome, but it is interesting to note that these five together include the two Umbrian centres (Iguvium and Tuder) that produce their own coinage, another sign of local sovereignty.⁵⁹ Was the area outside the

⁵⁷ Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 264–5, translates the last line as 'The Camertes, since they had an equal treaty . . .', with the implication that this treaty involved some special reason for their commitment here, but this seems an unduly complicated interpretation.

⁵⁸ See P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), 548 n. 3. Naples, which had a comparatively equal treaty (Livy 8. 26. 6), had to supply naval contingents to the Roman army by its terms (Ilari, *Gli italici*, 42).

⁵⁹ Sisenna fr. 119P, from book 4 dealing with the Social War period, says that the (or some) Tudertines were given citizenship by a decision of the Senate; the allied status of Ameria has been deduced by L. Ross Taylor from the relationship of *hospitium* formed by Roman aristocrats and the elder Sextus Roscius who, if Cicero was using the word in its legal sense (*pro Roscio Amerino* 15), must have been a non-Roman citizen; see Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 85 n. 18, followed by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 100. Coinage as an index of political organization is examined in Ch. 4, s. 6.

territories of these communities made up of other small independent states from the time of the conquest, as we know existed in the imperial period, each with a treaty with Rome? Or was the rest of Umbria dominated by a 'tribal confederation', on the lines of the Samnites and other peoples to the south-east, and hence given a collective treaty?⁶⁰

In fact there are good reasons for thinking that there were many small Umbrian states in alliance with Rome. The general paucity of evidence for treaties formed during the conquest of Italy is a perfectly adequate explanation of why we have firm testimony for only three allied Umbrian states: Camerinum, Iguvium, and Ocriculum.⁶¹ We have explicit evidence merely for one allied Etruscan state (Tarquinii), and yet it is likely that most central and northern Etruscan cities were (eventually) bound to Rome by treaties.⁶² Admittedly only a small number of treaties with Italian cities and peoples are recorded in the narrative of Livy, our main source. But Livy is not systematic and does not mention every treaty that was arranged. We know that the allied 'system' was in place by 225 BC because Polybius (2. 24) records the numbers of the allied contingents in the levy to meet the Gallic invasion of that year; the majority of treaties were probably formed in the latter years of the conquest, the 280s–260s, but the Livian narrative is lost from 292 BC.⁶³ It is thus legitimate to assume that there were many unattested treaties with the Umbrian communities that were not colonized or absorbed into the Roman state. A large number of cities with administrative autonomy are known from the rich epigraphic data of the late Republican and early

⁶⁰ A possibility suggested by Fontaine, *Cités*, 34: 'Ainsi la soumission groupée de *populi* à *Mevania* en 308 a-t-elle sans doute été négociée avec une hiérarchie "tribale", habilitée à traiter en leur nom commun' (see also 'Entre le Tibre et l'Apennin: L'Organisation du territoire des Ombriens avant la conquête romaine', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 69/1 (1991), 161–2). Cf. Manconi and Whitehead's assumption in *Territory, Time and State* (p. 178) that 'the Umbrians were probably no less unified than the Samnites'. For treaties with the other peoples of Italy see Appendix 4.

⁶¹ *Etruria and Umbria*, 100; cf. G. Devoto, *Gli antichi Italici* (3rd edn., Florence, 1967), 254. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 107, 258 n. 3, took a similar line, although rightly stressing that the exact number of Umbrian allies was an 'unknown quantity'.

⁶² Tarquinii: P. Romanelli in *NSc* (1948), 267; M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* (Florence, 1975), 162–3. For truces with Etruscan states see below.

⁶³ Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 85–98.

imperial periods. The number that were autonomous in the early third century can only be guessed at, but in my opinion most of the following are likely to have had this status: Ameria, Arna, Asisium, Attidium, Camerinum, Hispellum, Iguvium, Mevania, Mevaniola, Nuceria, Oriculum, Sassina, Sentinum, Sestinum, Tifernum Metaurense and Tiberinum, Trebiae, Tuder, Urvinum Hortense and Metaurense, and Vettona.⁶⁴ Thus we have a maximum total of twenty-one possible Umbrian allies. It would in any case be difficult to explain why the three Umbrian states with known alliances were separate, whereas the rest were a collective federation.

At the same time, it is certainly true that the Umbrians had some sort of collective organization along ethnic lines. The evidence is indisputable that some Umbrian peoples united for military purposes. We cannot use the dubious literary accounts of the conflicts fought by the Umbrians as an ethnic group in mythical prehistory or the over-schematized references to the 'Umbrian' rebellion in the Social War as genuine evidence, but it is attested against Rome in the wars of 308 and 295 BC, and against the Gauls under Roman command in 225 BC (Polybius 2. 24), which is probably a continuation of a pre-conquest arrangement.⁶⁵ Even in these episodes Polybius and Livy are probably generalizing about the ethnic group—the Umbrian action against Rome will not have included Camerinum (or perhaps Oriculum and various other unspecified states) and that against the Gauls in 225 BC refers only to allied areas—but many of the Umbrian peoples are likely to have taken part on these occasions.⁶⁶ This still does not tell us what the exact nature of this arrangement was, whether formal league or association of convenience.

⁶⁴ Cf. the list provided by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 100–1. I have excluded the centres to the east of the Appennine watershed for which there is very little archaeological evidence from the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC (Matilica, Pitinum Mergens, and Pisaurense and Tuficum) and Fulginiae, which was incorporated into the Roman state and so was not an ally; Nuceria is added.

⁶⁵ The attack on Cumae by Etruscans, Umbrians, and others in the later 6th cent. (Dion. Hal. 7. 3. 1) may be a genuine early event, but is unlikely to have involved all peoples pertaining to these names.

⁶⁶ Note that De Sanctis (*Storia dei Romani*, ii. 349) is careful not to assume that all the Umbrians were involved in the Sentinum campaign.

In his work on Umbrian political organization, Coli argued that this people were no exception to what he saw as the 'natural' state of alliance existing amongst ethnic groups in the Graeco-Italic world.⁶⁷ He drew a particular parallel with the better attested and much discussed Etruscan league, and highlighted two pieces of evidence. The first is the list of enemies banished and cursed during the ceremonies in the Iguvine Tables, which includes the 'community of Tadinum, the tribe of Tadinum, the Etruscan, Narcan, and Iapudic names'.⁶⁸ Coli takes this to imply that the people of the Nar valley (the Narcan name) along with the Etruscan and Iapudic name were different ethnic groups to the Umbrians and that the Tadinates must have been of the same *nomen* (name) as the Iguvines.⁶⁹ This seems reasonable, even if it involves the difficulty that the settlements in the lower Nar valley (Interamna Narhars, Nequinum) were also Umbrian according to ancient authors. This is not, of course, evidence in itself for the existence of a league, and the expression of hostility towards the Tadinates is enough to show that any unity was subordinate to individual community interests.⁷⁰ Furthermore there is no reason why these peoples should be enemies of the Umbrians as a whole rather than of just the Iguvine people: the Tadinates and Etruscans (of Perugia?) were probably neighbours of the Iguvines, and those of the 'Narcan and Iapudic names' may have come into contact with the Iguvines at some stage in their history.

Coli's other source is the joint Umbrian and Etruscan religious association described in the late imperial Hispellum Rescript (*ILS* 705). The evidence provided by this inscription for ethnic organization has been reinforced by recent archaeological discoveries in the extra-urban sanctuary of the Villa Fidelia, the findspot of the Rescript, which strongly suggest

⁶⁷ *Il diritto pubblico degli Umbri e le tavole eugubine* (Milan, 1958), 77–9; 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Umbria preromana', in *Problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria*, 154–7. No worthwhile evidence exists according to De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, ii. 348; cf. Devoto, *Gli antichi Italici*, 243; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 101.

⁶⁸ Discussed in Ch. 1, s. 2.

⁶⁹ This incidentally implies that the Tadinates were a politically autonomous community.

⁷⁰ There is no Umbrian *nomen* cited in the Tables, as in the rest of Umbrian epigraphy, although this is not wholly surprising for reasons discussed in Ch. 1, s. 2.

that this had been a communal Umbrian meeting point as far back as the pre-conquest period.⁷¹ Again, there is a difficulty in that this could have been nothing more than a religious grouping, but it would be rash to deny that this might be connected with Umbrian military alliances in the conquest. However, this still does not justify the use of the term 'league' and we should certainly avoid the tendency to see such associations as somehow 'naturally' originating structures rather than artificial constructs which change over time. In assuming that the Umbrian ethnic group had primordial origins, Coli fails to allow for the possibility that it might be military alliance against Rome that activates a sense of ethnic identity, rather than vice versa. In fact, a striking feature of the literary narratives of the Roman conquest of Umbria is the frequency of cross-ethnic alliances, especially those between Umbrian and Etruscan centres which have been highlighted above. The coming together for defence was common to many other Italian peoples; such associations do not impinge on the sovereignty of their constituents and certainly do not have any sort of negative 'tribal' political implications, as is clear from the alliances between Etruscan cities. This is in any case an overly crude way of looking at political sophistication, as set out in Chapter 2.

With a careful examination it can be seen that Livy's narrative supports this cautious picture, and does not provide any evidence that the Umbrians were a large politically unified (or confederated) 'tribal' group. In the defeat at Mevania in 308 the Umbrian alliance appears to have been extremely fragile, and would have broken up on the arrival of the Romans if Materina had not taken the initiative and led the others into battle. After their defeat the various Umbrian peoples surrendered individually and over a period of several days. We know that the Oriculani at least were treated as an individual entity by the Romans at this stage. Later on no other Umbrian peoples are said to have come to the aid of the Nequinates in the lengthy siege of their stronghold, despite its strategic importance for the whole of the region.⁷² Had

⁷¹ This material is discussed and the Rescript quoted in Ch. 5, s. 10.

⁷² I do not think that this was because the Nequinates may have belonged to a different *nomen*, for which see Ch. 1, s. 2.

this happened, M. Fulvius Paetinus would surely have claimed a triumph over the Umbri as a whole rather than just the Nequinates. We can also examine the list of allies that contributed towards the expedition of Scipio to Africa in 205 BC (see above). The only individual states named by Livy are Etruscan and Sabine, but his mention of the Umbrian peoples (*Umbriae populi*) does not mean he equates them with the Marsi, Paeligni, and Marrucini listed subsequently. On the contrary, the formula used is the same as for the Etruscans, only without the detail of individual communities' contributions.

It therefore seems justified to see the Umbrians during the era of the conquest as made up of individual autonomous communities, many (but not all) of whom came together in a loose association for self-defence, and each of whom probably had an individual treaty with Rome by its end. Moreover, it is possible to press our evidence further and draw some conclusions about the sophistication of these societies' political organization, and of how they were perceived by the Romans. What exactly are the Romans recognizing with a treaty? Are they consistent?

For it to be worth the Romans forming such agreements, it would seem necessary for the other party to have a certain level of communal organization and centralized authority: that is, be something approximating to a state. If the contracting entity (presumably the representatives or other leaders of the community) had little control over its population, why formalize their agreement with a *foedus*? This impression is reinforced by the religious and legal procedure the Romans went through to form a treaty, which Livy records during his account of the reign of Tullus Hostilius (1. 24): the antiquity the Romans ascribed to this process is a sign of the importance they invested in it. The Romans conserved many of their treaties in the form of bronze inscriptions, such as the Carthage treaties seen by Polybius, and we can imagine the other parties to pacts with Rome similarly displaying inscribed treaties.

The provisions of Roman treaties are the key to their requirements in terms of state organization. We know that the essential stipulation of the treaties binding Italian peoples to Rome was for them to provide troop contingents to serve with the Roman army, irrespective in practice of how 'equal' their

type of treaty was.⁷³ This is predictable in the context of the conquest of Italy and indeed features in the record of the *foedus Cassianum* of 493 BC between the Romans and the Latins, the likely model for most later treaties. By 111 BC the *Lex Agraria* could refer to the allies or members of the Latin name 'from whom they are accustomed to demand troops in the land of Italy according to the *formula togatorum*'.⁷⁴ The allies had to supply Rome with a list of all their available manpower, from which the Romans could draw whatever forces they considered necessary.⁷⁵ The obligation to provide troops suggests that an allied government must have had control over most, and probably all, of the population within its territory, and must have been able to compel them to turn out when required. A government would need to know how many of its population were of fighting age and also whether they had enough property to be able to equip themselves for military service. The Roman army of the middle Republic was reputedly divided into six categories according to wealth (although there may have been fewer categories), and even if the system for constructing an allied army was much less complex, a distinction would still have been necessary between those who could afford to serve and those who could not. It is also likely that the authority bound by a treaty would have had to gather resources to pay those who had served (Polybius 6. 21. 5).

These implications suggest that the peoples of Italy who formed treaties with Rome needed effective central authorities. As we have seen in Umbria, most treaties binding the Italian allies to Rome were probably formed around the time of the conquest. Since Rome used treaties as a way of controlling the areas of Italy which were not given Roman citizenship or

⁷³ This was an important difference from truces. More caution is necessary with regard to treaties formed with communities outside Italy, but F. Millar ('The Last Century of the Roman Republic', *JRS* 85 (1995), 242) draws attention to Cic., *Verr.* 2. 5. 25/60, which implies that allies inside and outside Italy had similar obligations.

⁷⁴ M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, i (London, 1996), 2. 21, 50.

⁷⁵ Brunt, *Manpower*, 545–8, convincingly argues that the Romans could call up *all* the citizens of an ally who were able to serve, but generally requested only a small proportion at a number fixed by the so-called *formula togatorum*. Polybius (2. 23. 9) records a Roman decision to require the allies to provide lists of their available manpower in 225 BC; he gives the breakdown of the figures in 2. 24. On his figures and their problems see s. 6 below.

colonized, it follows that all these regions were organized into states by the time of the conquest (in the late fourth and early third century BC).⁷⁶ This conclusion is based on the assumption that all Italian polities with whom treaties were formed were already capable of raising troop contingents, and did not form into states under pressure from Rome. That all the future allies had the capability to organize an army is demonstrated by the record of their resistance to Rome. Obviously some peoples, such as the Samnites, were more widely organized in military terms than others. I would not want to deny, however, that the levy for the Roman army after the conquest may have strengthened the pre-existing communal structures of the Italian allies.⁷⁷

The Romans readily formed treaties with a wide range of different societies in Italy, beginning with Latin states such as the Gabii.⁷⁸ Given this level of recognition inherent in a *foedus*, it is striking that there seems to be little sign that they preferred city-states over non-urbanized states. In fact the opposite to this sort of policy seems to have been the case. Livy describes how individual Etruscan city-states sought to make treaties with Rome on many occasions, but usually had to settle for truces (e.g. 9. 37. 12, 9. 41. 5, 10. 46. 12).⁷⁹ By contrast, 'tribes' such as the Gallic peoples and the Samnites, who were supposedly more alien to the city-dwelling Romans, were regularly granted treaties in the course of the conquest of Italy: witness the treaty formed with the Gallic Boii in 284 BC, despite the fear the Gauls induced in the Roman psyche. This is particularly surprising given the importance in Roman (and Greek) ideology of the superiority of city-states over mountain-dwelling 'tribes', an ideology that has been traced

⁷⁶ *Contra* Stoddart in *Territory, Time and State*, 177, on Umbrian and Samnite communities.

⁷⁷ M. H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1981), 156, attributes the recovery of Lucania after the Hannibalic War partly to the need to provide contingents for the Roman army.

⁷⁸ Dion. Hal. 4. 58; Smith, *Early Rome*, 209–10.

⁷⁹ Pallottino, *Earliest Italy*, 135, saw truces as more of a recognition of a state's independence than treaties because they did not restrict that state's foreign policy, but this does not explain why Etruscans sought treaties rather than truces (e.g. Livy 9. 40. 6). Truces are simply employed by the Romans when further hostilities are envisaged. Treaties with Etruscan states were probably not formed on the whole until the later stages of the conquest.

back to the Samnite Wars by Dench. This suggests that this sort of consideration was expendable in cases of strategic expedience, and perhaps also that this ideology was less fully formed during the conquest than in a later period. What counted most was the capacity for military organization.

This military organization was central in determining the treatment that conquered peoples received. The Picentes, Marsi, and others presumably received a single collective treaty as they were politically organized as ethnic units. In contrast the Umbrians, like the Etruscans, were very obviously made up of fractious autonomous communities weakly associated together: settlements like Iguvium cannot have been given individual treaties by the Romans because they had the physical appearance of classical city-states (judging by the comparative paucity of monumental archaeological remains) but because they were perceived to be politically organized along the same lines. This corresponds closely to the general conclusions concerning the development and organization of communities in Umbria already drawn in previous chapters from epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

4. Colonization and the indigenous population

Before the conquest was over the Romans began to settle people in Umbria. This intervention lasted for almost all the third century BC and profoundly affected the pattern of settlement in the region. It took two forms: the foundation of Latin colonies and the settling of individual farmers with Roman status on the land of existing communities. We know of three Latin colonies founded in Umbria from literary sources: Narnia in 299 BC (Livy 10. 10. 5), Ariminum in 268 BC (Livy, *Per.* 15; Velleius Paterculus 1. 14. 7),⁸⁰ and Spolegium, in 241 BC (Velleius 1. 14. 8; Livy, *Per.* 20).

In addition, we can use archaeological and epigraphic evidence to make a strong case for regarding Interamna Nahars as a Latin colony founded at some point between the Roman

⁸⁰ Ariminum was later in the eighth Augustan region, but in its early history seems closely associated with the Umbrians (see below).

conquest and the Social War. The major settlement on this site in the late Bronze Age and Iron Age has been documented in the previous chapter. Interamna was the starting-point for routes to Picenum via the Nar valley, to the southern part of the Valle Umbra via Spolegium, and to Reate and the central Appennines beyond. The consensus in recent scholarship has been that this centre was given Roman status after the conquest, and that much of its territory in the Conca Ternana was given to individual Roman settlers.⁸¹ The main reason for assuming this is the Latin name of the centre.⁸² This name was also given to two other towns in the late fourth and early third centuries BC, the Latin colony of Interamna Lirenas and Interamnia Praetuttiorum, probably a *conciliabulum* within Roman territory.⁸³ Curiously, the magistrates of Interamna Nahars after the Social War were *quattuorviri*, typically the chief office in new *municipia* that had been of allied or Latin (not Roman) status until the Social War.⁸⁴ Several scholars have explained this anomaly as a magisterial form that developed from an earlier octoviral constitution, which is presumed to have occurred at Fulginiae and Plestia (both of Roman status) in this region, but this explanation seems forced.⁸⁵

In fact the archaeological evidence for the city recently assembled by Fontaine strongly suggests that it was a Latin rather than a Roman colony, although he does not draw this conclusion.⁸⁶ He has demonstrated that the blocks in the remains of the fortification around the site were cut to the same proportions as those in fourth-century Roman ramparts such

⁸¹ Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 83–5; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 153; Humbert, *Municipium*, 225–6.

⁸² Varro, *LL* 5. 28: *oppidum Interamna dictum, quod inter amnis establish constitutum*, the town Interamna gets its name from its position *inter amnis* ‘between rivers’. Paulus-Festus 16L: *Unde Interamnae et Antemnae dictae sunt, quod inter amnes sint positae, vel ante se habeant amnes*, ‘Interamna and Antemnae were so called because they were positioned between rivers, or had rivers before them’.

⁸³ Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 84.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 82. For an early attestation of *quattuorviri* here see *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2099, in Appendix 3.

⁸⁵ Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 82–3, and Humbert, *Municipium*, 225–6, following a suggestion of Beloch (*Römische Geschichte*, 504), although he thought Interamna was originally of allied status (p. 606). On Fulginiae and Plestia, *praefecturae* before the Social War, see s. 5 below.

⁸⁶ Fontaine, *Cités*, 122–30; he sees Interamna as a ‘pseudo-colony’ founded by Rome but not given the normal colonial status (presumably Latin) (p. 421).

as the Servian walls at Rome and those of the colonies at Nepes and Sutrium. The size of the blocks was calibrated according to the Roman foot,⁸⁷ and so the fortification probably dates from after the conquest. From an examination of the ancient position of the rivers, bridges and cemeteries around the town Fontaine has estimated that an area in the order of 35 ha was enclosed. The plan of the city walls was probably trapezoidal, and inside there are traces of an orthogonal street pattern with rectangular *insulae* (see fig. 3.1).⁸⁸ It is clear from this that there was a substantial Roman intervention here, amounting to the creation of an urban centre on a greater scale than the colony at neighbouring Spoletium.⁸⁹ The most likely date would seem to be in the third century BC, given the archaeological parallels for the wall and the street plan, although a second-century date cannot be ruled out. A colony of such a size with Roman rather than Latin status would be unprecedented in the third century; that it was Latin also seems more likely from its later quattuorviral constitution (discussed above).

There are two possible objections to this theory, which to my knowledge has not been previously proposed. However, neither seems decisive. The most serious is that no literary or epigraphic source names Interamna Nahars as a colony, which is surprising in the light of the size of the installation. I think it is important here to draw attention to the quality of the literary record of Latin colonization, which should not be overestimated. Arguments from silence are a poor guide, considering how much of Livy we are missing. The list of colonies provided by Velleius (1. 14. 1–15. 5) goes some way to making up this loss, but certainly has some obvious omissions, such as Narnia. He does refer to the colonization of an Interamna for 319 BC, but this is almost certainly Interamna Lirenas, which Livy says was colonized in 312 BC.⁹⁰ However, other references to unspecified Interamnae are less clear-cut:

⁸⁷ Confirmed by autopsy.

⁸⁸ Fontaine, *Cités*, 128, deduced from excavated traces of Roman paving, the medieval street plan and the positioning of the city gates; now confirmed by Pirro, *Interamna Nahartium* (see especially inserted map 2). This type of plan was typical of 3rd cent. BC colonies such as Cosa, although Marzabotto shows that the Etruscans were familiar with these ideas from c.500 BC.

⁸⁹ For the sizes of these communities, see below.

⁹⁰ Velleius 1. 14. 4; Livy 9. 28. 8.

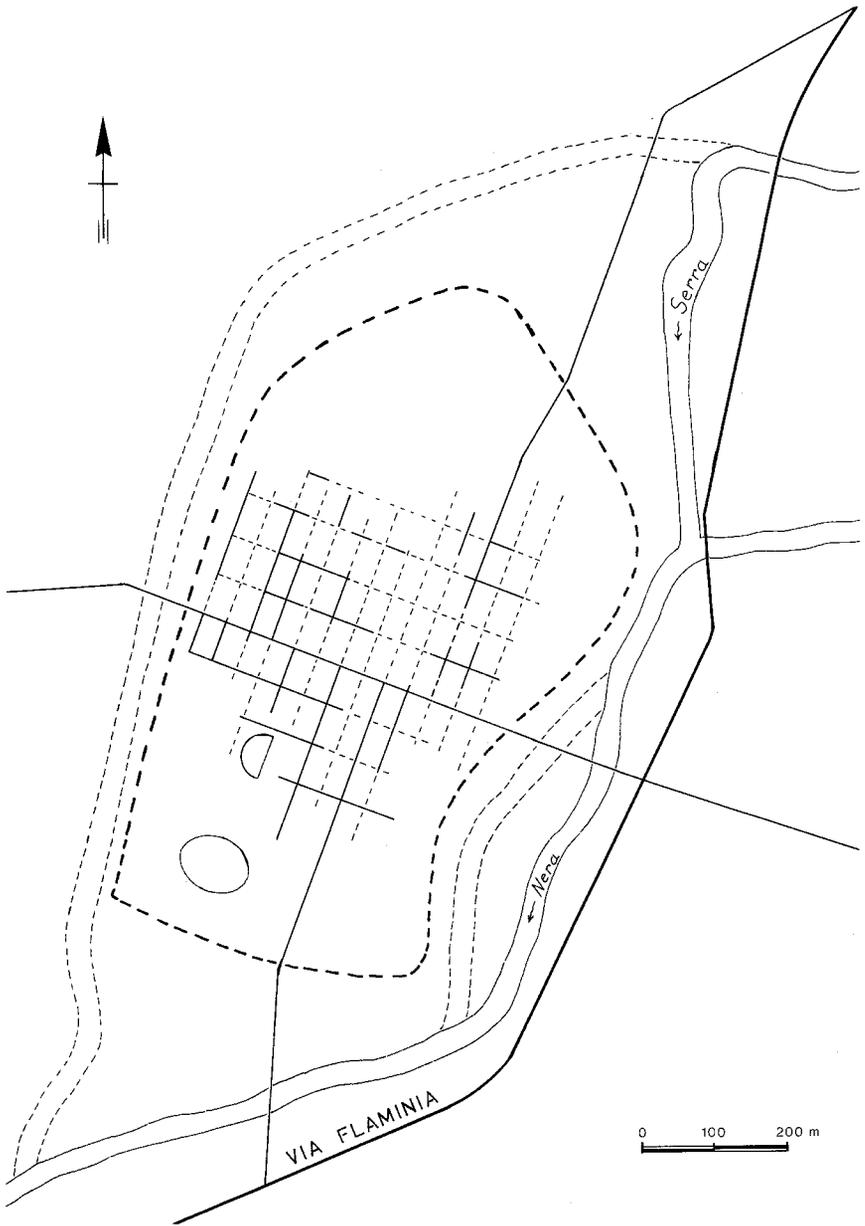


FIG. 3.1. Reconstruction of the plan of Interamna Nahars (from P. Fontaine, *Cités et enceintes de l'Ombrie antique* (Brussels and Rome, 1990), 128)

Livy names one in his two lists of Latin colonies that refused to continue supplying manpower to the Romans in the Hannibalic War, and this seems less certainly to be the other Interamna.⁹¹ It is interesting to note in this context the recent conclusion of Paci that Urbs Salvia in Picenum was another colony that was founded before the Social War and was also not recorded in any literary source.⁹² His evidence is that it had the same magistracies—*praetores*, *quaestores*, *aediles*—as nearby Auximum (founded in 157 BC, according to Velleius 1. 15. 3). What is particularly striking is that Urbs Salvia has *quattuorviri* as well, which, like those at Interamna, have also been explained as an evolution of the octovirate.⁹³ Unfortunately the issue is even more complicated here than at Interamna: both colonies founded in Picenum in this comparatively late period must surely have been Roman, and so the quattuorvirate is still unexpected here. The other objection is that Interamna was in the Clustumina tribe, which is often regarded as a ‘penalty tribe’, with a large concentration of Umbrian ex-allied communities who had revolted in the Social War; the arguments in favour of this are weak.⁹⁴

We can only speculate on the exact date of the colonization of Interamna. One obvious possibility is that the foundation was connected with that of Narnia in 299 BC, but Livy’s account of this episode (9. 10. 5) offers no support for such a hypothesis. A more plausible point would be in 290 BC, when the neighbouring Sabines, to whom Interamna was strongly linked, were conquered. The colony has an interesting geographical context. Before the conquest, difficulties with flooding are attested by the alluvial layers that were periodically laid down over the Iron Age cemeteries, and at a later date in the disputes between Interamna and Reate (e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 78). This must have been a problem for the organizers of the

⁹¹ Livy 27. 9; 29. 15: the lists are very similar in order, and pair associated colonies together, e.g. Nepet and Sutrium, Alba and Carseoli, etc., both suggestively ending with Narnia and Interamna; a difficulty is that there is no mention of Interamna Lirenas in the lists of loyal colonies.

⁹² G. Paci, ‘Vent’anni di studi e ricerche urbisalviensi’, in L. Bacchielli *et al.*, *Studi su Urbisaglia romana* (Rome, 1995), 99.

⁹³ See Delplace, ‘La colonia augustea di *Urbs Salvia*’, in Bacchielli, *Studi su Urbisaglia*, 28–9, for bibliography.

⁹⁴ See Ch. 5, s. 5.

settlement in the area. Presumably when M'. Curius Dentatus diverted some of the water in the Veline lake into the Nera in 272 BC, creating the waterfalls now known as the Cascate delle Marmore (Cic., *Att.* 4. 15. 5), there were already drainage schemes in the Conca Ternana to cope.⁹⁵

Despite this large-scale Roman intervention, there is evidence that at least part of the original Umbrian inhabitants in the territory were incorporated into the colony, rather than being expelled. An important inscription of the imperial period discussed in Chapter 2 records the foundation of the city 704 years earlier. The choice of this foundation date (if it is not a genuinely preserved memory) shows that even in the imperial period there was an awareness that the city predated the influx of settlers in the third century BC. Such an awareness must be the result of the incorporation of the pre-existing Umbrian community into the Latin colony. We can join to this the evidence for the sanctuary on the peak of M. Torre Maggiore which shows signs of use from the fifth century to the late Republican period, probably by people from the Conca Ternana which it overlooked.⁹⁶

There is archaeological evidence that the other colonies in Umbria were also founded on the sites of pre-existing communities, as was common elsewhere, such as at Alba Fucens.⁹⁷ At Ariminum archaeological evidence for the continued use of an extra-urban sanctuary after colonization can be compared to a fascinating notice of Strabo (5. 1. 11), who says that 'Ariminum is a settlement of the Ombri, just as Ravenna is, although each of them has received Roman colonists'.⁹⁸ Brunt has argued that Ariminum was an exception to the general rule that the locals were expelled, because the population here wanted to keep out the Gauls, but this vision of hostilities

⁹⁵ Fontaine, *Cités*, 27; see Pliny, *NH* 18. 263 on drainage ditches here, *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2099 (Appendix 3) on other drainage work.

⁹⁶ The evidence includes a votive deposit with bronze figurines and a monumental temple complex. This has been excavated recently: Bonomi Ponzi, 'Monte Torre Maggiore'; Bonomi Ponzi, 'Territorio di Cesi'. See also Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze', 111; *Guida Laterza*, 128–9.

⁹⁷ For Alba Fucens see J. Mertens, 'Alba Fucens', *DdA* 6 (1988), 87–104; the evidence for pre-Roman settlement at Nequinum is discussed in s. 2 above.

⁹⁸ Cf. Strabo 5. 1. 7. Sanctuary: M. Zuffa, 'Abitati e santuari suburbani di Rimini', in *La città etrusca e italica preromana* (Bologna, 1970), 312–13; Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', 157.

between unified ethnic groups is a simplistic way of looking at what was probably a complex situation.⁹⁹ What happened to the Umbrian inhabitants at Narnia and Spolegium—whether they were incorporated, expelled, or killed—is difficult to ascertain, as at most other colonial foundations. Brunt says that ‘it seems hardly credible that after prolonged resistance [the Nequinates] should have been admitted within the walls of a fortress designed to control their country or given a share in the government of the new city’.¹⁰⁰ Yet, as he concedes, the treachery that enabled the Romans to capture the town suggests the presence of a group of individuals within the community with proven loyalty to Rome. It is at least possible that such a group was incorporated in the new colony, and in fact it would have been poor strategy for the Romans to leave those who aided them without reward, even if Roman writers preferred to emphasize the handing back or harsh treatment of traitors.

Nevertheless, when it comes to the mass of the population it seems more probable that the Umbrians of Spolegium were incorporated as colonists than the Nequinates. Our sources for the foundation of Spolegium are very brief, but because it occurred long after the conquest, it is unlikely that the town was besieged and sacked.¹⁰¹ There was Roman military activity in neighbouring areas west of the Tiber in this year (241 BC), however. Falerii was attacked by a Roman army and the Faliscans who survived the capture of the city moved to a new settlement on a less defensible site (Falerii Novi), 5 kilometres to the west.¹⁰² In addition the Via Amerina, which connected southern Umbria to Rome, was built soon after the foundation of Falerii Novi. All these interventions may relate to consolidation of routes northwards from Rome at the end of the First Punic War.

The circumstances of the foundation of Spolegium thus suggest that it is more likely to have included the existing native

⁹⁹ Brunt, *Manpower*, 540. ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 539.

¹⁰¹ De Sanctis, *Storia dei romani*, ii. 341, thought that Spolegium and Fulginiae were incorporated into the Roman state after Sentinum, but the foundation of a Latin colony (Spolegium) seems possible only if the pre-existing community had not been made a Roman settlement.

¹⁰² Polybius 1. 65. 2; Livy, *Per.* 20.

population than Narnia. The contribution of archaeology to this question is intriguing but inconclusive. On the current state of the evidence the substantial city walls around the site may be linked to the foundation of the colony; a network of drainage tunnels across the city are constructed in the same polygonal stone technique and thus could also date from soon after 241 BC.¹⁰³ An earlier Umbrian presence here is proved by the discovery of graves dating from the seventh century BC and later, and by schematic bronze votives found on the Rocca and on the lower slopes of the city.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, there is an inscription in the Umbrian language and alphabet from Spolegium,¹⁰⁵ if this originates from the territory of the ancient town and has not been brought from elsewhere, it could be evidence for an Umbrian presence within the colony.

In general there are good arguments for believing that allies were often included in Latin colonies. Cornell estimates that the nineteen Latin colonies founded between 338 and 263 BC must have required the emigration of the order of 70,000 adult males and their dependants.¹⁰⁶ This would surely have been too heavy a loss for the Roman state of 290 BC to sustain, if estimates in the region of c.160,000 adult males in 290 BC can be taken as a useful guide.¹⁰⁷ Some of those colonists who emigrated from Latium might have been replaced by slaves, of whom there must have been significant numbers even in the fourth century,¹⁰⁸ but this was only a substitute for the agricultural workforce, not for men to serve in the legions.

When considering the fate of the pre-existing inhabitants of a colonized site it would be dangerous to assume that there

¹⁰³ See Ch. 4, s. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, listed the votives as unclassifiable: p. 116, XI; see also L. Di Marco, *Spolegium: Topografia e urbanistica* (Spoleto, 1975), 19–20; for details see Ch. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Po 11: its date is uncertain; Po 12 is probably Latin rather than Umbrian (see Appendix 2).

¹⁰⁶ Cornell in *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn.), 388 and table 9 based on A. Afzelius, *Die römische Eroberung Italiens (340–264 v. Chr.)* (Copenhagen, 1942); cf. Brunt, *Manpower*, 26–33, based on Beloch.

¹⁰⁷ From Afzelius, *Die römische Eroberung Italiens*, 181; the census figures are much higher but probably cannot be relied on. Note that unknown numbers were settled in virginate allotments.

¹⁰⁸ Cornell in *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn.), 334.

were no political divisions in Italian towns analogous to those attested in Rome in the early Republican period or in Italian cities during the Social War. Despite the lack of interest of Roman writers in affairs within Italian communities, we can gauge that internal tensions were recurrent, from incidents such as the betrayal of towns like Nequinum to the Romans, the dissensions in Arretium in 302 BC (Livy 10. 3. 2) and Volsinii in 264 BC (Zonaras 8. 7), and the turmoil within many cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily during the Second Punic War.¹⁰⁹ Hence a defeated enemy was often not simply a unified hostile body that had to be dealt with as a single entity. It would be misleading to impose modernizing preconceptions of the ethnic unity of ancient Italian peoples onto what is likely to be a fluid and often less well-defined situation. We should bear in mind that movement between communities and indeed ethnic groups is well documented for the archaic period in both epigraphic and literary sources, exemplified by the immigration of the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus from Etruria, and the 'defection' to the Volsci of the Roman Coriolanus.¹¹⁰ It seems unlikely that this 'archaic mentality' in which additions to a state would be welcomed as extra manpower has already been totally replaced by a more rigidly defined sense of ethnic identity in the mid-Republic.¹¹¹

Furthermore, in many circumstances it is possible that other allegiances, such as clientship and hospitality, were more important than allegiance to a state or ethnic group. In Umbria the sharing of a common language was not enough to prevent inter-state rivalry, as we have seen with the cursing of the Tadinat name and tribe by the people of Iguvium in the Iguvine Tables (VIb. 58); that linguistic groups could often be violently divided within themselves is also shown by the destruction of Greek colonies in southern Italy by their 'sister' cities.¹¹² In any case, the epigraphic and archaeological

¹⁰⁹ Although most of my examples come from city-states there is no theoretical reason why they could not occur in less urbanized areas as well; it may be that such divisions are more explosive within a city where the adversaries are more closely confined.

¹¹⁰ C. Ampolo, 'Demarato: Osservazioni sulla mobilità sociale arcaica', *DdA* 9-10 (1976-7), 333-45.

¹¹¹ This is certainly seen as a Roman strength by Philip V in his letter to the city of Larissa (*SIG* 543), which dates to 217 BC.

¹¹² Salmon, *Roman Italy*, 158.

evidence for language and culture in Umbria is far from homogeneous: the community of Tuder, for instance, seems to have been linguistically mixed, with Etruscan and Gallic as well as Umbrian elements present.¹¹³

The foundation of Latin colonies on the sites of pre-existing communities contrasts with the only Latin colony in Etruria, Cosa, which was planted on a section of *ager publicus* confiscated from a city that continued to exist (Vulci). The earlier Umbrian states were certainly smaller than the colonies that replaced them, and so presumably all their territory and some of that of the surrounding states had been confiscated: there was no possibility of a situation like that of Vulci. Literary sources record that colonies had either 2,500, 4,000, or 6,000 (adult male) settlers, who would bring their dependants to the new home: although formulaic, the consistency of the record suggests that these are genuine figures.¹¹⁴ Furthermore colony reinforcements were numbered in thousands; this presupposes that there was a conceptual 'minimum' for a viable community, which had to have enough members to be able to govern and defend itself. Based on the probable size of the territory of the ancient city, Narnia would seem to be one of the smaller colonies.¹¹⁵ Spolegium must have been considerably larger, as the area enclosed within its city walls is more than four times greater than that of Narnia.¹¹⁶ According to Fontaine's reconstruction, the third-century town walls of Interamna enclosed an area of 35 ha, giving it a living space substantially larger than Spolegium, whose site was in some places too steep to build houses on.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, given the smaller amount of plain (the Conca Ternana) available for distribution here than at Spolegium, we should perhaps estimate the size of both at 4,000 adult males, with Narnia having 2,500.

¹¹³ For further discussion, see Ch. 2, s. 4(c).

¹¹⁴ See Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, ii. 586–7.

¹¹⁵ See table in Cornell, *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn.), 405.

¹¹⁶ Spolegium: c.30 ha, although about $\frac{1}{4}$ of this (the Rocca) was too steep for habitation; Narnia: c.7 ha (more hypothetical, but unlikely to have been much more due to topography) (Fontaine, *Cités*, 104, 143). The territory of Spolegium contained much more agricultural plain that could be centuriated; the nearest substantial *municipia* in the Valle Umbra, Mevania, and Fulginiae, were 24 km away (Trebiae was probably tiny). Narnia shared its smaller plain, the Conca Ternana, with Interamna Nahars.

¹¹⁷ Fontaine, *Cités*, 127.

The size of these colonies would have dwarfed all but the largest neighbouring Umbrian communities, which were small by the standards of ancient Italian city-states, and they would in effect have become the dominant centres in southern Umbria. The colonies would also be able to fulfil a very powerful military role, preventing any disturbances or revolt in central and southern Umbria. The sites of both Spoletium and Narnia facilitate defence, with the precipitous cliffs on one side of the latter making it a natural fortress. But they were also in good positions to control rich agricultural plains: Tacitus (*Ann.* 1. 79) describes the land of the Conca Ternana between Narnia and Interamna as the best in Italy.

5. The extension of the Roman state in Umbria

Besides the foundation of Latin colonies mentioned above, the third century also saw various areas of Umbria absorbed into the Roman state. Incorporated areas could either have full Roman citizenship (*civitas optimo iure*), or citizenship without the vote (*civitas sine suffragio*). Individual Roman settlers were sent out to virginate allotments which they had been assigned in areas of Umbria confiscated from the defeated populations. They retained their full citizenship status. The archaeological remains of this type of settlement are much more difficult to trace than the foundation of new Latin colonies. As we shall see, there is some archaeological evidence to suggest an influx of Roman settlers took place at Plestia. More problematic is the case for virginate settlement in the Valle Umbra around Forum Flaminii. Humbert takes the foundation of this centre, which probably occurred in 220 BC, as evidence of previous land distributions in this area to full-status Roman citizens, because *fora* seem to be found only within enfranchised areas of the Italian peninsula.¹¹⁸ This is a reasonable hypothesis, but it remains far from watertight: north of the Appennines Gallic and provincial *fora* clearly 'arise or are established for *peregrini*', non-Romans.¹¹⁹ We might also expect many Umbrian communities, like others throughout Italy, to have lost some of their land to Roman confiscations, making it

¹¹⁸ Humbert, *Municipium*, 221–2.

¹¹⁹ Brunt, *Manpower*, 570; see also 715.

Roman *ager publicus*, but we know from Appian's introduction to the *Civil Wars* (I. 7) that much of it probably remained unassigned to colonists and was leased to local cultivators. In fact Appian says that this was why the Etruscans and Umbrians opposed the bill of Drusus in 91 BC (*BC* I. 36).¹²⁰

In addition, there is evidence (examined below) that the pre-existing Umbrian communities of Fulginiae and Plestia were incorporated with *civitas sine suffragio* and that they became *praefecturae* in the period before the Social War. Similar status has also been claimed for Carsulae and Tadinum on the basis of *duoviri* (typical of centres with Roman status before the Social War) who might be the magistrates of these places in the late Republic/early empire: the evidence is indecisive in the case of the former, but suggestive in the case of the latter.¹²¹ The absorption of Tadinum into the Roman state at the time of the Roman conquest has interesting implications, if correct: it means that the Tadinum community (*tota-*) mentioned in the Iguvine Tables would have to date from before its incorporation, providing further support for the argument expounded above that when Umbria was conquered by the Romans it was made up of many small autonomous states.¹²²

The precise date of the incorporation of all these Umbrian communities can only be guessed at. Humbert thinks it occurred between '299 (pacification de l'Ombrie) et 290 (conquête des Sabins limitrophes)',¹²³ but only the Nequinates,

¹²⁰ Quoted and discussed in Ch. 5, s. 5.

¹²¹ Archaeological evidence and its position on the Via Flaminia makes it likely that Carsulae was created afresh as an urban entity only at the end of the Republican period or the start of the Augustan one: see *Guida Laterza*, 123. There is an Augustan *duovir iure dicundo* (*CIL* xi. 4575), but this has to be set against several inscriptions attesting *quattuorviri*. A funerary cippus (*CIL* xi. 5802) from Costacciaro, 17 km away from Tadinum (and so more probably Iguvium's territory?) records a *Cn. Disinius T.f. Clu. Ilvir*. Bormann argued that none of the surrounding states had *duoviri* and so it must relate to Tadinum (*CIL* xi. 823 and 853). The tribe of Tadinum is not otherwise known; only Iguvium of the surrounding states was in the Clustumina recorded on the inscription, but *quattuorviri* seem to have been the chief magistrates here. The *marones* at Fossato di Vico (Ve 233) surely also pertain to Tadinum, which would mean that this centre retained its native magistracy in the 2nd cent. BC; these would on this interpretation have become *duoviri* on municipalization.

¹²² On *tota-* in the Iguvine Tables see A. L. Prosdocimi, 'Il lessico istituzionale italico: Tra linguistica e storia', in *La cultura italica* (Pisa, 1977), 29–74.

¹²³ Humbert, *Municipium*, 222 n. 54, assuming that Interamna was also a Roman community.

in the southern-most tip of Umbria, were defeated in 299 BC. The aftermath of the battle of Sentinum seems a much more likely occasion, although it is also possible that the incorporations happened after the defeat in 308 BC, or later than the conquest of Sabinum.¹²⁴ Like the Sabines, the communities involved almost certainly received citizenship without the vote because they were a considerable distance from Rome itself.¹²⁵ Although outside the main focus of this work, it is worth noting that Pisaurum and perhaps Aesis became Roman colonies within the area of the *ager Gallicus* on the Adriatic coast, which had been annexed to Rome after the defeat of the Senones in 284 BC. The foundation of Pisaurum occurred in 184 BC; the latter would date to 247 BC.¹²⁶

Epigraphic evidence shows that Plestia had Roman status before the Social War. Two inscriptions attest the presence of the octovirate, a board of eight magistrates, at the start of the imperial period.¹²⁷ This shows that Plestia was not constituted after the Social War with *quattuorviri* as supreme magistrates, as happened to the communities of Latin and allied status. It must therefore have been of Roman status before the Social War, most likely as a *praefectura*. It became a *municipium* with *quattuorviri* only later, probably at some time in the early empire.¹²⁸ It is not known for certain whether the octovirate was created by the Romans or was a local magistracy from the pre-Roman period whose name was Latinized. This office is found also at Sabine Amiternum, Nursia and Trebula Mutuesca, and at Praetuttian Interamnia. Its geographical distribution throughout several different peoples has led to one school of thought holding that this magistracy must have

¹²⁴ Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 87, suggests Fulginiae may have been annexed when the Via Flaminia was built.

¹²⁵ Compare the fate of the peoples of Campania in 338 BC (Livy 8. 14. 10–11); see Salmon, *Roman Italy*, 60. On the general topic of *civitas sine suffragio* see Sherwin White, *Roman Citizenship*; Humbert, *Municipium*; Oakley, *Commentary on Livy*, ii. 544–59.

¹²⁶ Pisaurum: Velleius 1. 15. 2; Livy 39. 44. 10. Aesis: Velleius 1. 14. 8, giving *Aefulum* or *Aesulum*. See Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 152.

¹²⁷ *CIL* xi. 5621: . . .]liconio.serapioni.patri | arnulae secundae.c.liconio[. . .] t.liconio.t.f.ouf.viii.vir posvit bm; L. Sensi, 'Gli ottoviri di Plestia', *BSCF* 9 (1990), 456, quoted below, for the other.

¹²⁸ Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze', 107: attested as 'res publica Plestinorum'; Humbert, *Municipium*, 223. *Quattuorviri*: *CIL* xi. 5619.

been imposed by the Romans.¹²⁹ This argument is hardly 'incontestable' as Humbert claims, as all these places are geographically linked as a block, and an Umbrian borrowing from Sabinum, like their borrowing of the quaestorship from Rome and the maronate from Etruria, is the more likely reason.¹³⁰ Most authors writing on the octovirate assume it functioned as a civic magistracy. In contrast Letta has suggested that it was a priestly college on the lines of the *octoviri Augustales* found elsewhere. A recently published inscription from the area of Plestia apparently records an *octovir* who is a freedman which, if the reading is correct, would support this hypothesis, as freedmen were generally ineligible for civic magistracies.¹³¹ Plestia was such a minor centre, however, that in the absence of better qualified candidates, a freedman might have held office here.

The coming of the Roman period, and the bestowing of Roman status on Plestia, is associated with a dramatic change in the local pattern of settlement, which had been based around a complex system of hillforts and corresponding cemeteries. The use of these cemeteries seems to have been in decline already from the middle of the fourth century BC, as a result of shifting trade routes.¹³² It is tempting to connect the disuse of these cemeteries and perhaps the fortified centres to which they relate with the establishment of the *praefectura* of Plestia on the shores of the lake here in the (?early) third century BC. A Republican temple and late Republican/early imperial house pertaining to the Roman settlement were excavated in the 1960s near the church of S. Maria di Pistia,

¹²⁹ Following H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im Römischen Italien* (Leipzig, 1935); for bibliography see Humbert, *Municipium*, 240 n. 133.

¹³⁰ Humbert, *Municipium*, 240 n. 133; see P. A. Brunt, 'Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War', endnote 4 in *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (Oxford, 1988). Harris's suggestion (*Etruria and Umbria*, 153 n. 7) that Plestia is more likely to be Sabine than that this is an isolated Umbrian borrowing of the octovirate is contradicted by Pliny, *NH* 3. 114 and Appian, *Hann.* 9. 11; we can also note the borrowing of the institution by the Praetuttii.

¹³¹ L. Sensi, 'Gli ottoviri di Plestia', *BSCF* 14 (1990), 456: . . .]m.annio.t.l[. . .] viii.vir.ch[. . . ; this is read by Sensi as *M(arco)? Annio, T(it)i l(iberto)* [. . .] (*octo*)vir(o), ch[. . . ?].

¹³² For details see Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey'; Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*. The earlier history of the site is discussed in Ch. 2, especially s. 4(a).

which conserves the ancient name.¹³³ Remains of Roman rural establishments discovered through survey and excavation suggest that a smaller population lived in the countryside in the Roman period, which may be the result of some of the original inhabitants moving to Plestia. The farms of the Roman era seem to be 'typologically homogeneous', as would be expected from viritane settlement,¹³⁴ and this suggests that the change in the pattern of settlement is at least in part the result of direct Roman intervention, connected with an influx of colonists. This sort of transition from a pre-Roman system based around hillforts to a Roman one based on an urban centre positioned in the valley bottom or plain is common in Samnium and the neighbouring central Appennine regions, but is unique in Umbria.¹³⁵ It suggests that Roman domination had a dramatic transforming effect on the settlement pattern in Umbria only where there was a hillfort and village system, a system not found outside mountain areas.

Although there seems to be this significant change in the pattern of inhabitation in the Roman period, probably connected with an influx of settlers, this did not result in the expulsion of the original local population, who must have received citizenship without the vote. This is evident from the retention of the octovirate, from the continuity of use of the sanctuary here from the fifth to the first century BC, and from the name Plestia itself, which is extremely close to the ethnic used on fourth-century inscriptions from the sanctuary here.¹³⁶

The only traces of pre-Roman settlement at Fulginiae are some sixth- to fifth-century tombs and some Italic bronze votives, which could indicate the presence of a sanctuary.¹³⁷ The evidence for the community's Roman status after the conquest is a fragment of Cicero's *pro Vareno* preserved by Priscian (*Gramm. Lat.* 7. 14. 70): *Cicero pro Vareno: 'C. Ancharius Rufus fuit e municipio Fulginate' idem in eadem:*

¹³³ Brief note in Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 234 n. 1. This excavation has not to my knowledge been published. No Roman cemetery site is known.

¹³⁴ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Topographic Survey', 233, although not making this connection.

¹³⁵ La Regina, 'Note sulla formazione della centri urbani', 205.

¹³⁶ Sanctuary: Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze', 104, and Ch. 2, s. 4(a); inscriptions: see Appendix 2.

¹³⁷ For details see Ch. 2.

'*in praefectura Fulginate*'.¹³⁸ According to Letta, Cicero's references must mean that Fulginiae was a *municipium* when the speech was delivered, but at some time referred to in the recent past was a *praefectura*.¹³⁹ Fulginiae was thus probably a *praefectura* until the Social War, after which it became a *municipium*. An Umbrian inscription using the Latin alphabet found in 1926 shows that this community retained the Umbrian *marones* after its incorporation into the Roman state.¹⁴⁰ The magistrates of Fulginiae also included *quattuorviri* at some time, which are standardly seen as a development of an older octoviral constitution.¹⁴¹ A simpler explanation would be that the *praefectura* was governed by *marones*, who were replaced by *quattuorviri* when Fulginiae became a *municipium*.¹⁴²

One reason for the incorporation of the two Umbrian centres into the Roman state is that both are in strategically important areas. Plestia was sited on a major pass to Camerinum and (modern) Marche from central Umbria. Fulginiae was at the exit into the Valle Umbra of the Topino valley, used by the Via Flaminia from 220 BC, and of the route from the pass at Plestia. In themselves, however, the sites were not naturally defensive; this is exemplified by Plestia, where the town of the Roman era on the shores of the Plestine lake seems to have superseded hillforts on the peaks around. Economic factors must also have been important in the decision of the Romans to incorporate these communities. Humbert suggests that they were incorporated because they were adjacent to the area of Forum Flaminii where viritane allotments had been distributed to full Roman citizens.¹⁴³ Although I have pointed out the problems of assuming viritane settlement from the presence

¹³⁸ This speech has been recently dated to 79–77 BC by Crook: see J. A. Crook and J. D. Cloud, 'Cicero, *Pro Vareno*: An Exposition and a Riposte', in *Tria Lustra* (Liverpool, 1993), 174.

¹³⁹ E. Campanile and C. Letta, *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area Italica* (Pisa, 1979), 62; municipal status is confirmed by *CIL* xi. 5218 'municipes et incolae' (Humbert, *Municipium*, 222).

¹⁴⁰ Ve 234 referring to the building of a fountain or cistern by *marones* (Appendix 2).

¹⁴¹ *Quattuorviri* i.d.: *CIL* xi. 5220. See Humbert, *Municipium*, 223, citing previous bibliography. There is no direct evidence for *octoviri* here.

¹⁴² Humbert's legalistic argument (223 n. 60) that the latter magistracy must be pre-Social War does not convince.

¹⁴³ But although the territory of Plestia was contiguous with that around Forum Flaminii, there was a substantial amount of rough, mountainous land between them.

of a *forum*, other evidence (at least for Plestia), examined above, suggests he is broadly right. Fulginiae was surrounded by some of the best agricultural land in Umbria, and it would not be surprising if the Romans picked it for viri-tane distribution. So just as the basin between Interamna and Narnia must have been dominated by the presence of these Latin colonies, most of the southern half of the greatest Umbrian plain, the Valle Umbra, would also have been either Latin or Roman. Plestia is surrounded by several upland basins (around 800 metres above sea level) and clearly has some reasonable agricultural land. But it was surely chosen for incorporation primarily to give the Romans control over the pass where they could attempt to hold back enemies, for example when Centenius was sent here against Hannibal after Trasimene (Appian, *Hann.* 9. 11). Thus different reasons are apparent for different areas of incorporation.

Humbert has argued that the elevation of Fulginiae and Plestia from citizenship without the vote to full Roman citizenship must have been closely related to the foundation of Forum Flaminii.¹⁴⁴ This centre was presumably organized by C. Flaminius when he built the Via Flaminia, either in his censorship of 220 or in his consulship of 223 BC.¹⁴⁵ It was probably on the site of modern S. Giovanni Profiamma, where the route from Interamna and Spolegium met the Via Flaminia coming from Mevania.¹⁴⁶ Thus it was ideally placed to act as a market-place for the Roman settlers in the area, a function suggested by Festus: 'a *forum* is a place of business, such as Forum Flaminium, Forum Iulium, which were named after those men who saw to the establishment of these *fora*'.¹⁴⁷

Taylor noted that the assignation of Forum Flaminii and neighbouring Plestia to the Oufentina tribe, that had up to now

¹⁴⁴ Humbert, *Municipium*, 225–6.

¹⁴⁵ Livy, *Epitome*, 20 (with lacuna), Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 66: censorship; Paulus-Festus 79L: consulship; Strabo 5. 1. 2: 187 BC (consulship of his son). See Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 162 n. 3. Brunt, *Manpower*, 571, points out the uncertainty in assuming who the founder of a *forum* is from its name.

¹⁴⁶ *Guida Laterza*, 103, for S. Giovanni Profiamma. The Spolegium branch of the Via Flaminia must have been important before 241 BC when the Latin colony was founded here.

¹⁴⁷ Paulus-Festus 74L: *Forum sex modis intellegitur. Primo negotiationis locus, ut forum Flaminium, forum Iulium, ab eorum nominibus, qui ea fora constituenda curarunt . . .*

been centred on Terracina in southern Latium, was not governed by any geographical logic. She therefore speculated that this was the result of Gaius Flaminius putting people who would support him into his own tribe or one which he aimed to control.¹⁴⁸ Humbert has carried this train of thought further, arguing that just as Flaminius was behind the assignation of Forum Flaminii and Plestia to the Oufentina on political grounds, so his censorial colleague, L. Aemilius Papus, in response put Fulginiae into the Cornelia tribe.¹⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that if the plausible reconstructions of Taylor or Humbert are right, political expediency was clearly more important for the elevation of at least Fulginiae to full citizenship within eighty years of annexation than its adoption of Roman linguistic and institutional models: the Umbrian inscription from Fulginiae recording *marones* (discussed above) is likely to date after the proposed 223/220 BC promotion.¹⁵⁰

6. The Telamon campaign, Umbrian manpower, and the Hannibalic War

The Telamon campaign and the Hannibalic War form an interesting coda to the Roman conquest and organization of Umbria because they provide the first opportunities for us to see how Umbrian communities met the new military obligations imposed on them in their treaties and how they responded to a challenge to Roman hegemony. It is almost certainly the result of the limitations of our sources that we do not hear about the Umbrian (or hardly any other) contingents

¹⁴⁸ Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 91–2, 306.

¹⁴⁹ Taylor actually thought that the Cornelia was chosen because it was roughly aligned with the existing area of this tribe, around Nomentum, from Rome, a principle followed in the creation of other new areas of existing tribes in the 3rd cent., but the alignment is only approximate here.

¹⁵⁰ Ve 234; another possible Umbrian inscription from Fulginiae is Ve 235, although Harris (*Etruria and Umbria*, 185) has questioned whether its language can be deduced (for both inscriptions see Appendix 2). A senator called Q. Statilienus, attested by an inscription of c.140 BC, could be useful in this context (T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, ii. (New York, 1952), 622; Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 256; Humbert, *Municipium*, 225 n. 71). His tribe may be the Cornelia, in which case he might come from Fulginiae: if so this would help confirm that Fulginiae was promoted at an early date.

in the Roman army before this because their treaties were probably formed at the beginning of the third century, and the narrative of Livy is lost from 292 BC. Our first piece of information comes from Polybius (2. 24), who in the course of a digression concerning the wars fought between Rome and the Gauls, gives the numbers of the forces called on by the Romans for the Telamon campaign in 225 BC, and breaks them down into ethnic contingents. His figures are very likely to originate in Roman documentary sources, and, despite their problems, probably give us a reasonable basis for some cautious deductions.¹⁵¹ He says that:

The cavalry of the Sabines and Etruscans, who had opportunely come to the assistance of Rome, were 4,000 strong, their infantry more than 50,000. The Romans massed these levies and posted them on the frontier of Etruria under the command of a praetor. The Umbrians and the Sarsinates inhabiting the Appennines gathered together about 20,000, and with these were 20,000 Veneti and Cenomani. These they stationed on the frontier of Gaul, to invade the territory of the Boii and divert them back from their expedition.

Polybius goes on to say that the Romans could call on (amongst others) 77,000 Samnites, 24,000 Marsi, Marrucini, Frentani, and Vestini, and 273,000 of their own citizens. Brunt believes that in reality the 54,000 'Sabines and Etruscans' in Polybius excludes the Sabines, who would have been registered as Romans, and that the Umbrians and Sarsinates would number 2,000 more if their cavalry were included.¹⁵² He takes these figures to be comparable to those of the Samnites and central Appennine peoples in that they are really the numbers of men available, that is those registered on the lists returned by the allies in 225 (Polybius 2. 23. 9), not merely those under arms. This is because such huge numbers of recruits do not fit with what we know of the campaign. This would not include *seniores*, men too old to fight in the field, but still able to defend cities: total manpower figures have to be adjusted accordingly.¹⁵³

However we adapt the figures, we can still retain the rough proportions given by Polybius. Samnium must have been

¹⁵¹ Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, i. 196; Brunt, *Manpower*, 44.

¹⁵² *Manpower*, 48–9.

¹⁵³ Brunt also hypothesizes a 20% rate of under-reporting for allied manpower.

surprisingly densely populated, and in the late fourth century BC, when the Samnites had not suffered Roman confiscations, they would clearly have been the largest unified entity apart from Rome. It might seem paradoxical that mountainous Samnium was, by these figures, more than twice as densely populated as the gentler landscape of Etruria, but much of what was probably the most densely populated part of Etruria, the south, was incorporated into the Roman state by 225 BC. The individual states of Umbria and the central Appennines would have been far smaller than Samnium. In fact the Umbrian infantry was one of the smallest allied contingents recorded, on a par with the 24,000 of the Marsi, Marrucini, Frentani, and Vestini on the military registers at Rome.¹⁵⁴ The Umbrians as a group were thus considerably larger than these tribes individually, but each Umbrian state was much smaller than their central Appennine equivalents. Dividing Brunt's corrected figures for all free persons in Umbria (111,000) by our estimated maximum number of Umbrian allied states of twenty-one, we arrive at an average for each state of around 5,300 people.¹⁵⁵ Some communities will have been smaller, others, such as Camerinum, considerably larger.¹⁵⁶ This also allows us to estimate the massive scale of Latin settlement in this region. If we accept 10,500 as a likely figure for the adult male settlers led out to Narnia, Interamna Nahars, and Spolegium, we can estimate the total immigrant population at these centres at around 33,000 free persons.¹⁵⁷ This represents

¹⁵⁴ It is not clear why no figure is given for Umbrian cavalry, but there are other omissions such as the Greek cities and Bruttians. Brunt adjusts the figure for the peoples of the central Appennines to 34,000 on the assumption that this number should include other groups of this area that are not mentioned (the Paeligni and possibly the Asculani) and on the basis of the density of the region in the census of 1936; but this is unwarranted: the area is likely to have had a similar level of population to Umbria, which was equivalent in size and surely more fertile.

¹⁵⁵ The figures for Umbria will not have included Latin colonies or Roman areas, which have their own figures. For the number of allied states see s. 3.

¹⁵⁶ The two cohorts from Camerinum, numbering at least 800 men, whom Marius famously enfranchised (Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 50), and other evidence already considered (n. 18) would seem to indicate that this was a centre with several times the manpower resources of our hypothetical average, and perhaps that approaching the level of a central Appennine people; Toynbee (*Hannibal's Legacy*, 426 n. 5, 427, with a list of other allies who contributed cohorts to the Roman army) suggested that these cohorts included men from some of the smaller neighbouring centres.

¹⁵⁷ Using the same scale as that of Brunt, *Manpower*, 54, for his calculations from the Polybian figures, and the likely number of settlers worked out in s. 4.

an augmentation of the Umbrian population of *c.* 111,000 in 225 BC by 30 per cent (even ignoring Roman viratine settlement). It was argued above that a sizeable part of the 'new' colonial population was probably made up by those Umbrian inhabitants already living on the sites; but even taking this into account, we are able to see that this represents a very dramatic Roman intervention in the region.

Umbria was not a major setting of the Hannibalic War, which was concentrated in the south of Italy. Two episodes after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene are of importance to Umbria. First, a battle took place, almost certainly in Umbria, in which the Carthaginians defeated a force commanded by Gaius Centenius. Secondly, part of Umbria was devastated by Hannibal's army on its way to Picenum. The topography of both these events is disputed. We have four accounts of the defeat of Centenius. Polybius (3. 86) says that Centenius with a force of 4,000 cavalry was sent ahead of the advance of the consul Gnaeus Servilius, stationed at Ariminum (Rimini), to join forces with Flaminius against Hannibal. But Hannibal defeated Flaminius and, hearing that Centenius was approaching, dispatched Maharbal who defeated Centenius' force, capturing those who were not killed. Livy (22. 8. 1) adds little information, except that the defeat occurred in Umbria. Appian (*Hann.* 9. 11) gives a rather confused account in which Centenius was 'sent into Umbria to the Plestine lake, to occupy the narrow valleys that provide the shortest route for Rome' where he was subsequently defeated by Hannibal. Zonaras (8. 25) says that Centenius was defeated in an ambush near Spolegium, but this must be a confusion originating from the role of Spolegium at a later point in Hannibal's march. We would expect Centenius to have travelled down the Via Flaminia from Ariminum into the Valle Umbra, and it has been suggested that the 'Plestine lake' was a misunderstanding for the *lacus UMBER* here.¹⁵⁸ But Polybius and Livy give no topographic alternatives and so do not necessarily contradict Appian. It is certainly possible that Centenius came into Umbria via the pass at Plestia, although more likely that he was defeated by part, rather than all (as Appian says), of Hannibal's force.

¹⁵⁸ De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* iii/2. 124; Walbank, *Commentary*, i. 421.

There are several versions of which particular route Hannibal took after Lake Trasimene, the most important of which are those of Polybius and Livy:¹⁵⁹

Meanwhile Hannibal, feeling fully confident of success from this time, resolved against approaching Rome for the present and began to ravage the country unchallenged, advancing towards the Adriatic. Passing through the territory of the Umbrians and Picentes he reached the districts on the Adriatic on the tenth day, having amassed so much booty that his army could not drive nor carry it off, and having killed a number of people on the way through. For, just as in the assault of cities, the order had been given to kill all adults who fell into their hands. Hannibal had done this because of his innate and inveterate hatred of the Romans. (Polybius 3. 86. 8–11)

By contrast Livy writes:

Hannibal came by a straight route through Umbria to Spoletium. Then, after thoroughly devastating the territory, when he set about storming the city, he was repulsed with great slaughter of his men; and conjecturing from the strength of a single colony which he had by no means successfully assailed how great an endeavour the city of Rome would be, he turned aside into the Picentine territory . . . (Livy 22. 9. 1–2)

The essential problem is whether Hannibal did actually attack Spoletium, or whether this was an invented Roman success. The main problem of compatibility between the Livian and Polybian accounts is held to be the ten days Polybius reports Hannibal to have taken on the way to the Adriatic.¹⁶⁰ This is supposedly too little time for Hannibal's forces to have diverted to Spoletium and to have unsuccessfully attacked it. But the rejection of the attack on Spoletium seems to be based on an excessive scepticism of Livy's account and an over-valuation of the details given by Polybius; the two sources are not actually incompatible. To begin with it is important to note that the absence of the episode in Polybius is not really an argument against its historicity: his description of the

¹⁵⁹ The exaggerated reports of Zonaras (8. 25) and Appian (*Hann.* 12), who claim that Hannibal reached Narnia or close to Ariminum can be disregarded because they make little geographic sense in the context of our other information.

¹⁶⁰ For a list of scholars who have dealt with this problem see Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 133 n. 6; see Walbank, *Commentary*, i. 422, for the case against Livy's account.

march is totally lacking in any specific geography. If we took the period of ten days in Polybius to start with the defeat of Centenius' force, the timescale does not definitely preclude a rapid thrust towards Spolegium, even assuming that the most obvious route to Picenum via Plestia and not one further south was then followed; this is particularly plausible if a detachment was sent on from the main body of the army. But as De Sanctis points out, we do not have to assume that Polybius' ten days begins with Centenius' defeat, even if we accept the accuracy of this time period.¹⁶¹ Polybius could be taken as referring to ten days from the siege of Spolegium, which Livy says is why he decided against marching on Rome.

Livy and Polybius both agree that Hannibal's army ravaged Umbria on the way to Picenum, and the copious booty recorded by Polybius recalls other references to Umbrian wealth.¹⁶² Harris thinks this fits with the general pattern of Hannibal's strategy in seeking allies predominantly in the south, the Etruscans and Umbrians not being particularly promising rebel material. However, none of the evidence for Etruscan social structure, which Harris uses to support this argument,¹⁶³ applies to Umbria and we may speculate that Hannibal's professedly pro-Italian tendencies will have led him to do more damage to Roman and Latin than to allied settlements in Umbria. Indeed Polybius, who will have been well aware of the distinctions between Romans and allies, seems to suggest that this was the case, citing 'hatred of the Romans' as Hannibal's motive. As he moved unopposed down the Valle Umbra, probably to Spolegium, the Roman territory around Fulginiae in particular will have been extremely exposed, probably lacking the protection of a fortified centre. If he then took the route over the pass at Plestia to Picenum, as Appian plausibly suggests, this Roman area will also have suffered. Any damage inflicted on the territory of Spolegium was not catastrophic, however, as the colony was able to fulfil its financial and manpower obligations to Rome in 209 BC, whereas

¹⁶¹ De Sanctis, *Storia dei romani*, iii/2. 121, followed by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 133.

¹⁶² Discussed above in s. 2 in relation to the siege of Nequinum.

¹⁶³ The Roman military presence in the region was a significant factor in the period after Cannae.

Narnia and Interamna (if a Latin colony), which were probably undisturbed to the south, claimed that their resources were exhausted. It therefore seems even more unlikely that allied Umbrian communities suffered long-term damage from the Carthaginian invasion.

Our only specific evidence for Umbrian disaffection with Rome during the war comes from a notice of Livy (28. 10. 4-5) concerning the end of 207 BC. The dictator Marcus Livius, after laying down his office, was sent by the Senate 'to conduct an investigation as to what communities among the Etruscans or Umbrians had discussed plans to revolt from the Romans to Hasdrubal upon his arrival, and which states had aided him with auxiliaries or supplies or any kind of assistance'. To what extent such suspicions were justified is unclear. Hasdrubal was defeated by the Romans at the Metaurus just after entering Umbria, and none of the peoples here would have abandoned Rome without undisputed Carthaginian protection.

7. Conclusion

Even for the period covered by the full text of Livy, we are only given a highly selective and plainly biased perspective on the Roman conquest of Umbria. The picture that we can gain from our source material is not one of total devastation. Most Umbrian communities are said to have been brought under Rome's control without the need for the Romans to besiege their fortified centres (Livy's *urbes munitae*), the notable exception being Nequinum. The sources mention two major battles in the field, at Mevania in 308 and at Sentinum in 295, and the first of these may have been of only minor significance. Clearly a great deal of information has been lost, and the record of two triumphs celebrated over Umbrian enemies suggests that the Roman armies did encounter some stiff resistance. But the general impression given by the sources is still strikingly different from that of the wars with Samnium, and seems to correlate with the archaeological picture of the continuity of settlement on most important sites before and after the conquest.¹⁶⁴ Only

¹⁶⁴ This is examined in Ch. 4.

at Plestia do there seem to have been serious discontinuities in settlement, and even here they may be more the result of the Hannibalic War than of the Roman conquest. We are better informed on the course of the Carthaginian invasion, but apart from Plestia we should probably not envisage widespread destruction at this point either.

The treaties that controlled the relations of the majority of the Umbrians with Rome were probably contracted with a large number of individual Umbrian communities, even if we can only be certain about Iguvium, Camerinum, and Oriculum. This conclusion is strengthened by the independent evidence for the autonomy of Tuder and Tadinum already in the early third century, consisting of the coinage of the former and the mention of the Tadinat community (in the form *totar tarsinater*) in the Iguvine Tables for the latter. Their fates illustrate the variety of the Roman organization of the region after the conquest: Tuder must have been bound by an individual alliance; Tadinum was probably incorporated into the Roman state. We should therefore envisage the region entered by Roman armies in the late fourth century BC as being organized into many small autonomous communities rather than one unified, 'tribal' grouping. As a result, the image in the ancient sources of the Umbrians acting as a unified ethnic group in prehistory and in the historical period should be regarded with some suspicion. It clearly stems from the tendency of ancient writers to generalize in ethnic terms, and should be accepted only when there is a sound evidential basis (which is elusive even for the period of the conquest). Umbrian ethnic identity emerges as a much less important factor than individual state identities and interests in the period of the conquest, and I do not think we should see it as 'naturally' more important in earlier times. It is true that ethnic identity was recognized religiously and also facilitated military association, but it is also apparent that the Umbrians were more fragmented politically than the other peoples of the Appennines to the south, such as the Marsi or Lucanians, and there is little evidence that their ethnic bonds were complemented by a politically organized league.

It is tempting to ascribe the apparent ease of the Roman takeover to the political organization prevalent in Umbria at the time. The evident division of the Umbrians into a mass of tiny states, which could come together for collective defence

but were prone to disagreement, would seem to explain why they lacked the resilience of the peoples of Samnium. Ancient writers characterized the Umbrians as a rich but also weak people, who were defeated in their struggles with Rome as they had been with the Etruscans in mythical prehistory, but this recurring image probably conceals a more mundane truth. The Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, and Vestini also failed to resist the Romans effectively, less effectively in fact than the Umbrian communities, and yet they seem to have been individually as politically unified as the Samnites.¹⁶⁵

The emphasis of ancient (and some modern) authors on the particular bellicosity and hardiness of mountain peoples is of limited explanatory value. The cultures of all ancient Italian peoples, including the Umbrians, were permeated by trappings of war; the best documented society in this respect is that of Rome, a lowland people. The key to the course of the conquest of Italy, and the resistance of individual peoples to Rome, does not lie in dubious ethnic stereotypes, which are often based on environmental determinism, but in the scale of political and military organization that each people could muster.¹⁶⁶ Estimates can be worked out on the basis of Polybius' figures for the allied contingents to the Roman army in 225 BC (2. 24), but these can only be rough indications for the time of the conquest: the Roman state had expanded hugely at the expense of the Italian peoples during the fourth and third centuries. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the average Umbrian state (if this is a useful concept) would have had a much smaller population than, for instance, an Etruscan city-state or central Appennine tribe. Even as a whole ethnic group, the Umbrians were substantially smaller than the Etruscans or the Samnites. Furthermore, the unity of the Samnites and the size of the area they controlled enabled them to draw on a far larger pool of manpower resources than all of these peoples, and this explains why they were much more effective challengers to the Romans than any other similarly organized Appennine tribe. Finally, it is clear that even they were dwarfed by the Roman state at the time of the Roman conquest.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Cornell, in *CAH* vii/2 (2nd edn.), 376.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 157, for a similar perspective on the Social War.

¹⁶⁷ See s. 6 above.

A vital part of the conquest itself was the foundation of Latin colonies, which in Umbria were clearly dictated by Roman strategic aims. Narnia and Spolegium were both naturally defended sites that controlled the vital route through the region to the north later followed by the Via Flaminia. Interamna sat astride this route, and also dominated the entry to the Valnerina which led across the Appennines and the important route south to Reate. Economic principles were most obvious in guiding the placement of viritane settlement, with portions of some of the region's most fertile land in the Valle Umbra confiscated and distributed. But neither type of colonization was governed by one purpose alone. Spolegium, Interamna, and Narnia controlled swathes of the rich Umbrian plains as well as the routes that led into them. The influx of settlers to Plestia helped consolidate Roman control on the routes from Umbria to Picenum. It is also interesting to note that the viritane settlement in Umbria was in no sense protected by an outer barrier of Latin colonies. Viritane settlement was probably not on a huge scale, but Latin colonization certainly was. The three huge colonies of Narnia, Spolegium, and (on the argument of this chapter) Interamna must have completely overshadowed the small surrounding Umbrian centres, and provided new poles of attraction to rival the influential neighbouring Etruscan cities of Perugia and (until 264 BC) Volsinii.¹⁶⁸ The overall pattern of this settlement had a clear logic to it, creating a band of Roman territory, Latin colonies, and the early allies of Camerinum and Ocrinum running along the north side of the central Sabine area.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, it is important to note that there is consistent evidence for the survival of local populations in most of these Latin and Roman areas.

Outside this wide area of Roman intervention the conquest probably did little to alter the prevailing political structure of the region, which had arisen through the lengthy state-organization processes of the Iron Age. As we shall see in the next chapter, the accumulation of state institutions and powers almost certainly continued despite the ending of each ally's 'foreign policy', with the requirements of the levy of contingents to the Roman army probably acting as an important stimulus.

¹⁶⁸ For the size of these centres see ss. 4 and 6 above.

¹⁶⁹ See Map 2.

4

Urbanism and society in Umbria between the conquest and the Social War

1. Methodology and source material

This chapter is, as far as I know, the first attempt to collate and analyse systematically the published evidence for urban centres and rural sanctuaries in Umbria in the period between the conquest and the Social War, and to investigate the relationship between these two types of site. The extent of the evidence has not been fully appreciated, and is usually referred to only in vague general terms. Verzar provided a synthesis of the archaeology of the region in this period in two important articles which were published in the volumes *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* and *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, but these were comparatively brief, and since then many new archaeological discoveries have been made.¹ In addition, my approach differs conceptually from the work of Verzar and of other scholars who have discussed these themes in that it distinguishes the political and urbanistic construction of city-states and the changing uses of rural sanctuaries from processes more obviously linked to Romanization, such as the shift to Latin in epigraphy (examined in the next chapter). A long-term perspective on the history of Umbria suggests that the former are at least in part a continuation of earlier trends. The examination of urban building, for instance, shows a complex variety of influences at work,

¹ M. Verzar, 'Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Umbrien', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* 116–41; D. Manconi, M. A. Tomei, and M. Verzar, 'La situazione in Umbria dal III a.C. alla tarda antichità', section 1, in A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, 1. *L'Italia: Insediamenti e forme economiche* (Bari, 1981), 371–406.

among which those of Rome or the Latin colonies in Umbria are detectable only in a relatively peripheral way. Coarelli has shown that in some centres the influence of Rome does become more pervasive towards the end of the second century, and can perhaps be obscured by the difficulty in identifying the origins of certain Hellenistic architectural trends, but while the arrangement adopted here is in some ways artificial, it is based on an important principle.² This is that we must avoid focusing solely on the cultural influence of Rome, as if this was the only factor that was important in historical terms. An open-minded approach is vital to achieve a balanced picture, without the preconceived outcome clear from headings like 'età di romanizzazione' (era of Romanization). Grouping all changes that take place in this period under the title of Romanization, such as urbanization or decline in use of rural sanctuaries, prevents us judging the true influence of Rome.³

The source material for urbanism and for rural sanctuaries is overwhelmingly archaeological, and it should be appreciated that the record of what once existed will never be anywhere near complete. The level of evidence with which we have to work is considerably more exiguous for the period from the conquest to the Social War than for the late Republic and early empire, a problem common to many other regions of central Italy.⁴ This seems to have been because the later period saw the use of more durable building materials and larger quantities of pottery. This is a significant sign of wealth in itself, but it also makes a comparison of the two periods more difficult. In addition there are some important ways in which the record for the third to early first century BC differs from that for the pre-conquest period: the most striking is that the cemeteries of the third to early first century BC are much less

² 'Assisi repubblicana: riflessioni su un caso di autoromanizzazione', *Atti dell'Accademia Proporziana del Subasio* 19 (1991), 5–22; 'La romanización de Umbria'; 'Da Assisi a Roma: Architettura pubblica e promozione sociale in una città dell'Umbria', in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità* (Assisi, 1996–7), 245–63.

³ Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 75, points out that the use of this term in such a wide sense renders it virtually meaningless.

⁴ G. Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (London and New York, 1995), ch. 9, on comparative problems in field survey in Samnium; Terrenato, 'Romanization of Volaterrae', 95, for northern Etruria.

well-known than those of earlier periods, both as a result of the greater 'visibility' of earlier graves (due to the presence of grave goods), and because the later cemeteries are less extensively published.

What we do have for this period is a much more widespread testimony of temples, fortifications, and other buildings. The material remains of these structures is often very fragmentary as it is concentrated on sites that are virtually all still settled, a particular problem given the extraordinary continuity of urban life in this region. This requires us to exercise caution when comparing Umbria with other regions where most monumental building between the conquest and Social War was on sites that were not built over later. This is the case, for example, with the great rural sanctuaries in Samnium, which survive to a much greater extent than contemporary temples in Umbrian cities. The miserable quantity of archaeological evidence before the Social War from Narnia and Spolegium, Latin colonies founded in the third century BC, illustrates the unrepresentative nature of the archaeological record typical of many cities in this region. Comparisons with excavated Latin colonies that were by and large unoccupied in the medieval or modern period, such as Alba Fucens, Cosa, Fregellae, or Paestum, show that the public buildings considered necessary for the political and religious life of the community, such as the *comitium*, *curia*, and *capitolium*, were set up according to a standard model in the period after the foundation. The same process almost certainly occurred at Narnia and Spolegium, but the remaining traces are restricted to virtually indestructible topographic features such as the grid-plan, the walls, and the drainage system (the latter two only at Spolegium, where fragments of the *capitolium* also survive).

Nevertheless we do have inscriptions attesting building work, which are absent before the conquest. The evidence available from coinage and from Umbrian inscriptions allows us to delineate in detail for the first time the internal political organization of Umbrian communities. This evidence gives us a sense of the way in which this period, marked by the new dominance of Rome, saw striking continuities alongside the more usually emphasized discontinuities which are examined in the next chapter.

2. Monumental sacred buildings: the evidence of architectural terracottas and temple podia

At the time of the Roman conquest, Umbria seems to have comprised a large number of politically autonomous communities, each identified with a specific settlement and/or territory. A few of these settlements had fortifications (of small size) and temples, but the treaties that Rome formed with them were a recognition of their political state rather than of their conformation to Roman urbanistic ideals. The evidence examined in the next two sections shows that this situation changed in the third and second centuries, as towns gained a monumental physical dimension to complement their political identity.⁵ Recent archaeological research has shown that this trend also affected some sanctuaries in rural areas, although the structures of many of these were rudimentary. This type of site is examined in more detail later.

Apart from fortifications, the first substantial monumental buildings within lowland settlement sites were probably temples (although domestic buildings have also been identified), the evidence for which consists mainly of architectural terracottas, with a few podia. These tend to be the only parts to survive, because before the Social War the superstructures of monumental buildings were often constructed in materials of limited durability such as wood or mud-brick, rather than stone.⁶ Two examples of temple podia survive from the period before the Social War, at Urvinum Hortense and at S. Maria in Canale near Ameria. Although the large stone blocks that were used to build temple podia made for a more durable structure, they were also more suited to reuse than the terracotta elements, as happened with the moulded block found filling up a window of the Rocca at Spolegium.

Terracotta tiles and plaques were used to cover the timbers of wooden buildings and protect them from the elements. Other architectural elements, such as antefixes and pedimental statues, were primarily decorative in function. In Umbria, when the building to which such terracottas pertained

⁵ For references and details of the sites mentioned in this section see Appendix 1.

⁶ A. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 48.

is known, it is always a temple, for instance at Vettona and Urvinum Hortense.⁷ Examples from other regions, however, suggest that this connection should not be taken as axiomatic. In central Italy in the archaic period architectural terracottas decorated 'palaces' which were probably not purely (or not at all) religious in function, such as the Regia at Rome and comparable structures at Murlo and Acquarossa.⁸ They were also used on buildings without an obvious cult function in Lucania and in Samnium in the post-conquest period.⁹ Nevertheless, even if we allow for the possibility that some architectural terracottas were used for non-cult buildings in Umbria, it seems legitimate to assume on the basis of contemporary examples from this region and from Etruria that architectural terracottas from third- and second-century Umbria can *probably* be taken as evidence of monumentalized sacred buildings.¹⁰

The use of architectural terracottas as evidence for temples in this region raises other methodological questions. Some architectural terracottas, such as those from Asisium, lack any provenance. Though they can only be assigned generically to the town in which they turned up, the possibility that they were brought from elsewhere should be kept in mind. They could, for example, come from rural religious sites, although excavated examples, such as M. Ansciano, suggest that their use in rural sanctuaries was not particularly common. If the real provenance was another settlement centre, my central point (that this is material evidence for the beginning of urbanization) remains unaffected.

The picture obtained from this type of source, presented in Appendix 1, illuminates some interesting trends. Perhaps

⁷ Vettona: G. F. Gammurrini, *NSc* (1884), 143–5; A. Andr en, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund, 1940), 265–6. Urvinum Hortense: D. Manconi, 'Terrecotte architettoniche', in M. Matteini Chiari, *Raccolta di Cambara: Materiali archeologici, monete, dipinti e sculture* (Perugia, 1992), 64.

⁸ F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano: Periodo arcaico* (Rome, 1983), 61.

⁹ O. De Cazanove, 'La Plastique de terre cuite, un indicateur des lieux de culte? L'Exemple de la Lucanie', *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz*, 8 (1997), 151–69, discusses this issue in relation to Lucania; for the antefix on a building at M. Vairano of c.200–50 BC, the so-called 'casa di LN', see Dench, *Barbarians*, 132.

¹⁰ M. J. Strazzulla, 'Le terrecotte architettoniche: Le produzioni dal IV al I sec. a.C.', in Giardina and Schiavone (eds.), *Societ  romana e produzione schiavistica*, ii. *Merci, mercati e scambi nel Mediterraneo* (Bari, 1981), 189, thinks that they are solely employed in sacred buildings from the 4th to 2nd cents. BC.

predictably, building activity before the Social War seems to have been restricted to the sub-Appennine zones of Umbria, as opposed to the more mountainous areas. The only trace of a temple in the Appennine zones prior to the Social War comes from Civitalba near Sentinum, which was almost certainly a Roman-executed (or inspired) project.¹¹ Furthermore, except for the Latin colony of Aesis, there is no evidence from the eastern side of the Appennines, where urbanization seems to have been confined largely to the post-Social War period. Most evidence for building activity comes from the Valle Umbra, an area dominated by Perugia at one end and Spolegium at the other. By the end of the third century there were monumental buildings at Vettona, Mevania, Urvinum Hortense, and Spolegium, and probably also at Arna and Asisium where isolated terracottas have been found. Away from this valley, Tudur and perhaps Iguvium (again the site of an isolated find), are likely to have had temples before 200 BC.

The large quantities of terracottas from Vettona, Urvinum Hortense, Spolegium, and Tudur were all found by excavation, and only at Civitalba were a substantial number chanced upon. At Tudur, the discoveries may consist of material dumped after the destruction of the building. According to Tamburini, the quality and quantity of the terracottas could suggest a school of craftsmen working within the town.¹² In the case of Spolegium, the finds probably relate to more than one temple, including the Capitolium of the colony. There is obviously much less certainty in deducing the presence of temples from single terracotta fragments; but where there has been no excavation, very few pieces are likely to be preserved and casually found. Later building on ancient cities in Umbria means that almost all of the attested architectural terracottas are fortuitous survivals from the decay and subsequent destruction of the temples (or other buildings) associated with them. The remains of temples found outside medieval and modern

¹¹ This mountainous zone stretches to the east of the Iguvium–Spolegium axis (see Map 1). The rural sanctuaries found in this (and other) areas are examined in s. 4 below.

¹² P. Tamburini, in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 54, also documenting the substantial ceramic production here from the 4th to the 3rd cent., although G. Gualterio in the same volume and M. Tascio (*Todi*, 19) see them as of Orvieto or Faliscan production.

urban areas, such as Colle di Bettona (Vettona), Collemancio (Urvinum Hortense), and S. Maria in Canale (Tuder), generally have more surviving structures. Within town centres, only odd architectural terracottas or podium blocks tend to be preserved, unless a large amount of material was buried together in antiquity and subsequently found by chance excavation, as seems to have happened at Tuder. The destruction of ancient buildings and the difficulty of excavation make it likely that the terracottas attested represent only a small proportion of the Republican temples that once existed in Umbria, and in these circumstances even the survival of isolated examples such as those from Iguvium and Asisium are significant.

An overall assessment of all the evidence (including individual terracotta elements) shows a steady increase in the amount of material from the fourth to the second century BC. Although the numbers involved are very small, and their dating can often be only approximate, the overall picture does seem to indicate a clear trend.¹³ This growth in building is something that, apart from a certain amount of activity in the archaic period, began in the century before the Roman conquest. The progressive increase from the fourth century onwards also shows that the building boom of the second and first century common to much of Italy had a background in this region of gradually increasing activity in the previous centuries. From the first century onwards, the evidence of architectural terracottas becomes less representative, as monumental buildings began to be built wholly out of stone. A famous example is the so-called 'Temple of Minerva' in Asisium (40–20 BC). Architectural terracottas are still produced, however, as is clear from the restoration of the older style, predominantly wooden, temples of Urvinum Hortense and Vettona in the first century BC.

This gradual increase in building activity has important social and economic implications. The erection of a temple was

¹³ Strazzulla, 'Terrecotte architettoniche', 187, notes that dating is hindered by the archaeological circumstances of their discovery (often in the 19th cent.) and documentation, and because the repetition of design types over long periods often prevents the establishment of clear progressions of datable trends. More sophisticated studies, such as Manconi, 'Terrecotte architettoniche', are now improving the situation.

no doubt a major project for a small community, perhaps like the creation of a parish church in a medieval village. There is little evidence that the authorities in Rome were interested in building projects in allied cities, although some building projects in centres in Roman areas were organized at Rome in the early second century BC (Livy 41. 27). The economic resources drawn on for allied cities were almost certainly those of the local aristocracies; temples in the world of Republican Italy often bore the name of private benefactors, who may have paid for them whilst holding magisterial office. The process of construction would have required the organization of a labour force and the presence of specialized craftsmen, if not in the town, then in the region (assuming that Manconi is right to stress the frequently local nature of terracotta production¹⁴). In terms of our overall interpretation, we can argue that the emergence of organizational structures gave the aristocracy more power, and that the prestige of constructing monumental buildings was an important way of expressing this power and the level of wealth they were able to command through their control over society.¹⁵

The priority given to sacred buildings is common to other regions of Italy, and the creation of such buildings in nearby Etruscan centres such as Perugia and Volsinii from the late sixth century onwards would be an obvious source for the cultural models affecting Umbrian activity.¹⁶ Recent studies of the architectural terracottas from Umbria have turned up interesting results in this respect, correlating with the picture given by other elements of material culture that show Volsinii to have been the dominant influence on Umbria in the fourth century BC. The designs of the fourth-century terracottas from Tuder, Perugia, and Arna derived from Volsinian prototypes.¹⁷ In the period after the conquest the influences were wider ranging. Manconi has suggested that the terracottas

¹⁴ See below.

¹⁵ For the ideological importance of religion see Skalník, 'The Early State as a Process', 615; cf. Cherry, 'Politics and Palaces', 31.

¹⁶ S. Stopponi, 'Etruscan Orvieto and Perugia', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 91–2; Stoddart, in *Territory, Time and State*, 174, sees the creation of a temple c.500 BC in Perugia (known from its antefixes) as a sign of the town's urbanization; see Cornell, *Beginnings*, 102, on the importance of religious buildings at Rome.

¹⁷ Appendix 1; Stopponi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, 90.

from the temple at Urvinum Hortense show stylistic parallels with several sites in central and northern Etruria, and that the similarity of the moulds used at this site and for the surviving terracottas of Iguvium, Vettona, Hispellum, Tuder, and Magione (on the shores of Lake Trasimene) indicate that all these were produced locally.¹⁸ This correlates with similar trends in the local manufacture of black slip pottery, based on 'external' models from Tyrrhenian Italy, that occurs from the period of the conquest onwards.

3. Urbanistic ideals and reality

There were other important elements to the trend of urban building, attested by archaeological and epigraphic evidence. The most impressive remains today are of fortifications, which survive on a considerable scale. In Chapter 2 we saw that the urban fortifications of Vettona, Ameria, and Oriculum are likely to predate the Roman conquest, and more cities seem to have been walled in the centuries between the conquest and the Social War. The dating of fortifications is controversial, however, as it usually rests on the type of construction technique employed rather than on excavated information, and most techniques were employed over a period of several centuries. It is probable that construction techniques became more refined as time progressed, but they were partially determined by local materials, which, for obvious reasons, were used almost exclusively. The sandstone employed at Oriculum and Interamna was easier to cut into quadrangular blocks than the limestone used at Spolegium and Ameria, which was much more suited for polygonal masonry.

The spectacular walls of Spolegium and Ameria, both of which have been attributed by Fontaine to Roman builders, pose some interesting questions.¹⁹ The failure of Hannibal to capture Spolegium (Livy 22. 9. 1) presupposes that it had walls by 217 BC. Fontaine's extensive investigation of the construction

¹⁸ D. Manconi, 'Terrecotte architettoniche', 64, citing as comparisons examples from the Roman colony of Luna, the Latin colony of Cosa, and allied Arretium and Sovana. For the use of the Roman foot at Urvinum, see the next section.

¹⁹ Fontaine, *Cités*, 149–51 (Spolegium), 79–80 (Ameria).

technique, plan, and topography of the wall around this site led him to believe that the earliest phase of fortification should be associated with the foundation of the Latin colony in 241 BC. Much of the evidence is ambiguous. There were probably three different phases of building, but the construction technique does not by itself provide us with indications of the date.²⁰ A similar type of polygonal work was used at S. Erasmo di Cesi, north of Interamna Nahars, whose position on a high mountain spur and probable religious function suggest that this was not built as a result of Roman intervention.²¹ On analogous lines it is unsafe to take as exclusively Roman the overlapping wall arrangement of Via Cecili at Spolegium, which protected an entrance by forcing attackers to expose their shieldless right sides to the defenders.²² This arrangement is also used in Samnite hillforts, which were probably built during the fourth century as protection against Roman troops.²³

As we have seen in the two previous chapters, the site of Spolegium was apparently inhabited from the late Bronze Age. The building of the polygonal circuit seems to be linked to a reorganization of the community: the fortification envelopes parts of the site that had been used previously for burials and must therefore represent a deliberate decision to expand the 'urban' area.²⁴ Two large drains were also created within the city, using a construction technique identical to the first walling phase, and thus seem to be contemporary with it. The impression given by the new installation is of a concern with the whole operation of the 'urban' site rather than just its defence. Fontaine sees this ensemble as strongly suggestive of the infrastructure created by Latin colonization at sites such as Alba Fucens, where a massive polygonal circuit and sewer

²⁰ Fontaine, *Cités*, 150; there are four different techniques visible: we are concerned here with the most irregular polygonal phase; the second and third types (with more rectangular blocks) are thought by Fontaine (147) to make up the base and upper parts of the same phase; the last phase, of regular rectangular blocks, is datable by epigraphic evidence to the 1st cent. BC (see Ch. 5, s. 6).

²¹ Buettner, 'L'abitato umbro di Cesi', 53–65.

²² Fontaine, *Cités*, 150.

²³ See the plans of M. Vairano and Chiauci in Coarelli and La Regina, *Abruzzo Molise*, 277, 283, and M. Civitalba (Alfedena), the Castello (Montalto), and M. Castellone (La Colla) in Oakley, *Hillforts of the Samnites*, 12. Even more complex corridor gateways were also used.

²⁴ Roncalli, 'Gli Umbri', 405. These burials are attested down to the 4th cent. BC.

system were created soon after the foundation;²⁵ this forms part of his overall thesis that Umbrian settlements before the Social War rarely attained an urban level.

Fontaine's points make a plausible case in their entirety, but it is worth questioning some of his assumptions, particularly the notion that 'primitive' indigenous fortifications can be clearly distinguished from more sophisticated examples based on Roman urbanistic ideals: this notion often turns out to be extremely difficult to maintain in practice.²⁶ We have seen that indigenous sites might use equally refined construction techniques and could incorporate complex defensive gateways. They were often positioned on exactly the same sort of site as that chosen for colonies, dominating and not far removed from good agricultural land in the valley bottom. Perhaps most importantly, the new light shed on other contemporary Umbrian sites such as Asisium (for which see below) makes it dubious to assume that they were unconnected with wider urbanistic conceptions. As a result, the tendency of Fontaine to favour lower dates in an understandably cautious reaction against earlier work, in this case that of Pietrangeli, runs the danger of over-emphasizing Roman 'civilization' at the expense of Italian 'primitivism'.²⁷

The same methodological reservations apply to Fontaine's dating of the walls of Ameria. As we saw in Chapter 2, a smaller fortification probably enclosed the upper part of the site before the Roman conquest.²⁸ The main city walls around the lower part of the hill were probably built later as they are in a much more refined polygonal technique (see Pl. 2.7). Fontaine suggests that they could have been set up in connection with either the building of the Via Amerina, which probably dates to 241 BC, or the constitution of Ameria as a

²⁵ For Alba Fucens, see Mertens, 'Alba Fucens', 90-1.

²⁶ See the discussion in Ch. 2, s. 2 and 3(c).

²⁷ C. Pietrangeli, 'Osservazione su mura umbre', in *Atti V Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura* (Florence, 1956), 459-66. Roncalli has recently claimed that archaeological investigation has dated the walls of Spolegium to the second half of the 4th cent. BC ('Gli Umbri', 405), but no further details have been published at this time, and the recent archaeological work on the Rocca (De Angelis (ed.), *Spoleto. Il colle della Rocca. Primi risultati di scavo* (Perugia, 1994)) did not produce relevant results.

²⁸ See Fig. 2.6.

municipium, soon after 90 BC. Again, the assumption here is that the construction could only have been Roman-inspired, if not executed, but this is much more difficult to sustain for an allied rather than a Latin town, even if it was a vital staging-post on a new road.²⁹ All this adds up to a complex and confusing picture. As the evidence stands, the creation of Spoletium as an urban centre should probably be attributed to the foundation of the colony, as I have argued happened at Interamna in the third century.³⁰ There seems to be no good reason, however, to think that the walls of Ameria were 'Roman' in any sense, although we are not able to date them any more precisely than between the fourth and first centuries BC.

Both cities have archaeological evidence for other types of building in this period, which show that the walls were not exceptional construction projects. The temple remains from Spoletium are discussed above, and in Ameria, archaeological work in 1990–1 brought to light a building of unclear function with part of its structure dated roughly by the excavators to the mid to late Republican period.³¹

Elsewhere in Umbria, large building projects show that urbanistic concerns were helping to shape the city-scapes of allied communities as well as Roman-inspired foundations. The highest concentration of evidence comes from the Valle Umbra, occupied by a large number of small allied communities alongside Roman and Latin centres. At its head across the Tiber lay Etruscan Perugia, where the creation of a huge fortification and the richness of contemporary graves indicate that the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity in the third and second centuries BC.³²

The most significant evidence comes from Asisium. Much of its ancient city wall, built with squared blocks of the

²⁹ Allied status: Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 85 n. 18, using the evidence of Cicero's *Pro Roscio Amerino* (see Ch. 3, s. 3).

³⁰ The assumptions about the Roman urbanistic layout of Interamna are fairly secure, given the use of the Roman foot as a module for the fortifications.

³¹ D. Monacchi, 'Amelia (Terni). Parco Farrattini. Rinvenimento di strutture medio-tardorepubblicane e di edificio romano', *Bollettino di Archeologia*, 11–12 (1991), 87–93. The absence of stratigraphy prevented accurate dating, but the first construction phase of an opus quadratum wall, a well (both built without cement) and a 'cocciopesto' (crushed pottery) pavement are likely to predate the Social War.

³² *Guida Laterza*, 80.

rose-coloured stone of Monte Subasio, is still extant. On the basis of the construction technique and the topography of the fortification, Fontaine concluded that it dates from 90–50 BC.³³ In a series of articles, however, Coarelli has shown that the date of the wall should be placed considerably earlier. He argues this due to comparisons with Perugia, and because of the dating of an architrave pertaining to the wall.³⁴ This piece of stone is of the appropriate monumental size (half an original length of probably *c.* 3 metres long) and has an Umbrian inscription on it (Po 7) that mentions a ‘gate’, confirming its function.³⁵ The inscription’s lettering and language, and its use of the Umbrian alphabet, together with the comparison with Perugia, mean that the construction of the wall must have begun in the late third or early second century. The fortification, at 2,500 metres long larger than that of Augustan Hispellum (1,900 metres), and comparable with the size of Perugia’s walls (2,900 metres), followed a course determined in places by defensive considerations rather than the extent of habitable space. The scale of the wall and the antiquity of its conception has great significance for this allied town.

The immediate motive for the construction of the fortification may have been the renewed sense of danger emphasized by the invasion of Hannibal, who probably passed near Asisium after the battle of Trasimene; but the intimate connection of this structure with the terraces supporting the urban layout is common to many Mediterranean cities in the Hellenistic period: the terraces and fortifications of Asisium formed part of the same ambitious project, which continued to be perfected for almost two centuries.³⁶ The next major development we can trace is testified by a Latin inscription that records the building of a cistern and (terracing) wall by

³³ Fontaine, *Cités*, 331–4. Other examinations by M. L. Manca, ‘Osservazioni sulle mura di Assisium’, *AFLP* 15 (1977–8), 101–23, and ‘Le mura di “Assisium”’, in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell’antichità* (Assisi, 1996–7), 359–74, date it to the 2nd cent. BC.

³⁴ ‘Assisi repubblicana’, 7; ‘Da Assisi a Roma’, 246–7.

³⁵ M. J. Strazzulla, *Assisi romana* (Assisi, 1985), 25, has also suggested it could pertain to a building, but it is more of the scale required for a city wall. For Po 7 see Appendix 2.

³⁶ M. J. Strazzulla, ‘Assisi: Problemi urbanistici’, in *Les “Bourgeoisies” Municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris and Naples, 1983), 153–4.

six *marones*.³⁷ The dating of this inscription is controversial; through letter forms and spelling it should perhaps be assigned to c. 110–90 BC.³⁸ The structure of the cistern mentioned in the inscription and today preserved within the cathedral of San Rufino includes a cornice very similar to the only surviving city gate, which is probably also of late second/early first century date.³⁹ Remains of another edifice uncovered by building work (and subsequently destroyed) in the early part of this century were probably linked to the north-eastern part of these constructions. There was a large square tower and a portico with four travertine columns, of which the mid to late second-century Ionic bases survived to be recorded.⁴⁰ Coarelli identifies this as a monumental entrance in the city wall, similar to the Arch of Augustus at Perugia, which led via a portico-lined road to the place which served as the *arx* of the city. This structure rests on the terrace wall, which with its inscription should therefore be at least as old as the superstructure. Nevertheless, it seems better to accept that the architectural features of the portico could be later in this ‘provincial’ context than Coarelli’s c. 150–125 BC, rather than move the Latin inscription much earlier within the context of the town’s epigraphy (examined in the next chapter). Whatever the precise date, it is clear that Asisium underwent a major urbanistic transformation through the course of the second century BC, which is an important sign that the élites of these small Umbrian communities might be both wealthy and affected by wider Hellenistic trends.⁴¹

Over the other side of the Valle Umbra, Mevania was also experiencing an urban transformation, as further buildings were added to the temple erected in the fourth century BC.

³⁷ *CIL* xi. 5390: see Appendix 3. The exact nature of the *forum* and *circus* mentioned is unclear, although the inscription does not imply that the *circus* was created at the same time. Coarelli, ‘Assisi repubblicana’, identifies it with the level area that is now the Piazza Matteotti.

³⁸ Many authors have placed it after the Social War because of the use of Latin, e.g. J. Heurgon, ‘L’Ombrie à l’époque des Gracques et de Sylla’, in *I problemi di storia e archeologia dell’Umbria*, 128, but this is not a decisive argument. See Appendix 3.

³⁹ Coarelli, ‘Assisi repubblicana’, 9–11.

⁴⁰ E. Stefani, *NSc* (1935), 19–24; Strazzulla, *Assisi romana*, 26–7; Coarelli, ‘Assisi repubblicana’, 9–10.

⁴¹ Note that Coarelli identifies a P. Petronius attested on Delos as an early member of the consular *gens* from Asisium.

Pliny (*NH* 35. 173) records that its walls were, like those of Arretium, made from brick: *in Italia quoque latericius murus Arreti et Mevaniae est*. No traces of this wall have been found, but the late Republican stone circuit that must have replaced it is still visible. This makes Pliny's use of the present tense curious and probably indicates that he copied this information from an earlier source without any knowledge of the altered situation at Mevania. In the circumstances it seems likely that the brick wall dates from at least the second century BC.⁴² Just to the north of the city centre, in a position that may have been inside the ancient city walls, a structure interpreted as a nymphaeum was excavated between 1980 and 1982 (on the same site as a preceding seventh-century BC building).⁴³ It has been dated by the excavators to the late third to second century BC. Thus we know of several monumental buildings (perhaps including two temples) within the fortified city, which correlates with the important indications of civic activity provided by a sundial with an Umbrian inscription, of c.100 BC, found here in the 1960s.⁴⁴

Less than 10 kilometres to the east on higher ground, Urvinum Hortense is a third allied Umbrian centre that may have been walled before the Social War. Limited excavations in the 1930s uncovered sections of walling built with a construction technique, using squared sandstone blocks, analogous to that of a temple podium on the site. The latter probably dates from the third century BC (judging by the associated terracottas), which is also likely to be the date of the wall.⁴⁵ The blocks of this podium were cut using the Roman foot as a module and the temple has a tripartite cella on the lines of Roman *capitolia*, and although we do not need to assume actual Roman involvement in this fairly remote site, which is not near any important through routes, this is an important sign of the early influence of Roman models.

⁴² M. Torelli, *Etruria: Guida archaeologica Laterza* (Rome and Bari, 1980), 300, dates the wall of Arretium to the 4th or 3rd cent. BC.

⁴³ *Mevania*, 87–90.

⁴⁴ Po 4 in Appendix 2; discussed in Ch. 5, s. 4.

⁴⁵ G. Canelli Bizzozzero, 'La zona archeologica di Collemancio', *BSDPU* 30 (1933), 143–81; M. Matteini Chiari, *Raccolta di Camara*, 30, reviews the excavation and, in the same volume, Manconi ('Terrecotte architetoniche', 64) dates the architectural terracottas found.

Still within the Valle Umbra, fragmentary pieces of evidence from Fulginiae and Hispellum may signal further urban constructions. Archaeological research has established that the huts on the site of Hispellum were replaced by stone-walled buildings in the third century.⁴⁶ At Fulginiae, an Umbrian inscription (Ve 234) records work concerned with the management of water supplies, probably springs. The cursive script (as opposed to the monumental Latin alphabet) makes it extremely difficult to date, but it is likely to date from the mid-third to the mid-second century BC.⁴⁷ A parallel inscription recording similar work comes from Helvillum Vicus north of Tadinum (Ve 233); it is generally dated to the second half of the second century BC, and more specifically, by some authors, to the Gracchan era.⁴⁸

Other evidence away from the Valle Umbra is sparse. A large dump of material in the suburban Guastaglia area of Iguvium testifies to the active occupation of this site from the late fourth to the early second century BC, which is supported by the continued use of the pre-conquest cemeteries, including a tomb of around c. 100 BC with a bronze funerary couch.⁴⁹ At Tuder a late second-century date has been proposed for the terraced fortifications, although they could be later. Over on the Adriatic side of Umbria, a third- to second-century date has also been postulated for the walls of Urvinum Mataurense, again without much certainty.⁵⁰ This looks like a very isolated piece of evidence in an area where, as we have

⁴⁶ Brief notice by D. Manconi in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado*, 153.

⁴⁷ Text of inscriptions in appendix. Dated to 'soon after 150 BC, if not earlier' by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 185; c. 250–200 BC by F. Roncalli in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 165.

⁴⁸ e.g. A. Feruglio, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 165.

⁴⁹ *Guida Laterza*, 185; D. Manconi and F. Schippa, 'Scavi e scoperte: Gubbio (Perugia)', *SE* 51 (1983), 456–7. The dump contained a jumbled mix of fragments of pottery, three bronze votive figurines, and a few Roman coins. The majority of the ceramic material was locally produced coarse ware; there was much black slip pottery, of both Etruscan and local production, and fifteen fragments of Attic and Etruscan figured ware. The earliest elements dated from the 8th cent. BC (such as a fibula), but most of the material relates to the late 4th cent. to the end of the 2nd cent. BC. As the material was found in fourteen chronologically mixed layers, spread over an area 200 m across, it appears to have been moved from another point and deposited here in a short space of time, probably around 100 BC.

⁵⁰ For references see Ch. 5, s. 6.

seen, there seems to have been a comparative dearth of monumental buildings.

4. Rural sanctuaries

The picture of cult sites in the countryside provides us with a counterpoint to the creation of sanctuaries and other buildings on town sites. The use of rural sanctuaries in the archaic period and their possible significance for the communities of this region have been examined in Chapter 2. In this section I want to follow the changes that occur to these sanctuaries and the cult activities that took place here in the period after the Roman conquest. Perhaps the most important question to be addressed is to what extent any shifts in activity result from the imposition of Roman control over the region, or whether other factors, less explicitly linked with Romanization, may be at work. The Roman presence has often been connected with a decline in the use of rural sanctuaries.⁵¹

Before we examine the validity of this approach, certain methodological questions must be addressed. First, it is difficult to be certain about levels of frequentation of rural cult sites. Only a small number of them have dated building phases, and in most cases we are reliant on the quantity and type of votives found. Although we might assume that the deposition of votives roughly reflects the level of activity, and that the absence of votives or building activity means that the site was abandoned, activity may have continued in a way that left no archaeologically visible traces.

We can take M. Ansciano, near Iguvium, as an illustration of these issues as it is one of the very few sites which have been both recently excavated and fully reported.⁵² If we judge the use of the sanctuary by the quantity of votive material discarded or lost, it seems to have been most intensely frequented between the late sixth and fourth or third centuries BC (the dating is based on Colonna's chronology for votive

⁵¹ Verzar, 'La situazione in Umbria', 373, using the evidence for the deposition of votives.

⁵² *Territory, Time and State*, 145–52.

bronzes).⁵³ There is rather less later material, including a few Roman Republican coins, and numerous fragments of cups and lamps from the imperial period: clearly the site continued to be used.⁵⁴ The excavators have suggested this was in connection with pastoral exploitation of the uplands, but we could easily see this as a sign of the enduring bond between city and sanctuary that was hypothesized for the archaic period. Iguvium also had various other sanctuaries in its territory which may have been used in this period, which taken together suggest that the territory was clearly marked out with ritual sites.⁵⁵

A more nuanced picture emerges from other sites where there is more material. At the important cave sanctuary of Grotta Bella, near Ameria, the largest quantity of material was again from the pre-conquest period (304 bronze and lead votives), although a considerable amount dated to between the Roman conquest and the Social War.⁵⁶ This later material was more varied (including coins and various fictile products), and shows that frequentation of the site continued on a substantial scale even after the conquest. The continued use of the sanctuary at Ancarano di Norcia in this period parallels that of Grotta Bella, and the fairly remote positions of both sites suggests that sanctuaries some distance away from developing urban centres saw less of a downturn in use.⁵⁷

Recent archaeological evidence from these and other sites has shown that many sanctuaries which were frequented in the late sixth to fourth centuries were still visited after the conquest. The extent of the decline in rural sanctuary sites was overestimated in earlier interpretations, and we know that a few were even monumentalized in this period, judging by

⁵³ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, 24. ⁵⁴ *Territory, Time and State*, 203.

⁵⁵ D. Manconi, in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 152–4, for a cult site of Mars Cyrius, surely a pre-conquest cult in origin; D. Manconi, A. Scaleggi, and A. Tufani, 'Un monumento romano a Gubbio: Lettura, tentativo di identificazione, restauro', *AFLP* 21 (1984/5), 209–25, for a Hellenistic style sanctuary at Monteletto.

⁵⁶ Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'.

⁵⁷ D. Manconi and M. De Angelis, 'Il santuario di Ancarano di Norcia', *DdA* 5 (1987), 17–28. Material from after the conquest was also found in sanctuaries at Tadinum (Col di Mori) (E. Stefani, *NSc* (1935), 155–73) and Plestia (Ciotti, 'Nuove conoscenze', 99–112: when Ciotti wrote, the excavations had been suspended (p. 104), after obtaining only provisional results, and subsequently focused on the necropolis area).



PLATE 4.1. Temple A, Monte Torre Maggiore. Third–second century BC

the remains of architectural terracottas and temple podia.⁵⁸ The most spectacular example is that of M. Torre Maggiore, where a temple was built over the site of a votive deposit and rock-cut channel, probably in the third or second century BC (Temple A is shown in Pl. 4.1, figs. 4.1, 4.2). Nevertheless, it is also the case that the quantities of votives left in Umbrian rural sanctuaries after the Roman conquest never match the material from the earlier period. It is certainly apparent from the votive material (examined below) that ritual customs are changing from the pre- to post-conquest eras. Part of this change seems to be the greater focus of life on city sites from the fourth century BC, which (as we have seen in the previous sections) has complex causes and should not be thought of simply in terms of Romanization. The resources of individuals across the region seem to have been directed away from votive gifts to be left in sanctuaries, and towards the monumentalization of buildings. Rural sanctuaries continued to play

⁵⁸ Found at S. Maria in Canale, Plestia, and Pale (see Appendix 1).

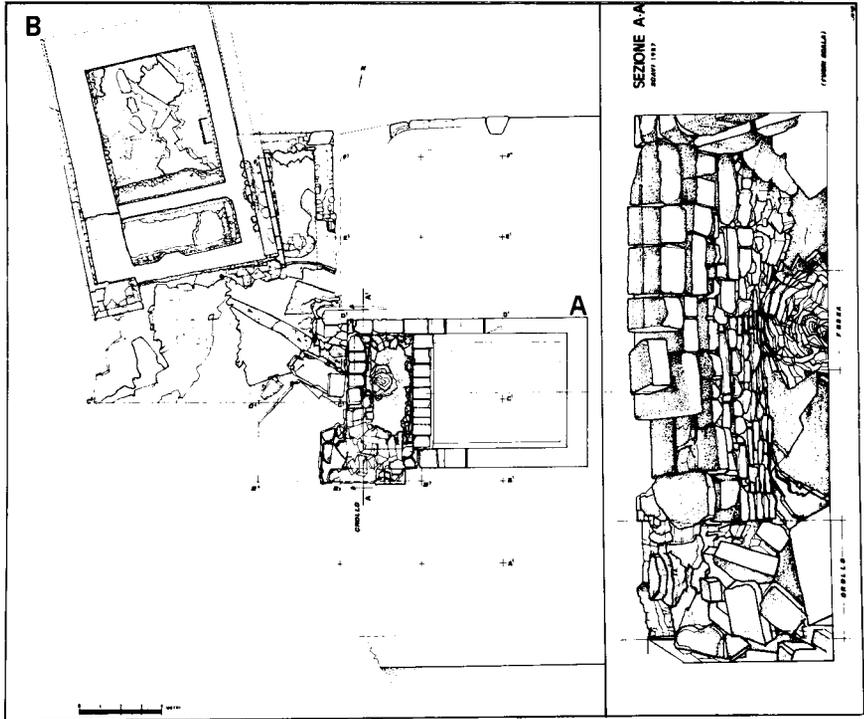


FIG. 4.1. Monte Torre Maggiore, general plan and axonometric drawing of the pronaos of Temple A, showing earlier votive pit (from L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Monte Torre Maggiore e la montagna di Cesi nel quadro della storia del popolamento dell'Umbria centro-meridionale', *Rassegna Economica*, 24/1 (1988), 15–28, p. 26, fig. VI)

an important role in the life of Umbrian communities, even if some ritual activities may have been gradually transferred to new temples within settlements from the old mountain-top sanctuaries.⁵⁹ As we shall see in Chapter 5, however, the archaeological evidence from most excavated examples of

⁵⁹ The discovery of architectural terracottas and a votive deposit relating to a temple under S. Maria in Camuccia at Tuder (E. Fabbricotti, *Ritrovamenti archeologici sotto la chiesa della visitazione di Santa Maria 'in Camuccia'*, *Res Tudertinae*, 10 (Todi, 1969)), demonstrates that the deposition of votives was a part of the rituals at urban as well as rural sites. For the difficulties of seeing rural religions as somehow separate from urban cults see J. A. North, 'Religion and Rusticity', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London, 1995), 135–50.

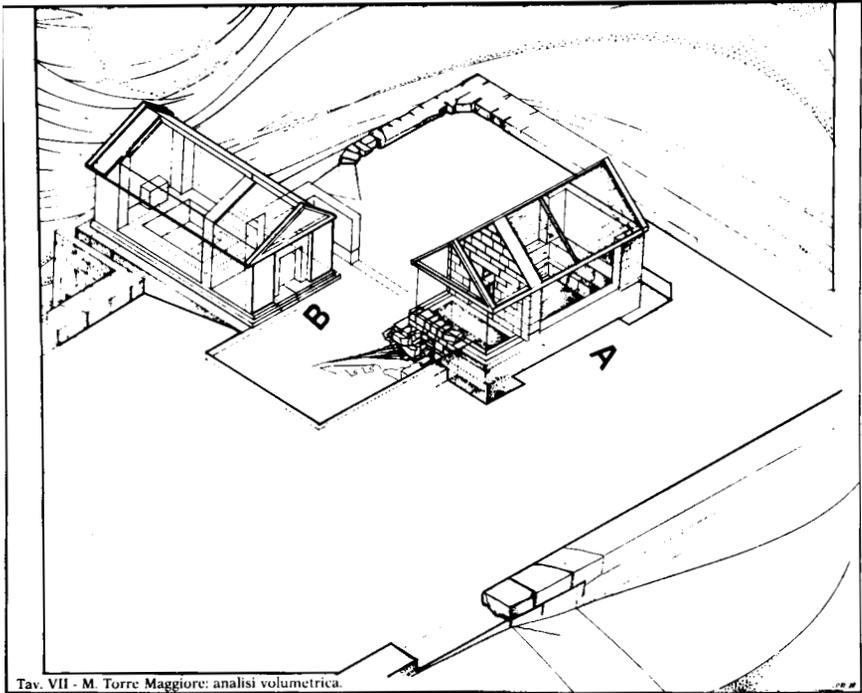


FIG. 4.2. Monte Torre Maggiore, reconstruction of Temples A and B (from L. Bonomi Ponzi, 'Monte Torre Maggiore e la montagna di Cesi nel quadro della storia del popolamento dell'Umbria centro-meridionale', *Rassegna Economica*, 24/1 (1988), 15-28, p. 26, fig. VII)

rural sanctuaries in Umbria suggests that the Social War marked a much greater hiatus in ritual activity at rural sites than the conquest.

Further evidence of the religious changes comes from the votive deposits themselves, which give us valuable evidence of the shifting influences at work. There was a significant transformation from the fifth century BC, when deposits consist almost totally of bronze figurines, to the third and second century, when coins and fictile products such as pottery usually predominate, with bronze only in much smaller quantities. The later fictile material includes some votives in the form of anatomical parts of the body. These are typical of Latium,

Etruria, and Campania, and their presence in Appennine central Italy is often taken as a sign of Romanization. However, they only appear in very small numbers in votive deposits in Umbria, and cannot be seen as simply replacing the more distinctively Umbrian bronze figurines.⁶⁰ Our interpretation is also complicated by the lack of precise dates for the production of bronze figurines, which have not been excavated from stratigraphic contexts, and must be dated on the basis of style. Colonna, in the standard work on Umbrian votive bronzes, describes their manufacture as sporadic after the early fourth century BC, although the production of schematic figures might have continued for a longer period.⁶¹

The proportions of anatomical votives seem too small to indicate that these cults were now of a predominantly 'health-giving' character, which seems to have been typical of sanctuaries in Tyrrhenian Italy in the third and second centuries BC.⁶² There are also some similarities between the votive deposits of the fifth and fourth centuries and those of the period after the Roman conquest.⁶³ Nevertheless, the shift from archaic votive bronzes that were more distinctive to the region to a broader range of material that was typical of much wider areas of central Italy is part of the development of a more homogenized central Italian cultural koiné, which was largely a product of Roman expansion. The use of more imported material is a sign of the widening horizons of the region's inhabitants as new trade and communications routes opened

⁶⁰ Anatomical terracotta votives are known from Ameria and Grotta Bella (G. Erolì, *Bull. Inst.* (1864), 56–9, (1867), 171; Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 84 n. 47); Campo la Piana (L. Brizio, 'Nocera Umbra: Resti di un antico santuario riconosciuti in contrada Campo la Piana', *NSc* (1891), 308–13) and Colle di Nocera near Nuceria (L. Bonomi Ponzi *et al.*, *Il territorio nocerino tra protostoria e altomedioevo* (Florence, 1985), 72); Isola di Fano near Forum Sempronii (*Bull. Inst.* (1875), 75–81; *NSc* (1899), 260–1); Mevania (*Mevania*, 44–5, including a mould for the production of terracotta feet).

⁶¹ Colonna, *Bronzi votivi*, 24; see also *Territory, Time and State*, 145.

⁶² Colmella, 'Complessi votivi', 768–71.

⁶³ Sites at M. Subasio, Tuder, and Nuceria continue to receive offerings of different types of bronze figurines in the 3rd and 2nd cents. (Monacchi, 'Monte Subasio', 87 n. 53). These were typical of central Italy as a whole in this period, and may not have been produced in Umbria. Note also the small bronze representations of anatomical parts in archaic Umbrian votive deposits, cropping up at Bettona, Arna, M. San Pancrazio, and Tuder, and outside Umbria at Pasticcetto di Magione and Fonte Veneziana (Arretium) (*Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 122, 126).

up, of which the most important were those linking Rome to the north through the region. Some of the votive material was still locally produced, such as black slip pottery,⁶⁴ but was now much less distinctive to the region; the models were now as likely to be products of Rome as of Etruria (which was more securely the origin of the archaic bronze designs used in Umbria). Other trade routes probably declined, such as those across Appennine Italy from Volsinii (sacked by the Romans in 264 BC), and this may explain why the production of Umbrian votive bronzes, perhaps using raw materials imported from the mineral rich areas of Etruria, largely halted in the fourth century.

The particular gods worshipped in Umbria reflect a similarly complex picture, with some elements of continuity. As we have seen, the specific types of votives used are an unreliable source for identifying the particular deity, and so we must concentrate on the few gods that are attested in Umbrian epigraphy, or those in later Latin inscriptions that look to be of early origin. The most obvious example of the former is the worship of Cupra. Umbrian dedicatory inscriptions have been found at Plestia (Po 2, dating to the fourth century; see Pl. 2.3), and at Helvillum Vicus north of Tadinum (Ve 233), probably dating from the second half of the second century BC. Worship of this goddess was particularly widespread in Sabinum and in Picenum, where a record of the existence of two of her sanctuaries has been preserved in the modern place names of Cupramarittima and Cupramontana.⁶⁵ At the Villa Fidelia sanctuary, near Hispellum, Cupra seems to have 'continued' as Venus.⁶⁶ Other pre-Roman cults certainly carried on through the Roman period in Umbria, but it is often difficult to identify them securely as indigenous rather than Roman-introduced. An Umbrian dedication to Jupiter has also recently been discovered in the sanctuary complex of the Villa Fidelia, and this deity may feature on another Umbrian inscription from Ameria (Ve 229).⁶⁷ At Iguvium not only is there a complex pantheon revealed by the Iguvine Tables, but there are also Latin dedications to several deities that must have

⁶⁴ Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 88.

⁶⁵ A. E. Feruglio in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 86.

⁶⁶ Coarelli, 'La Romanización de Umbria', 62. ⁶⁷ See Appendix 2.

a local (or at least pre-conquest) origin: Mars Cyprius we have discussed, but there is also a cult place of Jupiter Apeninus, probably located at the pass at Scheggia.⁶⁸ Other deities that are not obviously of Roman origin include Feronia at Narnia, Valentia at Ocriculum, Minerva Matusia at Sentinum, and probably Clitumnus, the deification of the source of this river.⁶⁹ Although there must have been other cults that predated the Roman conquest which are now unidentifiable, there are only a fairly small number of evident survivals.

5. Political institutions in Umbrian communities⁷⁰

In the next two sections various types of evidence for the complexity of the political organization of Umbrian communities will be examined. The first category is that of political institutions, which are recorded on epigraphic documents. Most of the relevant inscriptions are in the Umbrian language, although a few are in Latin. While all are less than twenty words long, with the notable exception of the Iguvine Tables (the longest document in any Italic language besides Latin), their frequently civic character means that they provide a fair range of attestations from various Umbrian towns. The vast majority of Umbrian inscriptions have been found to the west of the Apennine watershed, and date to the third, second, or early first century BC. Understanding the meaning of the Umbrian language is not always straightforward, and the interrelationship of different elements of the various political structures is disputed, but the elements themselves are clearly apparent.

The Iguvine Tables stand apart from the rest of Umbrian epigraphy in character as well as length. The seven Tables,

⁶⁸ Literary testimony: *Historia Augusta*, *Claudius* 10. 4; *Historia Augusta*, *Firmus* 3. 4; Claudian, *VI cos. Honor.* 504 (AD 404); *Tab. Peut.* (with representation of a building). Epigraphic sources: *CIL* xi. 5803, found 8 miles north of Gubbio, recording a dedication to Iove Apeninus; cf. 5804. See also G. Radke (1962), s.v. 'Umbri' in *RE* supp. 9; *Guida Laterza*, 175.

⁶⁹ Feronia: D. Monacchi, 'Un luogo di culto di Feronia a Narni', *DdA* 3 (1985), 93–107, suggesting the cult was instituted in the late 4th or early 3rd cent., but it is impossible to be precise about the date; Valentia: Tertullian, *Apologet.* 24; Minerva Matusia: *CIL* xi. 5740, Paci, 'Da Colfiorito', 18; Clitumnus: Pliny, *Ep.* 8. 8.

⁷⁰ For the Umbrian inscriptions cited, see Appendix 2; for the Latin, see Appendix 3.

which include both Umbrian and Latin scripts, were probably engraved in the second and perhaps also the early first century BC. Most of the organizational terms relevant to our present context are already recorded in the earlier Tables using the Umbrian alphabet, and even these Tables are likely to have derived from earlier records.⁷¹ Some political institutions recorded in the Tables may therefore be considerably older than the second century; there is also some sign of Roman influence.

The handful of magisterial types which we know suggest that the political hierarchies of Umbrian communities were fairly basic, as would be expected given their limited size. The supreme magistrate seems (in some cases) to have been the **uhtur**. This interpretation derives from the appearance of the office as a dating formula in the Iguvine Tables (*Va.* 2, 15) and in an inscription from Asisium (*Ve* 236), which also shows that the **uhtur** may have held office with a colleague. On this latter example, *ohtretie* ('**uhtur**-ship') precedes *maronatei* ('maronate', see below), probably reflecting the order of seniority. In earlier scholarship, the nature of the position of **uhtur** was disputed. Vetter and others held that it was an internal office of the Atiedian Brotherhood, perhaps even appointed by its members,⁷² whereas Devoto saw it as a public magistracy that played a role in the rituals of the Iguvine priesthood.⁷³ This controversy seems to have been resolved in Devoto's favour with the discovery of a funerary epitaph from Mevania published in 1970 (*Po* 3), in which **uhtur** was mentioned after the dead man's name in the style of a magistracy, suggesting that it was a civic office of wider distribution.⁷⁴ There are still some difficulties with this interpretation, such as why there were two eponymous magistracies on the Asisium inscription, but it seems the most plausible of all the options; it is also likely that this office served different functions at

⁷¹ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 23. Further discussion in Ch. 1, s. 1, and Ch. 2, s. 4(d).

⁷² Vetter, *Handbuch*, 211–12; Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 201; Coli, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Umbria preromana', 142–3.

⁷³ e.g. Devoto, *Tavole di Gubbio*, 99–100.

⁷⁴ E. Campanile and C. Letta, *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area Italica* (Pisa, 1979), 50; J. Penney, 'The Languages of Italy', in J. Boardman *et al.* (eds.), *CAH* iv (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1988), 736.

different places (Asisium and Iguvium).⁷⁵ The term **uhtur** is similar to the Latin 'auctor', and might appear to derive from a common root or be a loan from Latin. However, other comparable forms found in Paelignian and South Picene strongly suggest that **uhtur** comes from a different root, and is therefore not related to the Latin word.⁷⁶ The derivation of **uhtur** from Latin *augur* proposed by Coli is even less feasible, especially considering that augury is undertaken by other figures in the Iguvine Tables.⁷⁷

Another civic office, whose holders are called *marones*, is mentioned on three Umbrian and two Latin inscriptions from this region.⁷⁸ This magistracy was also used as a dating formula (Ve 236), but it was probably normally junior to the **uhtur**. In very small communities where it is the only attested magistracy (such as Helvillum and Fulginiae, Ve 233 and 234) this office may have existed alone.⁷⁹ Like the **uhtur** it is attested as a collegiate office of two: this includes the six *marones* recorded on a Latin inscription commemorating major building work at Asisium, who are best seen as three pairs.⁸⁰ The word itself may be Etruscan, as it occurs on Etruscan inscriptions from the fourth century BC, well before it is attested in Umbria.⁸¹ It was an auxiliary magistracy in Etruria, and its probable borrowing from there supports the interpretation that it had a correspondingly lesser status in Umbria. The Latin quaestorship also seems to have been borrowed individually by some Umbrian communities. The **kvestur** at Iguvium may have been a priestly official (Iguvine Tables Va. 23, Vb. 2), and the title appears in the form of *quaestores farrarri* (**cvestur farariur**), a magistracy related to

⁷⁵ E. Campanile, 'I testi umbri minori', in G. Bonamente and F. Coarelli (eds.), *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità* (Assisi, 1996-7), 185.

⁷⁶ Poultrney, *Bronze Tables*, 23; M. Watmough, 'The Suffix *-tor-*: Agent-Noun Formation in Latin and the Other Italic Languages', *Glotta*, 73 (1995/6), 108-11.

⁷⁷ A. L. Prodocimi, 'Redazione e struttura testuale delle Tavole iguvine', in *ANRW* 2/1 (Berlin and New York, 1972), 672; Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici*, 21.

⁷⁸ Umbrian: Ve 233, 234 and 236 in Appendix 2; Latin: *CIL* xi. 5390, *Mevania*, ii. 121 (with illustration).

⁷⁹ Campanile, 'I testi umbri minori', 182.

⁸⁰ *CIL* xi. 5390, discussed in s. 3 above.

⁸¹ L. Banti, *The Etruscan Cities and their Culture* (London, 1973), 122; the office appears exclusive to Etruria and Umbria: Campanile, 'I testi umbri minori', 182.

the supply of spelt, at Mevania (Po 4; Pl. 5.2).⁸² Thus the 'indigenous' head attested in some Umbrian communities, the **uhtur**, seems to have been gradually surrounded by institutions borrowed from elsewhere, which were presumably needed as the job of governing these communities became more complex.⁸³

We can gain some further information on communal organization, at least within the town of Iguvium, from the text of the Iguvine Tables. We can revisit here the list of enemies banished in connection with the lustration:⁸⁴

eso eturstahmu pisest totar/ tarsinater trifor tarsinater tuscer
naharcer iabuscer nomner eetu ehesu poplu
(Thus shall he pronounce banishment: 'Whoever is of the Tadinate community, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, let him go out from this army': VIb. 53-4, trans. adapted from Poultney)

This has a range of technical terms. The *poplo-*, the subject of the lustration, is probably best seen as the army of Iguvium (for the use of *poplo-*, compare Latin *populus* in the formation *magister populi*, the dictator at Rome, whose subordinate was the *magister equitum*).⁸⁵ The *nomen* was the largest ethnic group mentioned, such as the 'Tuscan' (that is, Etruscan) name, which is analogous to the Latin name. Presumably an Umbrian *nomen* existed, though it is not mentioned in any Umbrian text.⁸⁶ This *nomen* would have included various

⁸² Prosdocimi discusses the parallel with another office in the Iguvine Tables in 'Questura italica e questura romana: I *cvestur faruriur* "questori del farro" di Mevania e gli *homonus duir puri far eisurent* "i due uomini che faranno la questa del farro" di Gubbio', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 142 (1983-4), 169-90.

⁸³ The possibility that the *octoviri* found in Plestia were the Latinized form of local magistracies is examined in Ch. 3, s. 5. Poccetti and Campanile ('I testi umbri minori', 181) think that **mestiça** in Po 7 (Appendix 2) is evidence of a *meddix* at Asisium, but this would be a very isolated attestation of the office, and it is not easy to see how this would fit in with known Umbrian magisterial hierarchies. See further Rocca, *Iscrizioni umbre minori*, 58.

⁸⁴ The ethnic implications of this part of the Tables are discussed in Ch. 1, s. 3(b).

⁸⁵ Cic., *De Fin.* 3. 75; Varro, *LL* 5. 82, 6. 61; Coli, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Umbria preromana', 151-2; M. Watmough, *Studies in the Etruscan Loanwords in Latin: Biblioteca di 'Studi etruschi' (Istituto nazionale di studi etruschi e italici)*, 33 (Florence, 1997), ch. 4, pp. 70-1, arguing that it derived from Etruscan.

⁸⁶ Examined in Ch. 1, s. 2.

smaller states, for example, the Iguvine *tota-* or the Tadinatate *tota-*. Umbrian *trifo-*, as attested in the genitive singular *trifor* (fourth declension), appears in parallel to *tota-* in the formula *totar tarsinater trifor tarsinater*, which suggests semi-equivalence. The term is also attested independently by Livy (31. 2. 6; 33. 37. 1), who refers to a Roman army marching into northern Italy via a part of Umbria called the *tribus Sapinia*.⁸⁷ This seems to imply that *trifo-* means the community in the territorial sense as opposed to *tota-*, the community in the political sense.⁸⁸

Thus there was a fairly sophisticated technical vocabulary relating to communal organization. To these can also be added the words *furo* (*forum* in Latin), **kumne** (*comitium*), and **kumnahle** (assembly or meeting-place), which are public spaces within the town or, perhaps in the latter case, an assembly.⁸⁹ Further organizational divisions are necessitated in the actual lustration of the Iguvine *poplo-*, in which those present are required to organize themselves into various ranks, perhaps relating to military status.⁹⁰ There are other terms in the Tables that may relate to social organization, such as **tekuries**, **pumperias**, and **natine**.⁹¹ The overall picture is one of a society that has defined groups and designated representatives with authority over the community. As we have established, these were important organizational requirements of early Italian states, and show that Iguvium by the early second century at the latest has become a complex society.⁹²

The division of Umbria into a large number of small states, and the only partial correlation between the known gods,

⁸⁷ Livy 31. 2. 5–7: '[The consul Publius Aelius] ordered Gaius Ampius, the commander of the allied forces, to take this improvised force and with it to invade the territory of the Boii, marching by way of Umbria, through the district known as the *tribus Sapinia*.'

⁸⁸ Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, 274; A. L. Prosdocimi, 'Il lessico istituzionale italico: Tra linguistica e storia', in *La cultura italica* (Pisa, 1977), 39–44.

⁸⁹ The first could be a Latin loan; the last two are related to Oscan words, which suggests they were not borrowed from Rome (Ernout, *Dialecte Ombrien*, 86, 81–2; Poultney, *Bronze Tables*, index).

⁹⁰ Thus Coli, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Umbria preromana', 151; Devoto, *Le tavole di Gubbio* sees priestly versus military ranks (s.v. VIb. 57).

⁹¹ **tekuries** could be *decuriae*, **pumperias** 'quincunial', and **natine gens**. However, the context of these words in the Tables is very poorly understood.

⁹² Contrast *Territory, Time and State*, 177.

magistrates, and so forth of Iguvium and those of other Umbrian towns, mean that we should not automatically presume that (on the basis of their shared ethnicity) the same structure existed in other Umbrian communities: there is no mention of *marones*, for instance, in the Iguvine Tables.⁹³ The diversity of the region is one of its most interesting features, and deserves to be emphasized. It is interesting to note that many other towns have a more impressive archaeological record from this era, and so it would be unwise to think that they were not similarly sophisticated. We must not fail to realize the extent of the now lost evidence, of which unusual survivals (such as the Iguvine Tables) merely give us hints.

6. Weights, measures, and coinage: the setting of communal standards

In this section I want to demonstrate how we can support the conclusions reached above concerning the development of central authorities using the evidence of weights and measures, and of coinage. The non-Roman communities of Italy formed their own standards for weights and also formalized measurements of distance and time.⁹⁴ There was, for example, a distinct Lucanian unit of capacity and we know that some Oscan and Umbrian speaking communities used a foot and a measurement of land called the *vorsus* which differed from their Roman equivalents.⁹⁵ Frontinus (30L = 13Th) and Hyginus (122L = 85Th) from the corpus of Agrimensores record that the Umbrians used the word *vorsus* for a measured area of land within four boundaries. This was 100 by 100 feet, as opposed to the Roman unit of 120 by 120 feet. According to John Lydus (*De Mens.* 2. 2), who probably derives his information from an antiquarian of the first century BC (perhaps C. Fonteius Capito, a pontifex from 44 BC), the Umbrians had their own

⁹³ However, this could be because the title had not been borrowed (from Etruscan) at the time when the original archetype of the texts was formed.

⁹⁴ M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (London, 1985), 14. See also A. J. Nijboer, 'A Pair of Early Fixed Metallic Units from Borgo Le Ferriere (Satricum)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 154 (1994), 1–12.

⁹⁵ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 14.

way of measuring a day, from noon to noon.⁹⁶ The creation of such fixed points (particularly in terms of land divisions) presupposes the existence of central authorities which could enforce the standardization of these measures: this implies the existence of a power recognized by the community as a whole. Although all the evidence dates from well after the Roman conquest, the fact that these systems differ from that of Rome probably indicates that they were formed before these Umbrian societies submitted to Roman control in the fourth and early third centuries BC.⁹⁷

It is also significant that cast and struck bronze coinage was issued by a wide range of peoples in third-century Italy. In analysing the purpose of coinage in Greece, Colin Kraay noted that neither external trade nor commerce within the state was likely to be the impetus. The circulation of most issues remained too localized for the former, and the coins produced were of denominations too large to be really useful for the latter. He concluded that coinage was created, instead, to provide a 'standard medium for the purposes of the state'.⁹⁸ It could have been used to make payments for outgoings such as mercenaries, officials' salaries, and building work, and to receive incoming payments such as taxes. It provided a form in which the wealth of the state could be conveniently stored, and was almost always stamped with the mark and name of the state to which it belonged. This argument is equally relevant to coinage in Italy, where the limited range of denominations do not seem to have been created with trade in mind. The coinage of Italian states is different from Greek coinage, however, in that it had a clear precursor in the coinage issued by the Greeks and (especially) the Romans in Italy. The idea of producing coinage came to Italic communities in imitation of this, rather than spontaneously.⁹⁹ But if we are correct in

⁹⁶ S. Weinstock, 'C. Fonteius Capito and the *Libri Tagetici*', *PBSR* 18 (1950), 44-9.

⁹⁷ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 1: Greek colonists who settled on the coast of Italy from the 8th cent. BC brought with them the notion of standard weights fixed by the community; Servius Tullius may have been responsible for the creation of similar units in 6th-cent. Rome.

⁹⁸ C. Kraay, 'Coinage', in *CAH* iv. *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1988), 443; cf. his *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London, 1976), 320-2.

⁹⁹ See Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 37.

following Kraay's conclusions about the purpose of coinage, then Italic issues must reflect the needs of a central authority, particularly that of paying for army contingents, which would tie in with the fact that governmental structures were probably required to organize the production process itself.¹⁰⁰ The mass of bronze coinage produced in allied and Latin centres in the third century BC certainly seems to have been created for this purpose, since most issues circulated only locally, as in Greece. All of these coin-issuing communities were bound to Rome by treaties which allowed, and indeed required, a large measure of local self-government. In short, coinage in Republican Italy is a good index of political organization and local independence (although we should not expect ancient societies always to look on it in the same light).¹⁰¹

It is worth noting that similar arguments have been advanced by Nash, who took the range of coin types issued by the communities of central Gaul as symbols of state formation and identity in the first century BC.¹⁰² She noted that the payment of mercenaries, which was one of the earliest uses of Greek coinage, was a plausible reason for the adoption of coinage in Gaul from the third century, and linked the subsequent transformations of these societies to the changes in their rich coin evidence.

The weight of Italian coinages was based on a variety of different standards. Some were based on the Roman standard, others were restricted to their local area, such as that of 350–400 g used by the Vestini and by the communities of Ariminum and Hadria along the Adriatic coast. Such weight standards clearly had to be set by the authority that commissioned or

¹⁰⁰ Communities allied to Rome had to pay for the contingents they levied to fight alongside the Roman army: see Polybius 6. 21. 5.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Letta, 'Dall' "oppidum" al "nomen"', 401, who takes the coinage of Aquilonia and Allifae to suggest that they are sovereign states rather than subordinate centres within a unitary Samnite state; K. Lomas, 'The City in South-East Italy', *Accordia Research Papers*, 4 (1993), 70, sees the silver and bronze coinage produced by Apulian towns in the early 3rd cent. as evidence of their 'distinct consciousness of separate civic identity'. But T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton, 1986), suggests that Hellenistic monarchs did not themselves see coinage as a political symbol.

¹⁰² D. Nash, 'Coinage and State Development in Central Gaul', in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul*, CBA Research Reports, 38 (London, 1981), 10–17.

organized production, and presumably governed the way that all weights were judged in these societies. Basalt blocks corresponding to the standard were made, against which other weights could be checked.

At least some Umbrian communities had a common weight standard. This can be deduced from coins issued by Iguvium which have marks denoting how many twelfths of the pound they represent. This duodecimal division of the weight standard was shared with Rome. But Iguvium used a non-Roman standard pound of around 200 g, which was shared with various Etruscan centres.¹⁰³ The most likely issue date for these weights is the First Punic War, assuming that they derive from the Roman issues of cast bronze coinage of the early third century.¹⁰⁴ In the same period, Tuder issued cast and struck bronze coinage on this weight standard, but then went on later during the Second Punic War to produce another series with a weight standard of around 250 g, which was probably based on a Roman precedent, as well as using the duodecimal system of denomination.¹⁰⁵ Both communities used their individual names in the legends: **tutere** is the Umbrian name of Tuder and **ikuvins** an adjective derived from that of Iguvium ('Iguvine').¹⁰⁶ The issue of coinage with an individual legend shows that the officers organizing its production could claim the authority to validate it with the name of the community. The ethnics specific to each centre are also evidence of the division of Umbria amongst small centres with administrative autonomy, which as we have seen emerges from the treaties formed in Umbria.¹⁰⁷ They compare to the legends used by semi-autonomous Latin colonies such as the *fir* of Firmum, and can be contrasted with coinage from more unified areas, such as that of the Vestini. This coinage was given the name *ves*

¹⁰³ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 46, 16, citing Chiusi and Chianciano; *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 141.

¹⁰⁴ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 43.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 43, 46, 48; Tascio, *Todi*, 20; R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage* (Copenhagen, 1957–61), i. 192, ii. 63–5. This issue included coins on a reduced weight standard following similar Roman emissions.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix 2 for Ernout's suggestion as to their cases. The terms **nurpener** and **numer** that appear in the Iguvine Tables (e.g. *Va.* 13, 17) probably refer to types of coin.

¹⁰⁷ See Ch. 3, s. 3.

of the whole Vestinian *nomen* (people) rather than that of an individual centre within the *nomen*, as seems to be the case in Umbria.

The sharing of a weight standard by Tuder and Iguvium (even if borrowed from Etruria) shows that already in the pre-conquest period there was probably a common 'Umbrian weight standard', which had been designated and shared by various Umbrian communities, complementing the *vorsus* and the 'Umbrian day'. Nevertheless, the picture of construction modules gives a rather different impression. The presence of the Attic foot at Ocriculum probably shows the borrowing of an external standard from nearby Etruscan or Faliscan centres, and, if it represented a local module and was not simply that employed by immigrant craftsmen, would be yet another sign of the profound Etruscan influence on the emerging states in Umbria. The employment of the Roman foot at allied Urvinum Hortense in the third century BC, however, suggests that this was not a widely shared or well established standard. Diversity is also characteristic of alphabets, which were initially borrowed from Volsinii and Perugia, and later from Rome.

7. Conclusion

The evidence suggests that in the third and second centuries (and probably already by the time of the conquest), the parts of Umbria outside the areas of Latin and Roman settlement were divided up into a number of small independent communities. Most must have had their own central authorities with several magistracies; these representatives of the community probably oversaw the formation of treaties with Rome in the aftermath of the conquest and, in subsequent years, the levying of the troop contingents specified by such agreements. At Iguvium and Tuder the magistrates organized the production of coinage. This may be indicative of the relative sophistication of their political organization, but it is worth noting that other centres are more impressive in their own ways.

The creation of a physical dimension to these communities has already begun on a small scale before the conquest, although none were probably as large as contemporary

Etruscan cities. The continued occupation of the sites of allied settlements from pre-conquest beginnings to at least the time of the Social War shows that this region did not suffer anything like the catastrophic devastation that the conquest brought to Messapia, or the Hannibalic War to Bruttium. In fact, the third and second centuries saw the gradual monumentalization of allied towns, presumably alongside the (largely hypothetical) urbanization of the Latin colonies in the southern part of Umbria.

A strong Volsinian and Perusine influence is apparent on allied communities from the earliest phases of this process in building form and architectural terracotta style (if not actual production), just as in the alphabets used for epigraphy. In the third and especially the second century BC Roman architectural design provides an additional source of inspiration (and perhaps even craftsmen), most evident in the communities of the Valle Umbra, but it never seems to become the dominant frame of reference. The *arx* complex identified by Coarelli in Asisium had a monumental gateway similar to those of Perugia, a road with porticoes along Roman lines, and rested on a terracing wall incorporating a cistern analogous in construction to a tomb at 'Etruscanized' Vettona. 'Influences' alone do not provide an explanation as to why local élites chose to spend their resources in a form increasingly dictated by the principles of Graeco-Roman urbanism: we have also, I think, to look to a Roman administrative structure that allowed considerable local autonomy to allied towns, which became the political and religious centres of their territories.¹⁰⁸ Rural sanctuaries, however, almost certainly remained important, even if they were no longer receiving the quantity of votives that they had in the archaic period.

Looking at state organization also helps us focus on important internal changes which lie behind the creation of cities, involving the building up of state structures and the growth of social complexity, continuing from the pre- into the post-conquest period. Competition between Umbrian communities and also with neighbouring Etruscan cities must have

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the model proposed by Patterson for late Republican and early imperial Samnium: see 'Settlement, City and Elite in Samnium and Lycia', in *City and Country*, 151.

encouraged the organization of societies for military purposes and the emulation of effective state structures. After the conquest such competition was probably no longer violent, but the ethos of inter-community rivalry is likely to have continued to stimulate change, and, as we have seen, there was the added pressure of Roman treaty requirements. Features borrowed from Rome such as the quaestorship, certain weight standards, and Roman modular measurements strongly suggest that state organization continued after the conquest. The role of Etruscan borrowings, which began earlier, is also important in this respect, most notably with the adoption of *marones*, and of Etruscan alphabets, which enabled the exploitation of literacy. Nevertheless, the lack of apparent Roman or Etruscan origins for most organizational terms in the Iguvine Tables has an interesting implication: it would suggest that elements such as the **uhtur**, the *tota-*, the **kumne**, and the *vorsus* could well originate in a period before Volsinii, Perugia, and other great Etruscan centres began to exert a dominant influence on Umbrian communities, probably in the sixth century BC.¹⁰⁹ If it is legitimate to think that the terms for such state structures are this old, and it seems logical for instance to think of the **uhtur** as the most ancient element of the magisterial systems in which it occurred, we perhaps have an indication that the process of state organization might have begun in a very distant past.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ All these terms seem to have cognates in Oscan, and so they appear to be part of a common Osco-Umbrian linguistic inheritance.

¹¹⁰ We should not, however, assume that terms such as **uhtur** would have had the same meaning in this early period as in later epigraphy.

Romanization, the Social War, and integration into the Roman state

1. Introduction: the concept of Romanization

The change in the sense of identity of allied Italians in the period between the Roman conquest and the death of Augustus (AD 14) is an extremely important factor in the history of Italy. In the conventional picture, Italians moved from thinking of themselves in terms of their local ethnic group, whether Umbrian, Marsic, Samnite, or whatever, to regarding themselves as being Roman.¹ It is widely accepted that this process of identification with Rome began soon after the Roman conquest, and by the late 90s BC had encouraged the desire of the Italians for Roman citizenship to the extent that they were prepared to go to war to obtain it.² This shift is normally characterized as a process of ‘Romanization’, and is usually mapped by the shifting political aims of the allies and through changes in their culture and language.

The concept of Romanization is not without its problems, however, both theoretical and practical. In using the term it is important not to be overly Romanocentric. Rome is not the sole influence on the culture of Umbrian communities from the conquest to the Social War. There are also many signs of Etruscan contacts, for example in the borrowing of alphabets, and Etruria as well as Rome acted as a conduit for Greek goods and ideas to this region. Furthermore, the process by which culture is changed is extremely complex, and the myriad

¹ A sense of Roman identity in the mid-1st cent. BC can be found in Cicero, *De Legibus* 2. 2. 5 (quoted in s. 10 at the end of this chapter).

² See for instance P. A. Brunt, ‘Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War’, in *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford, 1988), 93–143. For a dissenting view, see Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*.

influences on a region like Umbria often led to the formation of new cultural features rather than the direct replication of 'foreign' cultures. This is well documented for the provinces of the western Roman Empire, where there was often a strong contrast between Roman and local cultures. In Italy, where non-Roman peoples lived in close proximity with the Romans for hundreds of years before the conquest, the distinction between Roman and non-Roman cultures was much less sharp, if apparent at all.³ By the time of the conquest, Roman culture was itself a complex amalgam of elements, many of which had been derived from Greece or the rest of Italy. Given this inevitable complexity, we should not expect to be able to distinguish all the possible influences acting on Umbria and it is important to remember that establishing 'influences' does not in itself explain change. The role of local agents in initiating developments must be recognized, especially in the decentralized situation that prevailed in allied Italy under Roman hegemony.⁴ Long-term processes such as urbanization may have begun before the conquest, as I have argued above, and carried on despite it. Mapping the effect of the Roman presence on these developments is often difficult, although it is a reasonable assumption that it played a part in the later second century BC.⁵

A further and perhaps more fundamental issue is the extent to which cultural change is related to shifts in ethnic identity. The introduction to what is probably the most thorough analysis of the evidence for Romanization in the region, chapter 5 of Harris's *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, illustrates the established view:

The Romanization of Etruria and Umbria, the process by which the inhabitants came to be and to think of themselves as Romans, has never received the attention that it deserves. It is of course closely

³ K. Lomas, 'Urban Elites and Cultural Definition: Romanisation in Southern Italy', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas, *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London, 1995), 107.

⁴ See Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, ch. 2.2, for a recent restatement of the relative autonomy of allied peoples in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC, marking an important difference from the situation in the western Roman Empire.

⁵ This will become easier as the archaeological remains (foundations of buildings, architectural terracottas, etc.) are subjected to more precise study, such as that undertaken for Urvinum Hortense (Manconi, 'Terrecotte architettoniche').

bound up with Roman policies in the two regions during most of the period covered by the present work: Roman policies affected the manner and the pace of Romanization, and if we are to understand the Roman policies of the period of the Social War a careful analysis of Romanization is essential.

In his conclusion, Harris maintains that 'the political unification of Italy after the Social War, together with Sulla's settlement . . . all but completed the history of the Etruscans as a separate nation. The same applied in Umbria, except that the identity of the local population was lost somewhat earlier'. By the era of Augustus the inhabitants of the towns of these regions 'were Romans, not Etruscans and Umbrians'.⁶ In effect, Harris took the cultural change manifested in the spread of Latin and the adoption of Roman magisterial institutions before the Social War to mean that the local population exchanged one identity (Etruscan or Umbrian) for another (Roman). He was clear that the process was more rapid in Umbria than Etruria, and in subsequent years Umbria has to some extent become a paradigm of the Romanization of Italy, notably in Brunt's revised version of his article on 'Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War' and in the recent, more detailed investigations of Coarelli.⁷

The connection between Romanization and changes in identity is particularly interesting in relation to Umbria, because in the period before the conquest the strength of Umbrian identity is far from clear. There are only a few fragments of positive evidence in favour of such an identity, mostly deriving from Greek writers looking at this region from an external perspective. Evidence from within the region provides no help regarding the extent to which this putative identity existed in any meaningful way for Umbrians themselves.⁸ Local particularism was certainly strong. Given this background it is not at all evident that Umbrian identity 'declined' in the Roman period as identification with Rome became more important. In fact, as we shall see later, much of

⁶ *Etruria and Umbria*, 318. Salmon, *Roman Italy*, 157-60, sees this period as the marking the triumph of city-state particularism over the collective sentiment of ethnic groups, who lacked the 'national consciousness' to rise to the challenge.

⁷ P. A. Brunt, 'Italian Aims'; Coarelli, 'Assisi repubblicana'; Coarelli, 'Romanización'.

⁸ See the full discussion in Ch. 1, s. 2.

the evidence for the identity of the Umbrians as a group dates from after the conquest. This poses some interesting questions about Romanization: even in this supposedly archetypal area its significance is very ambiguous, and if we consider all the relevant evidence for this region, it emerges as a very complex and multi-faceted process. An inclusive, long-term perspective shows that there are some serious problems with assuming that this type of cultural change reflects identity in a directly meaningful way.

2. The causes of Romanization

Contacts between Rome and Umbria greatly intensified during and after the conquest of the region, from *c.* 310 to 266 BC. The third century BC probably saw the insertion of up to 40,000 settlers in Umbria, which would have increased the population by about 35 per cent, if we can rely on Polybius' figures for the numbers of soldiers the Umbrians could contribute to the Telamon campaign in 225 BC.⁹ This means that approximately one-third of the inhabitants of the region were of Roman or Latin status by the late third century, representing immigration on a colossal scale, even if some of those included in these transforming schemes were local in origin. Many of these settlers would have had Roman or Latin origins, which would be reflected in their language and culture.

An imposing physical infrastructure would have been created for them. Land taken from Umbrian communities was probably centuriated to create regular individual plots, work which would involve the construction of roads and drainage ditches; Umbrian communities that were made into colonies were reorganized around a grid-plan of streets, and some, such as Spoletium, Interamna, and perhaps Narnia, were given huge city walls. By the end of the third century most of the recently settled dominions in Umbria were linked to the capital by the

⁹ Calculated on the assumption that there were 2,000 adult male virgane settlers (although this is only a guess), as well as 10,500 adult male Latin settlers (for which see Ch. 3, ss. 4 and 6). This works out at 12,500 immigrant settlers, compared with the 35,200 adult males of allied Umbria (Brunt's corrected figure from Polybius' of 20,000).

Via Flaminia, built in 220 BC. In the south, Ameria was the terminus for the Via Amerina (perhaps constructed around 240 BC) linking the town to Falerii Novi and Rome.¹⁰ These major arteries must have carried high volumes of short- and long-distance traffic, with a profound effect on this region. The Flaminia in particular became the preferred route north to Cisalpine Gaul, the scene of considerable Roman activity just before the Hannibalic War and in the early second century BC. In effect the creation of the road led to a reorientation of the region around this north–south axis (rather than around the trans-Italian routes of the pre-Roman period), something which emerges very strongly from Strabo’s description.

In the second century BC the intervention of the Roman authorities in all areas of Italy, whatever their status, gradually increased, and was one of the main grievances of the Italian allies from the Gracchan period onwards. There are several signs of this occurring in Umbria, the most prominent being the recording by the Senate of prodigies that had occurred and therefore required expiation. These begin in the late third century with notices from Latin areas.¹¹ By the end of the second century portents reported from allied communities such as Tuder and Ameria (Plutarch, *Marius* 17; Pliny, *NH* 2. 148) show that non-Roman territory seems to be becoming part of the Roman state’s domain in religious terms, and is certainly being thought of as less alien to Rome.¹² A more standard type of Roman intervention is represented by the sending of the Illyrian king Gentius to Spolegium for custody in 167 BC, a duty commonly imposed on Latin colonies. Spolegium refused on this particular occasion, and he was transferred to Iguvium, which demonstrates that allied cities could also be trusted to perform this function.¹³

It is difficult to detect the extent to which the attempt of the Gracchi to recover and make use of occupied Roman *ager publicus* had an effect on Umbria in the late second century.

¹⁰ Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 168.

¹¹ Livy 24. 10. 10 (Spolegium, 214 BC); 34. 45. 6–8 (Narnia and Ariminum, 194 BC); 39. 22. 5 (a Roman area of Umbria, 186 BC).

¹² This is considerably later than the decree outlawing Bacchic worship (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 581), which may show the Senate dealing with allied areas already in 186 BC; but this is disputed by Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 49–58.

¹³ Livy 45. 43. 9–10; the reference to Iguvium depends on a (sensible) emendation.

A renewed Gracchan cippus is known from Monte Giove just outside Fanum Fortunae on the Adriatic coast, but this may have marked a judgement on a question of ownership rather than the assignment of land by the triumvirs.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the name of Forum Sempronii, 20 kilometres away on the Via Flaminia, strongly suggests that this was an area of Gracchan settlement. We have already seen that there must have been some *ager publicus* in Umbria that had not been settled by Roman or Latin colonists and was occupied by people of allied status. Heurgon has plausibly attributed two Umbrian cippi from Asisium (Ve 236 and 237) to a desire on the part of this community to define their borders in the late second and early first century, when there was a threat of Roman intervention.¹⁵ Yet the amount of unassigned *ager publicus* is likely to have been considerably less here than in the south, where there were probably substantial punitive confiscations after the Hannibalic War. A large proportion of the land annexed from Umbrian communities during the conquest must have been used for the colonial distributions of the third century.

While official intervention is a manifestation of Umbrian subjection to Rome in the second century, some individuals in allied communities were able to benefit by gaining Roman status. Plautus is probably a rather exceptional case of this, moving to Rome in the third century from allied Sarsina in the far north of the Umbrian Appennines, and despite presumably being a native Umbrian speaker, making his name at Rome adapting Greek plays into Latin.¹⁶ We know that a few allied Umbrians had gained Roman citizenship in the late second century BC through the patronage of Marius.¹⁷ The recipients were not likely to be numerous, however, and this should be seen as an attempt by the great general to recognize and reward the performance of individual allies in battle, not as part of a systematic Roman response to Romanization. It

¹⁴ *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 719 = *ILLRP* 474, dating from the 80s or 70s BC.

¹⁵ 'L'Ombrie', 125–31.

¹⁶ Festus 274L; note Festus 410L and Paulus 411L s.v. 'strebula', recording Plautus' use of an Umbrian word. The poet Accius came from a Roman colony (Pisaurum) and was probably of Latin-speaking origin.

¹⁷ See below in this section. Note also that the (senatorial) moneyer of 86 BC, Gargonius, discussed in s. 9 below, must have been enfranchised before the Social War; he is only possibly of Umbrian origin.

was only in the mid-first century BC that the more Romanized members of the Umbrian élite were rewarded with access to the senatorial order at Rome. Fulginiae may have provided a senator in the 140s, but he was probably an isolated case, and additionally originated from a Roman area.¹⁸

A far more significant agent of change within allied areas, affecting all orders of society, was service in the Roman army. The requirement of all allied states to raise troop contingents for the army, a type of 'tribute' to Rome that ensured this levying happened in most years of the third and second century, meant that these communities had to have effective self-government.¹⁹ Although it might seem surprising considering the relative ease of the Roman takeover in the late fourth and early third centuries, there is substantial evidence for Umbrians serving in the Roman army, and Gabba characterizes Umbria and Picenum as sources of professional soldiers, with 'a local tradition of true mercenary service'.²⁰ In fact, the same could be said of some of the peoples of the central Appennines, such as the Marsi, who were later famous for their martial prowess but had reputedly put up little resistance to Rome.

The evidence begins with Polybius' quantification of the forces the Romans raised against the Gauls in 225 BC (2. 24), amongst which he records that 'the Umbrians and Sarsinates inhabiting the Appennines gathered together about 20,000'. This shows that Umbrian and other allies of the Romans fought as 'national' units, an organization that was probably substantially based on pre-conquest arrangements. In the fifty years after the start of the Hannibalic War, when we have Livy's narrative, there are several references to individual Umbrians serving in the Roman army, mostly from Latin areas.²¹

¹⁸ Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, ii. 622: Q. Stalinius (see Ch. 3, s. 5).

¹⁹ For the implications of this for the political organization of allies, see Ch. 3, s. 3.

²⁰ E. Gabba, *Republican Rome: The Army and the Allies* (Oxford, 1976), 185 n. 50: although talking about the 1st cent. BC, the evidence cited below suggests that this was also true of the earlier period.

²¹ Livy 27. 50 on Narnian knights from the battle of the Metaurus (despite Narnia's earlier refusal of aid to Rome); Livy 28. 24-9: an ill-fated army mutiny in Spain (206 BC) against Scipio, led by two soldiers of the ranks, Gaius Albius of Cales and Gaius Atrius of Umbria (*C. Atrius Umber*); Livy 43. 18. 19: C. Carvilius Spolestinus on Roman service in Greece. For what it is worth, Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8. 446-60, says that soldiers from Ameria, Arna, Camerinum, Mevania, Hispellum,

Spoletium continued to support Rome with its manpower in 209 BC (Livy 27. 10) while Narnia refused. Umbrian communities contributed troops to Scipio's African expedition in 205 BC, including a cohort of 600 from Camerinum, in contrast to the cities of Etruria, who seem to have offered only materials and cash (Livy 28. 45).²² With the dearth of historical material after 167 BC we have no more evidence until the late second century, when Marius is known to have enfranchised several cohorts from Camerinum (Cic., *Pro Balbo* 46–7, Val. Max. 5. 2, Plutarch, *Mar.* 28. 3), as well as two ex-soldiers from Umbria, the Spoletine T. Matrinius and the Iguvine M. Annius Appius (Cic., *Pro Balbo* 21. 48; 20. 46). The tradition of Umbrian service in the Roman army continued in the first century BC, and even in the imperial period Tacitus (*Ann.* 4. 5. 5) could remark in the context of AD 23 that the Praetorian Guard was 'mostly recruited in Etruria, or Umbria, or the old territory of Latins and in the early Roman colonies'.²³

We should in theory be able to supplement this picture with numismatic evidence. In the Republican period coinage was probably produced largely to pay soldiers in the Roman army. The discovery of hoards of coins is likely to reflect levels of army service in different parts of Italy, as soldiers were paid in coin and also stood a good chance of not returning to collect their buried treasure. Several features of the pattern of coin hoards are notable between 300 and 90 BC. First, there is only one known hoard of Roman coins in Umbria from before the Hannibalic War, found at La Bruna near

Narnia, Iguvium, Sarsina, Tuder, and Fulginiae served in the Hannibalic War; but although specifically mentioning a *Mevanas Varenius* at 4. 544 (cf. the Varenius from Fulginiae defended by Cicero), he is a notoriously unreliable source for this type of information.

²² This might reflect a greater servile population in Etruria and consequently less free peasantry for the army. The low population density in this region calculated by Brunt from Polybius' figures for the Telamon campaign has been taken to offer extra support for this hypothesis (Brunt, *Manpower*, 55; Dench, *Barbarians*, 143), but the Umbrians, Lucanians, and Apulians also have equally low figures in Brunt's estimation: a large body of slaves is unlikely to be the explanation in these cases, and similar proportions were produced by the 1936 census.

²³ Note also the considerable recruiting here in the 60s and 40s BC: Cic., *Mur.* 42; Cic., *Att.* 8. 12B. 2; Caes., *BC* 1. 13–15; cf. *ILS* 2231 mentioning a C. Edusius from Mevania who joined up and was resettled at Tuder.

Spolegium.²⁴ By contrast in Samnium, in Lucania, and in the territory of the Frentani and the Marsi, Roman coinage is found in considerable quantities from the Pyrrhic War onwards.²⁵ This coinage was probably used by allied communities in these areas to pay their contingents to the Roman army. The absence of such material in Umbria could have several explanations. First, Umbrian communities may not have been much involved in the Pyrrhic and First Punic Wars, which were fought in the south of Italy and Sicily, just as the central and southern Italians seem not to have played much of a role in the Telamon campaign in northern Italy.²⁶ Secondly, quite a few northern communities produced their own coinage in the third century BC (such as Iguvium and Tuder in Umbria), and so would have had less need of Roman coins to pay their troops.

There are considerably more coin hoards from Umbria from the period between the beginning of the Second Punic War and the Social War. Crawford lists four between 146 and 91 BC, from Mevania in the west and from three communities on the Adriatic side, Aesis, Montecarotto near Aesis, and Forum Sempronii, to which can be added one at Ameria dating to the Hannibalic War or just before and another from Mevania deposited soon after 100 BC.²⁷ The overall impression is that the number of coin hoards, if they reflect the level of army service within a region, roughly correlates with the picture in the literary sources of increasingly substantial Umbrian involvement in the Roman military from the late third century.²⁸

²⁴ This also contained three types of currency bars, and probably dates to the Pyrrhic War, i.e. before the foundation of the Latin colony at Spolegium in 241 BC (M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (London, 1969), no. 16; *Roman Republican Coinage*, I (Cambridge, 1974), 41; *Coinage and Money*, 4).

²⁵ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 36.

²⁶ Judging by Polybius 2. 24, where he gives the numbers of the Umbrians, Etruscans, ?Sabines, Veneti, and Cenomani *in the field*, together with those *who could be called up* from the Samnites, Latins, etc.

²⁷ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, appendix 45. Ameria: Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*, no. 38. Mevania: *Mevania*, 94–133 (not following Crawford's chronology). The Adriatic find spots, however, are likely to be in Roman rather than allied territory.

²⁸ Note that allied Umbria is now shown to be significantly different from the picture of Etruria in the fifty years before the Social War put forward by M. H. Crawford, 'Army and Coinage in the Late Republic', in *La Romanisation du Samnium aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.* (Naples, 1991), 135–7, based on the distribution of coin hoards.

Umbrian participation in this military system has some interesting implications for changes in identity. We have seen above that allied units in the Roman army, at least by the time of Polybius, were given a Roman commander (Polybius 6. 26) but must have kept their pre-conquest (and essentially anti-Roman) military organization (2. 24).²⁹ In fact, given the propensity of the Romans to make regular use of these contingents, and assuming that the ethnic organization of *socii* was the norm until the Social War, it is likely that groups like the (allied) Umbrians will have fought together much more often after the conquest than they had before it. Given the nature of our information on the earlier period this can only be an impression, and conflict with other ethnic groups is a prominent element in accounts of the mythical prehistory of the *Umbri*, but what is important is that there is no sign that this conflict had the scale or the relentless, systematic character of Roman imperialism, which drew in and used peoples like the Umbrians. Roman military activity involving the Umbrians as a unified force must have encouraged collective identity in this ethnic block, which presumably will have continued and perhaps (paradoxically) strengthened after the conquest. There will also have been a parallel trend. Service in the Roman army, even in national units, must also have encouraged some sort of identification with Rome. The language of communication between ethnic Italian units and their Roman commanders, and between these units themselves, was surely Latin.³⁰ Although this means little by itself, the act of fighting together, Roman and ally against the enemy, must have engendered feelings of unity on both sides: the effects of this on the Roman side were manifested in Cato's *Origines*, written after the Second Punic War, in which he explored the origins of Italian cities as well as those of Rome.

This demonstrates that even something as obvious as army service will have had complex effects on the allegiances of individual Umbrians. The best way to understand these

²⁹ Although Polybius' figures are probably from a documentary source, the actual structure of the Roman army he described (with consolidated ethnic blocks of allies) must represent his own idea of what was actually used in the Telamon campaign, rather than just an ideal.

³⁰ Brunt, 'Italian Aims', 114.

effects in this period seems to be to think of a range of separate identities fluctuating relatively independently, rather than directly at the expense of each other. This is in contrast to the approach taken by Harris, who implicitly sees some sort of balance between local and Roman identities.³¹ The tendency to think that Roman identity has to gain to the detriment of Umbrian and other Italian ethnic identities is surely based on the modernizing assumption that individuals should have one single overriding national identity, a construct which Gellner sees as a product of nationalism.³² He has argued that individuals in agrarian societies have a variety of fluid identities, which contrast strongly with the 'unambiguous, categorical self-characterization such as is nowadays associated with a putative nation, aspiring to internal homogeneity and external autonomy'. So, even if we are to accept that cultural change is closely related to ethnic identity (and I will illustrate below some major problems with this), we should think in terms of several different types of identity able to coexist.³³

3. Changes in material culture

Umbrian material culture was never a particularly distinct phenomenon, especially after the Roman conquest. The production of goods in this region had always been heavily dependent on outside inspiration, and before the Roman conquest the cities of Etruria, especially Volsinii, had a very strong influence on Umbria. Etruscan bronze and ceramic products dominated the Umbrian markets in high-quality 'prestige' goods, such as the Mars of Todi. The most artistically significant area of Umbrian production was the mass of small bronze votives dedicated in the region's sanctuaries, but even these drew inspiration from earlier Etruscan models. In the fourth and third centuries the Etruscan alphabets

³¹ Cf. A. Keaveney, *Rome and the Unification of Italy* (London, 1987), 21, and the general approach of Brunt, 'Italian Aims'.

³² *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), 13.

³³ E. Curti, E. Dench, and J. Patterson, 'The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches', *JRS* 86 (1996), 181–2, stress the importance of this in the context of the Romanization of Italy.

of Volsinii and Perugia were used for the earliest inscriptions in Umbria. The importance of Volsinii to this area is further underlined by the presence of the goddess Nortia at Hispellum, well-known at the Etruscan centre, and probably one of the deities in the common Umbrian sanctuary on the site of Villa Fidelia.³⁴ The Etruscan cities must also have been mediators for imports from the Greek world such as the strigils found in fourth-century Umbrian tombs or the Attic foot used as a module for the fortifications at Oriculum in the far south of the region.³⁵

By 350 BC, however, there are signs that the dominant position of Volsinii was beginning to wane, and the encroachment of Roman power was starting to have an impact on the material culture of Umbrian communities. Imports of ceramics and bronzes from this Etruscan city declined, and their place was largely taken by the spread of Faliscan and Roman black slip pottery and Faliscan painted vases.³⁶ Despite this early start, most evidence for Roman influence on Umbrian culture, whether language, institutions or the type of pottery used, comes from after the Roman conquest, that is, from the third century onwards, when the volume of imports from Roman areas increased substantially. Some traditional forms of Umbrian production declined, such as that of impasto pottery, and they were replaced by imported goods (especially black slip pottery). Local production of pottery remained important, but more rigidly imitated imported forms than had been done before the conquest. This is particularly true of black slip pottery, widely reproduced at centres across the region, and found in large quantities in deposits like that of the Guastuglia district at Iguvium and the Via dei Priori at Asisium.³⁷ Most of this material was for local consumption, but some was exported, like the Popilius cups made at Mevania and Oriculum in the second century BC and found in Etruscan sites.³⁸

³⁴ Sensi, *Umbria* (Milan, 1985), 54; Coarelli, 'Romanización', 63.

³⁵ Torelli, 'Romanizzazione', 82; Fontaine, *Cités*, 65.

³⁶ Faliscan and Roman material from this era includes the 'Full Sakkos group', the 'Phantom group', and *pocola*: see Bonomi Ponzi, 'Gli Umbri', 60–1 (Eng. trans. 73–4).

³⁷ Mattieni Chiari (ed.), *Museo Comunale di Gubbio: Materiali archeologici*, 269; Tomei, 'Lo scavo di via Arco dei Priori'.

³⁸ Appendix 3.

Roman influence did not preclude continuing close links with Etruscan cities like Perugia, which, judging by their cemeteries, seem to have enjoyed considerable prosperity in the third and second century. The funerary urns and stelai that are used in Umbrian centres around the Valle Umbra in the second and first century are heavily reliant on late Etruscan forms; in other areas Roman motifs are evident as well.³⁹ The complexity of local reference points emerges clearly from the local versions of Roman bronze coinage which were produced by Tuder and Iguvium in the third century.⁴⁰ The issues of both cities were initially based on a weight standard derived from Etruria, although Tuder subsequently used a Roman standard. They had a duodecimal division of the weight standard, also taken from Rome, and yet were marked with Umbrian legends recording their local names (**tutere** or **ikuvins**).

Another striking change in the fourth and third centuries is in the type of votives left at cult sites.⁴¹ As we saw in the previous chapter, votive deposits were no longer dominated by locally made bronze figurines in the period after the Roman conquest, and instead material more typical of central Tyrrhenian Italy is found, such as Roman coins, fictile products in the form of pottery and anatomical parts, and more generally diffused types of bronze figurines. Unfortunately we are not able to date the end of the production of archaic Umbrian figurines with any precision, and art-historical studies have suggested that they stopped being made some time before the Roman conquest. So while we might expect religious practices to be a sensitive index of mentalities (and changes in them), it seems that more prosaic economic factors might be at work. In fact the shift in material apparent in the religious sphere is analogous to that in other sectors of material culture, which generally adopts a more homogeneous central Italian character. This is part of a long-term trend which affects the material culture of Picenum and Sabinum as well as Umbria, and which begins in the mid-fourth century BC.⁴²

³⁹ S. Diebner, *Reperti funerari in Umbria a sinistra del Tevere I sec. a.C.–I sec. d.C.* (Rome, 1986); S. Diebner, 'Aspetti della scultura funeraria tra tarda repubblica ed impero', *DdA* 6 (1987), 29–42.

⁴⁰ Fully discussed in Ch. 4, s. 6.

⁴¹ Discussed in detail in Ch. 4, s. 4.

⁴² Bonomi Ponzi, *Necropoli plestina*, 138.

It is almost certainly the expansion of Rome which is the motor for these changes, and from the conquest of Italy onwards, Rome is increasingly the dominant centre within this central Italian cultural area. Whilst this process is undoubtedly significant in the history of Italy as a whole, its early start makes it difficult to argue that it is a sign of any local decision to 'adopt' Roman culture; its significance for changes in local ways of thinking and identities must therefore have been limited. For the period with which we are dealing, from *c.* 300 BC to the early first century BC, language is perhaps the only area of change where shifts of this more profound nature might be implied, but even this crucial index is not straightforward in its implications, as we shall see.

4. The spread of Latin and its implications⁴³

The clearest manifestation of the increasing Roman influence on Umbrian culture between the Roman conquest and the Social War is the spread of the Latin alphabet and language. The evidence for this process is, as always, almost wholly epigraphic. It is only by a careful examination of surviving inscriptions that we can form some impression of why and how quickly this happened. Caution is needed, of course, when drawing conclusions about everyday speech and writing from this type of evidence, as the language used in an inscription may differ from that employed in speech. Many inscriptions were on public display and so presented a deliberately cultivated image. An Umbrian speaker with little Latin might commission an inscription in Latin because it was more prestigious. Conversely, Umbrian might be employed in an inscription after it had ceased to be a commonly spoken language in a context where tradition was important, such as a dedicatory formula to a deity or a funerary epitaph.

When we attempt to detail the shift to Latin we also need to take careful note of the area in which the language was used. As we have seen, there was large-scale immigration from

⁴³ All the Umbrian inscriptions referred to in this section are collected, discussed, and dated in Appendix 2, all the Latin ones in Appendix 3.

Roman and Latin districts into Umbria in the third century BC, and in areas where this took place the use of Latin would be unexceptional. Latin inscriptions in areas without evidence of colonization are obviously more important in this respect, because the person setting up the inscription is much less likely to have been of Latin or Roman origin.⁴⁴

Republican inscriptions from areas of Roman and Latin settlement are, as would be expected, almost totally in Latin. Those from before the Social War probably include an inscription on the lip of a *dolium* and an altar recording the work of *aediles* from Narnia (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 427, 2097), two cippi protecting a sacred grove and an inscription mentioning a *praetor* from Spolegium (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 366 and 2872, 3376), thirteen cippi with dedications to various deities from a wood near Pisaurum (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 368–81), a Latin name on a *dolium* from Interamna Nahars (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 428), a graffito from Civitalba,⁴⁵ and a duoviral inscription and numerous *pocola* from Ariminum.⁴⁶ Not all epigraphy from Roman and Latin areas fits this picture, however. We should note the Umbrian inscription (Ve 234) recording the work of two *marones* from Fulginiae, which was written in a cursive Latin script and probably dates to between c.250 and c.150 BC.⁴⁷ In fact, we should probably envisage much of the indigenous population in areas made Latin and Roman as remaining within the territory of their old centres and adopting a new status.⁴⁸ These local populations were nevertheless more likely to adopt elements of Roman culture than those which remained under the jurisdiction of allied authorities.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ It should be realized, however, that considerable Roman and Latin migration into allied areas probably took place.

⁴⁵ S. M. Marengo, 'Documentazione epigrafica e insediamenti nell'Umbria adriatica meridionale in età tardo-repubblicana', in *Monumenti e culture nell'appennino in età romana* (Rome, 1993), no. 2. The status of Civitalba, perhaps a *vicus* of ancient Sentinum, is uncertain, although the architectural finds which probably celebrate the battle of Sentinum suggest a Roman setting.

⁴⁶ *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2129a; A. Franchi De Bellis, 'Il latino nell'ager Gallicus: I *pocola* riminesi', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Caratteri e diffusione del latino in età arcaica* (Pisa, 1993), 35–63. For all these inscriptions see Appendix 3.

⁴⁷ Ve 235 (probably c.150–100 BC) may also be Umbrian, although its brevity makes it disputable what language is being used.

⁴⁸ Note also the Umbrian inscription at Spolegium (Po 11), which may date to after the colonization.

⁴⁹ Hence the early use of the Latin alphabet in Ve 234.

Outside Roman and Latin areas, the Latin alphabet was probably adopted before the adoption of the language itself. The oldest examples are an inscription recording the construction of a cistern by two *marones* from Helvillum (Fossato di Vico) (Ve 233) and a set of tiles sealing grave niches, with a record of the occupants, from Tudert (Ve 232). Both are still in the Umbrian language. Ve 233 is generally assigned to the second half of the second century.⁵⁰ The Tudert tiles are presumably of the same period. In the Republican period, Helvillum was probably under the jurisdiction of Tadinum, which may have been a Roman centre with immigrant settlers.⁵¹ Tudert, by contrast, was certainly allied in the second century BC.⁵² There are four grave tiles in the group, each with the name of a different member of the family. The oldest tile records the father's name in Umbrian script (Ve 232*a*), the later three the names of his daughter (Ve 232*d*), her husband (Ve 232*b*), and their son (Ve 232*c*) in Latin script. Whereas the Umbrian naming formula was used for the father (**la. ma. tvplei**, i.e. La(rs) Dupleius son of Ma(rcus)), two generations later his grandson's grave was marked using the Latin formula with the patronymic coming after the gentile name: *ca puplece ma fel*, i.e. C. Publicius son of Ma(rcus).⁵³ So in this case the positioning of the term *fel* is probably a sign of Latin influence. The form itself, however, may be an abbreviation of an Umbrian word, rather than simply being derived from the Latin *filius*.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ e.g. by Vetter, *Handbuch*, 167. The letter forms seem slightly older than those of the Iguvine Tables in Latin script; *oseto* (Ve 233) is a later form than *opset* (Ve 234: c.250–150 BC) according to Vetter. *Cisterno* in this inscription looks like a Latin loan (Ernout, *Dialecte*, 81).

⁵¹ For the argument, dependent on the assignment of an inscription mentioning a *duovir* to here, see Ch. 3, s. 5.

⁵² Sisenna 4. 119 records the enfranchisement of unspecified *Tudertes* around 90 BC.

⁵³ Compare *Ner. Babrius Titi filius*, one of six *marones* on an Umbrian inscription at Asisium (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2112), who is presumably the same person as *Ner. T. Babr* (Ve 236), now a more senior **uhtur**, in an Umbrian inscription of perhaps twenty years later, this time with his patronymic before his gentile name in traditional Umbrian fashion.

⁵⁴ Rocca, *Iscrizioni umbre minori*, 109–11, 138, modifying the opinion of E. Campanile, 'L'assimilazione culturale del mondo italico', in A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Storia di Roma*, ii/1. *La repubblica imperiale* (Turin, 1990), 306.

The other source which allows us to follow the change in alphabets at an allied community is the Iguvine Tables.⁵⁵ The chronology of these remains imprecise, as the various attempts to fix it through any means other than lettering are unpersuasive. Devoto dated the Tables in Umbrian script to c.200–120 BC and those using Latin to c.150–70 BC.⁵⁶ The recent study by Prodocimi arrives at essentially the same conclusions, although favouring a later rather than earlier date for the Umbrian Tables within the limits set by Devoto, and dating the Latin Tables to the late second to early first century.⁵⁷ Thus the Tables provide no further information than what we already know: the Latin script began to be employed in epigraphy from the middle of the second century. Roman influence is in any case evident by this time from the borrowing of the quaestorship, as this appears in the Tables in the Umbrian alphabet.⁵⁸

On the whole it seems that the Umbrian script, derived from Etruscan, was largely dropped before the Social War in favour of the Latin alphabet, which had been first used in allied areas soon after 150. Besides those inscriptions cited above we can also point to Ve 236 (Pl. 5.1) and 237 from Asisium and Po 9 (of unknown provenance), as well as those in the Latin language discussed below. It remains striking, however, that the Umbrian alphabet seems to have been used at Mevania in both civic and funerary inscriptions until at least the late second century (Po 3, 4 (Pl. 5.2), and 5), despite the position of this centre on the Via Flaminia. Our view of the significance of the shift must depend on the levels of conscious decision-making involved, and the strength of the established epigraphic tradition undergoing this change. The relatively small number of inscriptions in the Umbrian alphabet that survive to our day (twenty-one including coins) would suggest that this tradition was not capable of supporting specialist inscribers.

⁵⁵ Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 46 and 47 shows that Iguvium was of allied status before the Social War.

⁵⁶ Devoto, *Tavole di Gubbio*, 4–5; he thought the latest had to be after the devaluation of 89 BC, but Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 185–6, denies this, and doubts any are from after the Social War.

⁵⁷ Prodocimi, *Tavole Iguvine*, i. 155–7.

⁵⁸ *Ib.* 45, II. 44, Va. 23.



PLATE 5.1. Border cippus with Umbrian inscription (Ve 236, *CIL* xi. 5389), from Ospedalicchio near Bastia, in the territory of Asisium (c.100–80 BC)

However, the quality of the epigraphy on the Iguvine Tables and the low survival rate of ancient inscriptions suggests that this could well be unrepresentative. It is uncertain whether the initiative to start using Latin letters came from the stonecutters (who might also undertake work for Latin speakers) or those commissioning the inscriptions, but I suggest that the change will have been a fairly uncomplicated process, given that writing will not have played a central role in most people's lives. In fact, epigraphy itself within Umbria seems to have been heavily reliant on the customs first of Etruria and then of Rome, and the change from an Etruscan-derived alphabet to a Latin one directly and fairly quickly reflects the



PLATE 5.2. Sundial with Umbrian inscription (Po 4), from Mevania (Bevagna). End of the second–start of the first century BC

effect of the massive Roman settlement and infrastructure on Umbria, and the shallowness of the native tradition.⁵⁹

The shift in alphabet is not in itself significant for the development of the Umbrian language, but it presages a more important innovation, the adoption of Latin. Latin becomes the most important language within the peninsula with the conquest of Italy, as it was the only one that could be understood

⁵⁹ Dependency on Etruscan: Roncalli in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest*, 161. The mention of magistracies common to many later Umbrian inscriptions may itself be a sign of Latin influence.

everywhere, and was the language of those with the greatest power and influence. The change in language from native Umbrian to Latin is likely to have been a long-term process with many individuals using two languages at the transitional point: its reflection in epigraphic usage may be partial or exaggerated. Nevertheless the appearance of Latin inscriptions in allied areas is a vital index of the impact of Roman imperialism on the region.

The Latin language is used in inscriptions from a considerable number of allied Umbrian communities before the Social War.⁶⁰ The earliest occurrences outside Latin and Roman areas may date from around the middle of the second century west of the Apennine watershed, and perhaps earlier to the east. The earliest in the west may be a dedication from Ameria; the archaic dative *Iove* would, if complete, suggest a date of the mid-second century, if not earlier.⁶¹ The formula *optumo maxsumo* is itself borrowed from Rome. The status of this community is not altogether certain. As the terminus of a Roman road, the Via Amerina, perhaps constructed around 240 BC, we might expect it to be Roman.⁶² Cicero's *Pro Roscio*, however, implies that it is allied just before the Social War.⁶³ The only other inscription from this centre known to predate the Social War is in Umbrian and difficult to interpret (*Ve* 229, perhaps late fourth to early third century), but it too seems to refer to a dedication to Jupiter. The early Latin inscription thus appears to be a dedication to an established (indigenous?) deity, given a Latin epithet. Early Roman influence would be unsurprising at an Umbrian centre a mere 70 kilometres from Rome, and linked directly to the city by a road.

The other early Latin inscription that must have been commissioned by someone of Umbrian rather than immigrant Latin/Roman origin is *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2873, a bilingual with a man's name in Umbrian and Latin punched into a

⁶⁰ The best study remains that of Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 184–7, although he did not have the benefit of *CIL* i (2nd edn.), fasc. 4, Poccetti's *Nuovi documenti italici*, and Rocca's *Iscrizioni umbre minori*, which have effectively tripled the number of Umbrian inscriptions collected by Vetter.

⁶¹ i (2nd edn.), 2101 (see Appendix 3).

⁶² Fontaine, *Cités*, 79, hypothesizes substantial Roman involvement.

⁶³ See Ch. 3, s. 3.

bronze strainer (now in the Louvre). Its exact provenance is unknown, but the genitive '-ier' ending suggests it comes from Umbria; its date is probably of the second century BC.⁶⁴

By the end of the second century we have the first example of the use of Latin in a civic context. The construction of a cistern, a wall, and an arched structure (*fornix*) by six *marones* is recorded in a Latin inscription from Asisium, probably dating to c. 110–90 BC.⁶⁵ Curiously, Umbrian was still used at Asisium for a border cippus that was almost certainly set up later (Pl. 5.1).⁶⁶ As some of the personnel mentioned overlap in the two inscriptions, the rationale behind the use of particular languages in this period must lie in their content and context, since it is unlikely that it was simply left to the stone-cutter's preference. The Latin example, still *in situ* in the terracing wall to which it refers, is a monumental building inscription set up in a prominent place in the city centre. The Umbrian cippus records the purchase and delimitation of land with religious sanction and, if its provenance (Ospedalichio near Bastia) is where it was originally placed, it was on the boundary of Asisium's territory with Perugia. Thus for building work in a civic context Latin was thought appropriate, whilst Umbrian was (?) required for a monument with more religious overtones, a slightly more conservative context, as Coarelli notes.⁶⁷ The decision to employ Latin in a public inscription of this sort before the Social War, like the request of Cumae in 180 BC to use Latin for official purposes (Livy

⁶⁴ M. Lejeune, *REL* 30 (1952), 98–100; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 186; Po 9.

⁶⁵ *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2112 (Appendix 3).

⁶⁶ Ve 236 = *CIL* xi. 5389 = Conway, *Italic Dialects*, i, no. 355; Heurgon, 'L'Ombrie', 125–7; Harris, *Etruria and Rome*, 184 n. 3; Strazzulla, 'Problemi urbanistici', 152; Roncalli in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 6.11; Coarelli, 'Assisi repubblicana', 14–15. Most authors date it by the lettering to the Sullan period, but it could (as Harris and Coarelli note) be as early as the first decade of the 1st cent. That it slightly postdates *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2112 is supported by the fact that the Ner. Babrius Titi filius who holds the lesser maronate in the Latin example is probably the same person as holds the more senior 'uhtur-ship' in the Umbrian. V. Voisienus T. filius in i (2nd edn.), 2112, would be the father of T. V. Voisienus (Ve 236) by this interpretation. The presence of the two **uhtur** and *marones* means that the inscription must be from before the municipalization of Asisium, and so it is more likely to date to the 90s than the 'Sullan' period.

⁶⁷ Coarelli, 'Assisi repubblicana', 14. The Umbrian inscription was also probably on the border with Etruscan Perugia, and this might also have affected the language chosen.

40. 42. 13), seems symbolic of the new affiliations that some of the Umbrian élite wished to establish at this time.⁶⁸ The Mimiſius family, two of whose members head the building inscription (and so were perhaps the *marones* who initiated the work), were certainly successful in this, as we can judge from the career of Post. Mimiſius C. F. Sardus, who gained senatorial status under Augustus, and who was probably a descendant of the first of the six *marones*.⁶⁹

The only other reasonably certain Latin inscriptions from allied areas in southern Umbria that date before the Social War come from Mevania, Trebiae, and Tuder. Mevania is on the Via Flaminia and so might be expected to adopt Latin at an early date, and indeed an Etruscan-style funerary urn (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2110 = xi. 5107) and the so-called Popilius cups, produced at Mevania and (probably later) at Oriculum, both have Latin inscriptions that are likely to predate the Social War.⁷⁰ Roman influence was also manifested institutionally: the quaestorship was borrowed by this community (Po 4) for a magistracy responsible for the distribution of spelt, **cvestur farariur** in the plural, on the lines of the Roman *quaestores frumentarii* (Pl. 5.2).⁷¹ Nevertheless, our meagre epigraphic sample does not suggest that Latin had replaced Umbrian at Mevania before the Social War, even if there were immigrant Latin speakers within the community (recorded on the Popilius cups). The Umbrian language and alphabet is used in a funerary context in the second century BC (Po 3 and 5) and on the sundial with **cvestur farariur** of the end of the second century/start of the first (Po 4), which may have had

⁶⁸ Cumae was a *praefectura* of Roman status, by contrast with allied Asisium.

⁶⁹ Gaggiotti and Sensi, 'Acesa al senato', 262: probably too late to be his grandson despite T. P. Wiseman's note (*New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C.-A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), no. 255).

⁷⁰ J.-P. Morel, 'Céramiques d'Italie et céramiques hellénistiques (150-30 av. J.-C.)', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 486-8: some are likely to be pre-150 BC (cf. Verzar, 'Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Umbrien', 121). The Popilius potters are immigrants, according to Torelli, 'Romanizzazione', 82. The funerary epitaph has the spelling 'Laaro' and is on an urn assigned by Feruglio to a Perusine workshop, clearly distinct from the mass of locally produced urns (*Mevania*, 59).

⁷¹ This contrasts with the quaestors at Iguvium, who performed a different function: the institution was clearly borrowed individually by these communities rather than by the Umbrians as a whole. Curiously, the maronate 'survived' long enough after the Social War at Mevania to be inscribed on an epitaph of Augustan date from Montefalco (S. Nessi and G. Giacomelli, in *SE* 33 (1965), 553 = *Mevania*, no. 2.121).

a civic setting.⁷² The cippus from Trebiae has been interpreted as a sign of the Romanization of the area bordering on the territory of Spoletium, but the insecurity of the interpretation of the inscription and the uncertainty of whether this was really outside the land of the Latin colony (which must have been extensive), prevent us from drawing firm conclusions.⁷³ At Tuder a rather exceptional epitaph, dating from c. 150–100, was written bilingually in Latin and Gallic. It includes the names of two brothers of Gallic origin, a surprising find in central Italy in the century after Telamon. The inscription offers no clues as to whether the brothers were itinerant or settled in Tuder.⁷⁴ This is rather ambiguous evidence for the spread of Latin in Umbria, but is a clear attestation of the movement of people from their places of origin in the second century, something which lay at the root of this process. The only other inscriptions of the same era from Tuder are the Umbrian grave tiles using Umbrian and Latin alphabets (Ve 232) discussed above.

To the east of the Appennine watershed, recent work by Silvia Marengo has drawn attention to several Latin inscriptions which appear to be early.⁷⁵ These include two funerary cippi from Attidium and Tuficum, dated by Marengo to the late second or early first century BC and to the 'età della acculturazione romana del territorio' respectively.⁷⁶ In addition there are two graffiti on black slip pottery from Camerinum and Civitalba near Sentinum. The first of these has an archaic nominative form; the context of the Civitalba graffito has been discussed above.⁷⁷ Although these four examples are of a personal rather than civic nature and thus do not inform us about the official adoption of Latin by city authorities, they present a striking group given the lack of Umbrian inscriptions from this area. This prominent Roman influence must be a result of the position of these centres, almost surrounded by Roman territory, with the Roman settlement in the *ager Gallicus* and

⁷² U. Ciotti in *Mevania*, 84.

⁷³ L. Sensi, in *Epigrafia: Actes du colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi* (Rome, 1991), 409–11.

⁷⁴ Note in this context the Gallic appearance of the name on the Mars dedicated here in the late 5th to early 4th cent. BC (Ve 230).

⁷⁵ Marengo, 'Documentazione epigrafica'.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 3 for details. ⁷⁷ See n. 45 above.

Picenum to the east, Sabinum to the south, and the Roman centres of Plestia, Fulginiae, and (perhaps) Tadinum to the west.⁷⁸

In his discussion of this issue in *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Harris claimed to have demonstrated that the 'change of language' was somewhat earlier in Umbria than in Etruria, and began before the Social War.⁷⁹ According to him this was because Oscan and Umbrian speakers would find Latin easier, and because the 'partially Hellenized culture of Etruria was much more likely to continue to satisfy local needs than anything that was known in Umbria'. A footnote has a dismissive reference to where you might read about this Umbrian culture 'in so far as there was anything worthy of the name'. He adds that the similarly 'weak' culture of the Marsi led to their relatively rapid Latinization. This now appears a distinctly unsympathetic approach to take, and one that is unlikely to illuminate any subtle changes in mentality of which the linguistic evidence may give indication. Assumptions about the relative 'strengths' of cultures based on their level of Hellenization are often of dubious value as explanatory factors: suffice it to note that the Marsi and the decidedly less Romanized Samnites fought together against the Romans in the Social War.⁸⁰ It would be equally valid to emphasize the open and innovative nature of Umbrian culture. In any case, the massive Roman intervention in this small region is a perfectly adequate explanation for the more rapid Romanization of some Umbrian communities than that, for example, of the northern Etruscan cities.

Moreover, the results of recent work on Umbrian inscriptions mean that his picture must be totally reassessed, and it is evident that Harris overstated the case for the progress of linguistic Latinization before the Social War.⁸¹ He estimated the number of Umbrian inscriptions to be around ten, but

⁷⁸ See Map 2. ⁷⁹ *Etruria and Umbria*, 184–7.

⁸⁰ Cf. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 82–4.

⁸¹ I consider that two inscriptions dated by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, to before the Social War could equally well be of the post-Social War period (*CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2116–17, from Hispellum). I adopt a similar position on *CIL* ix. 5183, dated to the late 2nd cent. in the catalogue of the Cannara collection (Matteini Chiari, *Raccolta di Cannara*, no. 45) (see Appendix 3).

since then many more have been collected and published, several of which had been misinterpreted as Latin: twenty-seven examples are noted in Appendix 2.⁸² This gives us a very different perspective on the balance within certain towns, such as Mevania, which we now know was still using Umbrian in the late second century. Furthermore, Harris probably dates too many Latin inscriptions to before the Social War: a collection of possible early Latin inscriptions is given in Appendix 3. In my assessment, the balance of Umbrian to Latin inscriptions before the Social War is now in favour of Umbrian rather than Latin (and almost half of the Latin examples come from colonies).

In essence the changes within allied communities are less far-reaching than have been portrayed. The Latin alphabet seems to have become predominant in the second century BC, although we have evidence that some communities, for example Mevania, continued to use the Umbrian script in the second half of the second century BC. The Latin language is beginning to be used on official inscriptions in southern Umbria in the late second century, for example at Asisium, but even here Umbrian is still used in some contexts, and monumental inscriptions from other towns, such as Iguvium and Mevania, are all in Umbrian. Only in the Appennine territory from Camerinum to Sentinum can we say that Latin is predominant in our source material; our evidence here, however, is even sketchier than in the west.

The epigraphic evidence alone does not show that the spread of Latin to allied areas in the second century corresponded to a decline in the Umbrian language. Although it is very difficult to date such inscriptions and we only have a very small sample, it appears that Umbrian epigraphy in fact becomes more common as the second century goes on. When it comes to interpreting these changes we must remember that epigraphy itself was not an indigenous creation but something stimulated by outside influence. It was particularly an Etruscan and Roman habit and the huge growth in the number of inscriptions set up in the hundred years after the Social War

⁸² This includes coin legends, but excludes the inscription from Fiordimonte and the inscribed figurine from Tuder. Counting multiple copies and texts reported but not yet published would naturally increase this number.

is a clear sign of the greatly increased influence of Rome. It would be reasonable to assume, however, that the second century BC was probably a period in which both languages were used, as is manifested in the bronze strainer in the Louvre and the funerary epitaph in Gallic and Latin from Tuder; self-advertisement and records in both Umbrian and Latin were becoming more numerous but were still on a small scale. If the notion of decline is unhelpful here, we should probably think instead of an element of choice emerging: if anything, this evidence coincides with the model promoted earlier of a plurality of identities, rather than one monolithic identity, Umbrian or Roman. Local variation is also strongly apparent.

It was only with the massive upheaval of the Social War and the subsequent political transformation in the status of Latins and allies that Umbrian ceased to be used in inscriptions. In fact, immediately with municipalization Umbrian seems to have been dropped as a language of epigraphy, which hints strongly at the fragility and undeveloped nature of the epigraphic tradition. At Mevania, for instance, the custom of using urns for the dead begins with a few examples in the second century, two with Umbrian epitaphs and perhaps one using Latin, and then mushrooms in the first century BC. None of the numerous examples dated to the period after the Social War uses the Umbrian naming formula or alphabet; all are in Latin.⁸³

The wider implications of the changes in language discussed above are very obscure. Harris assumed that by examining cultural (or at least linguistic) change—he made very little use of archaeology—he had shown how ethnic identity began to change in the region before the Social War. The revised version of Brunt's 'Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War' makes considerable use of Harris, and seems to be following Harris's assumptions in looking at Romanization. Brunt argues that the allies came to identify themselves closely with Rome, and for this reason were prepared to fight for Roman citizenship in the Social War. Italian allies like those at Asisium may well have sought the political benefits of Roman citizenship and patronage, but does their adoption of Roman culture show

⁸³ Sixty-six examples (forty-seven with inscriptions) are catalogued in *Mevania*, 60–81.

that they felt a new ethnic allegiance to Rome, that they really began to 'think of themselves as Romans' (in Harris' phrase)? In the light of the later history of the Umbrian ethnic group, examined below, I think that we need at least to be much more cautious in seeing ethnic identity as changing in accordance with culture. We should not in any case assume that language had the same determining force for identity as it does in the modern world.

There are a few indications in literary sources that a sense of community between Romans and Italian allies frequently featured in political debate in the period leading up to the Social War. Appian (*BC* 1. 9) has Tiberius Gracchus talk of 'the military prowess of the Italian people (τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους) and their kinship to the Romans', although Appian's use of the adjective *italikos* is confused. Velleius Paterculus (2. 15. 1–2) says that all Italy (*omnia Italia*) rose against the Romans in 91 BC, who, through the military services provided by the allies, 'had reached so high a position that [they] could look down on men of the same stock (*gens*) and blood as foreigners and aliens (*externos alienosque*)'. Brunt has argued that this was 'a relic of allied propaganda', and for it to have any meaning it must have been representative of Italian sentiment.⁸⁴ It is, however, important to note the rhetorical nature of both these passages; this sort of material in later Roman authors is of very questionable value in assessing much earlier allied attitudes. Our evidence for an ethnic dimension alongside the cultural changes we can track through archaeology and epigraphy is thus extremely tenuous. In addition, drawing similar ethnic conclusions from the Romanization of culture is fraught with danger. No one seriously proposes that the Etruscanization of Umbrian culture before the Roman conquest means that they thought of themselves as Etruscans. New features of the culture of the region do not necessarily have implications for identity: this would be true only if they are the symbols chosen to express it, and the sense of identity may in any case be weak. The consensus about Romanization and its links with the outbreak of the Social War appears to be resting on very insecure foundations.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Brunt, 'Italian Aims', 126.

⁸⁵ For a critical examination of this consensus on Romanization, with which I am in substantial agreement, see Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, ch. 2.3.

What is more certain is that if a new element of identity emerges, it can only be in addition to a sense of being Umbrian. When rebellion against Rome broke out in 91 BC the allies were portrayed as organizing themselves along ethnic lines, a unity undoubtedly based on earlier experience. The consistent use by our sources of these ethnic designations, which cease thereafter to have a military function, must represent the reality of rebel military organization. This was clearly still dictated by ethnic considerations, although we should note that ethnic community rarely precluded political disunity in ancient Italy. Members of the allied élite might opt to support Rome, as did Velleius Paterculus' great-grandfather, Minatius Magius of Aeclanum (Velleius 2. 16. 2–3), raising a legion amongst the Hirpini, and in reward receiving an individual grant of citizenship (if only shortly before it was conceded to his more rebellious countrymen). A new sense of belonging to Italy is also apparent from the creation of the rebel state of Italia, but this, like identification with Rome, overlaid rather than replaced the older ethnic divisions.⁸⁶

5. Umbria in the Social War

On the poor available evidence, Umbrian communities seem to have played only a small role in the Social War, despite the propensity of their citizens to serve in the Roman army. In the build-up to the war, Appian (*BC* 1. 36) says that the Umbrians and Etruscans opposed the agrarian law of Drusus in 91 BC because they shared the fears of 'the Italians' (*τοὺς Ἰταλιώταις*),⁸⁷ namely that 'the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would at once be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings'. Called to the city by the consuls (with whom they may have had links of *clientela*) in order to oppose Drusus, they perhaps had a hand in his death. It was some time after the actual outbreak of the revolt in 91 BC that the

⁸⁶ Cf. Giardina, 'L'identità incompiuta', 104 n. 209.

⁸⁷ Appian presumably means the rest of the Italians here (see Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 212 n. 2, and Brunt, 'Italian Aims', who draws attention to Appian's limitations).

Umbrians and Etruscans were being incited to join the allied side, probably in late 90. According to Appian (*BC* 1. 49), the Senate was forced by threat of encirclement to concede citizenship (by the *Lex Julia*) to those Italians who had been faithful to the alliance, an offer which was enthusiastically taken up by 'the Etruscans' and presumably (because he does not mention them again, perhaps through brevity) the Umbrians. Some Umbrians and Etruscans had clearly raised arms against Rome by this time: the *Epitome* of Livy book 74 records that 'the legatus Aulus Plotius defeated the (or some) Umbrians in battle, and the praetor Lucius Porcius the (or some) Etruscans, since both peoples had revolted'.⁸⁸ In fact even Appian's treatment of both Etruscans and Umbrians as unified groups is likely to mask differences in opinion and actions in this period. Presumably those Umbrians who had already gained Roman citizenship before the war will have tried to restrain the unenfranchised members of their communities. However, the strength of any putative anti-war force is unclear: the franchise is unlikely to have been distributed to a large number of individuals in allied communities, leaving aside the special case of Camerinum.

We get some clues as to which allied communities in Umbria might have been involved from Florus and from two fragments of Sisenna. Florus (2. 6. 5–6) gives a list of cities and areas destroyed by 'fire and sword', which includes Oriculum in southern Umbria. The passage has a strongly rhetorical character, as Harris notes, but it is unnecessary to deny that Oriculum was a rebel state because of its hypothetical *foedus aequum*:⁸⁹ conflict elsewhere in Florus' list is corroborated by other sources, and at Oriculum this notice is surely to be linked to the movement of the town down from the defensive hill position to a site by the Tiber.⁹⁰ Two other Umbrian

⁸⁸ Orosius' claim (5. 18. 7) that this was achieved only 'with very costly bloodshed and difficult toil' should not be discounted.

⁸⁹ *Etruria and Umbria*, 216. Florus' list is accepted by Brunt, *Manpower*, 285.

⁹⁰ The earliest major monument of the lower site is the so-called 'grande sostruzione' of the mid-1st cent. BC: C. Pietrangeli, *Otricoli, un lembo dell'Umbria alle porte di Roma* (Rome, 1978), 76, figg. 72–80, 82–6, plates IV–V; *Guida Laterza*, 24–5. Note, however, the architectural terracotta and pedimental fragment that come from this area (see Appendix 1).

centres, Iguvium and Tuder, are mentioned in fragments of Sisenna's fourth book of his history in the context of an account of the war, as well as the Etruscan city of Perugia. But without the immediate setting for these references it is difficult to draw firm conclusions. The two fragments mentioning Iguvium may imply it was the site of a Roman victory;⁹¹ that concerning Tuder is usually taken to mean that the whole community was enfranchised (?due to a Roman magistrate), although it may refer rather to *some* Tudertines, given citizenship on the battlefield or in similar circumstances.⁹² Making any further deductions about other possible rebels on the basis of hypothesized 'punishment' tribes, into which they may have been put, seems too problematic to be of use.⁹³

We are left with the task of explaining why Umbrian communities were less seriously involved in the Social War than the Picentes of Asculum and the peoples of the central Apennines such as the Samnites and Marsi. Several explanations can be rejected. Despite the close association of the Umbrians with the Etruscans in the sources for this period,

⁹¹ Sisenna fr. 94 Peter: *Sisenna historiographus libro IIII: Itaque postero die legatos Iguuium redeuntis apiscitur* ('And so on the next day he comes across the ambassadors returning to Iguvium'); fr. 95 P: *Sisenna historiarum libro IIII: Tum postquam apud Iguuinis ac Perusinos eius facti mentionem proiecit . . .* ('Then after he had made mention of that deed among the people of Iguvium and Perugia . . .').

⁹² Sisenna 4 fr. 119: *tamen Tudertibus senati consulto et populi iusso dat civitatem*. Brunt, 'Italian Aims', 109, accepts Harris's suggestion (*Etruria and Umbria*, 230) that this could be a special law for enfranchising ex-rebels, or those whose communities were divided in supporting insurrection.

⁹³ The argument that the Social War rebels were enrolled into disadvantageously large tribes was first advanced by K. J. Beloch, *Der italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie* (Leipzig, 1880), 38–43; for criticism see T. Mommsen in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), 101–6, Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 112–13. Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 238–40, accepts that the Clustumina tribe was a possible repository of Umbrian rebels, yet he admits that the presence of Interamna Nahars and Tadinum in this tribe, communities of probably Latin and Roman status respectively before the Social War and so unlikely rebel material, poses problems. Furthermore, in my opinion the *municipium* at Carsulae, for which the archaeological evidence is no earlier than the late 1st cent. BC (*Guida Laterza*, 123), was probably only created (and assigned to a tribe) in the mid-1st cent. BC—why then put it in a 'punishment' tribe? Surely the domination of this tribe by Umbrian communities (Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 241), who could co-operate in their own interests, was in some ways advantageous to them. Lastly, Oriculum, the best candidate for rebel status in our source material (assuming it was destroyed by the Romans), is not in this tribe but in the Arnensis. At the very least I would suggest that other principles were at work here, which obscured any possible punitive function of the tribal allocations.

there is no justification for extending to Umbria the profoundly hierarchical social divisions claimed for Etruria, which have been used to suggest that the Etruscans opposed the citizenship bill of Drusus.⁹⁴ Appian in any case refutes this argument (*BC* 1. 36), clearly stating that the fears of the Etruscans and Umbrians were stimulated by Drusus' colonial schemes.⁹⁵ In addition the rapidity with which the Etruscans and, I have assumed, the Umbrians accepted citizenship in late 90 BC shows how this was, as Appian says, 'the one thing they all desired most' (1. 49).⁹⁶ Moreover, I do not think it sustainable to argue that the Umbrians were slow to join the rebels because they lacked the military experience or resources.⁹⁷ Equally unconvincing are ethnic explanations, suggesting that the 'Oscan' domination of rebel ranks will have alienated the Etruscans and Umbrians;⁹⁸ these peoples had allied with 'Sabellian' Samnites and even Gauls in the Sentinum campaign, and the hard core of the rebels included non-Oscan Picentes and Latinized Marsi.

The close links between the actions of the Etruscans and the Umbrians are extremely interesting, reminding us of the alliances they forged in resisting the Roman conquest. Such links are unsurprising given the long border joining these two regions, and this correlates with the position of the Etruscan and Umbrian towns mentioned by Sisenna and Florus. Most were in the Tiber valley or, as with Iguvium, adjoining Etruscan territory, which suggests that the real extent of the 'Etruscan and

⁹⁴ e.g. by Gabba, *Republican Rome*, 73–4; *ANRW* i. 788–9; *CAH* ix (2nd edn.), 112–13. Cf. Pallottino, *Earliest Italy*, 154. Heurgon, 'L'Ombrie', 124–5, suggests that the interior parts of Etruria and the areas of Umbria near the Tiber had a similar pattern of small land-holding (in contrast to littoral Etruria), but does not assume that the social structures of the two were the same.

⁹⁵ Quite which law of his 'they cried down publicly' is not clear; the chronology of Appian's account is flawed at this point, and I do not intend to add to the debate on this subject.

⁹⁶ Gabba (*CAH* ix (2nd edn.), 113 n. 42) is forced to suppose that at this point Appian is only referring to the lower classes of Umbria and Etruria, a clear sign of the difficulty of his theory.

⁹⁷ As proposed by Crawford about the Etruscans ('Army and Coinage', 135–7). Note the evidence for Umbrian service in the Roman army (s. 2, above).

⁹⁸ Claimed by Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 220, and Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 156.

Umbrian' revolt may have been fairly limited.⁹⁹ This helps to explain the contrast between Appian's version of events and the Livian tradition,¹⁰⁰ and does not to my mind make it necessary to reject Appian's picture of the desire for citizenship amongst some, and perhaps many, Umbrian and Etruscan communities.

Both areas were isolated from the rest of allied central Italy by the swathe of Roman territory running across the peninsula from Rome to the *ager Gallicus*. Crossing this territory was difficult and dangerous for the enemies of Rome, as the failed attempt of insurgents from the Adriatic coast in early 89 BC shows. The allied communities of Etruria and Umbria thus had to act in concert, if at all; the Umbrian nobles will therefore have been dependent on their Etruscan equivalents to join the rebellion, who may have had their own reasons for holding back (such as the lack of manpower suggested by Crawford). Umbria was, as Harris notes, dominated by Roman and Latin settlement, particularly in its southern half.¹⁰¹ This was also the case for allied Picenum, where the revolt started, but Picenum was much less accessible from Rome than southern Umbria and was much nearer than Umbria to the main rebel areas. These special circumstances must have governed the behaviour of the Umbrians in the war.¹⁰²

6. Municipalization: political structures and urbanism after the Social War

The Social War and the enfranchisement of the Umbrian allies had momentous consequences for the region. Besides the obvious changes in political status and organization, the first century BC in Umbria also saw social and economic upheavals and cultural changes on an unprecedented scale.

⁹⁹ In addition to the towns mentioned above, note that Florus also claims that Faesulae was destroyed, and that there are two coin hoards at Mevania that may date to this period (see above).

¹⁰⁰ Highlighted by Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*, 154.

¹⁰¹ Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 229, now reinforced by the quantitative analysis of Roman settlement in Ch. 3.

¹⁰² We can also note that archaeology and literary sources suggest that a considerable number of Umbrian towns were not walled at this time, e.g. Iguvium.

Those allied communities that had not rebelled were given citizenship by the Lex Julia at the end of 90 BC. Those that had taken up arms were probably enfranchised soon afterwards, if not at the same time.¹⁰³ Once their political status had changed, it became necessary for the constitutions of Umbrian cities to be reorganized along Roman lines, as befitting *municipia* within the Roman state rather than nominally independent entities. Where we have evidence for this process of municipalization it seems to have occurred rapidly after enfranchisement.¹⁰⁴ The old magistrates of Umbrian towns, probably consisting of various combinations of *uhtur(s)* and *marones*, sometimes supplemented by quaestors, were replaced with *quattuorviri*. We have to presume that the rest of the governmental apparatus, such as local councils and assemblies of the people, for which the evidence is rather shadowy, were also adapted or replaced by the standardized decurionate whose membership required a property qualification on the lines of the Senate at Rome.¹⁰⁵ The constitutions of Latin colonies were also altered in this way.

This process of political transformation in Umbria, as in other areas of peninsula Italy, was closely associated with urban construction projects on an unprecedented scale. The list of works given by Gabba in his well-known article on urbanization from the Social War to the battle of Actium (31 BC) can be considerably expanded for Umbria.¹⁰⁶ Few parts of Umbria remained untouched by this phase of building, even if already urbanized.¹⁰⁷ I am aware of the following published evidence for this period:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Velleius 2. 16. 4: 'the strength of the Romans was restored by receiving into citizenship those who had not taken up arms or had laid them down in good time (*deposerant maturius*)'.

¹⁰⁴ Coarelli, 'Assisi repubblicana', 12.

¹⁰⁵ For the pre-Social War organization see Ch. 4, s. 5. Decurionate: Cic., *Pro Roscio* 9. 25, numerous inscriptions.

¹⁰⁶ E. Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione e rinnovamenti urbanistici nell'Italia centro-meridionale nel I c. a.C.', *Studi classici e orientali*, 21 (1972), 73–112.

¹⁰⁷ *Contra* Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione', 94.

¹⁰⁸ This generally does not include isolated surviving architectural terracottas dated to the 2nd to 1st cent. BC, which are collected in Appendix 1. It should be noted that the Adriatic part of Umbria is more poorly documented, and so is probably under-represented. Like Gabba's list, this does not include building work definitely associated with veteran colonization: I deal with this in s. 9 below. '?' denotes uncertainty about the exact date.



PLATE 5.3. Roman Carsulae, showing (left) the twin temples (of Julio-Claudian date), and (right) the arch through which one entered the Forum from the Via Flaminia

AMERIA: ?city walls¹⁰⁹

ASISIUM: urban complex with the so-called ‘Temple of Minerva’, a ‘tetrastylum’, and a paved public space (Pl. 5.4)¹¹⁰

CARSULAE: portico under the twin temples next to the forum (Pl. 5.3)¹¹¹

IGUVIUM: theatre (perhaps with associated structures), public baths, housing¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ The walls could be of the municipalization period or earlier according to Fontaine, *Cités*, 79–80 (see Ch. 4, s. 3).

¹¹⁰ This complex was built on terracing that probably predates the Social War; for the precise sequence of construction phases between the Social War and the triumviral period see Strazzulla, ‘Problemi urbanistici’, and Coarelli, ‘Assisi repubblicana’, 16–21.

¹¹¹ *Guida Laterza*, 132; most of the site has been excavated only to the Augustan levels.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 178–84; *Territory, Time and State*, 180–1: mid-1st cent. BC. A huge dump of ceramic material (mostly 4th to late 2nd cent. BC) was probably redeposited (and mixed together in the process) in its present position next to S. Biagio when the Roman city was (?) laid out just to the north (see Ch. 4, s. 3).

MEVANIA: city walls (newly built or completely renovated)¹¹³

MEVANIOLA: theatre and public baths¹¹⁴

OCRICULUM: new urban site created with buildings such as the 'grande sostruzioni'¹¹⁵

SARSINA: city walls and regular city plan with drainage system¹¹⁶

SENTINUM: city walls¹¹⁷

SPOLETIUM: restoration of city walls, houses, theatre, bridge over the Tessino river, building dedicated to Hercules, paving of the decumanus¹¹⁸

SUASA: ?house¹¹⁹

TUDER: ?terracing/city walls, with associated cistern and drainage tunnels¹²⁰

URVINUM MATAURENSE: theatre, monumental cistern, thermal complex, domestic housing¹²¹

¹¹³ Earlier city walls may have been built out of brick (see Ch. 4, s. 3). The remains of the fortification visible today (reused in the medieval era) consists of a cement core faced with small blocks of local sandstone; it is dated by Fontaine, *Cités*, 238, to the 1st cent. BC, after municipalization (cf. Bonomi Ponzi in *Mevania*, 87).

¹¹⁴ Bermond Montanari, in *NSc* suppl. (1965), 98: 70–50 BC.

¹¹⁵ *Guida Laterza*, 25: perhaps of the mid-1st cent. BC.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* i (2nd edn.), 2124 = *ILLRP* 660 (70–50 BC) records the walls (assuming the restoration [*murum*] *longum p(edes) (mille)* is correct) built by an *architectus*; *ILLRP* 661 refers to a gate and towers which are presumably associated with the walls. See Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione', 92–3, with previous bibliography.

¹¹⁷ Probably to be dated before 41, when the city was besieged (mentioned by Appian, *BC* 5. 116). Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione', 100, assumes the regular urban plan is also from the early 1st cent., but the Augustan era is at least as likely; the archaeological evidence provides no further precision (*Guida Laterza*, 217–19).

¹¹⁸ Walls: *CIL* xi. 4809; bridge: *ILLRP* 670; building dedicated to Hercules: *ILLRP* 155a, depending on the restoration [*a]ed(em)*] (cf. Vine, *Studies*, 151); paving: *ILLRP* 155; houses, theatre (*Guida Laterza*, 112–13).

¹¹⁹ This dates to the second half of the 1st cent.; the rest of the urban centre may also relate to this period, when the centre became a *municipium* (S. De Maria, 'Suasa: Un municipio dell'ager gallicus alla luce delle ricerche e degli scavi recenti', *Le Marche* (1991), 15–52).

¹²⁰ Fontaine (*Cités*, 200) dates all the walls to the municipalization period. Tascio (*Todi*, 104) thinks the site was restructured in late 2nd cent. with new terracing, urban spaces, and route organization; there seems little to choose between their arguments. For Augustan building here see s. 9 below.

¹²¹ M. Luni, 'Urvinum Mataurense (Urbino) e approvvigionamento idrico', in *Monumenti e culture nell'appennino in età romana*, 33–64, dates these monuments only imprecisely as Republican, but they are likely to date from the 1st cent. BC because of their form and the construction techniques used. He thinks the city walls are of the 3rd or 2nd cent.

URVINUM HORTENSE: restoration of a third-century temple¹²²
VETTONA: temple¹²³

There are various reasons for the great activity in this period. Some centres were damaged or completely destroyed in the Social War or in one of the two civil wars that were fought on Umbrian soil: the old site of Ocriculum, for example, was probably sacked in the Social War and the community moved to a different site (which was more convenient for the Tiber trade). A similar origin may be behind the creation of an urban centre at Carsulae, where the first traces of building date to the late Republican period.¹²⁴ The upheavals of this period and the massive dangers that the cities of the region suddenly had to face must have impressed the need for city walls on those towns lacking them: we can be fairly sure that the circuits at Mevania and Sarsina date to soon after the Social War. Yet practicality was not the only driving force behind the building of walls, which were often linked to large-scale replanning of the urban area, as at Sarsina. Civic pride and the need to meet Roman expectations of what features a proper city should possess also played an important role, as Gabba has stressed.¹²⁵ These types of sophisticated and ambitious building programmes often had their roots in the second century BC, and work in the period after the Social War might see the culmination of a long-term plan. This was almost certainly the case at Asisium, where the spaces created by urban terraces built in the second century culminated in the 'Temple of Minerva' and various other associated structures and paved squares in the first century BC (Pl. 5.4, fig. 5.1).

The result of this activity was the monumentalization of Umbrian settlement centres according to well-established Graeco-Roman principles of urbanism, with public spaces and buildings, city walls, and terracing of the landscape. The models

¹²² See Appendix 1.

¹²³ Excavated in the late 19th cent., but only the architectural terracottas remain (see Appendix 1).

¹²⁴ The earlier centre of the community is clearly marked by archaic graves and massive polygonal walling at Cesi and Sant'Erasmus di Cesi, above the modern town; the community may have used the sanctuary at M. Torre Maggiore directly above Cesi.

¹²⁵ Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione', 108.

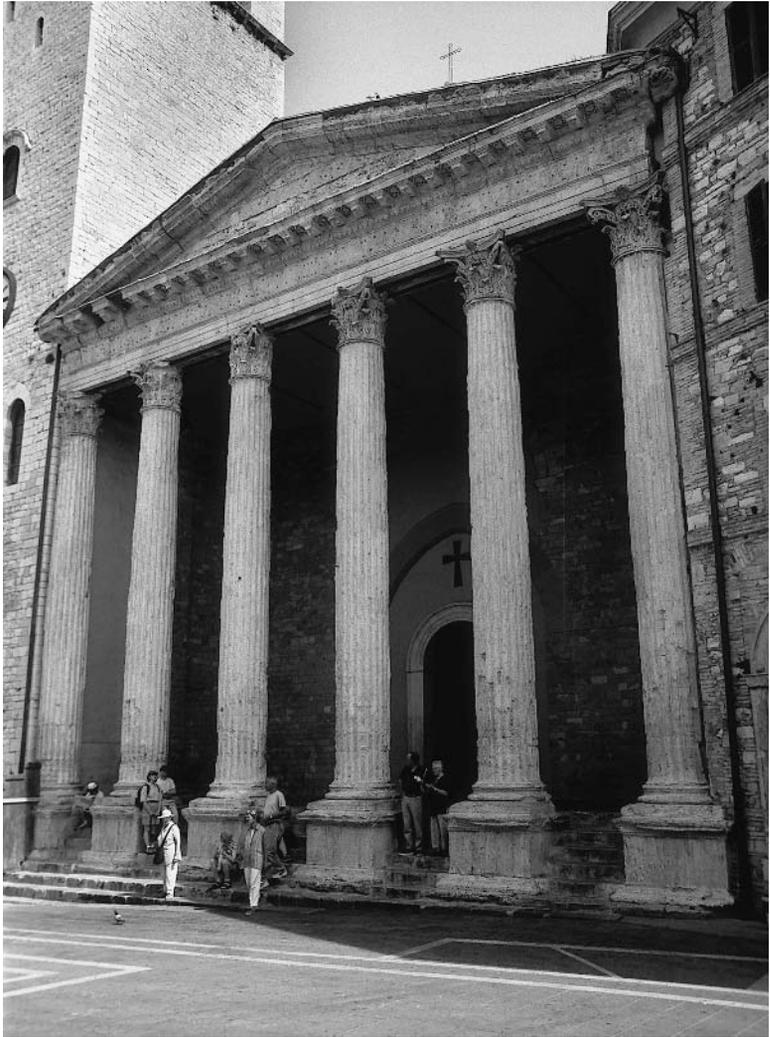


PLATE 5.4. The 'Temple of Minerva', Asisium, c.44–31 BC

for this architecture were most commonly of Greek derivation, such as the Attic column bases and Hellenistic terraced setting of the 'Temple of Minerva' at Asisium, although some temples continued to be constructed with the traditional Italic architectural

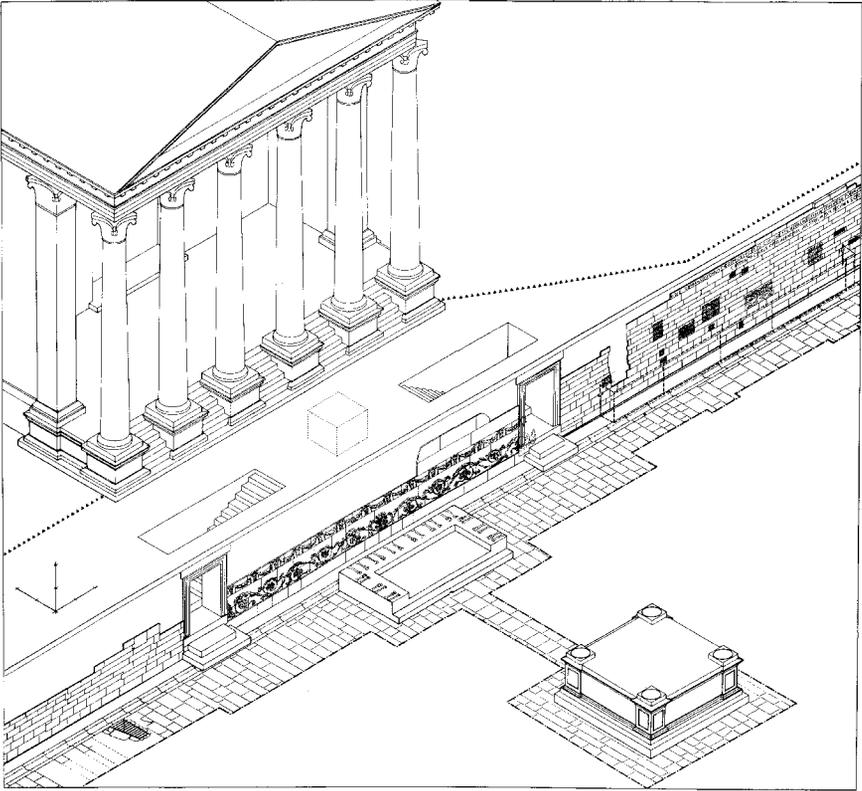


FIG. 5.1. Axonometric reconstruction of the 'Temple of Minerva' and terracing complex, Asisium (from P. Gros and D. Theodorescu, 'Le Mur nord du "Forum" d'Assise: Ornementation pariétale et spécialisation des espaces', *MEFRA* 97 (1985), 879–97, fig. 4.)

terraccotas.¹²⁶ As Coarelli points out, these new Greek influences must by now have been mediated through Rome.¹²⁷

7. Rural sanctuaries

The changes associated with the Social War also affected the countryside. Archaeological remains of votives at all of

¹²⁶ As at Vettona and in the restoration work at Urvinum Hortense.

¹²⁷ Coarelli, 'Assisi repubblicana', 22.

the published rural sanctuaries decline to virtually nil in this period, even at sites that had seen a high level of deposition in the third and second centuries, such as Grotta Bella between Ameria and Tuder. Many sanctuaries, however, show signs of frequentation in the imperial period.¹²⁸ The few sanctuaries that seem to have bucked this trend of decline after the Social War have different types of evidence attesting their continuing use, which may indicate that the deposition of votives is not giving us a very representative view. At M. Torre Maggiore, north of Interamna, recent archaeological work has uncovered a monumental complex with at least two phases of building activity. The earlier of these probably dates to the third century BC, and the later to the first century BC.¹²⁹ Unfortunately this impressive sanctuary is the only site from which we have substantial evidence of construction: our knowledge of other Umbrian sanctuaries is particularly deficient in this respect, although it would probably be fair to say that many had no associated structures. The second site whose continuity of use beyond the Social War seems clear is the Lacus Clitumnus, which is described by Pliny (*Letters* 8. 8) in the early second century AD as a flourishing cult place 'of great antiquity' (Pl. 5.5).¹³⁰ No other comparable literary description of a sanctuary survives from this region. If we are to assume, however, that the dearth of votive evidence in rural sanctuaries after the Social War reflects a decline in their frequentation, how are we to account for this? I argued in Chapter 4 that already in the third and second centuries temples built within settlement centres were in some way taking over the functions of certain rural sanctuaries. The apparent ending of the deposition of votives at rural sanctuaries with the Social War could thus be seen as a culmination

¹²⁸ e.g. M. Ansciano (*Territory, Time and State*), Grotta Bella (Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'), and M. Acuto (Cenciaioli, 'Santuario di altura').

¹²⁹ Bonomi Ponzi, 'Monte Torre Maggiore' and 'Territorio di Cesi'; the votive material dates from the 5th cent. BC to the late Republican period. Ceramic material of imperial date is visible on the surface (autopsy). The monumental rectangular building at M. San Pancrazio, of which the traces of a portico and rock-cut channel remain, is also likely to date to the 3rd to 1st cent. BC (Pl. 2.4).

¹³⁰ M. H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus', in A. Bowman *et al.* (eds.), *CAH* x (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1996), 427, believes that the survival of this cult place stems from its attribution to Hispellum by Augustus.



PLATE 5.5. Source of the Clitumnus (near Trebiae), as it is today

of this process. At other sanctuaries, the relatively high level of votive deposition in the third and second centuries, as seen at Grotta Bella, suggests that the Social War marks a drastic transformation.¹³¹ Recent writers on the subject have attributed the decline in the use of rural sanctuaries after the Social War to the increased importance of cities as centres of life after municipalization, and to the changes in the social make-up of the countryside.¹³² This latter is a process that we can particularly document in southern Umbria.

8. Rural settlement

The first century was marked by innovations in the types of rural settlement. Considerable numbers of villas, probably

¹³¹ Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella', 91.

¹³² e.g. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus', 427; Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'.

staffed at least in part with slave labour, can be traced archaeologically from this period.¹³³ Although they were mainly concentrated around the southern cities of Narnia, Interamna Nahars, Ameria, and Tuder, they feature in smaller numbers elsewhere too.¹³⁴ The proximity of southern Umbria to Rome, and the links provided by the Via Flaminia and the Tiber, must have played a crucial part in their distribution.¹³⁵ These villas were generally medium or small rather than large-scale establishments; the smaller sites were commoner in more mountainous zones, the larger in better connected areas.¹³⁶ From pottery and coinage finds they seem to have flourished only in the first century BC and the early imperial period; many began to be abandoned in the second century AD, particularly those of greater size.

It is interesting to note the absence of archaeologically visible evidence dating back to the second century BC, when the spread of such establishments at the expense of small farmers is considered to be a partial cause of the agrarian conflicts that erupted with the Gracchi.¹³⁷ Military colonization has been suggested as the reason for the spread of the larger farms in the first century BC,¹³⁸ but given the lack of known veteran colonies around the densely occupied basin between Interamna Nahars and Narnia, an area where these 'villas' flourished, economic factors would seem more important. The archaeological picture of the size of these centres correlates with

¹³³ These sites are documented in *Ville e insediamenti rustici di età romana in Umbria* (Perugia, 1983), produced by the Soprintendenza archeologica per l'Umbria. See also Manconi *et al.*, 'La situazione in Umbria', 377–83.

¹³⁴ Note Pliny's late 1st/early 2nd cent. AD villa in the high Tiber valley near Tifernum Tiberinum (*Letters* 4. 1 etc.).

¹³⁵ This is true of both places where the 'Popilius' cups were produced, at Mevania and Oriculum; Cic., *Pro Roscio* 7. 20 stresses this factor in describing the 'excellence' of the elder Roscius' estates, 'for he left thirteen farms, nearly all next to the Tiber'.

¹³⁶ Whitehead, in *Territory, Time and State*, 191, notes that there is likely to be a bias towards larger sites.

¹³⁷ For parallels to this in the central Appennines, see Dench, *Barbarians*, 95–6, who questions the validity of this Roman idea.

¹³⁸ Put forward in *Ville e insediamenti rustici*, 273 ff.; the authors claim that there is evidence in the *Liber Coloniarius* of viratane distributions in the territory of Narnia, Interamna Nahars, and Ameria, but this is a very unreliable source (L. J. F. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC* (London, 1983), 8–12; Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 311–13).

the information in literary sources of Umbrian aristocrats having large land-holdings made up of many scattered estates rather than a few really large *latifundia*. The best documented case is that of Sextius Roscius, whom Cicero defended against a charge of parricide in 80 BC: Roscius stood to inherit his father's estates worth (Cicero claims) six million sesterces, and consisting of thirteen separate farms.¹³⁹

The only area of Umbria that has been subjected to a full field survey, the Gubbio basin, has provided some interesting results in this context.¹⁴⁰ The survey found a reasonable number of Roman sites in the bottom of the valley, all dating to the period from the mid-first century BC to the end of the first century AD.¹⁴¹ The sites, as would be expected for a zone within the Appennines, were predominantly of a small size, with only 6 per cent defined as 'large farms/villas'. Nevertheless, the excavation of one of the smaller farms (below the villa category) revealed a considerable use of imported material and some scattered coins.

Unfortunately virtually no ceramic material datable after the first century AD was found in the survey (probably because Iguvium was isolated from imports), and this makes any comparisons with the late imperial period impossible.¹⁴² The absence of Republican (particularly black slip) pottery from the rural survey is more surprising as considerable quantities of it have been found in a ceramic dump in the vicinity of the Roman town.¹⁴³ The excavators have taken this as a sign that there was a large immigration of new settlers, perhaps through an unrecorded colonization scheme, in the last century

¹³⁹ Cic., *Pro Roscio* 7. 20. Two senatorial estates are known in Umbria, one at Oriculum belonging to T. Annius Milo (Cic., *Mil.* 64), and the possessions of Crassus at Tuder, which was sacked by him in 83–82 (Plut., *Crass.* 6. 5), but we have no idea of their size. Roscius' farms must have been worth c.450,000 sesterces on average—likely to be substantial villas even allowing for Ciceronian exaggeration. We can compare the neighbouring Umbrian estate Pliny (*Letters* 3. 19) was considering buying for three million sesterces (knocked down from five): a sign of the larger size (assuming the value is comparable with Roscius') and progressive agglomeration of estates in his period? Roscius was the first man in his neighbourhood (*vicimitas*) according to Cicero (6. 16).

¹⁴⁰ See *Territory, Time and State*.

¹⁴¹ See map at *ibid.* 190. ¹⁴² *Ibid.* 191.

¹⁴³ *Guida Laterza*, 185; Braconi and Manconi, 'Gubbio: Nuovi scavi', 81; Manconi and Schippa, 'Scavi e scoperte: Gubbio'.

BC.¹⁴⁴ However, the lack of substantiating evidence suggests that other explanations should be advanced. It is possible that pottery imports in the third and second century BC did not circulate outside an élite based in the town centre: Attic pottery, for instance, was very much a symbol of prestige. Rural sites may have been constructed on a modest scale with materials prone to degradation, such as wood and unfired bricks.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the whole population may alternatively have been centred on Iguvium in the period before the Roman conquest, and perhaps even down to the late Republic, before conditions became settled enough to allow habitation in isolated rural farmsteads.¹⁴⁶ In addition, the difficulties of the survey conditions on the lower slopes of the north-eastern side of the Gubbio valley may have prevented the discovery of much evidence for rural settlement close to the city site, where we would expect to find the larger Roman villas as well as the earliest rural settlement.¹⁴⁷

One further puzzle is that the complete absence of third- and second-century evidence from the Gubbio survey does not correlate with the conclusions drawn by the excavators about vegetation. A sedimental sequence suggested that there was a continuous progression in the extension of agriculture in the valley in the Iron Age and Roman period, rather than a sudden explosion of activity in the Roman period.¹⁴⁸ The most

¹⁴⁴ *Territory, Time and State*, 191, 197. A record of veteran colonization could reasonably be expected to show up in the town's epigraphy: Tudur and Hispellum were both given the honorific title *colonia Iulia* for instance.

¹⁴⁵ Hypothesized by Manconi *et al.*, 'La situazione in Umbria', 376, when dealing with the same problem, that is the sudden appearance of rural villas in the 1st cent. BC throughout Umbria, and the almost total absence of evidence before. For more general discussion of problems of archaeological visibility, see Ch. 4, s. 1.

¹⁴⁶ I suspect this would have been the case only if the population was relatively small; dense patterns of rural settlement in the mid-Republican period have been found by survey in other areas of Italy such as Samnium (J. A. Lloyd, 'Farming the Highlands: Samnium and Arcadia in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial Periods', in G. Barker and J. A. Lloyd (eds.), *Roman Landscapes* (London, 1991), 180–93) and Etruria (G. Barker and T. Rasmussen, 'The Archaeology of an Etruscan Polis: A Preliminary Report on the Tuscania Project (1986 and 1987 Seasons)', *PBSR* 56 (1988), 25–42).

¹⁴⁷ *Territory, Time and State*, 189: the northern side of the valley had suffered from 'heavy colluviation and alluviation'.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 43: the Iron Age was a period of 'a sophisticated cereal agriculture which in turn implies substantial clearance most probably of the footslopes of the limestone escarpments', followed by further clearance in the Roman period.

judicious interpretation of the results would seem to be that there is a greater visibility of sites from c.50 BC to c.AD 100, due to the use of imported pottery and stone construction in rural sites, and perhaps the expansion of rural settlement in this era into a wider area of the basin. Both these phenomena are surely explicable by an upsurge in the economy of the area (rather than a massive colonial influx), with even mountainous Iguvium becoming part of long-distance trade movements.

As the evidence stands we lack a clear idea of what these new rural establishments produced, although the great wealth of individuals like Roscius suggests that cash crops were involved, probably at least in part the olives for oil and grapes for wine recommended by agricultural writers such as Columella. In imperial times large quantities of bricks were produced in southern Umbria and the territory of Mevania, many of which, identified by their stamps, have been found at Rome.¹⁴⁹ These were probably produced in the kilns of large suburban villas using the rich clay deposits found in the vicinity of Ameria and Mevania.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, we lack the evidence to trace the beginning of this type of 'industrial' production back to the late Republican period.

Away from these new developments in the fertile lowlands, much of Umbria must have remained covered by forest and pasture, both precious resources, which, if carefully managed, could yield significant foodstuffs and materials. The fame of the Umbrian pastures emerges from Cicero (*De Div.* 1. 94), who attributes the expertise of the Umbrians in augury from the flight of birds, like that of the Arabians, Phrygians, and Cilicians, to their 'being chiefly engaged in the rearing of cattle, and so they are constantly wandering over the plains and mountains in winter and summer'. Movement of animals through long-distance transhumance must have become increasingly common in the region, with flocks and herds being taken up to superb summer pastures such as the Piano

¹⁴⁹ Strabo 5. 3. 7 notes the building materials (specifically timber and the products of mines here) brought down to Rome by the Nar and Teneas rivers running through Umbria to the Tiber.

¹⁵⁰ Manconi *et al.*, 'La situazione in Umbria', 379, although many of the kilns excavated on rural villa sites, such as that at Penna in Teverina (probably in the territory of Ameria), can only have catered for local needs.

Grande near Nursia, or Monte Subasio above Asisium.¹⁵¹ Farm labourers also moved for seasonal work, as we know from a rumour reported by Suetonius that the Emperor Vespasian's great-grandfather had organized Umbrian workers employed in the summer around Reate (*Vespasian* 1. 4).

9. Local élites and veteran settlement

It is clear from Cicero's *Pro Roscio* that by the time of the Social War some of the local élites in Umbria had accumulated enough wealth in the form of landed estates to qualify for admission to the Senate at Rome.¹⁵² This avenue of advancement now at least in theory became open to ambitious and rich Umbrians. Their spending on civic infrastructure and buildings in their home towns, now Roman *municipia*, was one of the most important ways in which they could draw attention to themselves. Money was also put into agriculture, producing the rash of villas discussed above, orientated around the farming of cash crops that could be sold at markets, particularly those in Rome. During this century the increasing wealth of the local Umbrian élites enabled them to compete successfully with other Italians and those of the old Roman aristocracy who had survived the turmoil of the times for entry to the senatorial order at Rome. During the reign of Augustus four men from the 'remote' *municipium* of Iguvium had probably amassed the resources and contacts necessary to become Roman senators.¹⁵³ By the late first

¹⁵¹ Varro, *Res Rusticae* 2. 9. 6; Pliny, *NH* 11. 241; Manconi *et al.*, 'La situazione in Umbria', 372.

¹⁵² Assuming his figures are not hugely inflated. Several Umbrian equestrians are known in this period from the activity of Cicero: he defended a Varenus of Fulginiae and his clients C. Cornelius and Cluentius Habitus were prosecuted by two men from Spoletium and Pisaurum (Wiseman, *New Men*, 36). L. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine* (313-43 or J.-C.), ii (Paris, 1974), lists two other possible equestrians from before the war (from Urvinum Mataurense and Spoletium again) and five from after (Urvinum Mataurense, Spoletium, Interamna Nahars, Ameria, and Narnia).

¹⁵³ Wiseman, *New Men*, nos. 331-3, 502. Compare the characterization of the economy of Iguvium as lacking in access to communications and markets by Manconi and Whitehead in *Territory, Time and State*, 203, who question its ability to produce wealth (p. 186). They assert that Iguvium did not produce a 'major senatorial family' (p. 198), yet three of its likely senators seem to have come from a single family, the Pomponii.

century AD Rome had an emperor, Nerva, whose family had Umbrian origins.¹⁵⁴

We know of one possible senator from Roman Umbria before the Social War, from Fulginiae.¹⁵⁵ The first after the war may be a Gargonius who was a moneyer in Rome in 86 BC, but his name and origin are subject to some doubt.¹⁵⁶ If correct he may also be from Fulginiae, a striking record for a centre that before the Social War was only a *praefectura*. The rest of the twenty-eight possible Umbrian senators before AD 14 make the grade from the late 50s BC onwards: this rapid opening up of the senatorial order in this period must be the result of the high rate of attrition of the old Roman aristocracy from the beginning of Caesar's dictatorship in the ensuing civil wars and proscriptions. The Romanization of the ex-allied Umbrian élite is probably less of a factor in the Caesarian and triumviral periods, as almost all the senators with 'known' origins come from the old Latin and Roman colonies of Spoletium, Narnia, and Pisaurum.¹⁵⁷ The one exception is a senator from Mevania. As Wiseman points out, this is also on the Via Flaminia: accessibility to Rome played an important stimulatory role.¹⁵⁸

It is only with Augustus that significant numbers of members of the local élites of *municipia* allied before the Social War reached the Senate; men are known to have come from Mevania, Asisium, and Iguvium, and possibly from Sentinum and Suasa on the Adriatic side of the Appennines.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Gaggiotti and Sensi, 'Acesa al senato'. The family of Vespasian's mother was from Vespasiae, 6 miles from Nursia towards Spoletium, and thus probably still in Sabinum rather than Umbria (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1. 3).

¹⁵⁵ See Ch. 3, s. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Wiseman, *New Men*, no. 193; Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, no. 350A.

¹⁵⁷ Wiseman, *New Men*, nos. 96, 124–6, 188, 216. Note also the *quaestor* (and thus senator) A. Pompeius A.f. (*ILLRP* 364), active either in the Sullan period (Degrassi in *ILLRP* 212) or the second half of the 1st cent. BC (Gaggiotti and Sensi, 'Acesa al senato', 260). Whether he is from Interamna Nahars, which as patron he 'extricated from the greatest dangers' (*ex summis periculis expeditum*), is doubted by Wiseman (*New Men*, 45) but not Gaggiotti and Sensi ('Acesa al senato', 260), who note links between this family and the Arruntii (certainly of Interamna).

¹⁵⁸ Wiseman, *New Men*, no. 357 and p. 29. Q. Fiscilius, a *praetor* in 28 BC and so surely a senator before Actium, could be from Urvinum Hortense (Gaggiotti and Sensi, 'Acesa al senato', 260; Sensi in *Raccoltà di Camara*, no. 58).

¹⁵⁹ Wiseman, *New Men*, nos. 357, 255, 403–4, 497, 331–3, 502, 512, 88: all after Actium. Gaggiotti and Sensi, 'Acesa al senato', 269, also identify an additional L. Pomponius at Iguvium. The exact origin of many other Umbrian senators who are probably or possibly from old allied towns remains unknown.

This development, overseen by an emperor who had stressed the unity of Italy in his propaganda, must surely testify to the rapidity of the adoption of Roman ways by the upper class in Umbria after the Social War.¹⁶⁰ As has been discussed above, Umbrian is completely dropped as an epigraphic language after the Social War. Funerary culture is less clear-cut in its message, but recent studies have shown that the distinctively local Umbrian production of stelai and urns in the first century BC was heavily reliant on late Etruscan forms from Perugia and on Roman funerary art.¹⁶¹ The rapid adoption of elements of Roman culture must explain why Umbria provides the largest number of senators of all the old allied regions of Italy in this period, despite being one of the smallest in terms of area.¹⁶² It is further confirmation of the wealth of this region, evident from the record of building work.

This wealth was amassed despite the fighting and confiscations that occurred in Umbria in the Sullan and triumviral periods. The newly enfranchised Umbrian élite seems immediately to have been sucked into the political conflicts at Rome. The lieutenants of Sulla, Crassus, and Pompey fought hard campaigns in Umbria on both sides of the Appennines: in 82 BC Sena Gallica was sacked by Pompey and Tuder by Crassus, who enhanced his reputation for greed by appropriating much of the spoils.¹⁶³ They then combined to defeat the Marian Carrinas near Spoletium, and laid siege to the city when he retreated there. Carrinas escaped under cover of darkness;¹⁶⁴ Spoletium is unlikely to have been treated leniently. Other confiscations occurred at Tuder and Ameria, where Chrysogonus profited at Roscius' expense.¹⁶⁵ Umbria was also grievously affected by the Perusine War, when armies again clashed in the Valle Umbra and the élite of the great Etruscan

¹⁶⁰ On Augustus' promotion of men from the Italian municipal élites, see Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 358–63; Salmon, *Roman Italy*, 143–8.

¹⁶¹ A. Ambrogi, 'Monumenti funerari di età romana di Foligno, Spello e Assisi', *Xenia*, 8 (1984), 27 ff.; Diebner, *Reperti funerari*.

¹⁶² For the figures see Wiseman, *New Men*, 189.

¹⁶³ Appian, *BC* 1. 88; Plut., *Crassus* 6.

¹⁶⁴ Appian, *BC* 1. 90.

¹⁶⁵ 'Interamnium' (-eum or -ium in all manuscripts) in Florus' list of cities that suffered (2. 9. 27) is more likely to be Interamnina Praetuttiorum than Interamna Nahars (Harris, *Etruria and Umbria*, 265), though the Umbrian city was probably a more 'splendid municipium'.



PLATE 5.6. The Porta Venere at Hispellum. Probably c.30–20 BC

city, and perhaps the urban centre itself, were wiped out.¹⁶⁶ Sentinum was also besieged and as a result probably rebuilt with a grid-plan pattern.

Veteran colonization also took place in the triumviral period at Hispellum, Pisaurum, and Tuder, and in the reign of Augustus at Fanum Fortunae.¹⁶⁷ At three of these centres the installation of the colony was accompanied by monumental construction projects. Hispellum was endowed with a substantial set of walls with huge gateways (Pl. 5.6).¹⁶⁸ Outside the

¹⁶⁶ On this period see E. Gabba, ‘Trasformazioni politiche e socio-economiche dell’Umbria dopo il “bellum Perusinum”’, in *Bimillenario della morte di Properzio* (Assisi, 1986), 95–104.

¹⁶⁷ Keppie, *Colonisation*: Tuder in 36 BC or after Actium (p. 176), Hispellum in 41 BC (p. 179); Pisaurum in 41 BC (p. 185); no specific evidence for Fanum Fortunae (pp. 184–5).

¹⁶⁸ Augustus may have provided the initiative for these works: *CIL* xi. 5266, Keppie, *Colonisation*, 177. Using architectural parallels and an examination of the construction technique, Fontaine dates the Porta Consolare to c.40–35 BC (*Cités*, 255) and the other gates and full wall circuit to 30–20 BC (p. 259), perhaps in connection with the restoration of the Via Flaminia in 27 BC.



PLATE 5.7. The 'nicchioni', Tuder, probably c.49–31 BC

town the remains of an extra-urban theatre and sanctuary complex with terracing and a monumental fountain probably date from the same period; the main body of the sanctuary has now been incorporated into the Villa Fidelia, largely constructed in the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁹ At Tuder the walls and urban spaces of the town were renovated, terraces around the lower part of the town were built, and city gates, public buildings, a theatre, and the great substructure known as the 'nicchioni' were created (Pl. 5.7).¹⁷⁰ The 'nicchioni' in particular show the way Greek ideas had thoroughly penetrated Roman architecture at this time: it consists of a wall about 11 metres high

¹⁶⁹ *Guida Laterza*, 153; Coarelli, 'Romanización', 62–3; Manconi *et al.*, 'Hispellum', 355. The construction of the terraces is similar to that of the city walls, and like them may date from after the establishment of the colony; the theatre is contemporary with the sanctuary terracing. The complex also included bath buildings and an amphitheatre, which although Augustan (G. L. Gregori, 'Amphitheatralia I', *MEFRA* 96/2 (1984), 968), is slightly later in construction according to Manconi. For further discussion see below.

¹⁷⁰ Tascio, *Todi: Verso un museo*, 105; *Guida Laterza*, 75.

and 40 metres long, inset with four colossal niches, whose most obvious parallels in Italy are the supporting terraces of the Hellenistically inspired sanctuaries at Tibur (dedicated to Hercules) and at Terracina. Originally there must have been a similar structure on top of the 'nicchioni'. New city walls and a monumental gate were also built at Fanum in AD 9–10, again financed by Augustus, and Vitruvius records the basilica he built here.¹⁷¹ Land distributions for the soldiers required confiscations of territory from neighbouring *municipia*. It is interesting to note that some of the recipients had origins from other towns in the region.¹⁷² Propertius was a victim at Asisium, although Gabba argues that this will not have pushed such medium-scale landowners into destitution as they were likely to have holdings in various locations.¹⁷³ He holds that the Umbrian élite remained generally stable and even flourished in the early empire. Indeed a Propertius Celer, perhaps both a member of the poet's family and a descendant of the *maro Vois. Ner. Propartie* on an Umbrian border cippus of the (?)first decade of the century, reached the Senate under Augustus.¹⁷⁴

10. Conclusion: Romanization and identity

The Social War was theoretically the last political and military action taken by the allies as ethnic groups. The consequence of their success in gaining the concession of citizenship from Rome was that such groups became politically redundant. Both allied and Latin statuses were effectively dissolved south of the Po valley, and those communities holding these statuses were officially absorbed into the Roman state. The ethnic groups to which these communities belonged ceased in theory to have a military role: people from Umbria, as Roman citizens, would now be integrated into the legions.

¹⁷¹ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 5. 1. 6 (he also mentions other public buildings); Keppie, *Colonisation*, 116.

¹⁷² Note the Edusius from Mevania at Tuder mentioned in s. 2 above, and the unknown Tudertine who settled at Fanum (Keppie, *Colonisation*, 176, 185).

¹⁷³ Propertius, *Elegies* 4. 1. Gabba, 'Bellum Perusinum', 95.

¹⁷⁴ Wiseman, *New Man*, no. 344. Umbrian inscription: Ve 236 (Appendix 2).

The aftermath of the Social War also saw cultural change on an unprecedented level across Italy.¹⁷⁵ In Umbria almost all epigraphy after the war is in Latin, and this form of recording becomes increasingly common, often on funerary monuments with Roman and Etruscan inspired design.¹⁷⁶ The various reasons for this change have been set out in the sections above: the local élites of Umbrian towns had gained access, at least in theory, to political office at Rome, and so they now had much more incentive to take on elements of Roman culture in an effort to gain social acceptance; the upheavals of this era affecting Umbria—in particular the Sullan–Marian conflicts of 82 BC, the Perusine War, and the veteran colonizations of the triumviral period—combined with extensive personal mobility at all social levels, meant that the population of the region was mixed as never before. Elsewhere change was less rapid, for example in northern Etruria and especially in the Greek-speaking cities of the south, but in general by the Augustan era the unique elements of the cultures of the Italian peoples seem to have largely taken on Roman form.

Thus by the late first century BC the ethnic groups of Italy had become both politically defunct and culturally indistinguishable. In administrative terms the separation of Italy from the rest of the empire was much more important than the nominal divisions between the Italian regions, which, although largely corresponding to the old ethnic groups, were probably constituted by Augustus for governmental convenience. This is usually seen as the end-point of the history of the ancient ethnic groups of Italy, including the 500 years in which we can trace the existence of an Umbrian people. We have seen how Harris envisaged Etruscan history as coming to a stop in this period, and Umbrian history at some point slightly earlier. For an élite Roman like Cicero, Rome and one's local place of origin commanded loyalty (*De Legibus* 2. 1. 2–2. 5, note especially 2. 2. 5: *Ego mehercule et ille et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis*, 'I think that both he and all townspeople have two homelands,

¹⁷⁵ Crawford, 'Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus'.

¹⁷⁶ However, note the late Umbrian inscriptions Po 6 (Appendix 2), and the maronate at Mevania (*Mevania*, no. 2. 121).

one through nature, the other by citizenship'). In an empire made up of separate, largely self-administering cities, centring on Rome, there would seem to be little place for ethnic groups.

In fact, despite the cultural homogenization of Italy and the undoubted primacy of an individual's home town and Rome, a genuine sense of ethnic conceptions seems to have remained. This is not surprising if we remember that these were ways of thinking that had existed for hundreds of years and were reinforced by a sense of history, in areas that were absorbed into the Roman state as late as the 80s BC. In addition the integration of ex-allies into the Roman state was less complete in practice than it was in theory, at least until the reign of Augustus: we can note, for instance, the presence of ethnic units of central Appennine peoples in the Civil War armies of the early 40s BC (Caesar, *BC* 1. 20, 2. 29, 2. 34), and how the constituents of some 'personal' armies might still in the post-Social War period be predominantly from one area, such as the army raised by Pompey for Sulla from among his father's clients in Picenum.¹⁷⁷

In the late Republic and early imperial period the ethnic group of the Umbrians continued to be articulated intellectually in various forms. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and others discussed the history, geography, and constituent cities of this people.¹⁷⁸ The Umbrians had a well-defined historical identity, with three common themes emerging in the various sources: they were always said to be indigenous to Italy; they were seen as one of the oldest Italian peoples;¹⁷⁹ they reputedly occupied a much greater territory in an earlier period, much of which was lost to invaders like the Etruscans and Gauls.

Clearly a considerable amount of this information is the result of antiquarian interest in, and probably recreation of,

¹⁷⁷ On this topic see Giardina, 'L'identità incompiuta', especially pp. 48–9; see Terrenato, 'Romanization of Volaterrae', for the durability of Etruscan social structures. For the persistence of ethnic groups in history see A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), 46.

¹⁷⁸ The evidence is discussed in Ch. 1, s. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Florus (1. 17) and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3. 112) explicitly state that they are the most ancient, perhaps a later enhancement of their image as one of the oldest peoples in Strabo and Dionysius. Alternately this might represent separate Latin and Greek traditions.

this 'lost' world. These authors also used earlier works, which may be speaking of a vanished reality: Strabo's account of the peoples of the Po valley, for instance, has been thought to go back to Polybius; in his description of Italy, Pliny uses the arrangement drawn up by Augustus (*NH* 3. 46). Nevertheless when Strabo and Pliny mention the Umbrians they do so in the present as much as in the past tense.¹⁸⁰ They clearly have a strong sense that this group still exists (even if they are mistaken), and that this is a valid way of discussing this region of Italy. In fact this is the usual form that Roman conceptions took: towns and peoples were for them the fundamental units of the empire, not geographical regions.¹⁸¹ This well-developed historical image is usually assumed to be an antiquarian construct which no longer reflects the reality of the region's very mixed population, but this misses the point. Like all ethnic identities this group had always been a construct in some senses: their image as the original occupiers of Etruscan areas already in Herodotus (1. 94) is probably an early example of this.

Local participation in the construction of the historical image of the Umbrian people seems likely. The first-century AD inscription that incidentally records the foundation of Interamna Nahars (*CIL* xi. 4170) gives a date which is strikingly earlier than that of the town's colonization in the third century, although the actual significance of the year cited in the text (673 BC) is uncertain.¹⁸² The earlier colonial status, still relevant in 90 BC, is unlikely to have been forgotten by this period: the Camertes applied to Septimius Severus for the renewal of their equal treaty with Rome made in 310 BC (and obsolete in legal terms after the Social War), showing that they preserved a memory of their status over a much longer time. This local sense of historical perspective was apparent even in the second century BC, if, as seems likely, Cato gained from the townspeople of Ameria the information that their city was founded 963 years before the war with Perseus (171–167 BC).¹⁸³ All these memories are evidence of a historical awareness that

¹⁸⁰ e.g. Strabo 5. 1. 7, 5. 1. 10, 5. 2. 10; Pliny, *NH* 3. 112.

¹⁸¹ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (revised edn., Oxford, 1992), 394–6.

¹⁸² The date corresponds uncannily with the appearance of the earliest cemetery on the site; see Ch. 2, ss. 3(a) and 4(b).

¹⁸³ Cato in Pliny, *NH* 3. 114.

is likely to have informed the sense of an Umbrian regional identity.

There is also a strong sense of regional heritage in the work of the poet Propertius, who was a native of Asisium and in whose work the region of Umbria (perhaps significantly instead of the Umbrians as a people) has a prominent place.

Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi!
scandentis quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,
ingenio muros aestimet ille meo!

Let Ennius crown his verse with a ragged garland: Bacchus, give me leaves of your ivy, that Umbria may swell with pride at my books, Umbria, the home of Rome's Callimachus! Let whomsoever descries the citadels that climb up from the vale esteem those walls by my genius. (*Elegies* 4. 1. 61–6)

Umbria te notis antiqua Penatibus edit—
mentior? an patriae tangitur ora tuae?—
qua nebulosa cavo rorat Mevania campo,
et lacus aestivis non tepet Umber aquis,
scandentisque Asis consurgit vertice murus,
murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo.

Ancient Umbria bore you in an illustrious home—do I lie, or have I hit upon the borders of your native land?—where misty Mevania sheds its dew on the low-lying fields, and the waters of the Umbrian mere acquire no warmth in summer, where a wall rises on the peak of soaring Asisium, the wall made more famous by your genius. (*Elegies* 4. 1. 121–6, trans. G. Goold)¹⁸⁴

Thus a collective Umbrian identity survives as a concept in the minds of both Roman writers and 'natives' of the region (Propertius straddles the categories) in the late Republic and early empire.¹⁸⁵ There is an intriguing contrast here with the passage of Cicero cited earlier, although naturally the contexts of his remarks were rather different.

Besides this testimony of continuity in ways of thinking, there is also some surprisingly late evidence for the continuing

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *Elegies* 1. 22.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. the first senator from amongst the Paeligni recorded by *ILS* 932 in the 1st cent. AD.

common action of the Umbrians in the sphere of religion. The Constantinian Rescript of Hispellum (*CIL* xi. 5265 = *ILS* 705), dating to AD 333–7, allowed a festival which used to be held according to ancient custom (*consuetudo prisca*) alternately in Volsinii (at the Fanum Voltumnae?) and Hispellum to be moved, at least for the Umbrian contingent, permanently to Hispellum.¹⁸⁶ This festival, involving the Umbrians as a people (who could now be defined in regional terms), almost certainly has roots in the pre-Roman period. The Rescript was found on the site of the huge sanctuary complex, just outside Hispellum, which includes a theatre and amphitheatre for the theatrical and gladiatorial shows mentioned in the inscription. The remains of the sanctuary substructures visible today as part of the Villa Fidelia date to the Augustan period, but recent excavations have turned up even older remains, including an Umbrian inscription to Jupiter of the third or second century BC and bronze votive figurines of around the fifth century BC.¹⁸⁷ Communal religious ceremonies of this nature are of course very strongly linked to collective identity—we only have to think here of the importance of the Alban Mount for the Latins.

The Hispellum Rescript prompts another consideration. Hispellum was reinforced with a veteran colony in the triumviral period, probably in 41 BC. Yet if the festival on this site is of pre-Roman origin, the colonization did not affect it (assuming that it had always taken place here and was not moved to Hispellum from elsewhere). On the contrary, as we have seen, the sanctuary where it occurred was (re-?)built

¹⁸⁶ *Cum igitur ita vos Tusciae adsereretis esse coniunctos, ut instituto consuetudinis priscae per singulos annorum vices a vobis adque praedictis sacerdotes creentur, qui apud Vulsinius Tusciae civitate(m) ludos schenicos et gladiatorum munus exhibeant, sed propter ardua montium et difficultates itinerum saltuosa impendio posceretis, ut indulto remedio sacerdoti vestro ob editiones celebrandas Vulsinius pergere non esset . . .* ‘You declare that you [the Umbrians] are joined to Tuscia, and that by an established ancient custom you and the aforesaid [Tuscans] in alternate years appoint the priests who present theatrical shows and gladiatorial games at Vulsinii, a municipality of Tuscia. But because the journey was over steep and wooded mountains you earnestly request that relief be granted to your priest, so that it will not be necessary for him to proceed to Vulsinii to celebrate the spectacles.’ (Trans. slightly adapted from Lewis and Reinhold.)

¹⁸⁷ The Jupiter inscription was discussed by F. Coarelli in an unpublished colloquium paper; Manconi *et al.*, ‘Hispellum’, 355, for the figurines.

in the Augustan period, which would seem to confirm the site as a key religious meeting-point for Umbrian communities.¹⁸⁸ The colonial influx here is no longer relevant to the town's ethnic affiliations.¹⁸⁹ The Hispellates must have been involved in this Umbrian festival, presumably alongside other towns that had been colonized in their past. It could be argued that Umbria became more of a geographical than an ethnic concept in this era, which was confirmed by the creation of the Augustan region, and so common origins were no longer important to its people. Earlier distinct ethnic origins, whether of the colonists at Spolegium or of the Gauls in the *ager Gallicus*, had become unimportant, and such people were now incorporated into the new region. But there also seems to be another tendency at work, in which towns of colonial origin 'bought into' the well-constructed and prestigious image of this people as the oldest in Italy. Ariminum and Ravenna are regarded as essentially Umbrian towns reinforced by Roman colonization in Strabo's *Geography* (5. 1. 11). The inhabitants of Interamna look back beyond their colonization to an earlier past. Although Pliny (and presumably the Augustan document he follows) highlights Umbria's most recent colonies, Fanum Fortunae, Pisaurum, Hispellum, and Tuder, he lists Latin colonies along with ex-allied states, presumably all now part of this *gens antiquissima Italiae* (*NH* 3. 113–14).

¹⁸⁸ It is tempting to see this as the work of Augustus himself: he may have gifted the gates and walls of the colony (s. 9 above), of similar construction to the terracing of the sanctuary; he certainly transferred control of another ancient Umbrian sanctuary, the Lacus Clitumnus, to this town (Pliny, *Ep.* 8. 8); finally, one probable deity of the Villa Fidelia sanctuary, Venus (*CIL* xi. 5264), was closely associated with his family.

¹⁸⁹ Epigraphic evidence points to the settlers here being from the *legio XIII*, raised by Caesar, which will have included men from both Cisalpine Gaul and central Italy (Keppie, *Colonisation*, 55 with 179).

Umbria in Italy: some comparisons and conclusions

1. Introduction

The aim of this last, concluding chapter is to summarize the position reached on a range of important issues in the history of Umbria in the first millennium BC and, where it is instructive, to compare this picture with the evidence for Picenum.¹ Although different in many ways, the pattern of settlement in Picenum does show some important similarities with that in Umbria. In both regions there is archaeological evidence (in the form of cemeteries) for increasing numbers of settlements from the start of the Iron Age, and by the era of Augustus both had similarly dense patterns of small urban centres. Moscatelli notes thirty-six colonies and *municipia* in Picenum in the Roman period; there may be as many as forty-two in Umbria by the early imperial epoch.² Yet, within this chronological arc, certain interesting differences illuminate the importance of the political, economic, and social changes brought about by the Roman conquest.

2. Patterns of settlement and the emergence of social complexity

The evidence of archaeology in Umbria shows the extraordinarily long duration of settlement on the sites of most of the

¹ 'Picenum' is defined here as the area of the fifth Augustan region. My discussion of Picenum is in no way an attempt at a summary of its history; rather it is used only when an illuminating parallel with Umbria can be established.

² Moscatelli, 'Il problema dell'urbanizzazione', 195; Umbria: those listed in *CIL* (including the centres of the *ager Gallicus*).

medieval and modern towns of the region, stretching well back beyond their existence as *municipia* in the Roman period into the era before the Roman conquest. Here I want to summarize the main points that can be drawn from the material currently at our disposal, much of which comes from the continually increasing pool of evidence from new excavations. The occupation of many of the settlements in central and southern Umbria began in the Final Bronze Age and early Iron Age (approximately the first three centuries of the first millennium BC). In at least one case, that of Iguvium, this seems to have corresponded to the abandonment of earlier settlements (on M. Ansciano and M. Ingino). In other, more mountainous areas, such as those around Plestia and Monteleone di Spoleto, settlement systems incorporating hillforts seem to be just developing. The stabilization of populations on sites across the region must have provided the conditions for more intense social change, with the opportunity for institutional structures, a central authority, and group definition, the characteristics of state organization, to develop. These characteristics may be based on some earlier elements of communality: the use of a single settlement site could be the product of some sort of collective identity, especially when there is already a community associated with the territory, as at Iguvium. But it is significant that there is an unprecedented level of evidence for stable settlements in the Iron Age.

I have argued that an approach to the evidence of this period that takes urbanization as the central index of change (as do most studies of other Italian regions) is unproductive. The monumentalization of settlements in Umbria does not seem to begin in the lowlands until the fourth century BC and in the uplands until the Social War. Yet other changes in society, part of the process of state organization, precede this and should not be ignored. As the Iron Age (*c.* 900–300 BC) progresses, we gain interesting insights into both upland and lowland communities from their cemeteries; one aspect that can be documented by archaeological evidence is the growth of social stratification.³ At the best known centres across Umbria, such as Interamna Nahars, Spolegium, Plestia, and Iguvium, we

³ *Territory, Time and State*, 175.

have indications that this usually occurred several centuries later than the first attested settlement on the site. Tombs of the seventh century at Plestia contain modest quantities of (on the whole) locally produced impasto and bucceroid pottery and metal objects. From the end of the seventh century onwards there is a pronounced upsurge in imported material within the graves here, at Tuder, and at Monteleone di Spoleto; extremely rich tombs have been discovered at these sites, with characteristically aristocratic accoutrements (such as *symposion* equipment and Greek vases), and some contained chariots. The type of tomb full of large quantities of this kind of prestige material seems to peak in the sixth century at Monteleone di Spoleto (although there are only a few graves of this date), in the sixth and fifth centuries at Plestia, and in the sixth to mid-fifth century at Tuder. A chariot burial and some fragments of imported Etruscan and Greek pottery from Iguvium, and chamber tombs with imported pottery and bronze items at Ameria, are probably indicative of a similar social development at these centres, although it is difficult to assert that this was on the same scale given the fragmentary state of the archaeological record here.

This phenomenon is clearly linked to the changes of the so-called 'Orientalizing' period, well-known in Etruria, Latium, and Campania from around the mid-eighth century BC, and in the Padane and Adriatic regions from the start of the seventh century.⁴ These changes were the result of contacts with the eastern Mediterranean through Greek traders—inevitably the impact of these developments on the central and southern part of Umbria, not in contact with the coast, lagged behind other, better connected regions, through which the new influences were mediated. It is also true that the Umbrian material as a whole is both less spectacular and found in smaller quantities than in Etruria (although it is comparable to other Italic areas), which again must be a reflection of its peripheral and (for some parts of the region) remote position in respect to the vigorous sea-borne trade of the eighth century onwards. But contacts through the Adriatic coast do generate images

⁴ On this period in Umbria see Bonomi Ponzi, 'Aspetti dell'orientalizzante nell'Umbria appenninica', in *Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado*, 118–19.

of this ethnic group in Greek literature, a phenomenon summarized below. In addition, land trade through Umbria was very important, and in many ways its land-locked position made it a crossroads for trans-Italy commerce rather than a backwater, leading to the richness of the aristocratic graves discussed above.

The social implications of these developments are made more fragile by the relative rarity of poorer graves, but the importance of the type of items mentioned above (such as chariots) in the value systems of aristocrats in the archaic Mediterranean makes it highly probable that the graves are those of an élite, differentiated by their wealth from the rest of society. We may probably assume that this reflects a change from the previous (more equitable) social order, even taking into account the vagaries of funerary custom within the archaeological record. The exact significance of the emergence of an aristocratic class in society for the development of political organization is controversial, with the anthropological debate centring on whether an aristocracy is a necessary precondition for state organization, or a consequence of it. But if we place more emphasis on state organization as an ongoing process, as I think we should, rather than looking to identify stages of development, it is enough to note that the link between these two processes (state organization and social stratification) is usually close, and that these societies are becoming more complex.

The significance of this for the economy of the region is easier to delineate. The concentration of resources in the hands of a few individuals probably means that there is a greater surplus being produced by the society through increased trade and perhaps also through agriculture. The former is documented by the items on which the aristocrats spent their wealth, brought via long-distance trade routes that reached into or passed through Umbria.⁵ Important work by Bonomi Ponzi has shown how the routes across Umbria from Etruria to Picenum were of major importance in the social trends discussed above.⁶ Such trade routes seem to have brought the

⁵ Long-distance trade within Italy had existed in the Bronze Age (see *Territory, Time and State*, 136–41), but now reached a more intensive pitch.

⁶ 'Dorsale appenninica'.

greatest amount of traffic through the territory of Umbrian centres that were between other important nodes of production and consumption, such as Tuder (on the route along the Tiber valley from Volsinii and southern Etruria to Perugia and central Umbria) or Plestia (controlling the route between central Picenum and the Tyrrhenian side of the Appennines). That the aristocracies in these places were able to appropriate much of the newly available wealth suggests that they had developed a greater ability to order and control other members of their communities and the movement through their areas. The emphasis on warfare in aristocratic culture, which we can read into the weapons and occasional chariots they buried in their graves, the warrior figurines left at sanctuaries, and the building of hillforts, suggest that military power was the means used to develop this control. It is probable that 'defence' was part of the justification for a central authority; raising troops must have been one of the most important roles of emerging states in this part of Italy, a tendency reinforced by the threat posed by Roman expansionism. The creation of fortifications certainly testifies to the communal organization of labour, in both lowland and upland zones.

Plestia provides a particularly clear example of these trends. The settlement system around the upland plateau occupied by the Plestini became relatively complex between the sixth and fourth centuries BC, with a clear division between central and peripheral sites. The creation of hillforts, which have been identified by recent archaeological survey, can be linked to the appearance of an aristocracy in the funerary record; these élites presumably organized the labour force required to build such structures, and may have used them to control the movement of trade through this area. This allowed them to accumulate levels of wealth similar to that of their counterparts in the richest lowland centres. It is therefore evident that assessing the early Umbrian societies solely in terms of urbanization will obscure the diversity of social organizations that formed in this period. Given the evidence currently available, we should also avoid seeing the hillfort-village settlement patterns in the Umbrian Appennines as a sign of a more primitive 'tribal' organization in comparison with 'proto-urban' settlements in the lowlands.

Other factors besides military organization may also have contributed to the surplus available to the dominant stratum of society. The environmental studies of the Gubbio Project suggest that the Iron Age was a period of continuing forest clearance, and some expansion of agriculture must be presupposed despite the lack of contemporary material turning up in the Project's survey. Torelli identifies this wealth as the reason for the beginning of urbanization from the fourth century, but we might also detect its consequences somewhat earlier in the deposition of votives at cult sites scattered across Umbria and into neighbouring regions, which begins to occur on a large scale in the late sixth century. This marks an important new trend in the disposal of wealth. This must be at least partly aristocratic wealth, given the considerable craftsmanship that went into the larger figures and the sheer value of the bronze used for them. Nevertheless, the quantities of simple figurines left in votive deposits is probably a sign that other sectors of society were also involved. The position of these sanctuaries in the landscape, most commonly on mountain peaks, has frequently been taken as a sign of a dispersed hillfort and village system of settlement, typical of Samnium and other central Apennine areas; in Chapter 2 I argued against such a simple equation, which in any case should not have negative connotations for political organization. In fact, we can identify a variety of possible relationships that these sanctuaries might have had with settlements, which the examples of Etruria and Latium show would not preclude the coexistence of substantial urban centres.

The rarity of investment in monumental construction at cult sites, as well as the sheer number of sites, suggests that activity at these sanctuaries was largely a localized phenomenon. Even so, the participation of a particular community in this activity could help give it definition as a group. We can think here of (what is interpreted as) the definition of the citizen body in the rituals recorded on the Iguvine Tables, and the deliberate exclusion of outsiders.⁷ So the use of sanctuaries is almost certainly related to social changes within Umbria in the sixth to fourth centuries BC, implying that certain groups,

⁷ *Vib.* 52–60 (see the commentary in Poultney, *Bronze Tables*).

probably communities rather than kinship associations, were becoming more self-conscious and acting in a more collective way. In addition, the direction of wealth towards the purchase of more elaborate votives for display at sanctuaries (for which they were specially designed) would seem to mark the concern of the élites with their own image in the community. A striking example is the Mars of Todi, left at a sanctuary on Montesanto just outside Tuder in the late fifth century: even if the aim was still personal glorification (as with the accumulation of prestige items that were subsequently deposited as grave goods), it now benefited places used by the community as a whole.⁸ The expenditure of resources on monumental buildings, especially temples whose use was in some senses 'communal', marks a further progression of this activity.⁹ Although small-scale isolated instances of this are known in the seventh/sixth century, our main evidence starts in the fourth century BC. This trend gradually increases in the subsequent centuries and can probably be linked to the apparent decline in deposition at some rural sanctuaries (examined below).

The distribution of evidence for monumental building and for the fortifications that also appear around some settlements in the fifth to fourth centuries BC is suggestive of the strong influence of the urbanized Etruscan and Faliscan regions on these developments. The earliest walled sites are at Ocriculum, Ameria, and Vettona: Etruscan and (for Ocriculum) Faliscan links are apparent in the funerary material found at these sites. The erection of monumental buildings at Tuder, Arna, and perhaps Iguvium in the fourth century clearly relates to the creation of such structures at nearby Falerii, Volsinii, and Perugia a century or so earlier, and in fact the style of the architectural terracottas from Tuder and Arna can be directly linked to these centres. Another fourth-century building, almost certainly a temple, was set up at Mevania, which was slightly further away from 'Etruria', although still

⁸ It is notable that aristocrats deposited decorated Greek vases, large quantities of impasto pottery, and even chariots in their tombs, but seem to have thought that small, locally produced statuettes (with the odd exception like the Mars of Todi) were most appropriate for sanctuaries.

⁹ Cf. Smith, *Early Rome*, 186–8, seeing similar trends in 6th-cent. Latium as a cultural choice, perhaps on the part of a more stable aristocracy, which is intimately linked to the 'evolution of an urban society'.

only 25 kilometres down the Valle Umbra from Perugia. The contrast with the lack of material from centres on the Adriatic side of the Apennines during this period is probably the result of their much greater distance from other urbanized regions, even allowing for the reduced level of archaeological investigation there. In this area north of the Apennines the coastal centres were clearly wealthier.

Our imperfect knowledge of the chronological variation in funerary practice makes it difficult to link the phases of the usage of cemeteries to the changes in society we have hypothesized from the evidence of rural sanctuaries and monumental buildings. At the best attested examples of Tuder and Plestia, however, two different patterns are evident in their later phases. Burials at the former site increase in number in the second half of the fifth century and provide the greatest amount of material in the fourth and early third centuries BC, although none show a deposition of prestige goods on the scale of earlier tombs. Torelli's suggestion that this is a sign of new aristocratic priorities—sanctuary dedications and the creation of monumental buildings rather than the placing of prestige objects in graves—is probably right, even if the deposition of votives in Umbrian sanctuaries seems to start somewhat earlier than the change in funerary evidence, in the early fifth century.¹⁰ The particular brilliance of Tuder in this period cannot be dissociated from that of Perugia, to which it was so closely linked by the Tiber valley. No other lowland Umbrian community has the quantity of evidence needed to document similar social and economic changes: this is partly the result of the lower intensity of investigation elsewhere, but also because Tuder was very wealthy by the standards of the region.

For the upland areas the quality of the evidence from the excavations at Plestia allows us to infer that there was a different pattern. In contrast to Tuder, the main cemetery at Plestia sees a decline in the quantity and quality of grave goods from the mid-fourth century BC. The evidence at the smaller cemeteries associated with hillforts in the surrounding area

¹⁰ Torelli in *Todi: Verso un museo*, 54–8 argues that there is a 'new aristocratic class', which includes a wider section of society.

ends in the fourth century, and at the central cemetery below M. Orve in the late third century. If the decline in funerary evidence here reflects that of the system as a whole, it could be linked to a decrease in traffic using this trans-Appennine route; certainly, the contemporary funerary evidence from Picene cemeteries also seems to reflect a decline in trade with western Italy. It may also be important that the Plestine area was probably made a *praefectura* without its own juridical autonomy from the time of the Roman conquest to the Social War, but the funerary material starts to decline before the conquest.

The model proposed in this work for understanding these changes is that of state organization, which has also been successfully employed in studies of similar developments in archaic Greece. The changes occur at a later date in Umbria than in Tyrrhenian areas of Italy, and perhaps cover a wider time span, but can nevertheless be compared to those of other areas. They include the progressive emergence of, and accumulation of power by, an élite which is evident in both upland and lowland settings. The religious activity that begins in the fifth century and the communal building projects from the fourth century suggests that this class had control over relatively organized societies. This must have been reinforced by the need to mobilize soldiers to defend the territories of these communities, particularly against Roman armies from the late fourth century.

The new imposition of Roman control must have prevented the stronger communities from (further) agglomerating their territory at the expense of the weaker ones, given that the Roman organization of the region is likely to have followed the existing political divisions. It is tempting to connect this with the extraordinary density of *municipia* evident in Umbria in the Augustan period, which was second only to that of Regio I (Latium and Campania).¹¹ This pattern might, alternatively, be the result of the development of communities after the Roman conquest or even of the wealth of Umbria in the period after the Social War. Whilst it is unlikely that every tiny

¹¹ Best seen on Map 2. Figures in R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1982), appendix 5.

municipium in the region had always been independent, the great antiquity of settlement on most of the Roman town sites and evidence from after the conquest (primarily treaty arrangements, coinage, and the Iguvine Tables) suggests that up to twenty small independent communities had emerged before the conquest. This means that while some of these early states (such as Iguvium, Tuder, and Camerinum¹²) were probably comparatively powerful, others, especially those in the Valle Umbra, will have had very restricted territories. Torelli has noted that this poses questions about the 'realtà urbana' of such small settlements, but what is important is that they are likely to have had both collective identities and political autonomy, which, as the examples of Greek *poleis* show, is possible even for tiny communities. This brings us to the closely related topic of ethnic identity.

3. Ethnic identity in community and region

One of the most striking characteristics of the evidence for ethnic identity is the different perspectives provided by the various sources of information. Greek authors in the fifth and fourth centuries treat the Umbrians as a single ethnic group and seem to have been initially unconcerned with differentiating between the numerous local groups within the Umbria, if indeed they were aware of them. The record becomes more detailed in the first half of the fourth century, probably reflecting Umbrian contacts with Greek merchants along the Adriatic coast and in the eastern Po valley, but these links may have declined soon afterwards with the Gallic movement into these areas. The Umbrians are portrayed as occupying a very large, if ill-defined, area of central Italy, and as often being in conflict with other Italian peoples, especially the Etruscans in the Po valley. That the Umbrian ethnic was already used in Italy in this period is known from its appearance in a South Picene inscription from the Abruzzo and on two Greek vases from Etruria, although the exact purpose of this usage remains enigmatic.

¹² Note the territories (admittedly hypothetical) assigned to these cities by Toynbee in Map 2, and the discussion in Ch. 3, s. 6; for Iguvium see Gros and Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica*, 52.

The earliest epigraphy from within the region in the fourth and third century BC gives a wholly different impression, making no mention of Umbrian identity and instead recording the names of local communities. These references to smaller groupings (*Plestinus*, *Nucerinus*, and the names on the coinage of Tuder and Iguvium) show the importance of local identities to the inhabitants of the region, and highlight the limitations of the literary image of the early Umbrian ethnic group. Given the propensity of ancient Greek and Roman writers to generalize about ethnic groups and this local emphasis of Umbrians themselves, we should probably think about Umbrian history more in terms of the actions of individual communities than as a whole ethnic group behaving as a great unit. This sort of picture can be dimly discerned through the Livian narrative of the Roman conquest, which records some Umbrian peoples fighting and co-operating with other communities belonging to their own and different ethnic groups. Livy claims that the individual peoples of the Umbrians came together to resist Roman invasions, an organization in which the sanctuary at the Villa Fidelia outside Hispellum may have played a role. However, he is almost certainly generalizing about the ethnic group as a whole, and also shows that the 'conquest' was clearly achieved by relationships of diplomacy and friendship with some Umbrian peoples, such as the Camertes, who cannot have been part of a unified ethnic alliance. In addition, Livy also saw Umbrian unity as fairly fragile, and the Romans were able to isolate and capture individual communities such as Nequinum.

The appearance of these local community names may be largely conditioned by the availability of a medium to express them, provided by Umbrian epigraphy from the fourth century.¹³ Nevertheless it is striking that this period is also the time in which the significant developments in communal activity outlined above took place. The deposition of ritual material in sanctuaries throughout the region greatly increases in the fifth century: ways in which this religious activity might encourage group identity on a local scale have been suggested above. The

¹³ There is no obvious case in which expressing a community's name provides the *raison d'être* for an inscription, which would allow us to attribute the inscription to this (new) motive.

setting up of monumental religious buildings in settlement sites from the fourth century and the fortification of some of these centres provide further evidence for co-operation within communities (as well as increased contacts with the urbanized Etrusco-Faliscan region). It does not therefore seem implausible to link the expression of particular identities from the fourth century with the political and economic development of Umbrian communities.

4. Political organization

A careful examination of all the types of evidence available allows us to document the political and institutional dimension to the changes evident in the cemeteries and settlements of pre-conquest Umbria. It is clear that already by the early third century a substantial level of political organization had developed in many Umbrian communities. This can be surmised at least for Iguvium and Tuder from the coinage issued by their central authorities during the First Punic War, which was given the ethnic of the community as a guarantee of its validity.¹⁴ This coinage was probably not produced to facilitate exchange and commerce, but to provide a medium in which the wealth of the state (a word that seems justified here) could be stored, collected, or, as is probably most important in the Umbrian case, paid out to troops serving in their contingents in the Roman army. The various series of these coins were based on weight standards fixed by the authority that oversaw their production. Both Iguvium and Tuder used a standard borrowed from Etruria of around 200 g; the latter also used a Roman standard during the Second Punic War, a sign of the Roman domination of coinage production by this period. Other standards for time and space were probably also of early origin, although quite how they were decided upon is unknown.

In addition, the individual autonomy of Camerinum, Iguvium, and perhaps also Ocriculum, Ameria, and Tuder, is presupposed by the bilateral treaties each signed with Rome.

¹⁴ The lead coinage that could pertain to Ameria (see Monacchi, 'Grotta Bella'), if not a modern forgery, is unlikely to have been an official issue: lead was not durable enough for regular use as coinage (although a votive function is possible).

The terms of these treaties must have required each Umbrian community to assess the number of troops they were able to contribute to the Roman army, and to levy the forces required by the Romans. All those centres that were not colonized or incorporated into the Roman state were probably granted treaties with Rome during or soon after the Roman conquest of the region, which seems to have ended in 266 BC. Although we lack any specific proof, the existence of treaties with Camerinum and Iguvium make it highly likely that other Umbrian communities also had individual alliances with Rome. These treaties were presumably contracted with the representatives of Umbrian communities, which we know from evidence in the second century BC might include a combination of **uhtur**, *marones*, and, attested at Iguvium and Mevania, quaestors. The quaestorship was presumably borrowed from Rome after the conquest, although this must have happened by the late third or early second century (for it to be included in the Iguvine Tables).¹⁵ In the light of this, the borrowing of the Etruscan *maronate* rather than a Roman magistracy surely took place at an earlier period: it is unlikely to postdate the conquest by much, and could well be a fourth-century development.¹⁶ The origin of the Umbrian **uhtur**, the supreme magistrate in the second century BC (and an office which does not seem to have been borrowed from neighbouring areas), is probably even earlier. Besides this evidence for the central authorities of individual Umbrian communities, we can also point to the technical terms for divisions of the state and the apparently larger category of the *nomen* in the Iguvine Tables; most are likely to be indigenous Umbrian terms, not borrowed from Rome, and so also probably predate the Roman domination that followed the conquest.

The contrast with the level of evidence in Picenum may help to put the Umbrian picture into perspective. Unlike Umbria,

¹⁵ To be connected with the Roman influence brought by the Via Flaminia in 220 BC, both here and at Mevania?

¹⁶ The *maro* is first attested at Volsinii: the diffusion of Volsinian bronzes in 4th-cent. Umbrian tombs and the use of an alphabet derived from this city at Tuder and Plestia shows the strength of Umbrian links with this centre in the century before the conquest. The *octovirate* at Plestia may be a Latinized local magistracy borrowed before the Roman conquest from Sabinum.

in Picenum there is an important body of epigraphy from before the Roman conquest, in what seem to be at least two different languages, conventionally called North Picene and South Picene (as well as various other names). In general, these texts are too obscure to give us much information on the societies that produced them. We can, however, identify at least one technical term on the South Picene examples of the fifth century from Penna Sant'Andrea: **tuta**, combined with what seems to be an ethnic to give **safinas tutas**. We can compare this with the Iguvine *tota-*, appearing in the form *totar iiovinar*, and other uses of a related term in Oscan texts.¹⁷ No other institutional term is recognized with any certainty in the pre-Roman corpus, although the term **púpúnium** has been seen as the ethnic designation of another more northerly group.¹⁸

Compared to the Umbrians, the impression given by the later literary accounts of the Roman conquest of Picenum is of a less differentiated ethnic group. In 299 BC Rome made a treaty with the Picene people (*cum Picenti populo*: Livy 10. 10. 12), apparently in contrast to the treaties with individual Umbrian centres.¹⁹ No other mention is made in the literary evidence for the conquest of any individual centres in the region. The Picentes are said to have warned Rome of a coming Samnite offensive in 298 BC (Livy 10. 11. 8); in 268 BC P. Sempronius and A. Claudius celebrated a triumph over them (*de Peicentibus*); soon after this defeat, according to the *Epitome* of book 15 of Livy, the Picentes were granted peace; the deportation of a small part of this people to the area south of Salernum recorded by Strabo (5. 4. 13) probably dates to the same time.²⁰

¹⁷ e.g. *toutai Maroucai* of Ve 218.

¹⁸ This occurs on four inscriptions from sites between Macerata and Teramo (S. Omero, Castignano, Mogliano, and Loro Piceno); see La Regina, 'Entita etniche', 130.

¹⁹ It is tempting to compare this with the contrast between the citing of a (?)widespread ethnic designation, **púpúnium**, (in the La Regina interpretation) on the region's epigraphy, and only that of divisions of a putative Umbrian ethnic group (Iguvium, Tuder, etc.) on Umbrian inscriptions; but this evidence dates from different eras.

²⁰ Only the territory of Asculum remained with allied status in Picenum after the Roman viritane settlement in the region; this treaty must have had the same implications for organizational structures as those in Umbria.

What is difficult to know is whether this apparent contrast with Umbria is the result of genuine institutional differences. Graeco-Roman writers are notoriously uninterested in the internal organization of Italian peoples, and were certainly capable of misunderstanding the ethnic identity of other groups in the peninsula.²¹ In addition, the crucial period in the conquest of Picenum seems to have been the early 260s, a period for which we lack the narrative of Livy. Nevertheless, two instances remain striking in this respect: the formation of the 299 BC treaty recorded in Livy, and the triumph listed in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*. In both, the Picentes are treated as a whole, while in comparable examples from Umbria it is individual communities, rather than the whole ethnic group, which are involved.²²

When the evidence of epigraphy again becomes available for Picenum, from the third century BC, and now in Latin, there are only minor detectable traces of the pre-Roman institutional structure. The octovirate, attested at Interamnia Praetuttiorum and Truentum, as well as at Plestia in Umbria, is usually seen as a non-Roman magistracy which was given its Latin title when a community was incorporated into the Roman state (always before the Social War).²³ A few other possible elements of earlier administrative structures have been identified by Humbert as surviving into the municipal epoch at a *vicus* level.²⁴ Other parts of the indigenous organization may have survived into the Roman period, but have remained undetectable after being Latinized.²⁵ It is dangerous to argue from silence, but there does seem to be a genuine contrast with Umbria once more: although the highest level of local administrative structures were not retained in areas subject to Latin colonization, such as at Firmum and Hadria,

²¹ There is much confusion among late Republican and imperial writers over the ethnic groups that occupied Apulia before the Roman conquest, for instance.

²² e.g. the individual treaties of Camerinum and Iguvium, and the triumphs celebrated in 299 BC over the Nequinates and in 266 BC over the Sassinates (for details, see Ch. 3).

²³ See Humbert, *Municipium*, 239–40, with bibliography.

²⁴ Three *magistri* of a *vicus* are found in the territory of *Interamnia Praetuttiorum* (*ILLRP* 152) and in that of Hadria, a Latin colony, there is an attestation of *treviri*, again of a *vicus* (*CIL* ix. 5048). See also the discussion of *pagi* and *vici* in Picenum below.

²⁵ Sherwin White, *Citizenship*, 66.

they often remained when an area was incorporated into the Roman state. The third- or second-century *marones* at Fulginiae, and perhaps the second-century *marones* at Helvillum near Tadinum, seem to be an example of this. The absence of any magistrates of a civic character in the Roman areas of Picenum therefore has some significance for the political organization of the area in the pre-conquest period.²⁶

One final comparison with the evidence for political organization in Umbria can be made, using coinage. In Picenum, coinage was produced (in the third century) only by centres with allied status, such as Ancona and perhaps Asculum, or those with Latin status, such as Hadria and Firmum.²⁷ Hadria and (if the attribution is correct) Asculum, like Ariminum to the north and the Vestini to the south, used a weight standard of 350–400 g and a decimal system of division. This standard seems to be specific to the Adriatic coast, and must stem from a non-Roman source; that it was used by some Latin colonies, but not Firmum, which used a Roman standard, suggests strong links between the colonists and the indigenous population, who at least at Ariminum seem to have been mixed within the city. The absence of coinage from a large proportion of Picene territory reflects its absorption into the Roman state and the dissolution of its autonomy. The political status of the Roman areas, as we shall see, also had an impact on the pattern of settlement in Picenum, which can be traced through archaeological evidence.

At the end of this section we can return to the apparent separation described in the first chapter between the archaeological evidence for Umbria, and the literary and epigraphic evidence. In some senses a strong contrast remains between the two pictures: the recent archaeological work in the region has not turned up any substantial new indications of sizeable urban settlements before the Roman conquest, or even of cemeteries with the richness of material visible in neighbouring Etruria and Picenum. The meagre amount of evidence dated between the Final Bronze Age and the Social War found in the survey of the Gubbio valley has not conflicted with a

²⁶ The magistrates of *pagi* or *vici*, at least in the Roman period, did not have judicial powers.

²⁷ Crawford, *Coinage and Money*, 9, 43–4.

negative picture of the small Umbrian centres. But I hope to have demonstrated that by adopting a positive approach we can produce a much more useful historical picture. Our examination of the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic material for Umbria has shown that a significant number of the small settlements documented by archaeology were politically organized communities at least by the time of the conquest, and that the few pieces of this puzzle we are lucky enough to have are likely to be representative of much of the rest. In fact the archaeological evidence, although suggestive of a less sophisticated economy than in neighbouring areas, does show an increase in social complexity from the seventh century, at first through cemeteries, and then through urbanization and the use of sanctuaries, that correlates with the picture of the other sources for political organization. One of the most interesting facets of the comparison of these sources is the conclusion that the urbanization of Umbrian communities is largely a secondary phenomenon in regard to the organization of states. This picture is supported by comparative work, for example on Samnium and on Greek *ethnē*. This is an important difference from Etruria and Latium where most city-states were already well developed by the time of the Roman conquest. As state organization was still very much an ongoing process when Umbrian communities came into collision with the Roman state, the impact of Roman influence was predictably greater. This helps to explain the substantial progress that Romanization made in Umbria before the Social War.

5. Roman imperialism, indigenous change, and local identity

In the period after the Roman conquest, the divergence between Umbria and Picenum can be documented in a different way to the approach adopted for the pre-conquest period: we have much better sources for the political organization of the area, in terms both of the overriding structure imposed by the Romans, and of local administrative arrangements. However, in some respects the archaeological record becomes poorer. In both the areas under review the evidence

of cemeteries in the third and second century is far more fragmentary than in the Iron Age, and it no longer seems possible to draw conclusions about the social structure of the groups using them.²⁸

Increasingly, the most interesting archaeological data comes from settlement sites. This brings serious methodological problems: the continuity of settlement on most of the major sites in Umbria has led to the widespread destruction and reuse of ancient material, and also hinders modern archaeological investigation. In the light of these conditions, the survival of even individual architectural terracottas dating to this period is significant. These terracottas were used to cover the upper structures of monumental buildings throughout central Italy from the seventh century to the first century BC and beyond. Although examples from other regions show that during the last three centuries of the first millennium such terracottas could be used on a variety of different types of building, I have argued that the evidence of Urvinum Hortense and Vettona suggests that most probably related to temples or smaller *sacella*. If this argument is correct, we can use this evidence to point to a steadily increasing amount of building on lowland settlement sites from the fourth to the first centuries BC, building that probably had a religious function for the whole community.²⁹

Archaeological information from the countryside shows that in some cases the deposition of votives at rural sanctuary sites declines as the 'urban' evidence increases. This seems to be particularly the case with those sanctuary sites close to settlement centres, where there is evidence of monumental building, such as Colle S. Rufino near Asisium, and M. Ansciano near Iguvium. At sanctuaries deeper in the countryside, such as Grotta Bella, between Tuder and Ameria, deposition continues in the third and second centuries. In addition, some of these rural sanctuaries are monumentalized in this period,

²⁸ Some evidence for the continuity of funerary ideology in Umbria comes from the large cemetery at Hispellum, which was used throughout the last few centuries of the Republic, and from the elaborate funerary beds found in graves from Iguvium, Arna (?), and Carsulae.

²⁹ I believe it is unlikely that the other terracottas primarily related to private dwellings.

the most outstanding example being M. Torre Maggiore. Nevertheless, if the pattern of deposition reflects frequentation of a site (not by any means a foregone conclusion), we could postulate a shift in the focus of religious activity away from some rural sanctuaries and towards nearby settlement sites in the third and second century BC.³⁰ Such a pattern must be a sign of an increasingly urban mentality amongst the Umbrian élite, and an important cultural difference from other Italic areas.

This explanation seems to fit the complexity of the evidential pattern better than the attribution of a straightforward decline in rural sites to Romanization, so common in recent literature. It is true that the deposition of the locally produced votive figurines of the archaic era ends by the time of the conquest, perhaps in the early fourth century, and that instead in the third and second century the material used is typically made up of Roman coins, black slip pottery, and terracotta models of, for example, heads and anatomical parts. Such material is certainly evidence of the importation and local production of items well-known from the material culture of Latium, Etruria, and Campania;³¹ but ironically the greatest evidence of the deposition of this material comes from sanctuaries in the countryside, such as Grotta Bella, rather than in towns.

The pattern of religious activity in all its archaeologically visible forms in Umbria during the third and second centuries BC shows an interesting contrast with the situation in other central Italian regions such as Samnium, and perhaps also Picenum (although the picture is less clear here). In Samnium, many 'rural' sanctuaries, such as Pietrabbondante, Vastogirardi, and Schiavi d'Abruzzo, are given a monumental dress in the third and second centuries. A similar wealth of building activity is evident in second-century sanctuary sites in Picenum such as Colle S. Giorgio and M. Rinaldo.³² Although it should probably not be assumed that these

³⁰ There are already some traces of votive deposition at settlement sites from the 5th cent. BC at Fulginiae, Tuder, Spolegium, and Ameria.

³¹ Black slip pottery imitating established forms was produced at a number of different Umbrian centres; a mould for terracotta votives has been found at Mevania.

³² L. Mercando, 'L'ellenismo nel Piceno', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 171–2; G. Iaculli, *Il tempio italico di Colle S. Giorgio (Castiglione Messer Raimondo)* (Castiglione Messer Raimondo, 1993).

sanctuaries were wholly isolated from all settlement, or that towns in these areas lacked religious buildings, there does seem to have been a general separation between the great rural sanctuaries and the settlements that became *municipia* after the Social War.³³ The contrast with Umbria is clear: here a considerable number of sanctuaries in towns, as well as some in the countryside, seem to have been monumentalized in the third to first centuries.³⁴ Umbrian rural sanctuaries seem to have been hit hard by the turmoil of the Social and Civil Wars of the first century BC, but two rural sites, at the Lacus Clitumnus, and on the peak of M. Torre Maggiore, still seem to have been well frequented in the first centuries BC and AD; their continuing use may be due to the establishment of close links with local *municipia*, Hispellum for the Lacus Clitumnus, and perhaps Carsulae or Interamna Nahars for M. Torre Maggiore.

Another important feature emerges from comparison with Picenum. Only certain zones of Picenum provide substantial evidence for urbanization in the third and second centuries BC. These include the colonies of Hadria, Firmum, and Auximum, created as new urban centres through Roman initiative. The two other centres that show signs of monumental building are Ancona and Asculum, both allied communities which were essentially allowed to govern themselves.³⁵ The political organization of both is also evident from their coinage.³⁶ The administration of the remainder of the territory was largely reliant on *pagi* and *vici* surviving from the period before the conquest, mention of which is prominent in the Latin epigraphy of the third and second century.³⁷ Justice was dispensed

³³ See Morel, 'Le Sanctuaire de Vastogirardi (Molise) et les influences hellénistiques en Italie centrale', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 261–2, on possible traces of settlement around the temple at Vastogirardi; cf. La Regina, *ibid.* 223, 247, on a 'sacellum' at Aufidena and the post-Social War use of Pietrabbondante; Dench, *Barbarians*, 136–40, on the functions performed by the major sanctuaries.

³⁴ Stoddart's unfavourable comparison between archaic Umbrian sanctuaries and monumental Hellenistic examples in Samnium (*Territory, Time and State*, 177) misses the point.

³⁵ Funerary evidence for Ancona: Mercado, 'L'ellenismo nel Piceno', 161–70; Hellenistic-type sanctuary at Asculum: *Guida Laterza*, 290.

³⁶ Although Asculum's is of uncertain attribution.

³⁷ See the *magistri* from the territory of Hadria (*ILLRP* 305) and at Cingulum in the 3rd or early 2nd cent. (*CIL* ix. 5679; Paci, 'Per la storia di Cingoli', *Studi Maceratesi* (1983), 75–110); see also those cited above in n. 24.

through a system of *praefecturae*, the seat of Roman *praefecti*, which represent the conventional arrangement for territories in which there had been Roman viritane settlement.³⁸ Urbanization here still seems to have been largely an Augustan phenomenon.³⁹ These two features of Roman Picenum may be linked: the lack of major administrative centres probably meant that the élite did not focus their building patronage on these places as they would in allied areas; instead, their resources were directed towards rural sanctuaries such as Monte Rinaldo.⁴⁰ The proliferation of small settlements, many with the status of *praefecturae*, meant that after the Social War few were immediately elevated to the rank of *municipia*. Caesar (*BC* 1. 1. 15) mentions the large number of *praefecturae* still here in his time, and records how Cingulum was constituted and given the appropriate civic infrastructure befitting its new status by Labienus (1. 15. 2). The upgrading of Cingulum was probably emblematic of other small centres in the region at this time, where this process created a similarly dense pattern of *municipia* to that seen in Augustan Umbria, but through a much more rapid and 'artificial' transformation.

Chapter 5 explored the extent to which the concept of 'Romanization' could be used to explain the changes occurring in Umbria in the third and second centuries, and while there is undoubtedly considerable evidence for Roman influence, the problems with this concept and its implications must also be recognized. Its historical usefulness as a term has much to do with the idea that it represents a change in identity and ways of thinking. Models explaining allied participation in the Social War have relied heavily on this reading of the concept, and authors like Harris and Brunt have assumed that the Romanization of local Italian cultures is a sign that old ethnic identities were replaced by a new identification with Rome. Language seems to provide the best evidence for the change in Umbria, although the language of epigraphy is

³⁸ There had been successive waves of colonization from the period of the conquest to the era of the Gracchi.

³⁹ C. Delplace, *La Romanisation du Picenum* (Rome, 1994), 32.

⁴⁰ For analogies with Samnium, see J. Patterson, 'Settlement, City and Elite in Samnium and Lycia', in *City and Country*, 151. The link between administrative status and urbanization in Picenum has been suggested by Gabba, 'Urbanizzazione', 101–2 and in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, i. 175.

unlikely to mirror directly that of everyday life. The evidence, in particular that from Asisium, suggests that an element of genuine choice was involved: magistrates here used both Umbrian and Latin before (and possibly just after) the Social War. The overlap of the magisterial personnel on an Umbrian border cippus and a Latin building inscription shows that the choice of language was a response to the context in which the texts were set up, and it was not governed simply by the language of the commissioners. Moreover, the growing use of Latin in certain contexts within allied Umbria does not correspond to any visible 'decline' in Umbrian epigraphy until the Social War.

Some literary sources concerning the period from the Gracchi to the Social War suggest that the forces which brought about cultural change, essentially Roman control over and intervention in the area, may also have led to a new element in the ethnic identity of the Italian allies, a sense of being part of Rome. This new sense may have contributed to the momentous opening of the Social War, but the evidence for this is very equivocal.⁴¹ What is clear is that we should not take cultural change as a sign of one identity *replacing* another. This is too simplistic an approach to the issue of identity, which is so complex and multi-faceted that it is unlikely to be directly reflected by culture as a whole. This can be deduced from a curious parallel to the growth of identification with Rome, which is that the image of the Umbrians and a sense of Umbrian community seem to become stronger as they are absorbed into the Roman orbit, at least until the Social War. The aftermath of the Social War saw colossal changes throughout Italy, and there were no longer any obvious military and political reasons for the Umbrians to act together as a group. But even if this does mark the end of Umbrian political history, collective activity persists in the religious sphere, and the concept of the ethnic group and its history continues to be important in the thought of the region's inhabitants. This is despite the disappearance of the last distinctive features of 'Umbrian culture', most notably the Umbrian language. What this requires us to do, it seems

⁴¹ Discussed by Mouritsen, *Italian Unification*.

to me, is to disentangle ethnic identity from culture and politics. Of course changes in culture and politics affect ethnicity, but this often happens in a subtle and long-term fashion rather than through a direct and immediate transformation. The region undergoes dramatic cultural and political changes between the conquest and the Augustan era, but a sense of ethnicity remains.

In fact, just as the nature of the new Roman identity of the inhabitants of Italy and the empire is complementary, rather than antithetical, to a sense of local communal identity, so too were there certain contexts in which a sense of wider ethnic identity might be useful. Rome does not usurp the role of local city-states, but provides a supra-state identity, in which local city bases remain of crucial importance: witness the attention lavished by emperors such as Septimius Severus on their home towns. It was surely the historical activity generated by Umbrian cities, perpetuating memories of their long history, which nurtured or at least preserved a sense of a wider ethnic allegiance. From a long-term perspective on the history of the region, what seems to be happening is not a shift from a primordial ethnic group to localized city identities, or from ethnic regional identity to Roman identity. Instead, we see a gradual complexification of identities as local societies are absorbed into the larger structure of the Roman Empire. The much more differentiated contexts that individuals could find themselves in led to a plurality of identities, each of which might suit a particular context. This is surely related to the processes of social differentiation and state organization, which created more sophisticated societies in Umbria in the first millennium BC.

As a result, the emphasis in current literature on Romanization as the dominant interpretative model, even for the changes in Umbria in the period from the conquest of the Social War, is misleading and generally unhelpful. First, it leads to an over-assessment of one influence (Roman) at the expense of others (particularly Etruscan). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it obscures the spectrum of changes that occurred in this region after the conquest and the wide variety of their causes, from the decline in rural sanctuaries and the urbanization of settlements to the increasing clarification of a

lasting ethnic identity. As we have seen, many of these developments are understandable only within the longer term context of Umbrian history: we must include internal dynamics as much as outside influences in our explanations. This is emblematic of my general intention in this work, which has been to stress the complexity of the historical processes in central Italy throughout the first millennium BC, a complexity which is poorly served by many previous approaches to the subject. I make no apologies for focusing on one region alone, and I hope that the conclusions reached demonstrate the validity of looking at Umbria in itself, rather than as a peripheral area outside 'more central' developments. I do not think it paradoxical to claim that it is through this focus that we can successfully address issues of relevance to all areas that were conquered by Rome, and test the widely accepted models that shape our view of the creation of the Roman Empire.

Appendix 1
Architectural terracottas and temple
podia in the Sixth Augustan Region
(Umbria) in the first millennium BC

The sites are arranged in chronological order.

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
MEVANIA (site 1): about 100 m north of the medieval centre, excavated site	fragmentary antefix and modest building remains (early 1980s)	VII c. <i>Mevania</i> , cat. no. 1.43	Impasto sima very similar to examples from Poggio Civitate (Siena).
MEVANIA (site 2): probable temple of rectangular plan discovered in Parco Silvestri outside Porta Foligno (no longer visible but plan in communal archive); terracottas excavated recently in this area.	building foundations (1884); 'several' fragments of architectural terracottas (early 1990s) including a revetment plaque of hard reddish clay with traces of polychrome.	Pietrangeli, <i>Mevania</i> (Rome, 1953), 92; IV c. (plaque) <i>Mevania</i> , cat. no. 2.378	Parco Silvestri plaque has similarities to many examples from central Tyrrhenian Italy.
Two fragments of architectural terracottas in Museo Civico of Bevagna of which exact provenance unknown.	Two museum terracottas including fragment of architectonic plaque of soft yellowish clay.	II c. <i>Mevania</i> , cat. no. 2.51, other noted p. 134 but unpublished	Later terracottas must relate to a different site or a restoration of the Parco Silvestri temple.

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
OCRICULUM (site 1): from Cisterna farm along road to Tiber (1 km outside the centre), probably a casual find.	revetment plaque	early VI c. G. Dareggi, <i>MEFRA</i> (1978), 627–35	Very similar but not identical (i.e. different mould) to examples from Veii, Rome, and Vignanello (near Civita Castellana).
OCRICULUM (site 2): church earlier dedicated to S. Fulgenzio near the Tiber.	fragment of architectural terracotta in full relief, perhaps from a pediment	II–I c. U. Ciotti in R. Abbondanza (ed.), <i>Umbria</i> (Milan, 1970), fig. 111; Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 203	Likely to pertain to a different site from VI c. terracotta.
IGUVIUM: Guastuglia district (around Roman theatre)	antefix	IV–III c. Unpublished, see Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 196 (information from Soprintendenza)	
ARNA: exact provenance and find circumstances uncertain	antefix	second half IV c. <i>NSc</i> (1887), 87; <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , 226	Design of Volsinian influence.

<p>TUDER (site 1): architectural terracotta dump(?) found in narrow trench dug near Porta Catena (probably just outside south-east corner of ancient city); other architectural terracottas found together with votive ceramic material under S. Maria in Camuccia church (probably southern edge of ancient town); proximity and some similarities between two deposits suggest from same original site.</p>	<p>c.160 fragments of architectural terracottas including antefixes, cornice, tiles, painted eaves-tiles, and figures in relief (1925)</p>	<p>second half IV c. Andr�en, <i>Terracottas</i>, 318–19; <i>Todi: Verso un museo</i>, 125, 138</p>	<p>May be of local production (a mould also found) from Volsinian prototypes, or imported.</p>
<p>TUDER (site 2?): material found in a tract of the ancient wall between Via San Lorenzo and Piazza Montarone (northern end of ancient city).</p>	<p>revetment plaques (1960s)</p>	<p>IV–III c. Fabbri-cotti, <i>Ritrovamenti archeologici</i></p>	<p>Fabbri-cotti hypothesizes presence of temple on site of S. Maria from votive material.</p>
<p>TUDER (site 2?): material found in a tract of the ancient wall between Via San Lorenzo and Piazza Montarone (northern end of ancient city).</p>	<p>at least 12 travertine column drums (80 cm in diameter), terracotta dump</p>	<p>II–I c.? (own estimate) Becatti, <i>Tuder Carsulae</i>, 14–15; <i>Guida Laterza</i>, 59; Tascio, <i>Todi</i>, 31–4, nos. 5–7; Fontaine, <i>Cit�es</i>, 212–13</p>	<p>Drums dated to III c. in <i>Guida Laterza</i>, 59, but this section was probably rebuilt in late imperial times (Tascio, Fontaine) and also contains several Latin inscriptions (<i>CIL</i> xi. 4668a–e): dating is therefore difficult.</p>

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
PERUSIA (site 1)	plaques, antefixes, fragments of full relief sculpture	IV–III c. <i>SE</i> (1966), 303; Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 196	(included for comparative purposes)
PERUSIA (site 2)	plaques, antefixes, fragments of column revetment	II–I c. Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 203	
ASISIUM (one or more sites)	2 terracotta antefixes	IV–III c. BC Strazzulla in <i>Les 'Bourgeoisies' Municipales</i> (1983), 153	Antefixes follow Volsinian and Perusine models. Style of head is similar to Volaterran production.
Found between S. Vitale and (ex) S. Lorenzo, at around 3 m depth, now in garden of ex-Berkeley Villa near Rocca.	pieces of local travertine and limestone architrave (with inscription, Po 7) and cornices with mouldings and dentils, probably pertaining to city gate or building (1938);	III–II c. BC <i>Guida Laterza</i> , 165	

<p>Exact provenance unknown, but now in private collection with other local material. Excavated in Via Arco dei Priori</p>	<p>head from a pediment</p>	<p>II c. BC see Strazzulla above</p>	<p>Fill thought to come from area of the 'Temple of Minerva' up the slope.</p>
<p>AMERIA (site 1): Pantanelli district, surface finds</p>	<p>piece of limestone with high relief architectonic decoration (1979–81)</p>	<p>(From fill of VI–I c. BC) Tomei in <i>Les 'Bourgeoisies' municipales</i> (1983), 394 c. IV–II BC Matteini Chiari and Stopponi, <i>Museo Comunale di Amelia: Cultura materiale</i>, n. 523, 525, 527</p>	<p><i>Potnia theon</i> similar to examples from Vettona, Urvinum Hortense, Hispellum, and Spoletium.</p>
<p>AMERIA (site 2?): Deposito Spagnoli</p>	<p>central fragment of <i>potnia theon</i> terracotta</p>	<p>II c. BC Matteini Chiari and Stopponi, <i>Museo Comunale di Amelia: Cultura materiale</i>, n. 524</p>	<p>According to Ciotti this is the probable provenance of an Umbrian inscription (Ve 229).</p>
<p>AMERIA (site 3): S. Maria in Canule; sanctuary remains built into an ex-monastery, now a farm.</p>	<p>?temple podium in polygonal masonry with three cellae</p>	<p>III–II c. (my own estimate: its construction is very similar to second phase of the colonial walls of Spoletium); Ciotti, <i>Arch. Class.</i> (1991) with no attempt to date</p>	

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
INTERAMNA NAHARS: Monte Torre Maggiore	foundations of two temples in local stone; scattered architectural features in travertine	III–II c. BC (temple A) late Republican (temple B) Bonomi Ponzi, ‘Monte Torre Maggiore’, 25–8; ‘Territorio di Cesi’, 23–7	Restoration of temple A also late Republican.
SPOLETIUM (site 1): (re)discovered on the Rocca in 1980s by excavation in 19th-c. layers, and probably result of discovery and disposal of material at this time, referred to by Sordini, <i>NSc</i> (1898), 6–9; block found placed in window of Rocca	‘numerous’ architectural terracottas including fragments of antefixes, revetment plaques, statues in high relief from pedimental decoration, larger statues of ?cult function (1986–7); moulded block (1980s)	III–II c. (probably late III c.) De Angelis, <i>Spoleto Rocca: Primi risultati</i> , 20–2 III c. (probably relates to terracottas above; see that reference)	Block was probably part of temple podium (although of type also used in other monuments) and is stylistically very similar to benches in the Tomb of the Scipios of the early III c. Probably pertains to the Capitolium.
SPOLETIUM (site 2): excavated from earth against city wall in via Cecili	5 fragmentary terracottas (late 19th c.)	‘Hellenistic’, <i>NSc</i> (1903) 196; <i>Guida Laterza</i> , 100	

VETTONA: temple excavated in 19th c. near Colle di Vettona below the hilltown; exact site uncertain (*Guida Laterza*, 81). No surviving traces on this site. All fictile material now in communal collection.

URVINUM HORTENSE: antefixes excavated next to temple and also elsewhere on site; some now in Municipio di Cannara.

fragmentary fictile material including antefixes, head and scrolls sculpture 'presumably from a figurative capital' (*Guida Laterza*, 97), tile fragments, fragmentary pedimental statuettes c.200 fragments of architectural terracottas including revetment plaques podium built from large squared sandstone blocks with 3 cella plan; 34 architectural terracottas (1932 and 1938), including plaques, cornices, antefixes, and a piece of high-relief sculpture

figurative capital III–II c. *Guida Laterza*, 97

I c. *NSc* (1884), 143–5; Andr n, *Terracottas*, 265–6; Strazzulla in *Societ  romana*, 203 2 from second half III c., most late III–II c. Strazzulla in *Societ  romana*, 203; Manconi, *BSCF* (1985), 356; Matteini Chiari, *Raccolta di Cannara*, 64 ff.;

In total Vettona has largest number of architectural terracottas found in Regio VI.

Later material presumably from restoration of older temple. All material made using moulds; stylistically very close to Iguvium, Vettona, Hispellum, Tuder, Magione (mould sometimes equivalent). A III–II c. bronze votive (crowned offerant) was found inside a cella of the temple.

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
FULGINIAE (site 1): material found about 6 km east of Foligno between Pale and Ponte S. Lucia; surface finds during agricultural work (winter 1998–9)	Campana plaques architectural terracottas	second half I c. see above for reference <i>c.</i> III c. M. R. Picuti, in <i>Fulginates e Plestini</i> (Foligno, 1999), 35	Campana plaques not certainly from temple. Probably relate to a temple, either here or fallen from the sanctuary site on Monte di Pale above (from where other architectural remains have recently been excavated).
FULGINIAE (site 2): Monte di Pale; excavated 1989–90	remains of a small rectangular cult building, with painted plaster and architectural terracottas	'Republican era' Bonomi Ponzì, in <i>Fulginates e Plestini</i> (Foligno, 1999), 35	
FULGINIAE (site 3): Cancelli district	antefix with female head	II–I c. Unpublished, see Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 203	

<p>SENTINUM (Civitalba): all terracottas found casually; most important discoveries in late 19th c., continuing to 1975.</p>	<p>fragments of pedimental sculpture in almost full relief showing a mythological theme, part of a frieze with high-relief figures representing the sack of a temple by Gauls, plaques and antefixes (1896–1975)</p>	<p>early II c. E. Brizio, <i>NSc</i> (1897), 283–304; <i>I Galli e Italia</i> (Rome, 1978), 196–7; Landolfi, ‘Frontone e fregio’, 9–13</p>	<p>Site of a settlement that might be identified with the Republican Sentinum, sacked in 41 BC and rebuilt 6 km to south-west. No traces of temple yet found; of small dimensions in most reconstructions. Commonly thought related to Roman programme to celebrate victories at Sentinum, Telamon, and Arretium. Clear stylistic influence of Hellenistic monuments of Asia Minor.</p>
<p>PLESTIA: surface collection</p>	<p>5 fragments of architectural terracottas</p>	<p>III–I c. (?) <i>Fulginates e Plestini: Popolazioni antiche nel territorio di Foligno</i> (Foligno, 1999), 17</p>	
<p>ASISIUM, S. Maria degli Angeli</p>	<p>plaques, antefixes</p>	<p>II–I c. <i>BDSPU</i> (1933), 127; Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i>, 203</p>	
<p>AESIS</p>	<p>architectural terracottas, including fragments of full-relief sculpture, plaques, antefixes</p>	<p>II–I c. Unpublished, see Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i>, 203</p>	

Place (including circumstances of discovery when known)	Nature of evidence and date of discovery (if excavated)	Date BC (always on stylistic grounds) and reference	Comments (e.g. origin of objects, parallels, etc.)
HISPELLUM: extra-mural sanctuary 1 km north-west at villa Costanzi/Fidelia.	architectural terracottas, including fragment in full relief, plaques, moulds for antefixes with 'potnia thèron'	II–I c. Unpublished, see Strazzulla in <i>Società romana</i> , 203; Manconi, <i>BSCF</i> (1985), 356; Manconi <i>et al.</i> , in <i>Assisi e gli Umbri</i> , 381–92	Theatre–temple complex had several levels on terraces built out of cement and small blocks of local limestone (like city wall).
TREBIAE: now in civic museum.	architectural terracottas	II–I c. Unpublished, see Manconi, <i>BSCF</i> (1985), 356	
INTERAMNA NAHARS: dug up with reused frieze in city centre in late 19th c.	antefix?	Date unclear	Lanzi, <i>NSc</i> (1901), 176: terracotta fragment thought to be an antefix because of the fracture of a 'convex projection' on the posterior part.

Appendix 2

Umbrian inscriptions

The convention has been adopted of representing the Umbrian alphabet in bold type and the Latin alphabet in italics, with a Latin translation given where possible below. For abbreviations used see end. This does not include Etruscan inscriptions found in Umbria, such as those from Vettona (TLE 692*a* and *b*). For photos of all the inscriptions listed here see now Rocca, *Iscrizioni umbre minori*. I regard Po 12 as too problematic to be worth listing. Po 10 may be Latin rather than Umbrian, despite Poccetti's identification of Umbrian alphabetic features (using, I assume, the drawing in *NSc* (1900), 131): it reads left to right, unlike the Umbrian alphabet, and was seen by Bormann in 1907 (*CIL* xi. 7890), who read *Ma[t]rini [P]riscion[is]* (but see Rocca 26). No text has yet been published of the Umbrian inscription, reported to have been found in recent excavations on M. Torre Maggiore, that may mention another **uhtur** (see Bonomi Ponzi, 'Monte Torre Maggiore').

Abbreviations used:

- Co R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, i (Cambridge, 1897)
- L Latin
- Meiser G. Meiser, *Lautgeschichte der Umbrischen Sprache* (Innsbruck, 1986)
- Mev* A. E. Feruglio, L. Bonomi Ponzi, and D. Manconi, *Mevania: Da centro umbro a municipio romano* (Perugia, 1991)
- Pisani V. Pisani, *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953)
- Po P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter* (Pisa, 1979)
- Rocca G. Rocca, *Iscrizioni umbre minori* (Florence, 1996)
- U Umbrian
- Ve E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953)

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
IGUVIUM: found near the Roman theatre in 1444 according to an annotation of a 17th-c. manuscript.	bronze	Ve 239 (the Iguvine Tables).	U (similar to Cortona and Perugia) L	late III–mid II c. late II–early I c. (Devoto)	See Devoto, <i>Tabulae Iguvinae</i> ; Poultney, <i>Bronze Tables</i> ; Devoto, <i>Tavole di Gubbio</i> ; Prosdocimi, ‘L’umbro’.
AMERIA: discovery (19th c.) recorded as ‘near to the city’ in oldest documents; precise provenance suggested as S. Maria in Canale by Ciotti, <i>Archeologia classica</i> (1991).	bronze plate inscribed on both sides; both ends lost	Ve 229; Morandi, <i>SE</i> (1974), 358–61; Morandi, <i>Epigrafia Italica</i> , no. 21 (photo). Meiser R 24, R 25; Rocca 1.	U (Volsinian similar to Ve 230)	late IV–early III c. (Morandi 359)	A ř]uvi. řun. řr. . . . / . . .] herinties.is[t. . . . / tvřis. a. s. h [. . . . /] θυθiu. t. i. ven[. . . . /]ahatrunie.[B] e. řuvie. řunu. ř [. . . . /] herintie. istu[r. . . . / h]urtentius. t. . . . / etveřis. t. i. v[e

TUDER: statue found in 1835 buried in a travertine-lined 'grave' on Monte Santo, 500 m outside Tuder.

bronze statue (Mars of Todi)

Ve 230; Roncalli, *Il 'Marte' di Todi; Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, 64; Meiser R 13; Rocca 19.

U Volsinian

late V c.– early IV c. (Roncalli)

Reading adapted from Meiser. The actual meaning is very uncertain, although Morandi and others see the first line of each side as corresponding to 'Iovi donum dederunt/dedit', taking **řuvi(e)** to be related to Oscan **Diúvei** and Old Latin **Diovei*. Prosdocimi, *SE* (1974), 360, expresses caution. For Morandi this is a dedication performed by a family group called the 'Hortensii'.

aha I trutitis řunum řeř
Aha. Trutitius L. (f.) donum dedit
Reading from Meiser.
Rocca gives 'Ah. Trutitius Al. (f.) donum dedit' as an alternative.

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
TUDER: from Peschiera cemetery.	painted bowl: perhaps a potter's mark	Ve 231; Meiser R 3; Roncalli, 'Gli Umbri' 309; Rocca 20.	U	III c. (Roncalli)	vi sc amerens Vi. Amerinus Sc. (f.) Reading from Rocca, who notes that vi s camerens , the reading of Meiser, is equally possible. However, 'Amerinus' seems more likely in this context than 'Camerinus'.
TUDER: now in Pesaro museum.	on tiles serving as grave inscriptions, sealing grave niches	Ve 232; Rocca 18.	(a) U, (b)-(d) L	c.150-100?	(a) la ma tvplei (b) <i>ma puplece</i> (c) <i>ca puple-/ce ma fel</i> (d) <i>tupleia pu-/plece</i> La(rs) Dupleius Ma(rci?) (f.) Ma. Publicius C. Publicius Ma. fil(ius) Dupleia Publicii (uxor)

HELVILLUM: found at Aja della Croce in 1868.	bronze fixed onto a large piece of a terracotta rim	Ve 233; Co 354; <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest,</i> 6.4 (photo); Rocca 13.	L	c.150–100	<i>cubrar. matrer. bio. eso oseto. cisterno. n. CLV su. maronato IIII u. l. uarie. t. c. fu lonie</i> Bonae Matris fontana haec. Facta cisterna n(ummis) CLVIII sub maronatu V(ibi) Varii L(uci f.), T(iti) Fullonii G(ai f.)
FULGINIAE: found at S. Pietro di Flamignano.	stone, broken on right	Ve 234; <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Budapest,</i> 6.3 (photo); Rocca 14.	L (cursive script)	c.250–150 (cursive script makes dating very difficult)	<i>bia : opset marone t.foltonio se.ptnrnio</i> Fontanam fecerunt marone(s) T. Foltonius, Se(xtus?) P(e)tr(o)nius.
FULGINIAE	block of limestone	Ve 235; Co 354 bis; Rocca 12.	L	c.150–100	<i>supunne sacr</i> Supundae sacrum Harris, <i>Etruria and Umbria</i> , 185 n. 1, thinks the language is uncertain. This translation suggested by Rocca.

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
ASISIUM: Ospedalicchio Bastia.	stone	Ve 236; <i>CIL</i> xi. 5389; Rocca 2.	L	c.100–80	<i>ager. emps. et termnas. oht (retie) c.u.uistinie. ner. t. babr (ie) maronatei uois. ner. ppropartie t. u. uoisiener sacre. stahu</i> Coarelli, ‘Assisi repubblicana’, 14–15: Ager emptus et terminatus <i>oht (retie)*</i> C(ai) Vestinii V(..filii), Ner(..) Babrii T(iti filii), in maronatu Vois(..) Propartii Ner(..filii), T(iti) Voisieni V(..filii). Sacro sto. * probably meaning ‘in the uhtur -ship of’

ASISIUM: Museo Civico.	stone	Ve 237; <i>CIL</i> xi. 5431a; Rocca 3.	L	<i>Toce</i> / <i>stahu</i> publice sto
TUDER and IGVIVUM	bronze coins	Ve 238; Crawford, <i>Coinage and Money</i> , 43, 46, 48; Rocca, pp. 123–8.	U	mostly <i>c.</i> 275–250, with some issues of Tuder from 218–202 (Crawford).
STAFFOLO (5 km east of Cupramontana), now lost.	bronze statuette of Colonna’s ‘Bertona’ group	Ve 240; Radke, <i>RE</i> suppl. ix, coll. 1751–2; Colonna, <i>Bronzi</i> <i>votivi</i> , n. 13; Marinetti, <i>Iscrizioni</i> <i>sudpicene</i> , 257; Rocca 24.	U (similarities with Cortona and Iguvine Tables)	statuettes of this type dated generically by Colonna to <i>c.</i> 500–375
				<p>(a) tutere with variants tuter, tut, tu (b) ikuvins (a) is an ablative singular substantive and (b) a nominative singular masculine adjective according to Ernout, <i>Dialecte ombrien</i>, 50 caispaizvariens / iuvezalseture Gaius (?) Paetus Varienus Iovi - - Marinetti notes that the alphabet is not South Picene, and is similar to that of the Iguvine Tables; the language may be Umbrian. Vetter thought that the alphabet was derived directly from Etruria (and not via Umbria), although he thought it similar to the Umbrian alphabet; he thought the language Umbrian.</p>

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
FELSINA: found under a Bolognese house in 1881.	written on Gallic helmut	Po 1; <i>NSc</i> (1885), 214; Heurgon and Peyre, <i>REL</i> (1972), 6–8; Prosdocimi, <i>SE</i> (1976), 267 (photo); Rocca 10.	U	c.350–280 (Heurgon)	b]eh:nuvkri.e/v Be() Nuceri(nus)
PLESTIA: from excavation of sanctuary in the early 1960s; now in Perugia.	4 bronze plates	Po 2; <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , 6.3–6; Rocca 11.	U (south Etruscan)	IV c. (<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i>)	(a) cupras matres pletinas sacr[u . . . (b) [cupr]as matres p[letinas . . . (c) cup[ras . . . (d)]as matres pletinas sacru esu Cuprae Matris Ple(s)tinae sacrum sum cf. the dedication to Cupra in Ve 233

MEVANIA: now in civic collection, Iguvium.	cover of sarcophagus or large urn in fine grain sandstone, 1.2 m long	Po 3; <i>Mev</i> ii. 120 and ii. 52 (photo); Rocca 8.	U (Perusine)	III–II c. (Rocca)	pe.pe.ufeñier.uhtur Pe. Aufidius Pe (f.) uhtur Same gentile as Po 4.
MEVANIA: dug up by ploughing in 1969.	stone sundial	Po 4; <i>Mev</i> ii. 119 (photos); Rocca 9.	U (Perusine)	end II c.– start I c.	[-]p. nurtins. ia. t. ufeñie[r] cvestur. farariur [.] Nortinus P. (f.), Ia. Aufidius T. (f.) quaestores farrarri
MEVANIA: found together with another at the Fabbrica district, now in S. Silvestro.	sandstone urn cover 0.45 m long	Po 5; <i>NSc</i> (1891), 314; <i>CIL</i> xi. 7939; <i>SE</i> (1930), 400; Meiser R 8; <i>Mev</i> ii. 53 (photo); Rocca 7.	U (Perusine)	II c.	vi a. kaltini Vi Caltini(us) A. (f.) Meiser's reading is perhaps preferable to Rocca's interpretation as 'Via Kaltini (uxor)', as it makes for a more conventional Umbrian onomastic formula.
MEVANIA: various localities	three cippi, one slab	Po 6; Rocca 6.	L	I c.	(a) <i>l. leno totco</i> (b) <i>leno totco</i> (c) <i>pleno totco</i> (d) <i>pleno totco</i> Rocca: ager publicus?

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
ASISIUM: found in 1938 between S. Vitale and (ex) S. Lorenzo, with other moulded blocks, at around 3 m depth, now in garden of ex-Berkeley villa.	stone architrave, 1.5 × 0.66 × 0.63 m; broken	Po 7; Whatmough, <i>HSCP</i> 50 (1939); Sensi, <i>SE</i> 47 (1979), 349–52, with illustrations; Rocca 4.	U (Perusine)	mid III c.– mid II c.	estac vera papa[. . . mestiça vipies e[. . . Istam portam Papi[. . . magistratu(?) Vibi E[. . .
HISPELLUM: embedded in entrance gate of Palazzo Preziosi.	local rose limestone	Po 8; Rocca 16.	U		Damaged with at least 2 letters missing. . . .]flam[. . .
Provenance probably Umbrian, mistakenly attributed to Hungary; now in Louvre.	bronze strainer	Po 9; <i>CIL</i> i ² . 2873; <i>ILLRP</i> 1206; Lejeune, <i>REL</i> (1952), 98–100; Harris, <i>Etruria and Umbria</i> , 186; Rocca 22.	L	II c. (Harris)	(a) <i>Numesier. Varea. Polenia</i> [or <i>Folenia</i>] (b) <i>Nomesi. Varia</i> Numesier in (a) is an Umbrian genitive ending (Lejeune); (b) is in Latin.

SPOLETIUM: found in small church of S. Vito outside centre.	fragment of small travertine column, height 0.43 m, diam. 0.20 m	Po 11; Sordini, <i>NSc</i> (1900), 140; <i>CIL</i> xi. 7905; Rocca 27.	U	...]. caiiis 'Dubious' according to Poccetti because only known from a manuscript source, but shows Umbrian alphabetic features.	
PERUSIA: from a tomb in the Fontone cemetery.	2 identically inscribed greaves	Meiser R28; <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , 6.2; Rocca 15.	U	IV c. (<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , 353)	tutas civitatis
TUDER	fragment of a black slip dish	Steinbauer, in <i>SE</i> 48 (1980), 425–6; Meiser R4; Rocca 21.	U?	II–I c. (Rocca, p. 119)	vibie
TIFERNUM TIBERINUM: dug up in a charcoal kiln in a wood near the city in 1899 (Haeberlin).	bronze currency bar with bull in relief	Rix, <i>SE</i> (1981), 351–3; Haeberlin, <i>Aes Grave</i> , 143–4, no. 2; Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , 41–2 n. 5; Salmon, <i>Roman Italy</i> , pl. 37 (photo); Rocca 23.	U	Type of ingot dated to 280–242 (Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , no. 5)	vukes sestines luci Sestini Could also be 'vici Sestini' according to Rix, but see Rocca. 'Sestines' must relate to Sestinum, c.30 km to north. Coleman gives 'of the forge at Sestinum' (in Crawford).

Provenance	Material	Reference	Alphabet (with derivation where known)	Date BC (based on letter forms except where noted)	Text (taken from first reference unless stated otherwise)
HISPELLUM: from Tomb 10 of the Portonaccio cemetery just to the south of the town centre.	on a small bronze flask perhaps of Chiusan origin	<i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> , no. 2.102; Rocca 17.	U	tomb dated to late III c./early II c.	num. tu The fourth letter is similar to the t used on the Mars of Todi (Ve 230). Rocca's reading is preferable to that in <i>Antichità dall'Umbria a Leningrado</i> .
TUDER: found at Montesanto in 1708 (cf. Ve 230). Now lost and only known from a manuscript.	bronze votive statuette of a warrior of Colonna's Todi group	Colonna, <i>Bronzi votivi</i> , 82 and tav. LVIII; Rocca 28.	U	Votives of this type generically dated to c.525–375 by Colonna	—]intuttere[—] The first four letters are difficult to discern, the last three difficult to interpret. Colonna notes that the inscription could, like other examples, have been faked. tuttere is extremely close (perhaps suspiciously so) to the tutere of the coin legends of Tuder (Ve 238).

FIORDIMONTE
(MACERATA):
from the
demolition of a
modern wall in a
'casa colonica'.

large
semi-
elliptical
piece of
limestone
(c.1 m
long)

Marinetti,
*Iscrizioni
sudpicene*, 257;
Cianfarani, *N.Sc*
(1936), 423–5
(photo); Vetter,
Glotta (1943), 81.

U?

[-]issoiorutiauronupum

Marinetti notes that the alphabet is not South Picene and may be Umbrian; similarly the linguistic attribution is uncertain, 'con propensione per l'umbro'. Cianfarani notes that the letters are increasingly crowded towards the right, suggesting that it was written left to right (unlike the Umbrian alphabet). He gives **issoiorvpidvronvpvs**. The actual reading, let alone the language, seems very unclear: there are only a few similarities with the Umbrian alphabet.

Appendix 3

Latin inscriptions dating to before the Social War

** marks probable pre-Social War date; all others are later in my opinion. i² and xi refer to volumes of *CIL*. Harris = W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971).

Ameria

**i². 2101 = xi. 4348 = *ILLRP* 183: now lost. Probably not much later than 150 according to Harris 186. The reading followed here is the more archaic ‘maxsumo’ of *CIL* xi rather than the ‘maxumo’ of i²; the archaic dative ‘Iove’, if not ‘Iove[i]’, would suggest an early date. *Iove* and *Iovei* occur in one of the Spoleatine cippi (i². 366). There may be a degree of conservatism in a borrowed religious formula.

*Iove| Optumo| Maxsumo| T. Pettius. T. f. T. n.| d(onum)
d(edit) l(ubens) m(erito)*

Ariminum

**A. Franchi De Bellis, ‘Il latino nell’ager *Gallicus*: I *pocula* riminesi’, in E. Campanile (ed.), *Caratteri e diffusione del latino in età arcaica* (Pisa, 1993), 35–63, nos. 1–22 (includes i². 2885–7, 2894–5, 2896a–f, 2897, 2899–2901, 2921, 2913–15, 3558b–c): various *pocula* with painted and graffiti legends.

**i². 2129a = xi. 400 = *ILLRP* 545

Duoviri are the colony’s magistrates before they were replaced by quattuorviri after the Social War according to Degrassi in *ILLRP*, but note that the earliest magistrates here were probably consuls (see i². 40 = xiv. 4269 = *ILLRP* 77 from Nemi).

*C. Obulcius C.f.| M. Octavius M.[f.]| duovir(i)| hoc opus
fac(iundum)| quaverunt*

**i². 2129b = xi. 401: same legend as above, now ruined.

Asisium

**¹₂. 2112 = xi. 5390 = *ILLRP* 550: large characters engraved onto a wall above a cistern now built into San Rufino. The letters B, P, and R have early forms, whereas C and S suggest a later date. 'Coiravere' is also usually early, though it survives Sulla. Six *marones* (three pairs?) are more likely to date before the constitution of the *municipium*; Ner. Babrius T. f. is *maro* here and more senior *uhtur* in Ve 236 (c.100–80 BC), which is therefore presumably later. Dated by Coarelli ('Assisi republicana', 11–13) to 'some decades' before 100, and not after the Social War, on the basis of onomastics, lettering, and the presence of six *marones*. A slightly later dating is advanced here on the basis of the more classical C and S forms. Overall date of c.110–90 BC.

Post. Mimesius C(ai) f(ilius) T(itus) Mimesius Sert. f(ilius), Ner. Capida C(ai) f(ilius) Ruf. | Ner. Babrius T(iti) f(ilius), C(aius) Capidas T(iti) f(ilius) C(ai) n(e)pos, V. Voisienus T(iti) f(ilius) marones | murum ab fornice ad circum et fornecem cisternamq(ue) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coiravere.

¹₂. 2118 = xi. 5457: funerary stele decorated with two dolphins, typical of the first century BC. Pre-Social War according to Harris 187 n. 1, because of spelling of 'coiugi carisumae', although 'the inscription has an illiterate appearance, and may be later'. In the second line, the A is written without a bar; a cursive form of e is used in lines 1, 2, and 5.

audiae| hygiae| Q. T. P. Pos.| coiugi| carisumae| et nomadi soro(ri)

Attidium

**¹₂. 2121 = xi. 5681: inscription on a cylindrical funerary cippus. Marengo, *Documentazione*, no. 1 dates it to the late II/early I c. BC because of the lack of tribe and the letter forms.

P. Calventius L. f.

Camerinum

**Marengo, *Documentazione*, no. 3: a graffito on a fragment of black slip pottery found in 1933 in a burial at S. Lorenzo al Fiume di Fiastra. Now lost. The nominative ending in -o,

if complete, suggests an early date: possible analogies noted by Marengo date to the third or early second century, e.g. i². 382 (Cupra Montana) and 383 (Firmum).

T. Petilio(s)

Hispellum

i². 2116 = xi. 5338: funerary cippus decorated with a rose. Dated to before the Social War by Harris 187 n. 1 because of the spelling of 'obeit'.

R]vf Serveiviv| S. Sex. f. Provin(cialis?)| obeit

i². 2117 = xi. 5359 = *ILLRP* 215: funerary cippus with a rounded top, now lost. Again dated to before the Social War by Harris 187 n. 1 because of the spelling, but this is also indecisive here.

deum maanium

i². 3386 = xi. 5358: Bormann in *CIL* xi says that it seems to be 'aetatis antiquae', but 'quoius' is used well after the Social War, e.g. in the *Tabula Heracleensis*.

. . .]quoius. desid[erio . . . | . . .] luget consu[. . .

Interamna Nahars

xi. 4208: from Colle d'Oro near Terni train station and next to the modern Via Flaminia. Bormann notes the 'litterae vetustae' shaped to receive bronze; 'maxumus' is an archaic spelling. Dated to the second century by Verzár, *Guida Laterza*, 299, who takes it to refer to work on the Via Flaminia, but could equally be I c. BC.

. . .]. maxumus| [viam sterne]ndam| [curavit]

**i². 428 = xi. 6691: Latin name on a dolium. From before the Social War according to Harris. On the basis of comparisons could be from 130s to 70s. M and A in ligature.

Q. Maeili

i². 2099 = *ILLRP* 615 = xi. 4221 and 4222:

[-] Valer[ius - -, - -]ius Sex. f. IIIIvir(i)| [l]acus, aqu[ae ductum?] fac(iendum) coer(averunt)

Mevania

**i². 2110 = xi. 5107 = *Mevania*, ii. 55 (photo): a travertine urn cover with reclining deceased, probably produced in Perugia.

The spelling of 'C. Laaro' suggests a pre-Social War date according to Harris 186; elements of the lettering are early (particularly the c and r).

C(aius).Laaro.V. f(ilius).T(iti).n(epos)

Mevania (and Ocriculum)

**1². 418–38; *ILLRP* 1222–7: black slip cups mostly found in Etruria. Marked with various names including 'Popilius', from which they are named. Dated by Morel, 'Céramiques', 486–8 to II and I c., with some before 150 BC. For example:

C. Popili(us) Mevania (ILLRP 1224 = xi. 6704.3)

(a) *Ocriclo C. Popili(us)* (b) *C. Popili(us) Ocriclo (ILLRP 1225 = xi. 6704.4)*

Narnia

**1². 427: on lip of dolium, using cursive E. Early nominative form.

Cn. Iunio(s) C. l. Poblleios

**1². 2097 = xi. 4125 = *ILLRP* 628: on a travertine altar from S. Pellegrino. Aediles were the magistrates of the colony before the Social War according to Degrassi in *CIL* 1², fasc. 4.

C. Ian[t]ius C. f. H(erius) Coden[- -].] aediles coiravere

Pisaurum

**1². 368–81 = *ILLRP* 13–26: found in a wood near Pesaro in 1781. Archaic cippi with dedications to deities. Lettering and spelling suggest III or early II c. BC; dated to just after 184 (foundation of colony) by Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften*, 432–7. For example:

Cesula | Atilia | donu(m) | da(t) Diane (i². 375 = *ILLRP* 21)

Feronia | Sta(tios) Tetio(s) | dede (i². 377 = *ILLRP* 22)

Sentinum

**Marengo, *Documentazione*, no. 2 = L. Brecciaroli Taborelli, *Sentinum: La città, il museo* (Ancona, 1978), 41–2: a graffito on a black slip pot of the II–I c. BC. Found at Civitalba, now in Sentinum museum. Marengo assumes that Civitalba was not inhabited after c.90 BC, but this is questionable (for recent work on Civitalba see M. Landolfi, 'Il frontone e il fregio di

Civitalba', in *Problemi archeologici dell'area esino-sentina*. Congress: Arcevia, 1990 = *Le Marche: Archeologia Storia Territorio*, 3 (1990), 9–13; N. Vullo, 'Il problema di Civitalba', *Le Marche* (1991–3), 55–66). She also argues more plausibly that the abbreviation 'Aul-' is early.

Aul(us) Ma[- - -].

Spoletium

**i². 366 = xi. 4766 = *ILLRP* 505: the 'Lex Sacra' found in the wall of S. Quirico, near Montefalco, in the 1870s. Vine, *Studies*, 289, dates this inscription to c.185–150 BC on palaeographic grounds. i². 2872 is a duplicate with only small differences.

Side A

honce. loucom | nequis. violatod | neque . exvehito. neque | exfero. quod. louci | siet. neque. cedito| nesei. quo. die. res. deina| anua. fiet. eod. die | quod. rei dinai. cau[s]a | [f]iat sine. dolo. cedre | [l]icetod. seiquis

Side B

violasit. Iove. bovid | piaculum. datod | seiquis. scies | violasit. dolo. malo | Iovei. bovid. piaculum | datum. et. a(sses). CCC | moltai. suntod | eius. piaculi | moltaique. dicator[ei] | exactio. est[od].

**i². 429: a mark on a 'vas cretaceum' of dark colour. The p is very open.

L. Op.

**i². 3376 = xi. 4822 = *ILLRP* 669: Republican lettering according to Degrassi. The 'pr(aetor)' was probably the pre-Social War magistrate of the Latin colony.

. . .]ucius St. f. pr(aetor)[. . . | . . .] agerque salvo [. . .]

i². 2104 = xi. 4988 = *ILLRP* 1273: an inscription on the stone base of a *thesaurus*, now in S. Pietro in Valle near Ferentillo. Letters of the mid-first century BC. 'Tesaurum' is an early spelling.

P. Crastinus. P. f. Paulus. | C. Tittienus. Q. f. Macer |tesaurum. f. c.

Trebiae

**G. Proserpi Valenti, in *Epigraphica*, 46 (1984), 207–10; L. Sensi, in *Epigrafia*. *ColLEFR* 143 (Rome, 1991), 409–11. Found near the abbazia di Bovara. Dates to last decades of III

c. on the basis of its archaic letter forms, and the presence of both Umbrian and Latin linguistic characteristics (Sensi).

----- | [- - -] *Atiete en* | [-] *laga dedre*

Tuder

**i². 2103 = *ILLRP* 687 = Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises, ii/1 (M. Lejeune, *Textes gallo-étrusques; textes gallo-latins sur pierre*) (1988), 42 ff. *E-5: a funerary epitaph in Gallic and Latin repeated on two sides of the stone. A north Etruscan alphabet (of Lugano) was used for the Gallic text. Buranelli in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, no. 3.4, dates it to the second half of the II c. BC (De Simone in *I Galli e Italia*, no. 607).

Side A

[*Ategnati*] | [*Druti* - - -]um | [*C*]oisis *Druti f(i)lius* | [*f*]rater eius | *minimus locav[.]e*[- - -] | [*sta*] tuitque | [*At*]teknati *Trutikni* | [*kar*]nitu lokan *Ko* | [*isi*]s | [*Tr*]utiknos

Side B

[*Ategnatei*] | [*Drutei f(i)li*]- - -] | [*Coi*]sis | *Drutei f(i)lius* frater | eius | *minimus locav-* | *it et statuit* | *Ateknati Trut-* | *ikni karnitu* | *artuaš Koisis T-* | *rutiknos* /

Tuficum

Marengo, *Documentazione*, no. 4: a limestone funerary cippus. Dated to the 'età della acculturazione romana del territorio', based on the unfamiliarity with epigraphy shown by the poor-quality technique (of questionable significance), the archaic appearance of the letters (certainly true of the A), and the lack of a cognomen (also unreliable). (See also Susini, *Epigrafica*, 41 (1979), 151-3, with photo, *AEP* (1982), 257.)

T. Statorius.

Urvinum Hortense

i². 3379: spelling gives little indication, but dated to mid I c. BC by Sensi, *Raccolta di Cannara*, 85. Aedileship and praetorship may be the highest offices before the creation of a quatuorviral constitution here according to Sensi.

T. Veriasius. T. f. Sert(or)is n. aid(ilis) p[raetor - - -?]

ix. 5183: Latin inscription of slave. Dated to end II c. by Sensi, *Raccolta di Cannara*, no. 45, but with little justification; poor quality of engraving makes chronological precision difficult (autopsy).

Priamus Mar(ci)| serv(u)s magiste[r]| navium

Unknown

**i². 2873 = *ILLRP* 1206 = Po 9: names in Umbrian (*a*) and Latin (*b*) on a bronze strainer. See Appendix 2 for further details.

(*a*) *Numesier. Varea. Polenia* [or *Folenia*]

(*b*) *Nomesi. Varia*

Appendix 4

Firmly attested treaties formed by Rome during the conquest of Italy, 338–264 BC

See E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London, 1982), 66, for a list of allies for whom there is *some* evidence.

State with whom treaty formed	Date treaty formed (BC)	Reference
Gauls	334	Polybius 2. 18
Neapolis (equal)	326	Livy 8. 26. 6
Lucani and Apuli (<i>societas</i>)	326	Livy 8. 27. 2
Apulian Teates	317	Livy 9. 20. 7–8
Camerinum (equal)*	310	Livy 9. 36. 8; Cic., <i>pro Balbo</i> 46
Carthage	307	Livy 9. 43. 26
Sora, Arpinum, Cesennia (described as allied)	305	Diod. 20. 90. 4
Samnites	304	Livy 9. 45. 4; cf. Diod. 20. 101. 5
Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, and Frentani	304	Livy 9.45.18; Diod. 20. 101. 5
Vestini	302	Livy 10. 3. 1
Marsi (renewal)	302	Livy 10. 3. 5
Picentes	298	Livy 10. 10. 12
Lucani	298	Livy 10. 11. 11–12. 2
Iguvium*	?295–266	Cic., <i>pro Balbo</i> 47
Samnites (renewal)	?290	Livy, <i>Epitome</i> 11
Boii	284	Polybius 2. 20
Heraclea (equal)	278	Cic., <i>Arch.</i> 6 Cic., <i>pro Balbo</i> 50
Carthage	278	Livy, <i>Epitome</i> , 13
Tarquinius	?	N ^S c (1948), 267

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