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Colonial landscapes : demography, settlement organization and impact of colonies founded by Rome (4th-2nd centuries BC)

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Chapter 4.

SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION

1. Introduction

‘After defining the town plan and centuriating a sufficient amount of land, the founders of colonies assigned house sites and fields to individual colonists through the process of sortition (sortitio), the casting of lots. {...} When sortition was completed, the officials led each colonist to his own portion, where they assigned him his fines, a transfer probably accompanied by some ceremony.’⁴⁶⁹

Although the sources do not state so explicitly, it is generally believed that most of the colonists developed their farms on their own allotments, which created dense, more or less evenly settled landscapes. However, as stated in Chapter 2, archaeological field surveys have not detected these regularly settled colonial landscapes. Generally, this absence is explained as the result of the inability of large-scale field surveys to detect the fragile traces of early colonial rural settlements. Indeed, new methodological studies have demonstrated that traditional surveys do often miss a considerable percentage of the smaller sites in a territory. These insights might suggest that colonial landscapes do in fact comply with the regularly settled peasant landscape model and that the results of the earlier site orientated surveys are sadly deficient and best discarded. Caution is advisable as this conclusion too easily accepts the regularly scattered model as fact. In the previous chapter, I have argued that it is by no means certain that regularly divided landscapes existed in the period before the Punic Wars. This conclusion also demands a reconsideration of expectations concerning the organization of settlements in colonial territories and indicates that other settlement patterns cannot be dismissed out of hand by assuming that they are the result of methodological problems.

This chapter is an analysis of the archaeological record of patterns of settlement and presents the different types of settlement arrangement which have been recorded in a synthesized form.⁴⁷⁰ The most interesting point is that the most field surveys seem to suggest that most colonial landscapes were not settled in a regular fashion as the conventional model dictates, but that settlement was concentrated in specific areas of the landscape. Such an arrangement shows a resemblance to more contemporary settlement systems in the central Apennines (cf. Figs. 18 and 19) and also finds some fragile support in the epigraphic sources.

⁴⁶⁹ Gargola 1995, 95-98.

⁴⁷⁰ For the classification of the different settlement landscapes into four settlement patterns I used an inductive strategy. However, with the exception of pattern 2, the categories correspond to common settlement typologies made in geographic studies (cf. Bunce 1982, 80-99). My pattern 1 corresponds roughly to his category of ‘village settlement’; pattern 2 to ‘linear pattern’ (sometimes also called ribbon settlement), and pattern 4 to ‘grid pattern’.

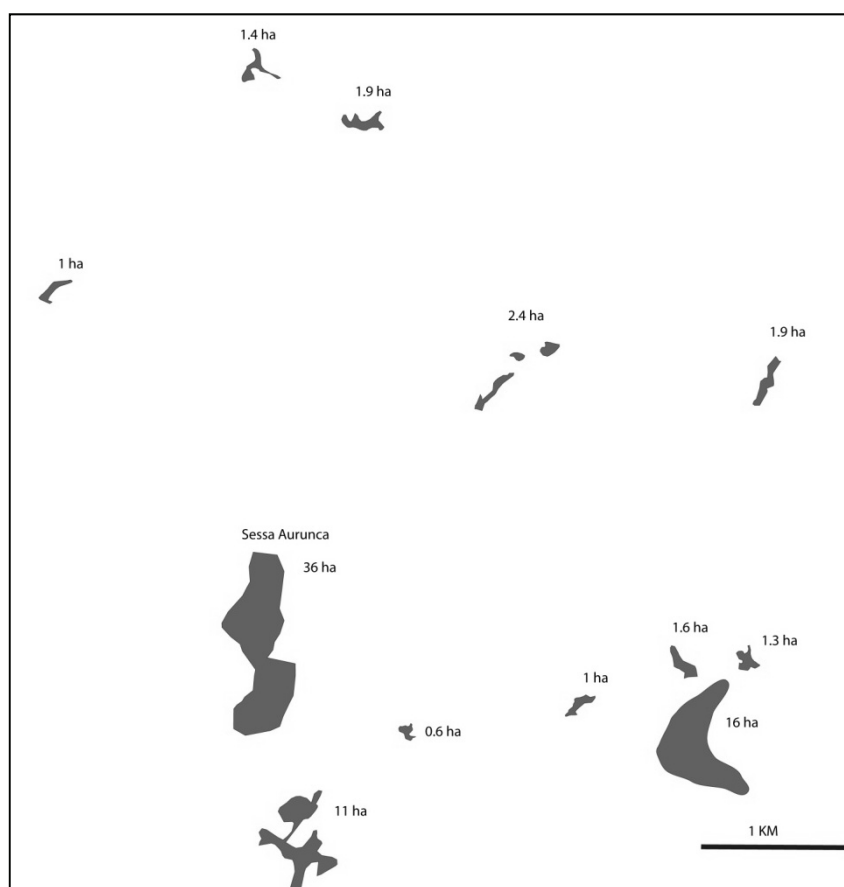


Fig. 18: Modern nucleated settlements in the territory of the modern town Sessa Aurunca (ancient Suessa Aurunca).

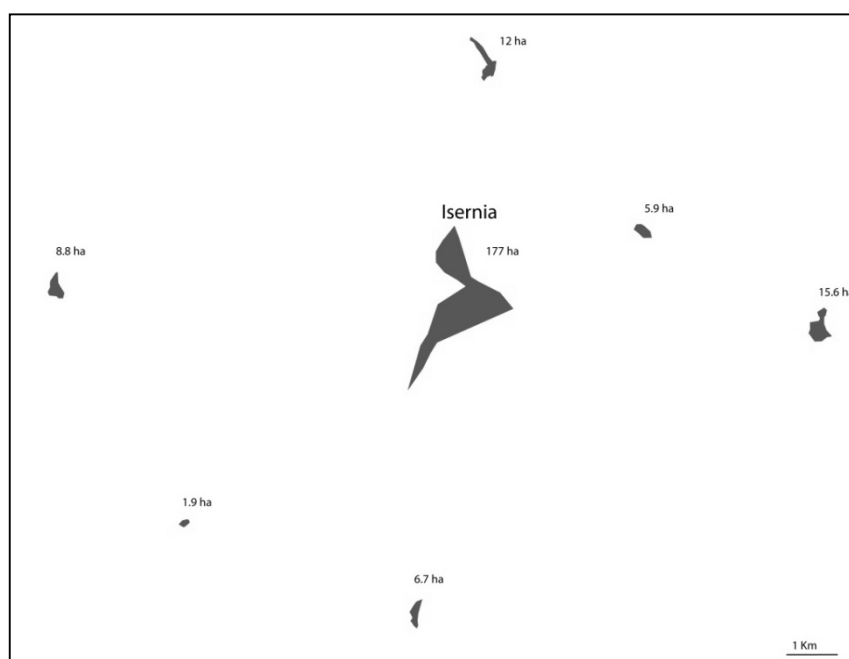


Fig. 19: Modern nucleated settlements in the territory of the modern town Isernia (ancient Aesernia).

2. Clustered or nucleated settlement patterns

A quick glance at the various field-survey maps of early colonial landscapes immediately reveals that, in a number of cases, recorded sites are dispersed unevenly over the territory investigated. Sites are often clustered together in restricted parts of the landscape, leaving large tracts of arable land unoccupied. This sort of arrangement recurs with great regularity in the territories of Latin colonies founded in the late fourth/ early third century.

For example, in the territory of Interamna Lirenas (see Fig. 20), two clusters of third-century sites have been identified: one in the immediate vicinity of the colonial town centre; the other in the Gari River area near the modern town of Sant'Angelo in Theodice. Between them lies an area extending for 5 km. in which no sites from this period have been found.⁴⁷¹ In the Ager Cosanus, a similar pattern can be discerned: a large cluster of third-century sites is located in a restricted part of the Valle d'Oro in an area between località le Tombe, Poggio Sette Finestre and Monte Alzato on the west bank of the Torrente Melone (see Fig. 21); other concentrations are found in the Valle Lunga and the area closer to the coast, between the Fiume Chiarone and the Fosso del Tafone.⁴⁷² In the Ager Calenus, only a limited area has been surveyed. So far, two sample areas have been explored: one to the north of the ancient town, in which a substantial number of third-century sites have been identified; the other around Sparanise, where almost no sites from this period could be identified (see Fig. 13).⁴⁷³ The striking difference between both sample areas suggests that a clustered pattern was also characteristic of this area. In the territory of Fregellae, concentrations of sites have been identified to the north of the modern town of Ceprano⁴⁷⁴ and in the Monticelli del Carmine area,⁴⁷⁵ whereas large empty areas are recorded between the town of Fregellae and the Melfa River.

This unexpected clustered pattern can be explained in two ways: either the recorded patterns are genuine or they are the result of specific taphonomic processes which have erased all or most traces of colonial habitations in particular areas. This last option is difficult to disprove without doing actual geo-archaeological research in the particular regions. However, the fact that the deviant pattern is attested to in different colonial landscapes spread out over most of Italy counts against the hypothesis that the unexpected arrangement of sites is only the result of geomorphologic processes. This impression is supported by the study of the geology, geomorphology and modern land use in the territory of Interamna Lirenas, which demonstrates that the recorded void between the two clusters of settlement “cannot be explained either by the soil types or by possible recent obliteration of sites”.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷¹ Hayes and Martini 1994, 188, fig. 43.

⁴⁷² Carandini, et al. 2002 fig. 40, and tav. 14.

⁴⁷³ Compatangelo 1985.

⁴⁷⁴ Coarelli and Monti 1998, 97, and tav. XXXVIII.

⁴⁷⁵ Hayes and Martini 1994, 181-2 and fig. 27.

⁴⁷⁶ Hayes and Martini 1994, 71 and Ch. 3 for the results of the geological and geomorphologic research.

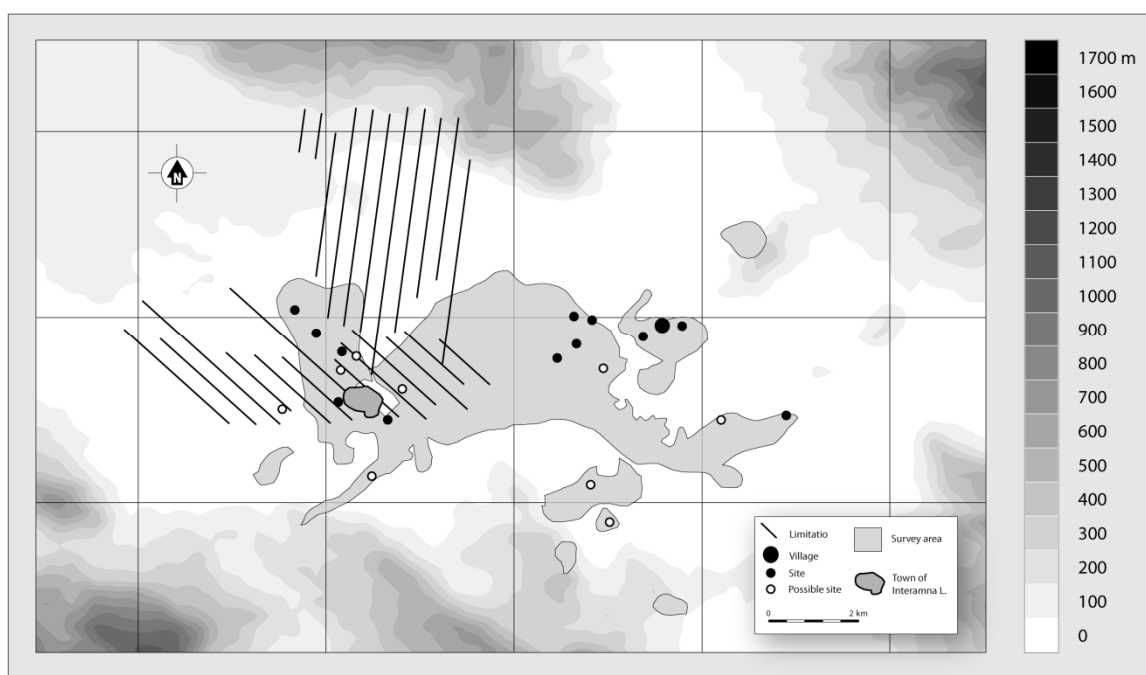


Fig. 20: The territory of Interamna Lirenas with sites dating to the 3rd century.

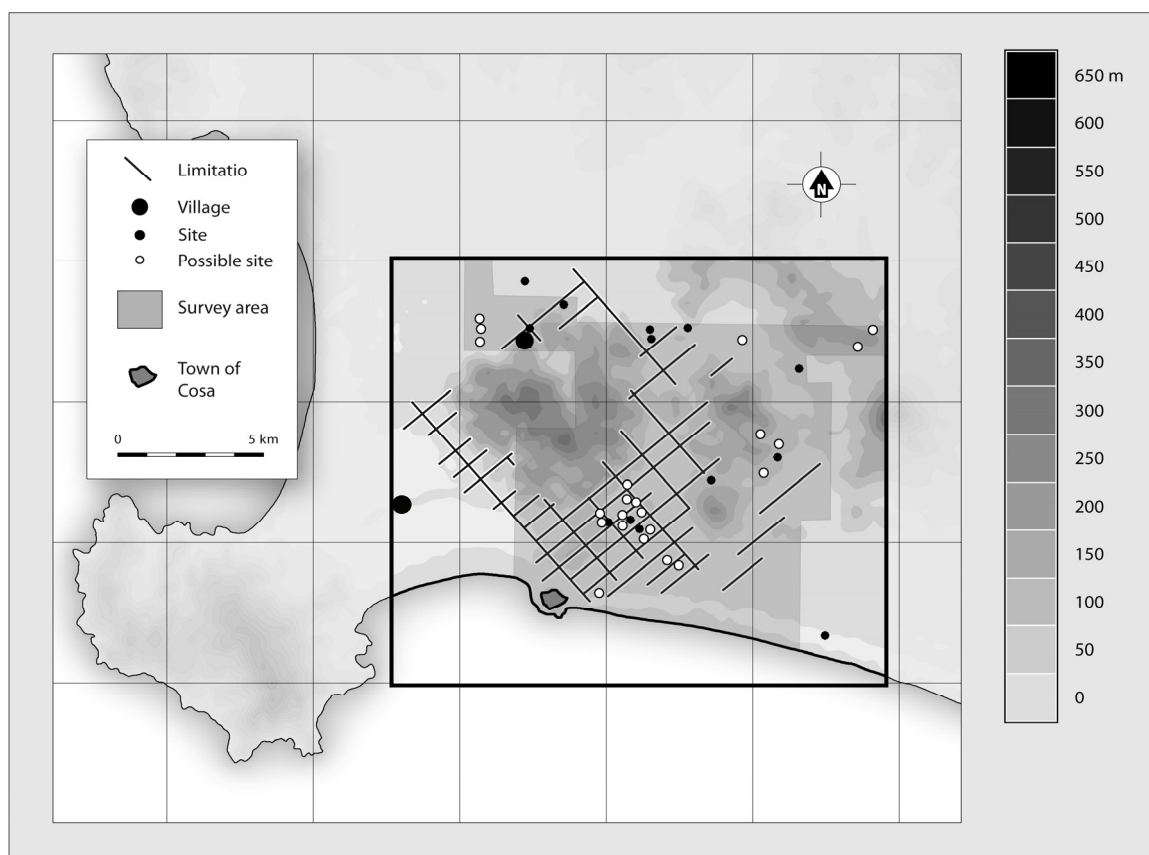


Fig. 21. The territory of Cosa with sites dating to the 3rd century.

In this context it is significant that several field surveys in the Greek *poleis* of Italy, using a very similar research strategy, did in fact bring to light dense and evenly distributed patterns of settlement dating to the fourth and the third centuries.⁴⁷⁷ This strikingly consistent difference between coeval landscapes which were investigated in the same manner suggests that the clustered or aligned configuration of mapped sites is not intrinsically related to a specific investigation strategy.

In a number of colonies the empty areas noted in the archaeological record of early colonial landscapes were soon filled with dense and scattered settlement. This discovery demonstrates that these areas were properly investigated and that potential post-depositional processes did not obliterate Roman settlement traces altogether. One of the best examples of this is Cosa: the large empty spaces which have been recorded for the third century were in soon filled with sites which occupy most of the territory in the course of the second and first centuries.⁴⁷⁸

If the pattern is genuine, what kind of settlement system does it reflect? One possible clue comes from the study of more recent settlement arrangements in the Italian Peninsula. In its outward appearance, the clustered organization of colonial sites displays some interesting similarities to the arrangement of settlement in the present-day Apennines. The rural landscape in the Apennine region is typically dominated by a dense network of villages and hamlets, often no more than a couple of kilometres from each other (see Fig. 18 and Fig. 19).⁴⁷⁹ The vast majority of farmers live in these modestly sized rural population centres but a limited number of isolated farmsteads can be found along the roads connecting the various villages; as a general rule, the farther away from the village, the fewer of these farms there are.⁴⁸⁰

A superficial look at the maps contained in most survey reports might suggest that the physical correspondence is limited to the clustering of farmsteads, whereas villages (the focal point of the Apennine settlement system described above) are often lacking in the archaeological site distribution maps. Again caution must be the watchword as these graphical reproductions of archaeological findings are often misleading, since the uniform dots on the maps give the inaccurate impression of a landscape of equally sized settlements. The reality behind these dots is often far more diverse and complex than suggested by the maps and usually requires a close examination of the site catalogue (if published satisfactorily) in order to be understood. A further potential methodological problem is that if nucleated settlements were located in the least fertile areas, such as hill tops which also offered natural protection, as they are today, a survey archaeologist could easily have missed them. One illustration of these problems is the fact that many of the (few) villages which have been identified in these areas are known only from rescue excavations inside modern villages or from accidental (or clandestine) discoveries.

⁴⁷⁷ See Carter 2006, esp. Ch.5. See also Burgers and Crielaard 2007 for a preliminary publication of the results of a survey conducted in the territory of Taras. In this last case, an intensive off-site survey strategy was employed.

⁴⁷⁸ Compare fig. 8.2 and fig 8.7 of Cambi 1999.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g. Frederiksen 1984, 31.

⁴⁸⁰ Of course, the similarity is only one of appearance and as both landscapes developed in very different political and economic contexts. No more fundamental parallel between both landscapes is implied here.

Despite these graphical and methodological problems, several villages have been recognized, or can plausibly be reconstructed, on the basis of the information available. A clear example can be found in the site catalogue of the territory of Interamna Lirenas: a site identified near the Gari River is described as a wide and heavy scatter of c. 6 ha without perceptible breaks (Fig. 20).⁴⁸¹ Of course, such a scatter is too large to be interpreted as a farmstead and is probably best described as a village or hamlet. Around it, probably along the roads leading to and from it, a couple of isolated farmsteads have been located. In the Latin colony of Suessa Aurunca, near the modern town of Cascano, just 2.5 km to the east of the colonial town centre, excavations have revealed part of a late fourth/early third-century ashlar wall which is very similar to the early walls of Suessa (Fig. 22).⁴⁸² These fortifications possibly enclosed a nucleated settlement of the same period. A couple of kilometres to the south-west of Suessa, at località Ponte Ronaco,⁴⁸³ another village has been identified from a large concentration of ceramics found in the area. In the territory of Cosa in the Valle Lunga⁴⁸⁴ and the area between the rivers Chiarone and Fiora three villages have been recognized inside or near habitation clusters.⁴⁸⁵ Finally, in the territory of Luceria, recent research has located at least three Republican villages covering areas varying between 2.5 and 11 ha (Fig. 22).⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸¹ Site 526 in Hayes and Martini 1994, 230. Since the site has a long history stretching from the early Republican to Late Imperial period, it is not immediately obvious if the size described is relevant to the mid-Republican period.

⁴⁸² Arthur 1991, 40.

⁴⁸³ Talamo 1987, esp. 161, 177; Arthur 1991, 121, site S12. Around the villages which have been identified in the territory of Suessa Aurunca, various isolated farmsteads and tombs have also been recognized. Only a few of them can be securely dated to the third century.

⁴⁸⁴ Site Orb107 (Carandini, et al. 2002, site catalogue). Polygonal wall structures have also been identified in this area (Orb 111). For obscure reasons (polygonal masonry is usually considered an old building technique), these have been dated to the early Imperial period. On page 122 of Carandini, et al. 2002, the suggestion is made that the wall had some connection to the third century land division scheme, thereby opting for an early date of these walls.

⁴⁸⁵ Site PR 9 (4 ha); PR 58 (1.2 ha); PR 80.1 (3 ha): (Carandini, et al. 2002, site catalogue). Another village surrounded by smaller sites is found on the border of the Ager Cosanus: LC 8 (1 ha) and one outside the survey transects MAR 150.1 (2 ha). The Etruscan town of Orbetello was also populated during the Early Colonial period (Fentress 2009, 142). A reference in Castagnoli 1956, 157 is suggestive: he recognizes a significant part of a wall structure which enclosed the west side of località le Tombe, the area where a large cluster of third-century sites has been identified.

⁴⁸⁶ Volpe 2001, 344-5. Probably it is no coincidence that these villages have been detected and represented as such by a field survey project which aimed to understand the Late-Roman- Early Medieval landscape especially. According to the classical scenario described above, this time was characterized as a period of economic and political decline and connected nucleation of settlement (see for references and a description of the project in the Appendix 1). This list includes only the villages located in surveyed areas. Villages are also known in other colonial territories: in Aesernia a Republican village is located at 6 km to the south-west of the colonial town centre near the modern village of Macchia d'Isernia (Pagano 2004, 78). Near Hatria, several villages of the Republican period have been identified, e.g. S. Rustico (Basciano c. 20 km to the north-west of Hatria), Valviano (c.10 km to the west of Hatria), Case di Sante e Monteverde (Cellino), Penna S. Andrea, Guardia Vomano, Castilenti, and Città S. Angelo. Inscriptions found in two of these villages (S. Rustico and Valviano) reveal that in the late Republican period they were probably *uici* with their own form of administration. On these villages see Guidobaldi 1995, 264-277; Menozzi and Martella 1998, 42; Stek 2009, 146-154. Just beyond the probable northern limit of the territory of Benevento, Patterson identified a large site which can probably be interpreted as a village dating from the fourth to the second century (Site 10). Around it, several isolated farmsteads have been identified (Patterson 1988, 170-171). The remark in Crawford, et al. 1986, 50 is also interesting: "It may also be that the pattern of settlement in the territory of Fregellae was not so much one of single farms, but something close to villages: sites 51, 52 and 54 lie very close to each other"; idem for sites 13 and 12. For *uici* of the Fucine Lake which may have belonged to the colony of Alba Fucens see Stek 2009, 154-156.

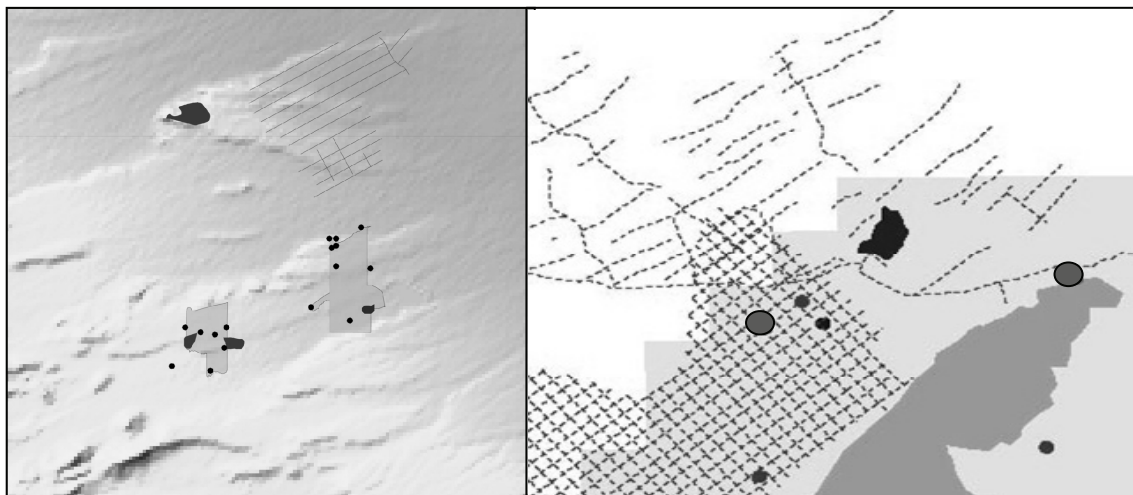


Fig. 21: The territories of Luceria (left) and Suessa Aurunca (right) with sites dating to the 3rd century. Large grey dots are nucleated settlements.

Nucleation of rural settlement is not unique to Latin colonies of the late fourth/ early third century, but can also be recognized in at least one viri-tane landscape colonized in the same period. In the Ager Falernus, four different reconnaissance projects have mapped only a few traces of early colonial isolated farmsteads but all projects have recorded the presence of nucleated settlements in their research area, some of which are datable to the fourth century.⁴⁸⁷ For example, in the territory to the east of M. Massico, only a handful of smaller sites dating to the late fourth and the third century have been recognized. However, in one area currently located in the cemetery of Mondragone, large quantities of mid-Republican black gloss pottery, bronze coins and an inscription dating to 43 A.D. mentioning a *pagus Sarclanus* were found.⁴⁸⁸ Excavations in the area have unearthed a large late Republican villa structure (known as the villa of *L. Paapius*)⁴⁸⁹ and a complex of dwellings or rooms

⁴⁸⁷ Considering the very extensive sampling strategy adopted by those surveys, the failure to detect small isolated farmsteads is perhaps not surprising. However, the detection of larger sites in these projects is significant.

⁴⁸⁸ Site Mondragone 10 in Vallat 1987, 328; M124 in Arthur 1991, 115. The inscription was found in 1937 during construction work to enlarge the cemetery. The exact find spot of the inscription is unknown, but it comes from the area. On this see Guadagno 1993, 439. According to a controversial interpretation by Johannowsky, the administrative centre of the *pagus* mentioned was located in nearby località la Starza where standing Roman architecture (including a *cryptoporticus*) is visible. (Johannowsky 1973, 151 n. 1; corresponds to site Mondragone 9 in Vallat 1987; M146 in Arthur 1991, 116.) These ruins, in his view, are best interpreted as a *complezzo pubblico* of the *pagus*, including a forum and a temple. He believes, for reasons unclear to me, that the original centre of the *pagus* was located close to the Savone River at the site of the sanctuary of Panetelle (for the sanctuary see Crimaco and Gasperetti 1993 (eds.), 87-247; site Mondragone 15b in Vallat 1987, 328; site M159 in Arthur 1991, 117) and that it was relocated to this area in the late second century (Johannowsky 1975, 31, n. 7). Most scholars have rejected the theory and have interpreted the architecture at *la Starza* as belonging to a villa (E.g. Vallat 1980, 387; Pagano 1980, 8; Guadagno 1987, 46; Arthur 1991, 115; more cautiously: Ruggi d'Aragnona and Sampaolo 2002, 152; Ruggi d'Aragnona and Sampaolo 2002, 157-158). See also Frederiksen 1976, 334, who rightly remarks that for Romans the *pagus* was a territorial concept and therefore should not (as often happens in archaeological studies) be connected directly to a nucleated settlement.

⁴⁸⁹ Ruggi d'Aragnona and Sampaolo 2002, 152-154.

of the same period, which have tentatively been interpreted as a *mansio*.⁴⁹⁰ No traces of a mid-Republican settlement were recorded during these excavations, but according to Arthur's site catalogue ceramics datable to the late fourth-early third century were present at the site.⁴⁹¹ The evidence he recorded for several cemeteries dating to this early colonial period which are located around the settlement is also suggestive.⁴⁹²

Another large Roman settlement has been recognized in the *Pineta Nuova*, located 9 km. to the east of Sinuessa. In an area of 1.5 hectares, large quantities of building materials, tiles and pottery have been recognized, including quite a few fragments of late fourth-early third century black gloss ceramics. Crimaco believes that the most likely identification of this site is the *uicus Caedicius*, known from the literary sources and from epigraphy.⁴⁹³

Finally, a third, very large village has been recognized during a recent survey farther upstream on the Volturno River.⁴⁹⁴ In an area of 25 sq. kms, eighteen Republican sites were mapped. Only four of these produced pottery datable to the late fourth-early third century.⁴⁹⁵ One site (Site 2) is a very extensive scatter, measuring 23.4 hectares. In this area, several inscriptions and architecture dating to the Imperial period have been found.⁴⁹⁶ The precise chronology of the site is uncertain, but the fact that several tombs of the third century have been recognized in the area strongly suggests occupation of this site in the early colonial period. Unfortunately, the size of this settlement in the early colonial period remains uncertain.⁴⁹⁷

Regrettably, none of these villages recognized in Latin colonies and in the Ager Falernus has been properly excavated, therefore virtually nothing is known about these nucleated settlements.⁴⁹⁸ A regrettable consequence of this gap in the knowledge is that at present it is impossible to estimate the number of people dwelling in these places and, more importantly, that nothing is known about their

⁴⁹⁰ Ruggi d'Aragnona and Sampaolo 2002, 155-159.

⁴⁹¹ Arthur 1991, 115 (M124).

⁴⁹² Sites M 116; M 128; M152; M 170.

⁴⁹³ Crimaco 1991, 55-56, Site 5. The plausible localization is based on a passage in Pliny (*NH* 14.8) who states that the *uicus* was located 6 miles from Sinuessa and 4 miles from where the *Faustiano* commences. The existence of a *uicus* of this name is corroborated by an inscription of the Augustan period found in the tower of the cathedral of Carinola which mentions *colonis Senuisanis et Caesicianis omnibus* (CIL X 4727). See Guadagno 1993, 442-444 for a recent discussion of the inscription). Other less likely suggestions for the location of the *uicus* are: Ponte dell'Impiso (Arthur 1991, sites M59-60); Torre del Paladino near a Roman Mausoleum (Johannowsky 1975, 22). Another nucleated settlement mentioned in the literary sources which, however, has not yet been convincingly localized is the *uicus Petrinus* (Cic. *Fam.* 6.19; Hor. *Epod.* 1.5). Livy also mentions that, at the end of the third century, Hannibal's troops pillaged the Ager Falernus as far as the *Thermae Sinuessanae* (Livy 22.8). A settlement is indeed known from the territory of Sinuessa with that name (CIL X 6870). However, archaeological investigation in the area has not been able to corroborate the putative early beginnings of this settlement which flourished in Imperial times (Arthur 1991, 62). It is doubtful whether the recorded *uici* of the Ager Falernus date back to the late fourth/ early third century. The epigraphic and literary evidence dates from the late Republican/ early Imperial periods, and therefore it is entirely possible that the *uici* recorded are institutions which were created as part of the administrative reorganization of Italian communities in this period.

⁴⁹⁴ Guandalini 2004.

⁴⁹⁵ Sites numbers: 2, 12 and 31.

⁴⁹⁶ Guandalini 2004, 15-17.

⁴⁹⁷ Guandalini 2004, 63-64.

⁴⁹⁸ Besides the already mentioned unpublished excavation of the fortification walls at Cascano, the only properly excavated village site inside a Latin colonial territory of which I know is S. Rustico Basciano. A large number of evenly distributed houses have been found alongside a large road around a sanctuary, whose monumental phase dates from the late second century. An inscription mentioning two *magistri* (probably *magistri uici*) has also been found. However, all the excavated structures date from the first century (see Menozzi and Martella 1998, 42-3 with further references).

ethnic and socio-juridical background. As this thesis will make clear, the ethnic question is of special interest because villages are often associated with the indigenous people who continued to live in the colonial territory.

Vicatim habitantes?

Despite the uncertainty about the socio-juridical position and number of natives in colonial territories (see Chapter 5), in archaeological studies it is often assumed that the indigenous inhabitants can be distinguished from the Roman/Latin colonists on the basis of their settlement customs. Whereas the colonists are supposed to have lived on their holdings distributed regularly over the colonial territory, the indigenous component is thought to have dwelled in villages (see again Fig. 4 for a clear illustration of this view). This concept is rooted in a more general theory about settlement organization in ancient Italy in which a clear distinction is supposed to have existed between the various non-urbanized Oscan people living in villages and the Greco-Roman world of city-states characterized by urban centres and those rural territories settled in a regular fashion. The supposed difference in settlement organization is not a modern invention but can also be found in the writings of various late Republican and Imperial historians. Livy, for example, when he describes the Samnites speaks of these rude highlanders as *uicatim habitantes* (9.13), contrasting them with civilized communities acquainted with an urban way of life.⁴⁹⁹ This contrast is obviously an anachronistic and ideological construct which cannot be accepted at face value.⁵⁰⁰

It is extremely difficult to determine the ethnic or social status of the people inhabiting the various villages detected during survey campaigns. In a few cases, for example in the Ponte Ronaco village near Suessa Aurunca, settlement continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman period suggests that the inhabitants were of indigenous origin. Their status remains uncertain, but the discovery of a bronze coin of the third century bearing the legend SUESANO suggests that economically at least they had contacts with the colony.⁵⁰¹ Some villages in the Ager Cosanus appear on archaeological maps as new foundations, which makes them more likely to have been the dwelling places of migrant farmers.⁵⁰² Nevertheless, this still does not rule out the possibility that these new villages were the settlements of indigenous farmers who were relocated to these areas by the Romans.⁵⁰³

There is some epigraphic evidence dating to the third century which might suggest that some colonists lived in villages. The evidence consists of a third century inscription on a black gloss *patera* which reads: 'K.SERPONIO CALEB.FECE.VEQO ESQUELINO C.S.'⁵⁰⁴ and of several painted black

⁴⁹⁹ See also Tac. *Hist.* 4.64 for a similar opinion.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Frederiksen 1976, 341-2. See also Dench 1995, esp. 130-4.

⁵⁰¹ Talamo 1987, esp. 161, 177); for the coin see Arthur 1991, 121, Site S12.

⁵⁰² E.g. Carandini, et al. 2002, sites LC 8 and Mar 150.1.

⁵⁰³ See for the latter explanation for example Carandini, et al. 2002, 110.

⁵⁰⁴ CIL I,416. For the *patera*, which is now in the Museum of Naples, see Pagenstecher 1909, pl.13. On the *praenomen* Kaeso see Bispham 2006, 88, note 78 with further references. Views on the exact date of the *patera* differ; but all plump for pre-Hannibalic.

gloss ceramics (so-called *pocula deorum*) from Ariminum on which *uici* are mentioned.⁵⁰⁵ Conventionally, these *uici* are interpreted as referring to urban districts. From this perspective, the colonies imitated the urban organization of Rome, which was divided in several *uici* from at least the mid-Republican period and thereafter.⁵⁰⁶ At first sight this reading, which fits well with the ‘Gellian’ view of colonization, is strongly supported by the fact that several *uici* attested to in colonies are named after important localities in the metropolis, usually after one of the Seven Hills.⁵⁰⁷ The only mid-Republican example is the *uicus Esquilinus*, but in inscriptions from Cales and Ariminum dating to the early Imperial period a *uicus Palatius*, *Germalus*, *Aventinus* and *Velabrus* are mentioned.⁵⁰⁸

On closer inspection, the case arguing for a mid-Republican origin of colonial *uici* which copied Roman topography is less firm than is often suggested. There is a remarkable correlation between the distribution of urban *uici* named after the hills of Rome and triumviral or Augustean colonization.⁵⁰⁹ Since both Cales and Ariminum were re-colonized in the late Republican/ early Imperial periods, it is possible that at least those *uici* which are recorded on inscriptions of the late Republican and Imperial periods were created during the triumviral reorganization of these towns.⁵¹⁰

The only piece of evidence which cannot be explained in this way is the *vego Esquelino* inscription. However, although the inscription proves the existence of an Esquiline *uicus* in the Mid-Republican period, it is uncertain whether it refers to an urban *uicus* in the colony of Cales. The provenance of the *patera* mentioning the *uicus* is unknown and it has been suggested by Mingazzini that *Calebus* refers to the birthplace of the potter, while *Vego Esquelino* is the place of production (namely, the Esquiline in Rome). He argues that adding one’s ethnic identity is only meaningful if one works outside one’s place of origin.⁵¹¹

Even if it is accepted that the practice of naming colonial *uici* after important places in Rome began in the Mid-Republic, this does not necessarily imply that these *uici* were urban. The nostalgic sentiments which motivated the colonists to copy Roman topography could be used in both urban and rural contexts. Only if the view that colonial *oppida* were miniature versions of Rome and that their internal organization mirrored that of Rome is accepted, does the urban thesis make most sense. If

⁵⁰⁵ On these ‘pocula’ see Franchi De Bellis 1995 and Stek 2009, 138-145. The word *veicus* is recorded on three ceramic fragments; two mention *pagi*.

⁵⁰⁶ The most explicit example is Coarelli 1995, who sees a gradual increase in the number of colonial urban *uici* which corresponds to the division of Rome. For a critique of this theory see Stek 2009, 124. The urban thesis is accepted by Bispham 2006, 87-8.

⁵⁰⁷ Examples below.

⁵⁰⁸ CIL X, 4641; CIL XI, 419; CIL XI, 421.

⁵⁰⁹ Bispham 2000, 158, n.5, with further references; Bispham 2006, 87-8.

⁵¹⁰ Keppie 1983, 15, 20 67 (Ariminum). See Antonelli 2006 for the view that Ariminum was re-colonized by Sulla. On Cales see Chouquer, et al. 1987, 192-194.

⁵¹¹ Mingazzini 1958. The thesis is criticized by Sanesi 1978. Her main piece of evidence militating against the Mingazzini’s explanation is the *uicus Palatius* of Cales. As discussed above, this could be explained as the result of the late Republican re-colonization. Another argument is that there is archaeological evidence of the production of relief black gloss pottery in Cales. This fact does not necessarily prove that Kaeso Serponius worked in Cales (maybe he learned his trade there). During a survey of Cales (Pedroni 1990, 177-183), various pottery sherds were found which were signed by the potter; among the many names no Serponius is recorded (they are mostly Atilii, Gabinii and Paconii). Interestingly a famous potter of this period, Lucius Canoleius, mostly signed his vessels with ‘L. CANOLEIOS L. F. FECIT CALENOS’; no *uicus* is added. See Pagenstecher 1909, 87-90.

doubt is cast on the ‘Gellian’ model, the urbanity of these *uici* becomes less evident. Moreover, an important argument against the urban thesis is the fact that colonial *oppida* were relatively small, so that there is no easy answer for the sub-division of these centres into separate quarters.⁵¹² This fact is bolstered by the lack of archaeological evidence of the existence of developed and densely populated urban centres (cf. Chapter 2).

An interesting case which militates against the theory that the Calene *uici* were urban has been made by Gaudagno. He argues that a rural location of the *uicus Palatius* is supported by medieval documents mentioning a toponym *Palaczu*, probably located at the western fringe of the Ager Calenus, possibly alongside the via Faleria. He believes that the fact that none of the numerous other inscriptions found at Cales contains any reference to these or other *uici* undermines the urban hypothesis to an even greater extent.⁵¹³

The most convincing argument for a rural location of at least some mid-Republican colonial *uici* has recently been made by Stek.⁵¹⁴ He draws attention to the fact that some of the mid-Republican *uici* for which epigraphical evidence is available can be securely located in the countryside. These rural *uici* are conventionally located outside colonial territories and interpreted as entirely different entities: namely, as the typical settlement structures of indigenous populations. As such, they are not included in the discussions about the location of colonial *uici*. However, a juridical study by Tarpin has convincingly demonstrated that the *uicus* was a Roman administrative institution and not some form of indigenous organization as was previously believed.⁵¹⁵ If this view is accepted, the presumed distinction between colonial and non-colonial *uici* no longer holds and the fact that some epigraphically attested *uici* can be located in the countryside becomes relevant to the discussion about ‘colonial’ *uici*.

Stek believes that some of these rural *uici* are best understood as new communities which were created as part of colonial territorial organization and in some cases even as settlements of Roman colonists.⁵¹⁶ The best arguments can be made for the rural *uici* of the Ager Praetuttianus and the Lacus Fucinus areas. In part because of the conviction that rural *uici* were native institutions, these areas are generally considered part of indigenous territories, either inhabited by enfranchised natives who were accorded *civitas sine suffragio* (for the Praetuttian area) or by allies (Lacus Fucinus which is considered part of the Marsic territory). Stek rejects this and argues that these *uici* are more likely to have been newly established Roman communities which were in some way dependent on the nearby Latin colonies of Hatria and Alba Fucens. This is suggested by their close proximity to Latin colonial towns and also by the cults and the magistrates which are mentioned in the *uicus* inscriptions. Stek

⁵¹² E.g. Mingazzini 1958.

⁵¹³ He also questions the urbanity of the Esquiline *vicus* (Guadagno 1993, 432-434). The name of this *vicus* could also be interpreted as referring to an outside settlement (as opposed to *inquilinus*). For a critique of his arguments see Tarpin 2002, 87 n.2, who is particularly sceptical about the *inquilinus* argument.

⁵¹⁴ Stek 2009, esp. 123-170.

⁵¹⁵ Tarpin 2002.

⁵¹⁶ Stek 2009, 168-170.

argues that it would be better to understand the *queistores* and *duumviri* mentioned in these texts, who were previously interpreted as Romanized indigenous administrative functions, as Roman or even colonial magistrates. Likewise, the cults attested to, for example those of *Victoria* and *Valetudo*, are unlikely to have been indigenous and would be best assigned to a Roman ideological context. That of *Apollo*, which is attested to in both the *Lacus Fucinus* and *Ager Praetuttianus* areas, was also observed in *Alba Fucens*, in the temple of *San Pietro*, and is more generally known to be an important colonial cult. More tentatively, Stek has suggested that the *pocula* in *Ariminum* could have been used in a ritual which periodically re-affirmed the close ties between these rural settlements and the urban centre, whose working was similar to the later rituals of the *paganalia* and *compitalia*.⁵¹⁷

The ethnic background of the people inhabiting these *uici* cannot easily be determined on the basis of the epigraphic evidence. Most of the names of officials recorded in the *Fucine Lake uici*, for example, such as *Salvius* and *Status*, are fairly generic in Central Italy and shed little light on the issue of ethnicity. In contrast, the gentilician name *Magios* seems to have originated in Campania and might be tentatively connected with a person with a Roman or colonial background. Other names, such as *Annaedius*, are more likely to have been of Marsic origin. Stek therefore suggests that these *uici* were ethnically mixed-communities, but that they were entirely Roman from a political and juridical point of view.

In a nutshell, it is possible to draw a conclusion that the traditional view that epigraphically attested colonial *uici* were exclusively urban districts is no longer tenable. There are strong reasons to believe that at least some of these *uici* were extra-urban agglomerations, which, as the *pocula* of *Ariminum* clearly demonstrate, were ritually connected with the colonial towns. The precise political status and ethnic background of the people living in rural *uici* has to remain uncertain for the time being. The data suggests that they were strongly orientated towards Roman culture, but whether they were colonists or enfranchised and Romanized natives, or a combination of both, cannot be established on the basis of the epigraphic evidence available alone. On the other hand, the view that the *vicani* included colonists is supported by the analysis of the archaeological data which seems to suggest that Latin colonial territories were predominantly settled in a clustered manner.

⁵¹⁷ It is interesting to note that besides *uici*, there are also *pagi* mentioned on the *pocula deorum* (see Franchi De Bellis 1995).

3. Scattered landscapes of pre-Roman origin with evidence for nucleation

Several areas affected by Roman colonization programmes were already densely settled with isolated rural farmsteads in the pre-Roman period. In most cases, these landscapes were not subjected to any dramatic changes after the colonization of the area, and seem to have flourished instead. Clear examples of such settlement patterns have been found in the territories of the old Latin colonies in the Pontine area, in the areas belonging to colonies founded in ancient Greek *poleis* and in some areas in Sabinum. Despite this general trend of settlement continuity, evidence has been found of the foundation of larger, sometimes fortified settlements in the early colonial period.

For example, in the territory of Fidenae two new, large hill-top sites measuring over 1 hectare in size were founded in the early colonial period (Fig. 22).⁵¹⁸ According to Quilici and Quilici Gigli these sites were likely Roman strongholds positioned on the northern boundary of the confiscated territory.⁵¹⁹ Likewise, in the densely settled territory of Norba, a fortified settlement measuring 2.5 hectares has been identified. The origins of this site lie in the so-called Post Archaic period (500-350), which corresponds to the phase of Roman colonization of the area.⁵²⁰ Two modestly sized Archaic settlements (Colle Gentile and Serrone di Bove) also expanded markedly in this period and were fortified using polygonal masonry (Fig. 23).⁵²¹ The survey carried out around the *oppidum* in Colle Gentile reveals clearly that early colonial sites cluster around the *oppidum*.⁵²² In the territory of Signia, two nucleated settlements dating to the late fifth and the fourth century have been recognized in the *Muracci di Crepadosso* and *Colli San Pietro* areas.⁵²³ Slightly later is the large settlement of *Colle Majorane* which flourished in the fourth-third century. On these sites evidence of cultic activities has been recognized which in some cases predates the settlements evidence (6th century).

⁵¹⁸ Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1986, 392 (Sites 114 Casali Redicicoli and 245 Casali Boccone).

⁵¹⁹ According to the reconstruction of the researchers, the southern part of the territory of Fidenae was confiscated, although the area to the north remained the territory of the people of Fidenae.

⁵²⁰ Van Leusen, et al. 2003-2004, 337-338, site 10532 (La Murella) with references.

⁵²¹ Van Leusen, et al. 2003-2004, 338, sites 10533 and 10595, with further references. The sites (including 10532) were not located in the survey transects of the Groningen University, but were recognized in previous topographic studies (especially Saggi 1977, Quilici-Gigli 1991). Site 10533 is located to the south-east of Norba on the Colle Gentile; site 10595 is located to the west of Norba and covers 0.8 hectares (Saggi 1977; Quilici-Gigli 1991).

⁵²² Van Leusen, et al. 2003-2004, 317, fig 8.

⁵²³ Cassieri and Luttazzi 1985, 202-203.

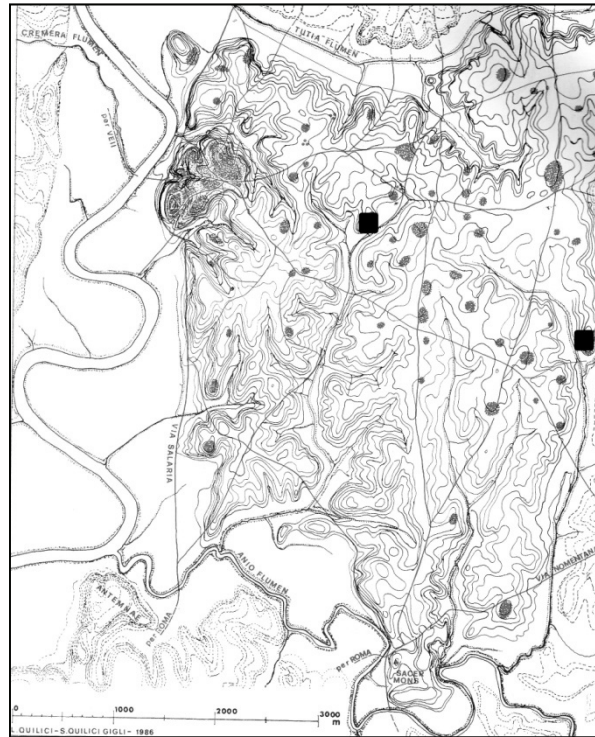


Fig. 22: The territory of Fidenae in the early colonial period (5th century). Black rectangulars: newly founded hill-top sites.

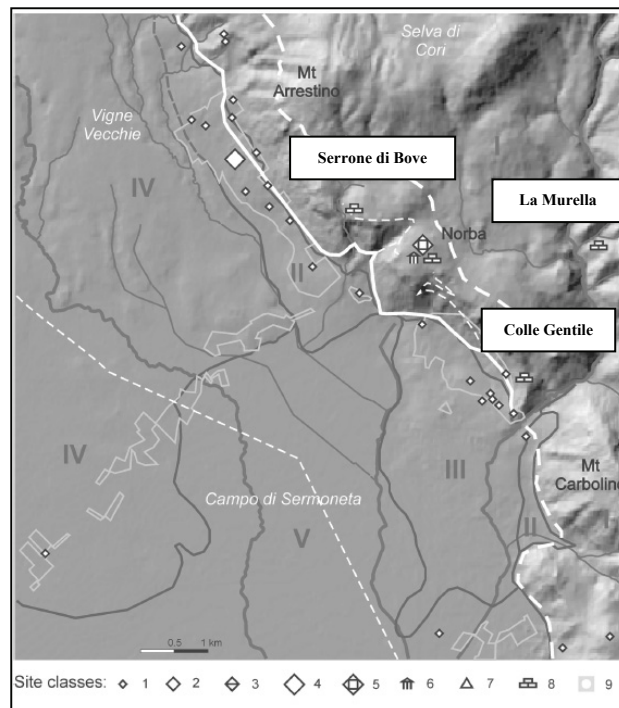


Fig. 23: The territory of Norba in the early colonial period (500-350 B.C.). 1. Simple rural site; 2: modest rural site; 3: elaborate rural site; 4: large site; 5: large complex site; 6: cultic site; 7: tomb(s); 8: defended site; 9: road.

In these newly appearing fortified hill-sites it is tempting to recognize the settlements of the colonists which could consequently be considered early examples of the multiple-core nucleated colonial settlement system which I have proposed for the Latin colonies founded after the Latin War. On the basis of the available archaeological work, such a hypothesis is difficult to test. The appearance of nucleated settlements in this period is not specific to colonial territories and hence is just as likely to reflect general development in the settlement system. Furthermore, the few traces of material culture found in these settlements do not point convincingly either to colonists or to indigenous inhabitants.⁵²⁴

Some very fragile and indirect support for the view that these strongholds could be colonial settlements comes from the literary sources. As will be shown in Chapter 5, several accounts in Livy and Dionysius strongly suggest that the foundation of a colony in this period did not involve a total reorganization of the conquered territory, but should be seen as the addition of a small body of migrant settlers who shared the territory with the remaining indigenous populations. Moreover, there is information that colonists were sent to these places as garrisons to make sure these areas would remain under Roman control.⁵²⁵ Within such a strategic framework, a bi-polar settlement model of scattered (unprotected/ indigenous) versus fortified (protected/ Roman colonial) makes some sense. However, the reports about early Roman colonization of these late Republican historians are unreliable and several scholars have argued that the supposedly strategic function of these settlements is anachronistic.⁵²⁶

Densely populated landscapes have not been recognized in the last two colonies reported to have been founded before the Latin War. In neither landscape is there any evidence of flourishing scattered landscapes of pre-Roman origin. In Sutrium, two topographic studies have recognized hardly any traces of settlements dating to the early colonial or pre-colonial periods.⁵²⁷ Only from the time of the mid-Republican period did the territory gradually become populated by isolated farmsteads; first located in close proximity to the urban centre, and only from the early Imperial period did they cover the entire investigated areas. A partial explanation for the remarkably empty archaeological landscape is provided by a geo-archaeological study which established that, at least the area around Lake Monterosi (7 km to the south-east of Sutri) was covered by thick forest until at least the mid-third century.⁵²⁸ The territory of Nepes was settled fairly intensively in the pre-Roman period, but witnessed a dramatic decline in site numbers in the early colonial period. In the third century, sites clustered together in the south-eastern part of the investigated territory (roughly 25 % of the total territory).

⁵²⁴ In general, the material found inside these settlements is of very poor quality (E.g. Quilici-Gigli 1991). Moreover, it seems unwise to attempt to interpret the generic material culture of this period and region close to Rome along ethnic lines.

⁵²⁵ E.g. Livy: Signia & Circeii (1.56); Velitrae (2.30). Dionysius: Fidenae (2.53); Signia & Circeii (4.63); Velitrae (6.42).

⁵²⁶ Bradley 2006 gives more weight to the reports which record the co-existence and mixing of colonial and indigenous populations.

⁵²⁷ Duncan 1958 and Morselli 1980.

⁵²⁸ Hutchinson 1970. See also Livy 9.36 who mentions that in the late third century the Ciminian Forest was an impassable, terrifying wood.

From the second century, the whole area was gradually being settled which suggests that the recorded voids are not the result of either accessibility or visibility problems.⁵²⁹

No clear evidence of the appearance of new nucleated and fortified settlements exists in these territories. In the case of Nepesin, this is hardly surprising, since hardly any information has been published on the functional and dimensional differences between recognized sites. As a result of this gap, it remains obscure whether nucleated settlements were present among the recognized sites of the fourth century. In Sutrium, a couple of large sites have been detected by Duncan, most of which are dated to the late Republican or Imperial periods.⁵³⁰ At one site, evidence of an early wall structure of defensive character was identified. Duncan says that it most likely belonged to a Pre-Colonial settlement.⁵³¹

Only a few colonial territories founded after the Latin War display a configuration of settlement which is comparable to that attested to in the early colonies founded in the vicinity of Rome. One possible example is the Rosea Plain in Sabinum, which is likely to have been affected by the land division programme of Dentatus. The early colonial period is characterized as a time in which the pre-Roman scattered settlement system flourished and intensified.⁵³² In this area evidence has also been found for the existence of nucleated settlements in the early colonial period. The first is located at *Ponte Crispolti* which is situated in the basin floor between Lago Lungo and Lago di Ripa Sottile, alongside the road that connects Rieti with Terni (ancient Interamna Nahars).⁵³³ During renovation works of an Early Modern farmhouse, large quantities of Roman materials surfaced. These remains included building materials, marble, mosaic *tesserae* and pottery. At first this was believed to have belonged to a villa structure, but a subsequent survey of the terrains surrounding the modern farmhouse established that the site was very extensive (2.5 hectares) and it would be better to interpret it as a village.⁵³⁴ The researchers suggest that this might be the settlement called *Septem Aquae*, which is known from the epigraphic and literary record.⁵³⁵

Another nucleated site has been recognized in the modern hamlet of Madonna del Passo which is situated on the foothills of the mountain ridge. During earthmoving operations, numerous antique wall structures were uncovered. A small-scale rescue excavation carried out by the *Soprintendenza*

⁵²⁹ This increase in rural site is not necessarily the result of demographic growth, but could also be explained as a change in settlement organization in which settlement focuses more strongly on fertile areas and are therefore better recognizable.

⁵³⁰ E.g. Duncan 1958, 101 (Site 69287).

⁵³¹ Duncan 1958, 115 (site 722786).

⁵³² Marked dimensional differences are often recorded within these isolated rural sites. Almost as a rule these are translated rather uncritically into a bi-polar functional differentiation of farmstead (small) and villa (large). About 51 % of all Republican sites was characterized as small (< 0.2 hectares), 28 % was medium-sized (0.2-0.5 ha), and a total of 11 sites (21%) was larger than 0.5 hectares. The majority of the larger sites are interpreted as villas but, especially in areas where several sites cluster, it might be better to interpret them as nucleated settlements. Also Coccia and Mattingly 1992b, 245-246 for remarks on the clustering of sites. See also the large sites M21/35 and F21/ 108 discovered in the Farfa area (Leggio and Moreland 1986, 337).

⁵³³ Coccia and Mattingly 1992b, 273 (site 243) with references. The modern road probably follows the same trajectory as the Roman road which connected both ancient cities. This likelihood is indicated by the discovery of ashlar blocks, probably part of a Roman bridge, where this road crosses the River S. Susanna.

⁵³⁴ Coccia and Mattingly 1995, 157 site 241. The site flourished in the Republican and early Imperial periods.

⁵³⁵ Coccia and Mattingly 1992b, 273.

exposed a series of strip buildings opening to a lane or road, mostly dating to the late Republican period. A detailed gridded survey of the adjacent terrains mapped a dense scatter of pottery covering at least 5 hectares with a chronological range from Archaic times to the Late Roman period.⁵³⁶

Continuity of scattered settlements is also attested to for the territory of Thurii, which was colonized in the early second century.⁵³⁷ According to Quilici, the Late-Hellenistic period was characterized by the clustering of sites alongside ancient routes into villages. This phenomenon was especially noted in the area to north of the Crati-Coscile River line.⁵³⁸ In his view, the recorded configuration probably represented ethnic and socio-economic differences. The scattered landscape recognized to the south of the water line was considered colonial, but the village landscape was interpreted as the territory in which the remaining indigenous population resided. The weakness of interpretations which equate villages with indigenous inhabitants and isolated farmsteads with colonists has been already been pointed out. Especially problematic for this interpretation is the fact that surveys in neighbouring Greek territories have convincingly demonstrated that a scattered pattern of settlement is typical of Greek territories in the Hellenistic period.⁵³⁹

Quilici's theory has recently been undermined even more by a study by Van Leusen and Attema. On the basis of a critical analysis of the data and a re-survey of a small part of the territory investigated, they argue that the clustering of settlement in the northern part of the territory is more likely to have been the influence of the geomorphology of the terrain, than a result of cultural and socio-economic processes.⁵⁴⁰ Their analysis shows that there were settlement clusters along the major terrace edges as well as along edges of small valleys.⁵⁴¹ Detailed investigation by means of intensive field survey of one of these geomorphologic zones mapped a very high number of settlements, which transpired to be scattered and did not cluster into one or more villages in the reconstruction.⁵⁴² Whether this is also true for the very dense clusters recognized by Quilici in the territories of the modern villages of Doria and Eianina still remains to be investigated.

⁵³⁶ Coccia and Mattingly 1995, 157 site 243.

⁵³⁷ Quilici 1967; Van Leusen and Attema 2001-2002, 408-411.

⁵³⁸ See for an earlier very extensive topographic research Kahrstedt 1960. He recognised traces of a large Roman settlement in the territory of the modern village of Doria (Kahrstedt 1960, 94). The settlement, Toynbee 1965b, 662, believes could have been the colonial settlement of Copia. There is epigraphic evidence dating to the second century for the existence of an important settlements further inland. On the Lapis Pollae (CIL X, 6950), a town called *Muranum* which was located along the main road connecting Capua with Regio Calabria, is mentioned. The ancient town has been convincingly located in the modern village of Morano Calabro (Renda 2000, 22-23).

⁵³⁹ Carter 2006, especially Ch. 5; for Croton a synthesis in Carter 1990; for Taras see Burgers and Crielaard 2007.

⁵⁴⁰ Part of the linear clustering of site could also be the result of a bias in the work of Quilici, who might have concentrated his research in areas alongside roads which were more easy accessible (on this Van Leusen and Attema 2001-2002, 401-404).

⁵⁴¹ See fig. 4 in Van Leusen and Attema 2001-2002, 404.

⁵⁴² Van Leusen and Attema 2001-2002, 414.

4. Alignment alongside watercourses, roads or settlement in specific geomorphologic zones

Quite a few colonial landscapes are characterized by an irregularly scattered pattern of sites, the consequence of a preference for building farms in specific geomorphologic areas or alongside important ancient roads. It makes good sense that the natural environment should determine settlement location and therefore these finds are hardly surprising. Nevertheless, in the traditional paradigm it was believed (often implicitly, but sometimes very obviously) that nature was subjugated by the colonial power and that the conquered terrain was radically reorganized into a geometrically ordered, cultivated landscape which was settled in regular units. The model discussed here describes the opposite situation, namely a system of rural occupation which adapts to natural conditions.

The preference for settlement in transitional zones in the relief is especially recurrent. A clear example of this pattern is found in the territory of Venusia. The vast majority of sites dating to the early colonial period follow contour lines and are positioned on the edges of flatter areas, just before the terrain begins either to descend or ascend abruptly (Fig. 240).⁵⁴³ That this trend is unlikely to be the result of geomorphologic processes is demonstrated by the fact that only in the second-century does settlement expand into the flatter areas, which subsequently produced a dense pattern of scattered settlement covering most of the territory investigated. In the territory of the citizen colony of Luni, almost all Republican sites are aligned in the foothills on the 75m contour line, after which the terrain begins to rise abruptly (Fig. 25).⁵⁴⁴ Almost no traces of settlement were recognized in the plain where the colonial town was founded or in the upper hill zone.⁵⁴⁵ The early colonial settlements mapped in the territory of Potentia are also predominantly located on the edges of the alluvial plain of the River Potenza on the 20 m contour line, just before the terrain begins to rise.⁵⁴⁶ Since the survey concentrated on this particular geomorphologic zone, with little research being done either in the higher areas or in the alluvial plain, the significance of this pattern is dubious. An important consideration is that geo-archaeological research carried out in the alluvial plain has demonstrated that the River Potenza has changed its course since the Roman period. This shift might have obliterated traces of settlements in that area.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ Marchi and Sabbatini 1996.

⁵⁴⁴ Delano Smith, et al. 1986, 102-105.

⁵⁴⁵ Detailed geomorphologic research suggests that this pattern is unlikely the result of sedimentation processes which buried settlements (Delano Smith, et al. 1986, 88-90;103-107). See for a recent geoarchaeological study on the sea-level at Luni in Roman times: Bini, et al. 2009.

⁵⁴⁶ Percossi, et al. 2006, 89, fig. 31 and site catalogue.

⁵⁴⁷ Corsi, et al. 2009.

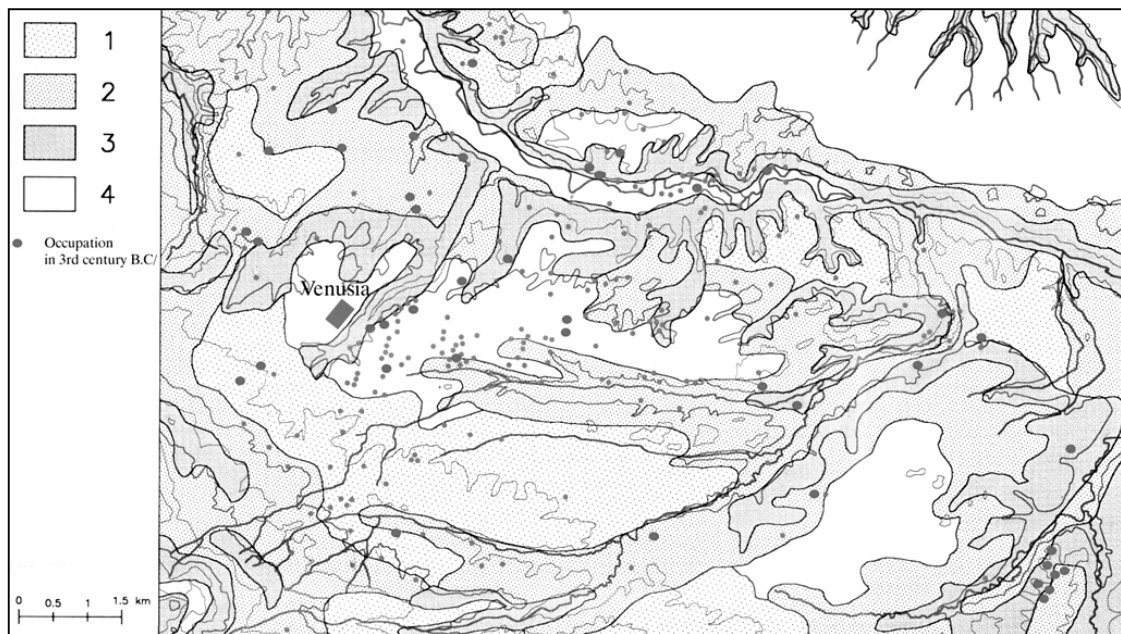


Fig. 24: The territory of Venusia. Green dots: sites of the 3rd century. Grey dots: Republican sites. 1. inclination of 5-10%, 2 inclination of 10-20%, inclination < 20%, inclination of 0% (Adapted from Marchi and Sabbatini 1996).

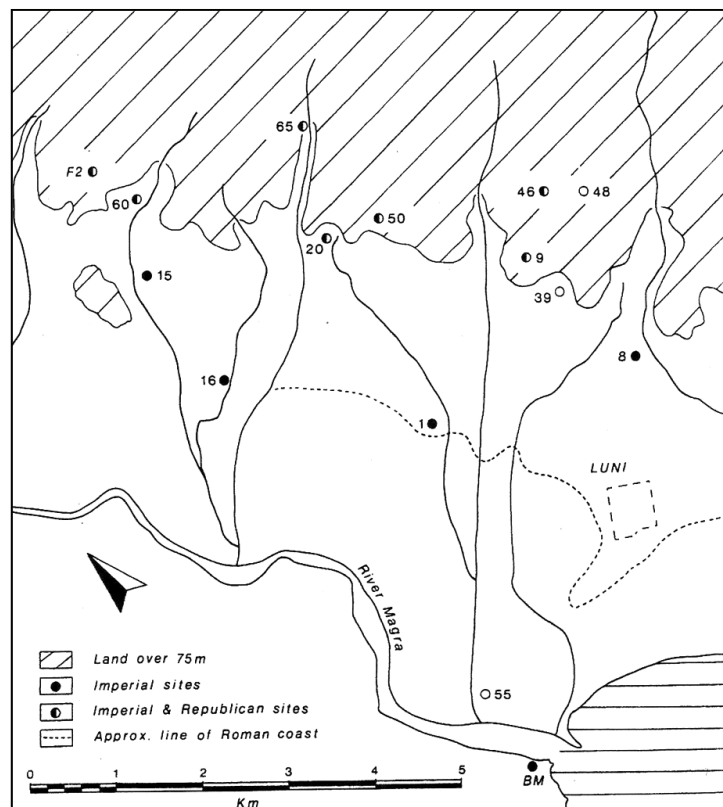


Fig. 25: The territory of Luni (From Delano Smith, et al. 1986, 102).

Another recurrent correlation is that between settlement and watercourses. Many early colonial sites recognized in the territory of Brundisium are located alongside small branches of the Cillarese waterway.⁵⁴⁸ Interestingly, these sites are often quite substantial and categorized as what are known as ‘casa-2’ sites, which are believed to represent two households, but might also indicate small hamlets. A similar pattern is visible in the territory of Minturnae. Most Roman sites which have been identified in the north-eastern part of the territory are aligned alongside the Garigliano River.⁵⁴⁹ The problem with this material is that, since the publication provides no information about what part of the territory was actually surveyed, it is impossible to say with any certainty that the pattern noted is the result of a bias of the researchers or a genuine trend. Finally, in the territories of Venusia and Heba site clusters are recognizable along the Fiumara Matinella and the eastern bank of the Fosso Castione respectively.

Natural phenomena are not the only features in a landscape which attract settlement. In many colonial landscapes settlement tends to concentrate heavily alongside major roads. Probably the best example of this is the via Appia. Several surveys have demonstrated that site densities decrease notably the farther away one moves from the road. In the Ager Pomptinus, for example, a small-scale intensive survey (1.8 sq. kms) by the Groningen University team investigated the terrains located to the south-west of the via Appia, between the 45th and 46th milestone. They mapped a dense network of isolated farmsteads dating to the period 350-200 (6 certain and 12 possible sites).⁵⁵⁰ Importantly, the majority of these sites are located very close to the via Appia, and site numbers decreased rapidly the farther away the investigation moved from the road, up to a point where almost no sites were recognized.⁵⁵¹ Farther down the via Appia, in the territories of Minturnae and Sinuessa, most Republican sites (the majority datable to the second century and later) are crowded together along the road.⁵⁵² The same story is repeated in the last part of the road which crosses the territory of Brundisium before it reaches the Adriatic Sea. Here a large number of sites is clearly aligned alongside this transport route. No particular high site density was mapped along the via Aurelia in the territory of Cosa. However, alongside its side roads which lead to Heba, site numbers are notably higher than in the rest of the territory.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸ Aproso 2008, 75.

⁵⁴⁹ Coarelli 1989, see esp. tav. LVII.

⁵⁵⁰ De Haas 2008. Possibly these sites had already been founded before the Roman colonization of the area. Some very scarce evidence for the existence of nucleated settlements in the area comes from the road station *ad Medias* (placed at the 53rd milestone). In a small excavation trench alongside a large funerary monument, several pottery fragments datable to the third century were retrieved, which tentatively suggests that the settlement originated in this period.

⁵⁵¹ Possibly the high site densities recorded during the small-scale intensive surveys in the territories of Norba and Setia are also connected to the presence of the ‘via pedemontana’ alongside which most of the research was done. This issue is discussed in Chapter 2. Regrettably, the chronology of the diagnostic pottery does not allow a precise dating of the beginning of these sites.

⁵⁵² Coarelli 1989, esp. tav. LVI page 252. For Sinuessa: Arthur 1991, fig. 22 and the site catalogue.

⁵⁵³ In the territory of Castrum Novum, Roman sites also cluster heavily alongside the via Aurelia (Gianfrotta 1972, sitemap). Yet again, the quality of this inventory is poor and it is uncertain if this pattern is the consequence of a selective investigation alongside roads. See Di Giuseppe, et al. 2002, 125 for the view that the settlements recognized in the re-survey of the territory of Cures are best understood as ribbon settlement grouped or clustered along ancient roads.

5. Landscapes of scattered settlement

This category includes all territories which were settled more or less evenly in the early colonial period.⁵⁵⁴ In only a small number of cases can this scattered pattern also be said to be regular. In most cases, scattered means that sites are mapped in most parts of the investigated area and no clear clustering is visible. One of the landscapes which answers best to the concept of an archetypal colonial territory is that of Valesio, which might have been part of the territory of Brundisium (Fig. 26).⁵⁵⁵ In the circa 18 sq. kms of terrain investigated, a dense (3.5 sites per sq. km.) and rather regular pattern of sites dating to the early colonial period was recognized.⁵⁵⁶ The distances between sites is not absolutely regular and tends to fluctuate between 300 and 800 metres. It is interesting that half of the recognized isolated sites were founded in the Pre-Colonial period and seem to have continued unaffected by political and military events until at least the mid-second century.⁵⁵⁷ Therefore there is no certainty about whether the landscape located at a fair distance from the colonial town centre can be considered colonial or would be better understood to be a local development.

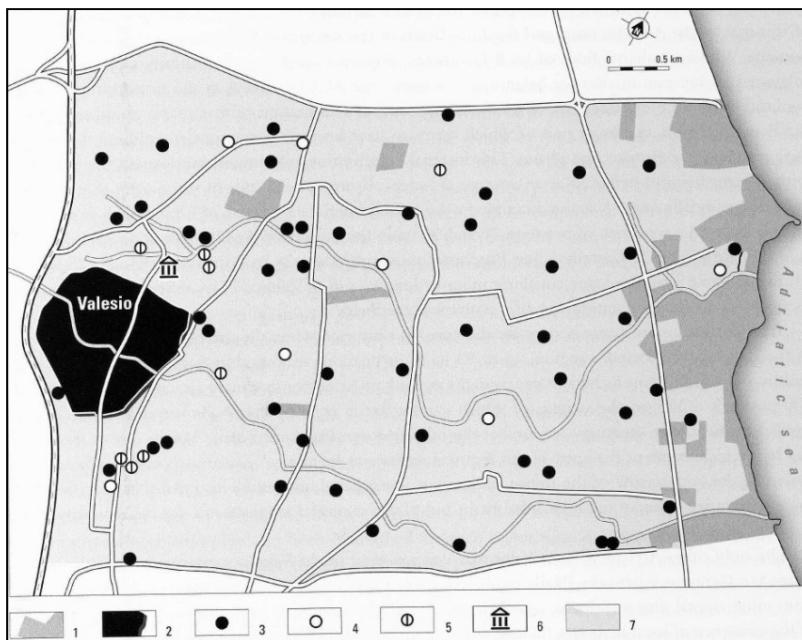


Fig. 26: The territory of Valesio with sites dating between the late 4th and the middle of the 2nd century. 1. inaccessible areas; 2. walled site of Valesio; 3. farm sites; 4. probable farm sites; 5. scatters consisting of tile and amphora only; 6. sanctuary site; 7. surveyed area, (from Attema, Burgers and Van Leusen 2010, 71).

⁵⁵⁴ At this point, I exclude those territories for which a scattered settlement system originated in the Pre-Colonial period; these are discussed in Section 3.

⁵⁵⁵ Aproso 2008.

⁵⁵⁶ Boersma, et al. 1991, 128-129. A total of 62 sites has been recognized dating generically to the late fourth to first half of the second century (and 5 probable sites). Almost half of these sites has produced only material dating to the second half of the third century and later. These data suggest a rather dramatic increase in sites in the Early Colonial period. See also Attema, et al. 2010, 70-73.

⁵⁵⁷ Scattered settlement patterns have been mapped in other territories in Salento (see for a synthesis Burgers 1998 and Yntema 2006).

Regularly settled landscapes have also been recognized in the hinterland of the maritime citizen colonies of Alsium, Croton and Volturnum. In Alsium, a relatively densely populated landscape of fairly evenly dispersed sites is recorded. Echoing the situation at Valesio, the scattered system of rural habitation originated in the pre-Roman period (density 0.58), but intensified significantly in the early colonial period (1.3 per sq. km.). Only a handful of sites has been recognized in the coastal area around the colonial stronghold. Most settlements are located in the foothills, near the Etruscan city of Caere. These are not likely to have been the dwellings of the small number of colonial migrants whose duty was to guard the coast. The immediate surroundings of the colony of Volturnum witnessed a significant intensification of rural settlements after the foundation of the colony. These settlements are scattered more or less regularly over the territory investigated (density 1.4).⁵⁵⁸ A fairly similar process has been recognized in the area known as Capo Colonna, the putative location of the Roman colony of Croton.⁵⁵⁹ This area was relatively densely settled in the colonial period (3.5 per sq. km.) by newly founded, isolated, regularly scattered sites.

In North Italy, scattered landscapes have been recorded in the territories of Cremona and Mutina. In Cremona, site densities are very low (0.3 for the entire Roman period) but this result is most likely the result of the poor quality of the inventory.⁵⁶⁰ Most sites recognized produced only pottery datable to the late Republican/ early Imperial period and it has been hypothesized that this part of the territory was reclaimed only in the late Republican period. A similar low density of sites has been mapped in the north-west area of the territory of Mutina (density 0.3).⁵⁶¹ In the area traces of a centuriation grid of 20x20 *actus* have been recognized. If, as Livy says, colonial allotments measured only 5 *iugera*, initially each *centuria* should have contained forty plots. However, on average at best only one site dating to the Republican period has been detected within the boundaries of one *centuria*; many remain empty. Higher densities have been mapped in an inventory carried out around the colonial town centre. With the exception of the territory immediately surrounding the colonial town, where almost no sites have been recognized, site densities are over 1 per sq. km. Even these higher densities are much lower than the expectation raised by the information about the size of colonial holdings.

A similar situation has been found in Saturnia. Around the colonial town centre, a high, rather evenly distributed number of Republican sites were recognized (Fig. 27).⁵⁶² However, when these sites are plotted in the reconstructed land division grid of allotments of 10 *iugera*, it immediately becomes obvious that the number of sites is still much lower than what might have been expected with only c. 25 per cent of the allotments being occupied by sites. Moreover, the percentage drops radically in the neighbouring *centuriae*, in which only a few sites were recognized; some even remain empty. At least

⁵⁵⁸ Crimaco 1991, 21-31 and tav. XXVI.

⁵⁵⁹ Carter 1986; Carter 1990.

⁵⁶⁰ Vullo 1995.

⁵⁶¹ Corti 2004.

⁵⁶² Attolini, et al. 1991; Carandini, et al. 2002, 140; 170.

a partial explanation might again be found in the clustering of dwellings. In the territory, several small hamlets have been recognized, the majority measuring less than 1 hectare.⁵⁶³ One larger settlement of 2 hectares has been recognized, located at just little more than one kilometre from the colonial town centre on the other side of the Albegna River.⁵⁶⁴

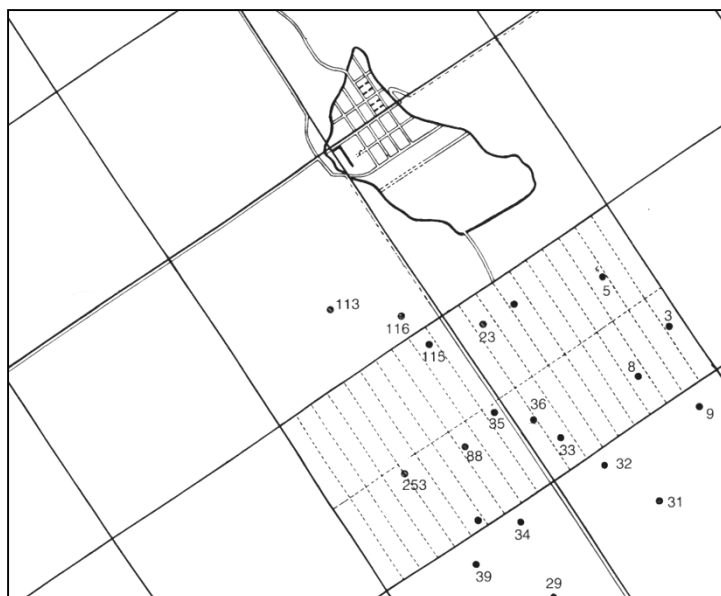


Fig. 27: The territory of Saturnia with land division grid (20x20 *actus*). Black dots: sites of the Republican period.

6. Conclusions

The traditional understanding of Roman colonial settlement arrangement as densely, regularly settled landscapes is not corroborated by the majority of archaeological field surveys. In most cases, the spatial arrangement of sites is very different from the evenly dispersed settlement plan which might have been anticipated. Most colonial landscapes were settled rather irregularly, often in clusters or aligned alongside watercourses, roads or breakpoints in the relief. After closer inspection, the few landscapes which approach the anticipated regular spatial arrangement turn out to have been either created in the pre-colonial period, or are strongly lacking in terms of site densities.

Without doing new fieldwork, it is very difficult to establish whether this discrepancy results from biases in the archaeological record or reflects genuine settlement trends. Given the fact that most research projects expected to find scattered landscapes it is unlikely that conceptual biases played an important role in the creation of these clustered or aligned patterns. Instead, there is a good chance that existing preconceptions have marginalized the importance of agglomerations of sites in the archaeological record.

⁵⁶³ Carandini, et al. 2002, site catalogue: Man 272.2; Man 88.6; Man 88.3; M 54.6; M 156; M 158; M 98; M 99; M 77.2; M 54.6.

⁵⁶⁴ Carandini, et al. 2002, site catalogue: Sam 51.1 2.

In some of the topographical studies, the recorded alignments of sites alongside roads or in river valleys could be the outcome of a specific bias of the research projects in question, which might have concentrated on those areas which were easily accessible or where settlement was expected. However, string-shaped settlement patterns have also been mapped in intensive surveys and in site-oriented field surveys which thoroughly sampled large territories composed of different geomorphologic zones and were not biased towards roads.

Obviously, these arguments do not in any way prove that the patterns noted are genuine (at best, they counter some of the methodological problems which are known to distort the archaeological survey data-set). My main point is simply that archaeological evidence for the existence of densely, regularly settled early colonial landscapes is virtually absent. If scholars wish to retain the traditional model of colonial habitation scattered regularly over the landscape, it should be demonstrated otherwise. As seen in Chapter 3, the two most important remaining data-sets which are believed to support the conventional model: literary information on land division into equally sized holdings and traces of centuriation, in fact seem to point in a different direction. These findings undermine the conventional expectations of colonial settlement arrangement even further.

If the *idée fixe* that in their early years all colonies were organized according to the centuriation model, consisting of a rigidly ordered hinterland, can be discarded, the possibility of recognizing other forms of settlement organization is opened up. Although admittedly patchy, the information available suggests that a multiple-core clustered or nucleated settlement system prevailed in the majority of the pre-Punic War colonial territories. Tentatively, these nucleated settlements can be connected with the colonial *uici* known from the epigraphic record. Such a settlement system had an obvious advantages in an early colonial context. It should be remembered that the environment colonists were entering was potentially hostile, their fields only recently conquered and surrounded by non-Roman people with possibly inimical intentions. Therefore, it would have made sense to live in larger, more easily defensible settlements and work the surrounding fields from there, rather than to live in isolated farmsteads spread out over the territory, or to be concentrated in a single urban centre which would have left the whole rural area unprotected.

From an archaeological point of view, it is only in the course of the late third and early second century that some colonial landscapes begin to approach the anticipated, regularly scattered settlement model. This is also the period in which the existence of land division grids becomes more convincing. But even in this period, settlement is not truly regular, but has clearly been determined by the natural conditions or major transport routes.