# SURVEY ARTICLE

# THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ROMAN ITALY: RECENT TRENDS AND APPROACHES*

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## INTRODUCTION

For the historian of the Roman period, the archaeology of Central and Southern Italy raises (and sometimes provides answers to) a fascinating variety of questions. The Pontine plain and the valleys of the Liri and Sacco were the areas first affected by Roman expansion beyond the Latial plain, and it was here that the Romans tested and perfected the techniques of organization and control of territory that were to be used with such success elsewhere in Italy and eventually throughout the Mediterranean: in particular, colonization, municipalization, and the transformation of the rural landscape which accompanied them. This area too saw the development of the villa system of agriculture, which came to be predominant in Central Italy during the first century B.C., and was imitated throughout the Empire; but there were also striking differences between agricultural practices in the plains and in the mountains above. This geographical diversity was paralleled by a complex cultural mix, as aspects of both Greek and Roman culture were adopted by the local populations, who themselves moved around an increasingly unified Italy with greater ease, leading to further cultural transformations.

This survey has two main aims. The first is to provide an over-view of trends in recent archaeological work in the area now forming the southern part of the region of Lazio, Abruzzo, Molise, and Campania, but with some reference also to research in Puglia and Basilicata. The chronological scope extends from the imposition of Roman hegemony in these areas in the fourth century B.C. into the High Empire, but the article has a particular focus on urban and rural settlement patterns during the mid- and late Republic and early Empire. The second aim is to review recent influential approaches to the archaeology of Central and Southern Italy in the Roman period, and in particular the conceptualization of cultural change in terms of 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization' that has been used to provide an explanatory framework for the developments identified through the archaeological record.

The survey concentrates primarily (though not exclusively) on work which has been published since 1981. This somewhat arbitrary cut-off point is suggested by the appearance in the *Journal* of that year of a review article by Crawford which discussed many important publications in the field during the previous decade;[1] and also *Società Romana e Produzione Schiavistica*, a significant and influential volume of essays produced under the auspices of the Istituto Gramsci.[2] From time to time, however, we have found it appropriate to refer to fundamental work published before that date.

There are, however, significant exclusions: in particular, discoveries at Pompeii (a site which, because of its rich body of specialist literature, deserves an archaeological survey of its own, although in some ways it would be welcome to see Pompeian studies more closely integrated into the broader context of work on Roman Italy); information from Ostia or the *suburbium* around Rome;[3] and the results of underwater archaeology;[4] similarly work of a primarily architectural or art-historical nature has been excluded from Sections I–III, though the potential value of a 'historical' reading of iconography is discussed in Section IV.

In some ways compiling a survey of work on Roman Italy is a more difficult task than reviewing developments in the study of the City of Rome.[5] Valuable contributions are scattered much more widely, in the pages of numerous learned journals,[6] in monographs devoted to local history, and in the catalogues of exhibitions held all over Italy. Exhibition catalogues of this type provide a welcome opportunity for the speedy publication of recent archaeological work, but can often be difficult to obtain even locally after the exhibition in question is over. At the same time, useful and accessible summaries of archaeological work in progress are now appearing on a regular basis; work in Lazio is reported in *Archeologia Laziale,* the proceedings of the annual meetings of the Istituto per l'archeologia etrusco-italica;[7] work in Campania (as also Puglia, Basilicata, and Calabria) up to 1988 in the proceedings of the Magna Grecia conferences held annually at Taranto, and subsequent work on Puglia in the journal *Taras*; information on new discoveries casting light on pre-Roman Italy — not only Etruria — appears regularly in *Studi Etruschi*; and reports on Samnium in *Conoscenze*, the journal of the Molise Soprintendenza. These reports reveal not only the extent of work undertaken and discoveries made by the archaeologists of the different Soprintendenze, but also allow an insight into the numerous problems with which these bodies have had to contend in recent years: notably the devastation caused by natural disasters such as the earthquake of 1980 in Campania[8] and the bradyseism emergency of 1982–4 around Pozzuoli, the continuing problem of clandestine excavation and export of antiquities,[9] other acts of criminality,[10] and the combined effect of financial cutbacks and recurrent expenditure involved in the maintenance of major monuments in their care.[11] The journal *Notizie degli Scavi,* formerly the main source of information on sites all over Italy, has in recent years been increasingly devoted to the thorough publication of specific excavations, but since its inception in 1990 the *Bollettino di Archeologia* has provided an alternative outlet for short reports on work carried out all over Italy. Another significant recent development has been the appearance of interim reports written for a popular audience in archaeological magazines such as *Archeo* and *Archeologia Viva,* which frequently provide valuable information before the full publication of an excavation is completed. The volumes in the *Guida Archeologica Laterza* series on Lazio, Abruzzo-Molise, Campania, and Magna Grecia provide very useful and up-to-date syntheses of the archaeological data from these regions.[12] A valuable bibliographical survey by a team of scholars from Croatia, France, Italy, and Slovenia of work on the lands bordering

[1] M. H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1982), 153–60.

[2] A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* (1981), reviewed by D. Rathbone, *JRS* 73 (1983), 160–8 and M. S. Spurr, *CR* 99 (1985), 123–31.

[3] For which see A. Claridge and A. Gallina Zevi (eds), *Roman Ostia Revisited* (forthcoming), and a forthcoming volume of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, edited by A. La Regina.

[4] On which see supplements to *Bollettino d'Arte* and the new journal *Bollettino di Archeologia Subacquea*.

[5] Compare J. R. Patterson, 'The City of Rome: from Republic to Empire', *JRS* 82 (1992), 186–215.

[6] The proliferation of which is lamented by M. Torelli in the introduction to *Ostraka* 1.1 (1992).

[7] An index to vols 1–10 is published in *Archeologia Laziale* 11.1 (1992).

[8] *Sisma 1980: effetti sul patrimonio artistico della Campania e della Basilicata* = *Bollettino d'Arte: supplemento* 2 (1982).

[9] cf. A. Romualdi (ed.), *Il patrimonio disperso: reperti archeologici sequestrati dalla Guardia di Finanza: catalogo della mostra, Piombino 15. 7–31. 10. 1989*. The discovery of an illegally excavated sculptural group representing the Capitoline triad from Guidonia (near Tivoli) early in 1994 graphically demonstrated the continuing problem. See *Archeo* 94 (April 1994), 12–13.

[10] Notoriously the theft of discoveries from Herculaneum in 1990: *Archeo* 61 (March 1990), 16–17.

[11] See e.g. the annual reports of M. L. Veloccia Rinaldi in the *Archeologia Laziale* series; especially *Arch. Laz.* 5 (1983), 13–16.

[12] F. Coarelli, *Lazio* (2nd edn, 1985); *Abruzzo-Molise*; S. De Caro and A. Greco, *Campania* (1981); E. Greco, *Magna Grecia* (1980).

the Adriatic contains material on the history and archaeology of the coastal regions of Abruzzo, Molise, and Puglia.[13]

The past few years have seen the publication in English of several monographs on the regions of Italy (e.g. Frederiksen's *Campania* and Lomas' *Rome and the Western Greeks*[14]) and also more general studies, notably Potter's *Roman Italy*,[15] and Dyson's *Community and Society in Roman Italy*.[16] Major chapters in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and the Einaudi *Storia di Roma* are based substantially on archaeological evidence from Italy, and demonstrate the increasing extent to which the boundaries between history and archaeology have been breaking down in recent years.[17] The same tendency is apparent in the contributions to a conference on 'L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien' held in Rome at the École Française in 1992.[18]

The past few years have also seen the appearance of standard treatments of the main pottery types from Roman Italy, including Morel's work on black glaze wares,[19] the *Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae italico modo confectae*, a new classification of the forms of Italian-type *terra sigillata* (otherwise known as 'Arretine ware') produced in Italy and elsewhere,[20] Medri's study of late Italian *terra sigillata*,[21] and a supplement to Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery*.[22] Of major importance has been the appearance of the *Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, a supplement to the *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*.[23] A catalogue of Italian lamps in the British Museum was published in 1980.[24] Two invaluable resources of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, now available both in London (Institute of Classical Studies) and Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), are the microfiche versions of its complete photographic archive and DYABOLA, the computerized version of its catalogue.

In intellectual terms, too, surveying recent work on Roman Italy is a difficult task, because, by contrast with the City of Rome, where virtually every monument or site can individually be linked to important topographical or historical issues and problems, the picture emerging from archaeological work in the Italian regions is a cumulative one; an individual site often contributes to the larger picture, whether at local or regional level, rather than having a dramatic effect on historical thinking in its own right (though these exceptional sites exist too, and deserve particular attention). The challenge to the scholar working on this material is to take due account of the specific local situations within the area under study, while at the same time not losing sight of the broader historical frameworks into which the detailed analysis must be set. The survey is therefore structured around four central themes. The first section examines the phenomenon of colonization, looking at the contribution of archaeology to an understanding of the impact of colonial foundations on the urban and rural landscape, both in the period of Roman expansion in Italy (fourth–second centuries B.C.) and then in the late Republic. The second examines the light cast on the economy of the wine-producing areas of southern Lazio and northern Campania by recent excavation and survey, and then the implications of recent work around the northern part of the Bay of Naples for our understanding of this crucial area. The third section deals with the history of the central Appennine area in the Roman period, focusing in particular on urbanization and the rural economy of the mountains, which have been receiving increasingly detailed attention in recent years. The final section examines intellectual approaches to cultural change in Central Italy, and in particular the phenomena of 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization', in the fourth and third centuries B.C., which are of crucial importance for the understanding of the mid- and late Republic. While these have been the focus of much recent scholarship in Italy, in the English-speaking world this period is marginal to the mainstream tradition of Ancient History teaching.

It should be stressed that this is a personal selection of recent work by the authors, and that exclusion implies no adverse judgement.

[13] 'Dix ans de recherche (1975–1985) sur l'Adriatique antique (IIIe siècle av. - IIe siècle ap. J.C.)', *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 353–479; *MEFRA* 100 (1988), 983–1088; 'Recherches sur l'Adriatique antique II (1986–1990)', *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 303–417, 1015–1122.

[14] M. W. Frederiksen and N. Purcell, *Campania* (1984); K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks 350 BC–AD 200* (1993).

[15] T. W. Potter, *Roman Italy* (1987), reviewed by T. Cornell, *JRS* 78 (1988), 202–5.

[16] S. L. Dyson, *Community and Society in Roman Italy* (1992), reviewed by K. Lomas, *JRS* 83 (1993), 226–7.

[17] e.g. the chapter on 'The Transformation of Italy, 300–133 BC', by J. P. Morel in *CAH* 8 (2nd edn, 1989), 477–516, reviewed by R. Saller, *JRS* 81 (1991),

157–63, esp. 162–3; and the chapters by F. Coarelli, M. Menichetti and P. Gros in A. Schiavone and A. Momigliano (eds), *Storia di Roma 2.1: l'impero mediterraneo* (1990).

[18] *L'Italie d'Auguste.*

[19] J. P. Morel, *Céramique campanienne: les formes* (1981).

[20] E. Ettlinger *et al.*, *Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae italico modo confectae* (1990).

[21] M. Medri, *Terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata* (1992).

[22] J. W. Hayes, *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (1980).

[23] A. Carandini *et al.*, *Atlante delle forme ceramiche: EAA suppl. i* (1981), *ii* (1985).

[24] D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy* (1980).

## I. COLONIZATION

The increased interest during the 1980s in the ideologies and practice of Roman imperialism (and in particular the debate about whether Roman imperialism should be considered primarily aggressive or defensive given an additional impetus by Harris' *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 B.C.*)[25] has been accompanied by an increasing interest in the importance of colonization under the Roman Republic; mid-Republican colonization was the theme of the conference published in the *Archeologia Laziale* series in 1979[26] and a meeting at Acquasparta in 1987.[27] The study of the phenomenon of colonization lends itself to archaeological investigation, because of the clearly identifiable traces the establishment of a colony left in the urban layout and civic monuments of an ancient settlement, as well as in its territory; indeed, it can be argued that the creation of colonies is one of the few types of *histoire événémentielle* which can be usefully investigated through the use of archaeology,[28] and provides us with some of the most striking manifestations of the effect of Roman conquest on the peninsula, as discussed in Section IV below.

Excavations have taken place in recent years at several important Latin colonies: notably Cosa (273 B.C.),[29] Paestum (273 B.C.),[30] Venusia (291 B.C.) and Hadria (289 B.C.),[31] Alba Fucens (303 B.C.),[32] and (most recently) Fregellae (328 B.C.).[33] As well as similarities in layout the excavations have, however, revealed interesting differences between these sites, reflecting the differing circumstances in the regions where they were established: Cosa appears as an outpost of Empire in hostile territory and fortress against potential raids by the Carthaginians; Paestum, by contrast, was a community established on the site of a highly sophisticated Greek colonial foundation, which had been subsequently occupied by Lucanians (see Section IV, below). The extent to which colonies were entities which, rather than following a wholly standardized pattern, might develop in different ways according to local circumstances, is demonstrated by the discovery that the colony at Alba Fucens may have been built within a pre-existing fortification of the Aequi and perhaps only later acquired its own set of walls;[34] similarly, the combination of surface survey and resistivity survey at Fregellae has suggested that the nucleus of the colony was located in the southern part of the site, and only later did the city spread northwards; city walls were apparently provided for the northern part of the site only with the threat provided by Hannibal's invasion of Italy,[35] and the street grid in the north-east of the city was laid out on a different alignment from the southern part.[36] It is possible that at Interamna Lirenas too occupation of the site may have extended in the second century.[37]

New discoveries are allowing an increased understanding of the earliest phases at other Latin colonies too. The street plan and walls of Norba seem to have been laid out in the fourth

[25] *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 B.C.* (1979); see also W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome,* Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 29 (1984).
[26] See *Archeologia Laziale* 2 (1979), 193–222.
[27] The proceedings are published in 'La colonizzazione romana tra la guerra latina e la guerra annibalica', *DdA* 3.6 (1988). See also the overview of F. Coarelli, 'Colonizzazione e municipalizzazione: tempi e modi', *DdA* 3.10 (1992), 21–30.
[28] J. R. Patterson, *JRS* 83 (1993), 189–93.
[29] See esp. F. Brown, *Cosa: the Making of a Roman Town* (1980); A. Carandini (ed.), *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci* (1985); A. M. McCann *et al., The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* (1987); R. T. Scott, 'The Latin colony of Cosa', *DdA* 3.6 (1988), 73–8; F. Brown *et al., Cosa III: The Buildings of the Forum,* Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 37 (1993); V. J. Bruno and R. T. Scott, *Cosa IV: The Houses,* Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 38 (1993); on the decline of the city, see E. Fentress, 'Cosa in the Empire: the unmaking of a Roman town', *JRA* 7 (1994), 208–22.
[30] E. Greco and D. Theodorescu (eds), *Poseidonia-Paestum I: La 'Curia'* (1980); idem, *Poseidonia-Paestum II: L'Agora* (1983); idem, *Poseidonia-Paestum III: Forum Nord,* Collection École Française de Rome 42 (1987); see also E. Greco, 'Archeologia della colonia latina di Paestum', *DdA* 3.6 (1988), 79–86;

J. G. Pedley, *Paestum* (1990); *Poseidonia-Paestum,* esp. M. Torelli, 'Paestum romana', 33–115.
[31] Venusia: M. R. Salvatore (ed.), *Il museo archeologico nazionale di Venosa* (1991); M. L. Marchi *et al.,* 'Venosa: nuove acquisizioni archeologiche', in *Basilicata,* 11–50. Hadria: G. Azzena, *Atri: forma e urbanistica* (1987).
[32] See esp. J. Mertens (ed.), *Alba Fucens* (1981); 'Alba Fucens', *DdA* 3.6 (1988), 87–104; M. Torelli, 'Il diribitorium di Alba Fucens e il "campus" eroico di Herdonia', in *Comunità indigene,* 39–63. For a fuller bibliography on the site, see *Comunità indigene,* 36, 38.
[33] See esp. F. Coarelli, *Fregellae II: il santuario di Esculapio* (1986); N. Pagliardi, 'Fregellae', *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980), 183–7; 4 (1981), 95–100; M. H. Crawford *et al.,* 'Excavations at Fregellae', *PBSR* 52 (1984), 21–35; 53 (1985), 72–96; 54 (1986), 40–68; 55 (1987), 75–82.
[34] Mertens, op. cit. (n. 32), 87–91; J. Mertens, 'Alba Fucens: à l'aube d'une colonie romaine', *Journal of Ancient Topography* 1 (1991), 93–112.
[35] Crawford, op. cit. (n. 33, 1984), 33–5.
[36] Crawford, op. cit. (n. 33, 1985), 85; op. cit. (n. 33, 1987).
[37] J. W. Hayes and E. M. Wightman, 'Interamna Lirenas: risultati di ricerche di superficie 1979–81', *Arch. Laz.* 6 (1984), 137–48.

century B.C., and then remodelled in the second century;[38] at Sora, excavations under the cathedral have revealed traces of a temple identified with the Capitolium of the Latin colony founded here in 303 B.C.;[39] sculptural fragments and architectural terracottas found in the centre of Benevento (Beneventum, 268 B.C.) suggest parallels with Cosa;[40] while at Isernia too (Aesernia, 263 B.C.) a mid-Republican temple has been discovered under the cathedral,[41] and recent research suggests that the aqueduct supplying the city was constructed when the colony was founded.[42] Finds of Latial-style votive terracottas at Montalto di Rionero and Colli al Volturno seem to illustrate the presence of the colonists in the territory.[43]

Similarly, a re-interpretation of excavations at the site of Minturnae by Coarelli and several collaborators has demonstrated how the differing political statuses of Roman and Latin colonies were reflected in the organization of public buildings. While Latin colonies had public buildings appropriate for their status as independent communities modelled on Rome, in particular a *curia* and *comitium*, the Roman colony of Minturnae acquired a forum only in the early second century B.C., outside the original *castrum* (?296 B.C.); as participants in a citizen colony, the inhabitants were citizens of Rome and so needed a less elaborate local civic structure.[44]

The excavations undertaken at Fregellae, by British and Italian archaeologists, have also cast light on the later history of the city, and the background to (and consequences of) the mysterious episode of the destruction of the city in 125 B.C. by L. Opimius' army after it had revolted against Rome.[45] Within the city, excavations have revealed a series of wealthy houses decorated with terracotta friezes commemorating Rome's victorious campaigns in the East in the early second century B.C.; these must have belonged to the colony's aristocrats, who may well themselves have been involved in these campaigns.[46] Subsequently these houses were remodelled as *fullonicae*, for wool-working; Coarelli links this development to the arrival of numerous Samnites and Paelignians in the city in the 180s B.C. attested by Livy.[47] The discovery of a sanctuary in Hellenistic style dedicated to Asclepius, recalling those of Kos and Lindos, demonstrates the wealth and architectural splendour of the rebel city; this sanctuary, located outside the city walls, was apparently destroyed during the Roman sack.[48]

Minimal traces of settlement on the site of the city in the imperial period were revealed by survey, suggesting that Fregellae had been totally destroyed; whatever inhabitants survived moved to the new colony at Fabrateria Nova.[49] The territory of the city seems also to have been affected by the events of 125 B.C.; although limited precision in dating the survey pottery is possible, it seems quite likely that many rural sites ceased to be settled at this time.[50]

Particular attention has been devoted recently to the ways in which the creation of colonies had an effect on the landscape beyond their city walls. In particular, the road-building initiatives of the mid-Republic have been related to the programme of colonial foundations;[51] and aerial photography and other archaeological techniques have been applied to the study of the centuriation of colonial territories, together with the analysis of texts such as the *Liber*

[38] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, 'Ricerche su Norba', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 233–56.

[39] A. Zevi Gallina, 'Sora: scavi alla cattedrale', *Arch. Laz.* 1 (1978), 64–6; M. Lolli Ghetti and N. Pagliardi, 'Sora: scavo preso la chiesa cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta', *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980), 177–89.

[40] G. Tocco Sciarelli in *Un secolo di ricerche in Magna Grecia: Atti del 28° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (1988), 504 ff.; see also D. Giampaola, 'Benevento, il processo di aggregazione di un territorio', in *Basilicata*; eadem, 'Benevento', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 123–31; a new study on Beneventum is to be published by the same author in the series 'Città antiche in Italia'. See also M. Rotili, *Benevento romana e longobarda* (1986), 13–79.

[41] G. D'Henry, 'La romanizzazione del Sannio nel II e I secolo a.C.', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 9–19.

[42] V. Castellani, 'La struttura sotterranea dell'antico acquedotto di Aesernia', *Journal of Ancient Topography* 1 (1991), 113–28.

[43] S. Capini, 'Venafro e l'alta valle del Volturno', in *Samnium*, 107–10.

[44] M. P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando in F. Coarelli (ed.), *Minturnae* (1989), 38–9.

[45] Livy, *Per.* 60.

[46] F. Coarelli, 'Due fregi da Fregellae: un documento storico della prima guerra Siriaca?', *Ostraka* 3.1 (1994), 93–108; cf. also R. Känel, 'Ein neuer

Fundkomplex architektonischer Terrakotten aus Fregellae', *Ostraka* 3.1 (1994), 109–22.

[47] 'I culti sannitici nel Lazio meridionale', in *Comunità indigene*, 177–92; F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 177–85. For further discussion of the phenomenon of 'Samnitization' see below, p. 189.

[48] Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 33); cf. F. Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana* (1987), 23–33.

[49] For research on the site of Fabrateria Nova see M. De Lucia Brolli, 'Fabrateria Nova', *Arch. Laz.* 5 (1983), 104–11; L. Crescenzi, 'L'anfiteatro di S. Giovanni in Carico', *Arch. Laz.* 7 (1985), 109–11. For Fabrateria Vetus (at nearby Ceccano) see S. Antonini, *Fabrateria Vetus: un'indagine storico-archeologica* (1988).

[50] Crawford et al., op. cit. (n. 33, 1986), 48–51.

[51] e.g. F. Coarelli, 'Colonizzazione romana e viabilità', *DdA* 3.6. (1988), 35–48. Comparatively little work has been done in recent years on the roads themselves, but note however: L. Quilici, *La Via Appia I: da Porta Capena ai Colli Albani; II: dalla pianura Pontina a Brindisi* (1989); L. Quilici, *Le strade: viabilità tra Roma e Lazio = Vita e costumi dei romani antichi* 12 (1990); *La Via Appia = Archeologia Laziale* 10 = *Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica* 18 (1990); L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Tecnica stradale romana* (1992); C. O'Connor, *Roman Bridges* (1993).

*Coloniarum.*[52] Chouquer, Favory, and others have identified a large number of hitherto unknown centuriation grids in Central Italy, although some doubts have been expressed on the methodology adopted and on the chronology suggested for some of these grids; more work on the ground is needed to confirm the dating and context of these schemes.[53] The work of Gasparri in the territory to the north of Paestum is suggestive in this respect: by combining the study of aerial photographs with augering and excavation on the ground he has securely dated the traces identified from the air to the foundation of the Latin colony there.[54]

Field survey in different areas has confirmed the impact on settlement patterns of colonial foundations; in the territory of Cales, settlement in the plain was a phenomenon only of the period between the creation of the Latin colony there in 334 B.C. and the second century A.D.; along the foothills of the Appennines, however, settlement has been detected from the Neolithic into Late Antiquity.[55] Around Volturnum, *vici* were replaced by villas and scattered rural settlement following the foundation of the colony in 194 B.C.[56] Studies at Praeneste have shown that here both town and territory were affected by the Sullan deduction; centuriation has been identified in the territory, and a new street grid in the south-east of the town;[57] while the find of a new *cippus* at Celenza Valfortore has led Grelle to a re-evaluation of the Gracchan settlement there.[58]

Keppie has drawn attention to the acts of imperial and private generosity which might accompany the creation of a new veteran colony;[59] even the viritane settlement of veterans could have similar effects on the townscape as at Signia, which acquired a new cryptoporticus near the forum,[60] and at Saepinum, where there was wholesale rebuilding of the urban centre.[61] Most striking, perhaps, is the discovery by Johannowsky of a new settlement of the late second century B.C. some 12–13 ha in area, perhaps a Gracchan colony, at Fioccaglia di Flumeri, east of Benevento. It was apparently destroyed in the Social War.[62]

## II. TOWN AND COUNTRY: THE PLAINS

The agricultural economy of the fertile plains of southern Latium and northern Campania was exceptional in many ways. Low-lying in an essentially mountainous peninsula, with easy access by means of the sea and several adequate harbours to the markets of the City of Rome and areas of Roman influence abroad, in the second and first centuries the coastal plains became the centre of the developing villa system as described by Cato, and of the large-scale production of wine for export. Hence much recent research in these areas has focused on investigating the

[52] See e.g. *Misurare la terra: centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano* (1983); E. Gabba, 'Per un'interpretazione storica della centuriazione romana', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 265–84; O. Behrends and L. Capogrossi Colognesi (eds), *Die römische Feldmesskunst* (1992).

[53] G. Chouquer et al., *Structures agraires en Italie centro-meridionale: cadastres et paysage ruraux* (1987), reviewed by E. Gabba, 'Sui sistemi catastali romani in Italia', *Athenaeum* 67 (1989), 567–70; J. R. Patterson, *JRS* 81 (1991), 215. See R. Compatangelo, 'Archeologia aerea in Campania settentrionale: primi risultati e prospettive', *MEFRA* 98 (1986), 595–621, for the study of villas from the air; also eadem, 'Catasti e strutture agrarie regionali del Sannio', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 139–47. P. Liverani, 'Termini muti di centuriazione o contrappesi di torchi', *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 111–27, warns of the hazards of mis-identifying pieces of olive-press as *cippi* from land-division schemes.

[54] D. Gasparri, 'La fotointerpretazione archeologica nella ricerca storico-topografica sui territori di Pontecagnano, Paestum et Velia I', *AION* 11 (1989), 253–65; idem, 'La fotointerpretazione archeologica nella ricerca storico-topografica sui territori di Pontecagnano, Paestum et Velia II', *AION* 12 (1990), 229–38; idem, 'Nuove acquisizioni archeologiche sulla divisione agraria di Paestum', in *Le ravitaillement en blé*, 149–58.

[55] R. Compatangelo, *L'Ager Calenus: saggi di ricognizione topografica* (1985).

[56] L. Crimaco, *Volturnum* (1991), 21 ff.

[57] M. P. Muzzioli, 'Divisioni agrarie nel territorio di Praeneste', *Arch. Laz.* 11 (1993), 209–12; L. Quilici, 'L'impianto urbanistico della città bassa di Palestrina', *Röm. Mitt.* 87 (1980), 171–214; idem, 'La struttura della città inferiore di Praeneste', *Urbanistica ed architettura dell'antica Praeneste: atti del convegno di studi archeologici, Palestrina 16/17 aprile 1988* (1989), 49–68.

[58] G. Volpe, *La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione. Paesaggio agrario, produzione, scambi* (1990), 209–23; F. Grelle, 'La centuriazione di Celenza Valfortore: un nuovo cippo graccano e la romanizzazione del Subappennino Dauno', *Ostraka* 3.2 (1994), 249–58.

[59] L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 B.C.* (1983), 114–22.

[60] F. M. Cifarelli, 'Il criptoportico periforense di Segni: attività edilizia ed evergetismo municipale fra tarda repubblica e prima età imperiale', *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 755–85.

[61] See below, n. 106.

[62] W. Johannowsky, 'L'abitato tardo-ellenistico a Fioccaglia di Flumeri e la romanizzazione dell'Irpinia', in *Basilicata*, 269–80; idem, 'Circello, Casalbore e Flumeri nel quadro della romanizzazione dell'Irpinia', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 57–83, at 68–77.

problems of the villa economy. At what stage (and why?) did villas become the characteristic mode of exploitation in these areas? How did the manufacture and export of wine amphorae relate to the villa economy? When and why did the villas disappear? Detailed study of the amphorae themselves has been combined with excavation of individual villa sites and rural field survey in an attempt to provide answers to these questions.

Several important pieces of work on Italian wine amphorae have appeared since Paterson published his very useful review of amphorae studies in 1982;[63] especially notable in this context are the proceedings of a conference on the subject held in Siena in 1986.[64] Details of amphora production in southern Lazio and northern Campania have been collected in this volume by Hesnard, who demonstrates that the area was a major centre for the manufacture of Greco-Italic and Dressel 1 amphorae; kilns are identified at Astura, Lago di Fondi, the lower valley of the Garigliano, the Ager Falernus, and also (perhaps more surprisingly) at Dugenta in the Volturno valley on the borders of Campania and Samnium.[65] Recent work has stressed that the presence of amphorae is an indication not of wine production alone, but wine production for export; the change from the Greco-Italic to the more robust Dressel 1 style in the second half of the second century B.C. seems to imply the increasing importance of the export trade.

One such area especially noted for viticulture, the Ager Falernus, has recently been investigated in detail by both Arthur and Vallat. Here there seems to be a link between large-scale production on coastal sites of Dressel 1 amphorae in the late second/early first centuries B.C. and the widespread development of rural villas; though the luxurious coastal villas seem to be a slightly later phenomenon, perhaps related to the well-attested presence of senatorial estates in the area.[66]

There seems, however, to have been a significant change in the late first century B.C., when some sites on marginal land were abandoned and the coastal kilns producing the Dressel 1 type were replaced by others, producing Dressel 2–4 amphorae, situated further inland near rural villas. Zevi has explained the change from the heavier Dressel 1 to the lighter Dressel 2–4 forms in terms of changing patterns of marketing; that the latter could be lighter because they were intended to be transported shorter distances than their predecessors, which had been exported all over the Western Mediterranean; so it may be that here too the changing style of amphorae indicates a change in patterns of wine production and distribution.[67] These kiln sites are abandoned by the late first century/early second century A.D., and the number of rural villas declines markedly in the imperial period,[68] although Arthur has identified an amphora found in excavations under the church of San Clemente at Rome and dated to A.D. 216 by a *titulus pictus* as coming from the Ager Falernus — this seems to confirm the evidence of Galen that at least some Falernian wine continued to be exported,[69] though the scale of this production seems to have been limited.[70]

Unfortunately few villas have as yet been excavated in detail in the Ager Falernus itself, but the Posto and S. Rocco villas at Francolise in the nearby territory of Cales seem to reflect the pattern identified by Arthur and Vallat: both of these villas were first constructed at the beginning of the first century B.C.;[71] the Posto villa was abandoned in c. A.D. 160 (though later reoccupied), and the San Rocco site in c. A.D. 210.[72] The large-scale excavations carried out by Carandini at Settefinestre, while falling in geographical terms outside the scope of this review, have also been extremely influential in providing models for understanding developments in the Ager Falernus, given the importance of wine production for export both here and in the Ager Cosanus; the villa

[63] J. J. Paterson, 'Salvation from the sea: amphorae and trade in the Roman West', *JRS* 72 (1982), 146–57. NB especially N. Purcell, 'Wine and wealth in ancient Italy', *JRS* 75 (1985), 1–19; A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine* (1986); D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide* (1986); C. Panella and A.Tchernia, 'Produits agricoles transportés en amphores: l'huile et surtout le vin', in *L'Italie d'Auguste*, 145–65.

[64] *Amphores romaines*.

[65] A. Hesnard *et al.*, 'Aires de production des greco-italiques et des Dr. 1', in *Amphores romaines*, 21–65.

[66] P. Arthur, 'Roman amphorae in the Ager Falernus under the Empire', *PBSR* 50 (1983), 22–33; idem, *Romans in Northern Campania* (1991); idem, 'Territories, wine and wealth: Suessa Aurunca, Sinuessa, Minturnae, and the Ager Falernus', in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (1991), 153–9; J. P. Vallat, 'Le paysage agraire du piedmont du Massique', in Chouquer *et al.*, op. cit.

(n. 53), 315–77. See the review by E. Fentress in *JRA* 6 (1993), 367–70, which interestingly compares the methodologies employed by the two scholars. For other recent work on the Ager Falernus, incorporating a useful bibliography, see G. Guadagno (ed.), *Storia economia e architettura nell'Ager Falernus: atti delle giornate di studio, feb.–marzo 1986* (1987).

[67] F. Zevi, 'Introduzione', in *Amphores romaines*, 14–15.

[68] Compare Compatangelo, op. cit. (n. 55), 18, for a similar pattern in the territory of Cales.

[69] P. Arthur, *Romans in Northern Campania* (1991), 85.

[70] C. Panella, 'Le anfore italiche del II secolo d.C.', in *Amphores romaines*, 139–78, esp. 142.

[71] M. A. Cotton, *The Late Republican Villa at Posto, Francolise* (1979); M. A. Cotton and G. P. R. Métraux, *The San Rocco Villa at Francolise* (1985), 11–12.

[72] Cotton and Métraux, op. cit. (n. 71, 1985), 83–4.

at Settefinestre was built in the Caesarian/Triumviral period, restructured in the early second century A.D., and eventually abandoned by the end of the second century.[73]

One interesting consequence of recent research in the Ager Falernus and similar areas has been to focus attention on the latter part of the second and the early first centuries (rather than the earlier part of the second century) as the crucial period in terms of the development of the villa economy, contrary to the view which linked villas and wine-export directly to the period of greatest imperial expansion in the first half of the second century.[74] The wine-producing villas of the Ager Falernus also emerge as a phenomenon specific to a particular geographical and chronological context. Even within this limited area, some variation can be seen: Arthur notes that the town of Suessa, with a rather more variegated pattern of agriculture in its territory, seems to have had a (comparatively) more flourishing existence into the High Empire than towns like Sinuessa which were totally dependent on the wine trade.[75] The situation within Campania thus seems to mirror the complexity of the position around Cosa (where substantial differences can be seen between the coastal Ager Cosanus and the territory of Saturnia inland),[76] and indeed in Italy more widely, as suggested by recent field survey.[77] In any case, as Jongman has argued for Pompeii, large tracts of land must have been devoted to corn-growing even at the time of the 'boom' in wine production.[78] The work of Volpe and others is now allowing us to compare the situation in Tyrrhenian Italy with the rather different patterns in Daunia and elsewhere in Puglia, where the Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A forms are the most common amphorae, and there are very few of Tyrrhenian origin.[79]

To turn to the Bay of Naples, the port of Puteoli — organized in regiones and vici like Rome itself[80] — was under the early Empire the main destination of ships bringing corn to the capital;[81] Augustus established a major naval base near here; along the northern part of the Bay of Naples a series of luxurious villas was constructed by the Roman aristocracy from the second century B.C. onwards, primarily for leisure purposes, and eventually many of these fell into the hands of the emperors.[82] Thus this area became in many ways an extension of the City of Rome. Its archaeology is thus of exceptional interest, and the recent upsurge in research very welcome indeed.[83]

Paradoxically, much of this work is a direct or indirect consequence of recent natural disasters. Much of the City of Naples and the surrounding area was severely shaken by the Irpinia earthquake of 1980, and archaeological study has gone hand-in-hand with restoration of the damaged monuments. Excavation at S. Lorenzo Maggiore in the centre of the city, for example, has revealed a complex of Roman public buildings including an aerarium and market, dating from the rebuilding of the city after the earthquake of A.D. 62.[84] The extent to which the medieval city of Naples was built on Roman foundations is now becoming increasingly clear. Similarly, between 1982 and 1984 the area around Pozzuoli was badly affected by the phenomenon of bradyseism, and in places the ground level rose by 2.6 metres. Serious damage

[73] A. Carandini et al., Settefinestre: una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria Romana (1985); see also A. Carandini, 'L'economia italica tra tarda Repubblica e medio Impero considerata dal punto di vista di una merce: il vino', in Amphores romaines, 505–21; idem, 'La villa romana e la piantagione schiavistica', in A. Schiavone (ed.), Storia di Roma IV: caratteri e morfologie (1989), 101–200.

[74] J. J. Paterson, 'Agrarian structures in the lowlands', in Barker and Lloyd, op. cit. (n. 66), 133–4; D. Rathbone, 'The Italian countryside and the Gracchan "crisis"', JACT Review 13 (Spring 1993), 18–19.

[75] Arthur, op. cit. (n. 69), 101–2; idem in Barker and Lloyd, op. cit. (n. 66), 158; cf. M. Pagano, Sinuessa: storia ed archeologia di una colonia romana (1990); L. Crimaco and G. Gasperetti (eds), Prospettive di memoria: testimonianze archeologiche della città e del territorio di Sinuessa (1993).

[76] I. Attolini et al., 'Political geography and productive geography between the valleys of the Albegna and the Fiora in Northern Etruria', in Barker and Lloyd, op. cit. (n. 66), 142–57.

[77] Reviewed in J. R. Patterson, 'Crisis: what crisis? rural change and urban development in imperial Appennine Italy', PBSR 55 (1987), 115–46.

[78] W. Jongman, The Economy and Society of Pompeii (1988), 57 ff., with the review by N. Purcell in CR 40 (1990), 111–16; see now J. Andreau, 'Pompéi et le

ravitaillement en blé et autres produits de l'agriculture (Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)', in Le ravitaillement en blé, 129–36.

[79] G. Volpe, La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione. Paesaggio agrario, produzione, scambi (1990), 225–50.

[80] G. Camodeca, 'L'ordinamento in "regiones" e i "vici" di Puteoli', Puteoli 1 (1977), 62–98.

[81] Frederiksen and Purcell, op. cit. (n. 14), 324–8; G. Camodeca, 'Puteoli porto annonario e il commercio del grano in età imperiale', in Le ravitaillement en blé, 103–28.

[82] J. H. d'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples (1980).

[83] For recent work in Campania, and the problems facing archaeologists there, see Archeologia in Campania: incontri di lavoro per la tutela e la valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-artistico (maggio-giugno 1985) (1987); E. Pozzi, 'Problemi dell'archeologia flegrea, oggi', in P. Amalfitano (ed.), Il destino della Sibilla: mito, scienza e storia dei Campi Flegrei (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi sui Campi Flegrei promosso dalla Fondazione Napoli Novantanove, Napoli 27–28 settembre 1985) (1986), 59–64; A. M. Steiner, 'L'oro di Napoli', Archeo 44 (Oct. 1988), 18–31.

[84] A. de Simone, 'L'area archeologica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli', in Archeologia in Campania, op. cit. (n. 83), 189–94; Napoli antica (1985).

was caused to monuments such as the amphitheatre at Pozzuoli,[85] and to the *centro storico* of the town, which had to be evacuated; however, this has allowed further investigation of the nucleus of the Roman colony of 194 B.C., including the 'temple of Augustus' now identified as the Capitolium. More archaeological survey work has been necessitated by measures taken to rehouse the inhabitants of modern Pozzuoli: a new community has been constructed for 20,000 people at Monterusciello to the north of the original town.[86] This work, together with the epigraphic and topographical studies published in the new journal *Puteoli*, is dramatically increasing our knowledge of one of the major cities of Roman Italy, which only a few years ago was still very meagre.[87]

A further consequence of the 1980 earthquake was the creation of a new archaeological Soprintendenza for Pompeii (which had previously been under the authority of the Naples Soprintendenza); as a result, the authorities in Naples have been able to devote more time and resources to the Campi Flegrei area. Particularly notable has been the 'EUBEA' project, begun in 1987, which combined the techniques of archaeology and information technology in cataloguing the sites and monuments of the Campi Flegrei in a new data-base. The results have been presented in the accessible form of a substantial illustrated guidebook.[88]

Important new finds have confirmed the picture of the Bay of Naples as a major centre of imperial activity. In 1981–3 a nymphaeum preserved underwater (in this case disclosed rather than destroyed by bradyseism) was excavated off the coast of Baiae at Punta Epitaffio by Gianfrotta, revealing an impressive sculptural complex which included statues of Ulysses and a companion (unfortunately the associated Cyclops had disappeared), together with a portrait of Antonia Augusta.[89] Similarly, aerial photography has revealed traces of the canal begun by Nero to connect Puteoli and Ostia, between Pozzuoli and Castelvolturno;[90] and Nero's activities in the area now appear also to have included the building of the Puteoli amphitheatre, conventionally dated to the Flavian period.[91]

### III. TOWN AND COUNTRY: THE MOUNTAINS

The increasing interest over the past few years in the material culture of the pre-Roman central Appennines has also been reflected in an increasing amount of work on the Roman period. Whereas the major 'Sannio' exhibition held in Campobasso in 1980 only covered the chronological period up to the first century B.C., the catalogue of the 'Samnium' exhibition of 1991 contained a substantial number of reports on work on sites of the imperial period.[92] The impressive scale of recent work is also illustrated in G. Iaculli's *Bibliografia ragionata di archeologia abruzzese 1970–1988* (1990). Major research excavations have been taking place at Saepinum, Iuvanum, Colle d'Amplero, and elsewhere; the archaeological Soprintendenze of Abruzzo and Molise have been undertaking numerous projects locally, and other field-surveys and topographical research have also been carried out.[93] The strong local identity of the area in modern times has led to the appearance of numerous antiquarian and popular journals which specialize in publications on local history and archaeology, notably *Abruzzo*, *Samnium*, and the annual *Almanacco del Molise*. Within this general context, particular attention has been focused on the related problems of urbanization and the nature of the rural economy of the central Appennine peoples in the Roman period;[94] and the recent publication of the Biferno valley

[85] E. Guglielmo, 'Primi interventi per la salvaguardia dell' Anfiteatro Flavio di Pozzuoli', in *Archeologia in Campania*, op. cit. (n. 83), 79–86.

[86] C. Gialanella, 'Pozzuoli tra programmazioni d'emergenza', in *Archeologia in Campania*, op. cit. (n. 83), 69–78.

[87] See Frederiksen and Purcell, op. cit. (n. 14), 350; M. Pobjoy, *JRS* 83 (1993), 194–5; and now F. Zevi (ed.), *Puteoli* (1993).

[88] P. Amalfitano et al., *I Campi Flegrei: un itinerario archeologico* (1990).

[89] F. Zevi and B. Andreae, 'Gli scavi sottomarini di Baia', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982), 114–56; G. Tocco Sciarelli, *Baia: il ninfeo imperiale sommerso di Punta Epitaffio* (1983).

[90] W. Johannowsky, 'Appunti su alcune infra-

strutture dell'annona romana tra Nerone e Adriano', *Boll. Arch.* 4 (1990), 1–14; idem, 'Canali e fiumi per il trasporto del grano', in *Le ravitaillement en blé*, 159–65.

[91] G. Camodeca in *Archeologia in Campania*, op. cit. (n. 83), 88–91.

[92] *Sannio: Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec. a.C.* (1980); *Samnium*.

[93] e.g. F. van Wonterghem, *Forma Italiae: Superaequum-Corfinium-Sulmo* (1984); E. de Felice, *Forma Italiae: Larinum* (1994). For field surveys, see below, n. 95.

[94] See G. d'Henry, 'La riorganizzazione del Sannio nell'Italia romanizzata: introduzione', in *Samnium*, 205–8, for an overview of the chief issues.

survey, as well as being a major contribution in its own right, has made the debate on these issues even more accessible in English.[95]

Before the advent of the Romans, the Samnite landscape was largely characterized by a combination of hillforts,[96] rural sanctuaries,[97] villages, and scattered settlements.[98] How this traditional landscape was affected by the development of towns has been a major theme of recent work. The fate of rural sanctuaries, for instance, seems to have varied from place to place, depending on the extent of their integration in the municipal structures of the area.[99] Some may have been abandoned after the Social War (e.g. Atessa),[100] some continued to be important into the imperial period (e.g. the shrine of Hercules Curinus near Sulmo),[101] while those at Campochiaro, Colle Sparanise, and Vastogirardi seem to have revived in the first century A.D. after a period of abandonment, though in most cases apparently with a poorer clientele.[102] The importance of the major fortified community at Monte Vairano, which has already revealed a kiln-site and a residential area, seems to have declined dramatically after the Social War;[103] similarly most of the *vici* which had formed the core of the traditional settlement pattern seem to have lost their political importance, although some were transformed into towns under the new municipal system and others survived into the imperial period solely as nucleated centres of habitation. Excavations by the University of Pisa at Colle d'Amplero, to the south of the Fucine Lake, have revealed a fascinating complex of related sites which include a hillfort (destroyed in the third century B.C., but rebuilt around the time of the Social War), a sanctuary (abandoned after the Social War), and a nucleated settlement with associated cemeteries, including a chamber tomb with Hellenistic style ivory funeral bed, which continued to be used into the first century A.D.[104]

More generally, the data from recent excavations have demonstrated how complex a phenomenon the process of urbanization in the Appennines was. The grant of citizenship to the Italian allies was, of course, of major significance in encouraging urban development; some communities, however, such as Larinum, which went on to become a wealthy urban centre,[105] had long since been identifiable as towns, but in some places it was not until the Augustan or even the Julio-Claudian period that communities acquired an identifiably urban framework. At Saepinum, it appears that a community was established on the plain below the Samnite hillfort, which by the second century B.C. had acquired some wealthy houses with mosaic and other sophisticated decoration, together with buildings for the working of wool; however, the urban framework now visible seems to have been largely a result of the re-founding of the town by

[95] *A Mediterranean Valley*; G. Barker, *The Biferno Valley Survey* (1995); for other survey data from Samnium, see P. P. Hayes, 'The San Vincenzo survey, Molise', in S. Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds), *Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad* (1985), 129–35; J. R. Patterson, 'The upper Volturno valley in Roman times', in R. Hodges and J. Mitchell (eds), *San Vincenzo al Volturno: The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Mediaeval Monastery*, BAR Int. Ser. 252 (1985), 213–26.

[96] For which, see, building on the work of A. La Regina, 'I centri fortificati preromani nei territori sabellici dell'Italia centrale adriatica', *Pozebna Izdanja* 24 (1975), 271–82 and G. Conta Haller, *Ricerche su alcuni centri fortificati in opera poligonale in area campano-sannitica* (1978): D. Caiazza, *Archeologia e storia antica del mandamento di Pietramelara e del Montemaggiore 1: preistoria e età sannitica* (1986), reviewed by S. P. Oakley, *Archivio Storico di Terra di Lavoro* 12 [1990–1] (1992), 179–88; E. Mattiocco, *Centri fortificati preromani nel territorio dei peligni* (1981); idem, *Centri fortificati preromani nella conca di Sulmona* (1981); idem, *Centri fortificati vestini* (1986); see also *I° seminario nazionale di studi sulle mura poligonali* (Alatri, 1988); S. Capini, 'Venafro e l'alta valle del Volturno', in *Samnium*, 107–10; S. P. Oakley, *The Hillforts of the Samnites* (1996).

[97] See below, n. 141.

[98] G. Barker in *A Mediterranean Valley*, 188–201.

[99] C. Letta, 'I santuari rurali nell'Italia centro-appenninico: valori religiosi e funzione aggregativa', *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 109–24. See also J. A. North, 'Religion and Rusticity', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (1995), 135–50.

[100] E. Fabbricotti, 'Il santuario di Atessa', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica dell'Università di Chieti* 3 (1984), 85–119.

[101] G. F. la Torre, 'Il santuario di Ercole Curino', in E. Mattiocco (ed.), *Dalla villa di Ovidio al santuario di Ercole* (1989).

[102] M. Cappelletti, 'La fase romana del santuario di Campochiaro', in *Samnium*, 237–9; G. Barker in *A Mediterranean Valley*, 223–4.

[103] G. de Benedittis, 'Monte Vairano', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 47–55; idem, 'Monte Vairano', in *Samnium*, 127–30 (with further bibliography at 408–9); idem, *Monte Vairano: la casa di 'LN'. Catalogo della mostra* (1988).

[104] *Amplero: archeologia e storia di un centro italico-romano. 20 anni di ricerche. Collelongo (AQ): 16 agosto–31 dicembre 1989*; M. Paoletti, 'L'insediamento di Amplero (Collelongo, Ortucchio) dall'età preromana al tardoantico: sintesi della ricerca', in *Il territorio del parco nazionale d'Abruzzo nell'antichità: atti del 10 convegno nazionale di archeologia (Villetta Barrea, 1–3 maggio 1987)*, 209–49; C. Letta, 'Aspetti della romanizzazione in area marsa: il centro di Amplero', in *Comunità indigene*, 157–75; idem, 'Due letti funerari in osso dal centro italico-romano della valle d'Amplero (Abruzzo)', *Mon. Ant. Lincei* ser. misc. III.3.52 (1984), 67 ff.

[105] Larinum: A. di Niro, 'Larinum', in *Samnium*, 263–7; P. De Tata, 'Anfiteatro di Larinum: le campagne di scavo 1987–1988', in *Samnium*, 129–37, dates the Larinum amphitheatre to the late first century A.D.; M. Morricone Matini, 'Pavimenti musivi a Larinum', in *Samnium*, 271–2; N. Stelluti, *Mosaici di Larino* (1988); de Felice, op. cit. (n. 93).

Tiberius and Drusus between 2 B.C. and A.D. 4, connected with the settlement of veterans.[106] Iuvanum, by contrast, seems to have been a small village adjacent to a sanctuary with two temples and the hillfort at nearby Montenerodomo until it became a *municipium*; but the laying out of the urban superstructure seems to have been a phenomenon of the Julio-Claudian period.[107] Excavations at Ligures Baebiani, an urban centre serving the community of Ligurians transported by the Roman authorities to Samnium in 181 B.C., have revealed a temple probably connected with the creation of the new community; while coarsewares found on the site may have parallels from the Garfagnana, in the original territory of the Ligures.[108]

The complexity of the pattern identified in the towns of the Appennines is reflected in the data emerging from research in the countryside. Field survey and excavation have combined with the literary evidence to suggest that rather different agricultural patterns prevailed in the lowlands on the fringes of the Appennines and in the mountain basins of the Samnite heartland. Villas producing substantial quantities of wine, perhaps for export, have been identified in the lower valley of the Trigno, for example,[109] while settlement in the wealthy olive-producing area around Venafrum is characterized by large villas like that at Castelvecchio.[110] The differing histories of towns such as Larinum and Venafrum,[111] and their counterparts further inland, may thus be linked to the differing resources in the surrounding territories, geographical and climatic differences, and access to markets. The Biferno valley survey in particular has allowed a better understanding of rural settlement in the uplands.[112] Subsequent excavation has revealed more detail of some of these rural villas:[113] in particular the farm at Matrice, which is thought to have been concerned primarily with cereal production and animal rearing.[114] The combination of epigraphic and archaeological evidence has also allowed the identification of properties belonging to members of the Roman élite in these areas, including a villa belonging to the Neratii just outside Saepinum,[115] and another which belonged to a Rectina — perhaps the friend whom the Elder Pliny sought to rescue from the eruption of Vesuvius, at the cost of his own life.[116]

Since the publication of *Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana* by Gabba and Pasquinucci in 1979 there has been considerable interest in the phenomenon of transhumance in the central Appennines, and argument as to whether this was a form of exploitation specific to the political and economic conditions of the late Republic and early Empire.[117] Recent archaeological work has sought to cast light in particular on the practice of short-distance transhumance, rather than the long-distance herding attested by Varro and other

[106] Excavations at Saepinum: *Saepinum: museo documentario dell'Altilia* (1982); M. Gaggiotti, 'Saepinum: modi e forme della romanizzazione', in *Basilicata*; idem, 'Saepinum', in *Samnium*, 243–6; idem, 'La fase ellenistica di Sepino', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 35–45; G. Barker in *A Mediterranean Valley*, 218–23.

[107] Excavations at Iuvanum: E. Fabbricotti, 'Montenerodomo (Chieti): relazione preliminare sulle campagne di scavo 1980 e 1981: località S. Maria di Palazzo (antica Juvanum)', *NSc* 8. 35 [1981] (1982), 145–57; eadem (ed.), *Iuvanum: atti del convegno di studi - Chieti 1983* (1990); E. Fabbricotti and P. Staffilani, 'Cambiamenti di vita a Iuvanum I and II', in E. Herring *et al.*, *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology* 4 (1992), 77–82.

[108] W. Johannowsky, 'Circello, Casalbore e Flumeri nel quadro della romanizzazione dell'Irpinia', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 77–83; see also J. R. Patterson, *Samnites*; G. de Benedittis, 'L'alta valle del Tammaro tra storia e archeologia', *Studi Beneventani* 4–5 (1991), 3–38.

[109] A. di Niro, 'Ville imperiali nel Sannio romano', *Almanacco del Molise* 1987.ii, 15–28; eadem, 'Terventum', in *Samnium*, 255–7; V. Ceglia, 'La villa rustica di San Martino in Pensilis: le anfore del riempimento del pozzo', in *Samnium*, 273–6.

[110] Patterson, op. cit. (n. 95), 220–1; Chouquer *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 53), 141, 289–99; A. Claridge and R. Hodges, 'Frammento di un lavario trovato a Castelvecchio (Montaquila)', *Conoscenze* 5 (1989), 118–20.

[111] Venafrum: see S. Capini, 'Venafro: il teatro romano', in *Boll. Arch.* 1–2 (1990), 229–32; eadem, 'Venafrum', in *Samnium*, 209–13; M. Cappelletti, 'Ceramiche africane dal teatro di Venafro', *Conoscenze*

3 (1986), 51–62, notes the abundance of African cooking-ware here, and its absence at Saepinum, indicative of the broader commercial links of Venafrum. See also G. d'Henry, 'La romanizzazione del Sannio nel II e I secolo a.C.', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 11–12; S. Capini, 'Venafro', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 21–33

[112] G. Barker, J. Lloyd and D. Webley, 'A classical landscape in Molise', *PBSR* 46 (1978), 42–3, esp. 48; *A Mediterranean Valley*.

[113] P. de Tata in *Almanacco del Molise* 1988.ii, 28–35.

[114] J. Lloyd and D. Rathbone, 'La villa romana a Matrice', *Conoscenze* 1 (1984), 215–19; J. Lloyd, 'The Roman villa at S. Maria della Strada, Matrice', in *Samnium*, 261–2; J. Lloyd, 'Farming the highlands: Samnium and Arcadia in the Hellenistic and early imperial periods', in G. Barker and J. A. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (1991), 233–40; idem, *The Samnite and Roman Villa at Matrice* (forthcoming).

[115] M. Gaggiotti, 'La villa dei Neratii nel territorio di Saepinum', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Perugia: sez. studi classici* 22 (1984/5), 113–24.

[116] Pliny, *Ep.* VI.16.8; G. De Benedittis *et al.*, *S. Maria in Casalpiano: gli scavi archeologici e il restauro architettonico* (1993).

[117] C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (1988): especially Whittaker's introduction, and the articles by Gabba, Garnsey, and Thompson; E. Dench, *From Barbarians*, 111–25; M. Corbier, 'La transhumance entre le Samnium at l'Apulie: continuités entre l'époque républicaine et l'époque impériale', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 149–76.

literary authors. Barker and others have used the evidence of animal bones and the ethnoarchaeology of modern pastoralism in the Cicolano mountains, north-east of Rome, in order to create models to explain the archaeological traces of transhumance in antiquity.[118] The wealth to be gained from manufacture and trade connected with the products of transhumance can be illustrated by the discovery of a wealthy house in Capua belonging to a first-century B.C. *sagarius* called P. Confuleius Sabbio;[119] while the importance of pastoralism at Saepinum is illustrated not only by the famous imperial inscription preserved on the gate leading to Bovianum,[120] but also the presence of a tannery on the main street of the town.[121]

The most recent archaeological work — for the Roman period as well as the pre-Roman era — is thus modifying the traditional picture of Samnium: even if it was a comparatively poor area, both pastoralism and agriculture were, at least under the Empire, integrated with the economy beyond the bounds of the region, demonstrating in particular the economic power of the City of Rome.

## IV. HELLENIZATION AND ROMANIZATION

Clearly, given the levels of interaction between cultures in ancient Central and Southern Italy, discussions of the kinds of processes that are envisaged when we talk about 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization' are highly important. There is, of course, nothing new about these terms, but it is notable that they seem to have become something of a catch-phrase for the history of Hellenistic and early imperial Italy, particularly that of individual regions. This detailed discussion of changes within different cultural situations has certainly been of great value, but it is striking that there is frequently no explicit discussion of what is meant by the 'Hellenization' or 'Romanization' that appears in the title of the work. We can thus find that the process implicitly envisaged may be of Greek or Roman 'influence', not infrequently a problematic conceptualization of what is going on, or we can find that a far more sophisticated model of dialectical change is implied.[122] Elsewhere, there has been some excellent broader discussion of conceptualization of cultural change, with exploration of the application of anthropological models. Nevertheless, the problem remains that 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization' are concepts that cover, and sometimes conceal, many different phenomena, and interpretations of these phenomena. What we really need now are further attempts to integrate the intricacies of individual cultural situations with explicitly theoretical treatments.

In our view, there are two major general conclusions that emerge from studies of Hellenization and Romanization in recent years, both of which are useful insofar as they set out some of the pitfalls that should be avoided: firstly, that it is unhelpful to assume that Greek or Roman culture has a 'natural' priority and desirability, as opposed to 'barbarian' cultures, the latter being conceptualized as more or less monolithic.[123] A closely related pitfall with particular regard to 'Hellenization' is that it is necessarily a process that involves the agents of 'Greek' culture as the active bodies, the 'natives' as passive recipients: the use of metaphors of disease, or floods, underlines this perception of the process.[124] Secondly, that it is unhelpful to assume that, in conceptualizing 'Hellenization' or 'Romanization', we are dealing with mutually exclusive

[118] G. Barker, 'The archaeology of the Italian shepherd', *PCPS* 35 (1989), 1–19; G. Barker and A. Grant (eds), 'Ancient and modern pastoralism in central Italy: an interdisciplinary study in the Cicolano mountains', *PBSR* 59 (1991), 15–88.

[119] M. Pagano and J. Rougetet, 'La casa del liberto P. Confuleius Sabbio a Capua e i suoi mosaici', *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 753–65.

[120] M. Corbier, 'Fiscus and patrimonium: the Saepinum inscription and transhumance in the Abruzzi', *JRS* 73 (1983), 126–31.

[121] S. de Caro, 'Una conceria a Saepinum', in *Samnium*, 250–3.

[122] Of recent collections, see e.g. *La Romanisation du Samnium*; *Comunità indigene*; C. Delplace, *La Romanisation du Picenum: l'exemple d'Urbs Salvia* (1993). For 'Hellenization', on the theme of modern perceptions of interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in southern Italy, see especially the important essay by A. Greco Pontrandolfo, 'Greci e indigeni', in *Un*

*secolo di ricerche in Magna Grecia (Atti Taranto 1988)* (1989), 329 ff. The 1976 *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* remains fundamental, while for the complex second-century cultural and economic context of Italy, J.-P. Morel, 'The transformation of Italy, 300–133 B.C.: the evidence of archaeology', *CAH* 8 (2nd edn, 1989), 477 ff., is an excellent and accessible introduction. Two outstanding examples of sophisticated discussions of individual situations are A. La Regina, 'Il Sannio', in *Hellenismus*, 219 ff., and J.-P. Morel, 'Artisanat, importations et romanisation', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 187 ff.

[123] cf. also E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989), for fifth-century Athenian ideology as the context for the full-blown dichotomy of Greek versus barbarian.

[124] For a useful critique of approaches of this kind, see R. D. Whitehouse and J. B. Wilkins, 'Greeks and Natives in South-East Italy: Approaches to the Archaeological Evidence', in T. C. Champion (ed.), *Centre and Periphery* (1989), 102 ff.

identities: in other words, the assumption that the more 'Hellenized' or 'Romanized' the society is, the less it retains of its 'genuine', 'local' identity.

As Millett has pointed out in the introduction to his study of the 'Romanization' of Britain, challenges to assumptions such as these have existed for most of a century,[125] although it is still not uncommon to find versions of such views in contemporary scholarship. One conclusion that has emerged from attempts to improve on the theoretical sophistication of conceptualizations of cultural change is that caution must be exercised when drawing structural parallels between a situation in the ancient world and one in the more recent history of European or North American colonialism or imperialism. Indeed, the more successful attempts to draw such parallels are careful to underline differences. Once again, one of the most useful results may be that advances are made in the understanding of what 'Hellenization' or 'Romanization' either are not, or are not necessarily.[126]

In mapping out some of the major pitfalls and problems in the understanding of what is meant by 'Hellenization', with explicit use of comparative material, Gallini's article of 1973, 'Che cosa intendere per ellenizzazione. Problemi di metodo', remains seminal.[127] The parallels drawn by Gallini were between the case of the 'Hellenization' of Rome, and that of, on the one hand, the decolonization of Africa, involving the use of European political and cultural motifs for revolutionary ends, and, on the other, Japanese appropriation of American modes of production and culture that marks a change in power-relations between Japan and the United States. In both cases, foreign cultural motifs are used within a nevertheless culturally distinct package of self-definition. One of the real values of Gallini's approach was that she emphasized that 'Hellenization' was an active and creative process on the part of the *Romans*, and that the process was a subject of dispute and debate within Rome itself. Nor was 'Hellenization' to be thought of in terms of a steady, continuous process, but as something that had different significance — and more or less significance — at different historical moments, as well as within the different political and economic relations between Greeks and Romans. In addition to the aspects she herself emphasized, perhaps one of the main virtues of the comparative situations chosen by Gallini is that the appropriation of aspects of European or American culture does not necessarily entail the assumption of an identity that is not Tanzanian, or Japanese, although in some circumstances this may be the result perceived by the peoples themselves, as occurred periodically at Rome.

It is also important to stress that the case of ancient Italy is significantly different in certain respects. Perhaps most notably, in Hellenistic Italy, one has to reckon with close interaction between cultures that is sometimes centuries old, and with common ideological languages that have emerged alongside this process, or that directly reflect it. It is certainly not always clear that cultural motifs are perceived to come with a specific ethnic label directly attached to them. Thus, some have rightly warned that scholars should be aware that in labelling individual elements 'Greek', or 'Lucanian', or 'Roman', reference is made to nothing more and nothing less than an abstraction, an ideal: one is not referring to actual cultural entities. This is conceptually very different from a situation within which contact between groups of people comes almost entirely out of the blue, and within which one can talk fairly usefully about the process by which two culturally separate entities are involved in forming a community.

At this stage, it is worth drawing some distinctions between 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization', as in some respects these are different phenomena. 'Hellenization' is a phenomenon generally manifested in cultural contexts: in archaeological studies of this phenomenon, discussions of images, styles, and the uses of mythology will thus be an important focus. In the case of Hellenistic Italy, on some levels at least, 'Hellenization' is indeed a 'value-added' phenomenon: Italic élites are manifestly interested in participating in the cultural *koiné*, and in establishing their position within that universe, making use of, and contributing to, the ideological languages of the *koiné*. One aim that is made explicit in contemporary ideology is the distinction of themselves thereby from the despised barbarians. As we shall see, this competitive ideology that has its roots in the idea of superiority of Greeks over barbarians, leads occasionally to some irony in the choice of figures placed in the role of barbarians. Elsewhere, we find local élites participating in more co-operative languages of interaction, such as the 'Pythagorean' ideologies of austerity, success, and interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks that are

[125] M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (1990), 1.
[126] e.g. S. Gruzinski and A. Rouveret, '"Ellos son como niños". Histoire et acculturation dans la Mexique colonial et l'Italie méridionale avant la

romanisation', *MEFRA* 88 (1976), 159 ff.; A. Rouveret, 'Les langages figuratifs de la peinture funeraire paestane', in *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 267 ff.
[127] *DdA* 7 (1973), 175 ff.

apparently centred on Tarentum of the 330s/320s.[128] On a material level, as we shall see, individual cultures redefine themselves in various ways through appropriation and use of models from the Hellenized *koiné*. Unfortunately, such activity generally cannot be traced clearly in the overall physical organization of communities, due to the immediate arrival of the Roman presence, which we shall discuss below. For example, in the case of certain communities (particularly in Campania and Apulia), it is hard to tell the extent to which the beginnings of urbanization can be traced to a period before the Roman conquest. The case of Poseidonia-Paestum provides us with a striking example of the sorts of ways in which pre-Roman interaction between cultures can work; when, by the end of the fifth century B.C., the Greek colony was occupied by Lucanians, there was apparently no redefinition of the structural organization of the city. The Lucanians used the political and religious buildings of the original Greek community, even if they retained their own political system within the spaces originally conceived for the Greek *politai*.[129]

'Romanization' can also be a cultural phenomenon, but its most striking manifestations during Republican times will relate to the sometimes highly destructive process of the conquest and colonization of Italy: one needs to reckon with the effects of the dramatic and deliberate transformation of landscapes and territories on the part of the Romans, as well as with the effects of the creation of new communities, involving large-scale movement of peoples, as discussed in detail in Section I. Ultimately, we shall be looking at the creation of an Italy centred on Rome. Superficially, perhaps particularly in cultural terms, we might encounter situations that can in broad terms find parallels in studies of the western provinces during the imperial period, but in this article we wish to emphasize the specific political, economic, and ideological context of the Roman conquest of Italy and its aftermath.

To begin with 'Hellenization', in recent years some of the most suggestive discussions have taken place in relation to the study of iconography: with regard to Archaic Italy, there have, for example, been some excellent studies of Etruscan use and appropriation of myth,[130] while emphasis on the making of myth and the formation of ideology as an interactive process rather than as a one-sided product of Archaic Greek ethnocentrism has potentially dramatic consequences for the way in which the history of early Rome may be perceived.[131] For Hellenistic Italy, the painted, built chamber-tombs from the necropoleis to the north and south of Poseidonia-Paestum have been the subject of some particularly exciting work. These tombs have been dated by a progressively complex methodology, by means of grave-goods, where these can be dated with relative precision, and by stylistic criteria. Taken as a whole, the painted tombs relate to the period between the first half of the fifth century, the earliest figurative paintings being those within the famous 'Tomb of the Diver', and the early third century B.C. The majority of the figurative paintings are to be found in the built chamber-tombs of c. 370–330 B.C., and this body of evidence as a whole provides us with eloquent evidence for cultural change amongst the élite during the period spanned by the tombs. The scholarly partnership of Rouveret and Pontrandolfo, working to a large extent within the tradition of Mario Napoli, and, above all, of Bianchi Bandinelli, has encouraged the 'reading' of imagery, looking both at the balances and sequences of paintings on the walls of individual tombs, and at overall changes in the ideological languages of self-representation.[132]

The results of this work illustrate some of the benefits of a close study of a body of evidence such as this, a contribution not only to the understanding of 'Hellenization' within this particular social and cultural context, but also to a broader understanding of aspects of this concept. We

[128] B. d'Agostino, '*Voluptas et Virtus*: il mito politico della "ingenuità italica"', *AION* 3 (1981), 117 ff.; A. Mele, 'Il pitagorismo e le popolazioni anelleniche d'Italia', *AION* 3 (1981), 61 ff.; E. Dench, *From Barbarians*, 53–63.

[129] E. Greco in E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, *Poseidonia-Paestum II, L'Agora*, Collection École Française de Rome 42 (1983), 81 ff.

[130] See especially B. d'Agostino, 'Image and society in Archaic Etruria', *JRS* 79 (1989), 1 ff.; M. Menichetti, 'Le aristocrazie tirreniche: aspetti iconografici', *Storia di Roma 1: Roma in Italia* (1988), 75 ff.; '*L'oinochoe* di Tragliatella: mito e rito tra Grecia ed Etruria', *Ostraka* 1.1 (1992), 7 ff.; *Archeologia del potere: re, immagini et miti a Roma e in Etruria in età arcaica* (1994); F. Massa Pairault, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica* (1992).

[131] T. P. Wiseman, 'Roman legend and oral tradition', *JRS* 79 (1989), 129ff.; most recently, T. J.

Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (1995) and T. P. Wiseman, *Remus* (1995).

[132] See especially A. Greco Pontrandolfo, 'Segni di transformazioni sociali a Poseidonia tra la fine del V e gli inizi del III sec. a. C.', *DdA* n.s. 1 (1979), 27 ff.; *I Lucani* (1982); 'Le necropoli dalla città greca alla colonia latina', in *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 225 ff.; A. Rouveret, 'Ideologia funeraria e società a Poseidonia nel IV sec. a. C.', in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (eds), *La Mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (1982), 299 ff.; *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum*. It should be added here that sophisticated reading of Campanian/Lucanian culture through a close reading of iconography is rooted in two excellent articles from the 1960s: C. Nicolet, 'Les Equites campani et leur répresentations figurées', *MÉFRA* 74 (1962), 463 ff., and M. Frederiksen, 'Campanian cavalry: a question of origins', *DdA* 2.1 (1968), 3 ff.

give here a detailed analysis of the paintings within two Paestan tombs and of those on a series of polychrome vases from Arpi, partly in order to demonstrate the recent advances in the study of iconography within an Italian context, but also to illustrate the complexity of the cultural issues with which we are dealing in this section. Our first example is that of a series of paintings in a Paestan tomb discovered, sketched, and subsequently destroyed in the nineteenth century, thought to date from the late fourth or early third century B.C. These paintings not only suggest knowledge of the motif of getting the upper hand in single combat with a barbarian that is most familiar to us from Greek contexts, but eloquently redeploy it, pitting Paestan against barbarous Amazon, and possibly even against a Greek in the 'barbarian' role.[133] The interpretative method developed by Rouveret and Pontrandolfo entails the reading of an individual wall-painting by reference to narratives suggested by its juxtaposition with the other paintings within the tomb. In this example, the portrayal of the Paestan warrior fighting the Amazon seems to answer to that of the Paestan warrior fighting an individual wearing a Phrygian-type helmet.[134]

The motif of combat with a barbarian figure is also represented within our second body of evidence, a late fourth-century series of polychrome vases from Arpi depicting heroized battle scenes. Mazzei's careful studies of both the armour worn by the figures and the identification of the roles and positions of winners and losers would suggest that, in two clear instances at least, the figures represented in the losing, barbarian position are dressed in 'Samnite' armour, in one case in characteristic plumed helmet and cuirass, in another case in 'anatomical' cuirasses. In one clear case, the figure in the winning, Greek position wears a Roman-style helmet with a button on the top and greaves.[135] The precise relationship between these representations and historical events is tantalizing, in view of what we know about dealings between Rome and Arpi at the outset of the Second Samnite War, while, once again, use of the iconography of combat with a barbarian provides another excellent example of the appropriation of this motif within a specific local context.

Returning now to Paestum, in our third example — this time the late fourth-century male tomb 86,[136] excavated in 1969, from the Andriuolo cemetery — on the north and south walls are portrayed almost identical Nikes, each driving a *bigae*, an image of triumph common to much of the Mediterranean world, under the influence of Macedon.[137] On the east wall is a painting of a mule-cart led by a driver: the right-hand side is rather damaged, but it looks as if there was a man portrayed riding in the cart. On the west wall, there is a 'Return of the Warrior' scene: the horseman, with his characteristically plumed helmet, and the enemy's spoils hung from the lance on his shoulder, receives a garland and ribbon from a woman in a head-dress and red-bordered robe, while a second man, bearded and dressed in a white cloak, walks behind the horseman. One of the real virtues of the method of Rouveret and Pontrandolfo is that it moves way beyond the compilation of a mental checklist of 'Greek' and 'Italic' elements, concentrating instead on the specific contextualization of motifs and images through the study of juxtapositions. In this case, the paintings work together on a number of levels. For example, all four paintings incorporate an element of passage, common in Paestan tomb-paintings as a whole: one might reasonably see here a metaphor of death. On another level, there seems to be a real interest in the status and roles of the dead man: while there is elsewhere in the Mediterranean world a recurrent interest in stressing links between Macedonian Nike and the achievement of individuals, it is worth examining the precise ways in which the dead man is portrayed in this Paestan context. For example, one might be tempted to draw parallels between the painting of the mule-cart and the arrival of the elderly Pontius Herennius in Livy's account of Samnite discussions at the Caudine Forks:[138] this is surely a means of demarcating high status. In the 'Return of the Warrior' scene, the horseman is contextualized by the presence of the other figures, each playing out their respective roles. It is usually assumed that this is a family group, but whether or not this is the case, it seems to be a picture of a society within which women have a clearly demarcated role, as do men of different age-groups: other Paestan tomb-paintings emphasize the role of women in connection with the household, and seem to differentiate even more clearly between the younger

[133] A. Rouveret and A. Greco Pontrandolfo, 'Pittura funeraria in Lucania e Campania: puntualizzazioni cronologiche e proposte di lettura', *Ricerche di pittura ellenistica: lettura e interpretazione della produzione pittorica dal IV secolo a.C. all'ellenismo*, Quaderni dei Dialoghi di Archeologia 1 (1985), 91 ff., 120–1; eaedem, 'La rappresentazione del Barbaro nell'ambiente magno-greco', in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* (1983), 1051 ff.; cf. E. Dench, *From Barbarians*, 66.
[134] On the cultural contexts for this style of helmet,

see A. Adam, 'Remarques sur une série de bronze ou Tarente et les Barbares dans la deuxième moitié du IV s. av. J.-C.', *MEFRA* 94 (1982), 7 ff.
[135] 'Nota su un gruppo di vasi policromi con scene di combattimento, da Arpi (FG)', *AION* 9 (1987), 167 ff.
[136] *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum*, 339–40.
[137] S. Weinstock, 'Victor and Invictus', *Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957), 211 ff.
[138] Livy IX.3.

men seen on horseback and older men in 'civic' costume.[139] On another level again, the juxtaposition of the two Nikes with the 'Return of the Warrior' scene suggests that a connection is being made between two rather different images of victory and conquest:[140] the warrior returning with his spoils displayed suggests parallels with Campanian representations, and, indeed, with Rome. Seeing the figures of Nike contextualized within this bricolage of images should remind us once again that the 'same' motif may be used to express all sorts of different cultural preoccupations according to the context within which it is placed.

In terms of the modern historiography of ancient Italy, there is sometimes a danger of implying a cut-off point between a period of 'Hellenization' and one of 'Romanization' with a hiatus between the two spanning the end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries B.C. In fact, of course, the phenomenon of 'Hellenization' does not come to an end with the Roman conquest when Hellenized Italian communities are brought within the military, political, and economic frameworks of a Hellenized Rome. One case in point is monumental building in Samnium of the second century B.C., most notably the rural sanctuaries rebuilt in Hellenistic style during this period — especially Pietrabbondante, Campochiaro, San Giovanni in Galdo, and Vastogirardi — which seem to have acted as the religious and perhaps also the political focus of the populations who lived near them. Recent research on the central Appennines in the period of the fourth to first centuries B.C. has largely been concerned with building on the fundamental work undertaken in the 1970s by La Regina and others,[141] which transformed the traditional view (of Salmon and others) of Samnium as an uncultured and isolated backwater,[142] emphasizing instead the role of a local élite keen to participate within a Hellenized cultural world, enriched in turn by playing their part within a new economic framework based on Rome.

The 'Romanization' that accompanies the Roman conquest of Italy is a phenomenon very different from the 'Hellenization' that we have been discussing so far. The Romans, themselves deeply Hellenized, decided at a certain point to conquer areas in which the process of Hellenization was, as we have seen, particularly evident. However, this imposition of a Roman presence is a phenomenon that is entirely new: the main Roman problem was that of how to subjugate, in the span of few decades, diverse and distinct people — Campanians, Daunians, Samnites, Messapians, Iapygians, Lucanians, Bruttians, Sicilians, Picentes, Umbrians, Etruscans, peoples of Magna Graecia etc. — and how to re-structure these individual areas within the Roman state that was being created. In a general context within which 'Hellenization' had become the common denominator as a channel of transmission and international recognition of each other's *status*, this language of interaction is subordinated to a newly imposed Roman presence in these areas. The conquered peoples have now to deal not with a general 'international' common cultural trend, but with a single culture in its entirety. After initial attempts at opposition on a physical level, which we know to have been unsuccessful, the quality and strength of the resistance of Italic peoples operates within the cultural spaces left free or untouched by the Roman presence: and, as we will see, the Romans seemed very aware of what was going on.

If we take a broad look at the archaeological documentation for the Italic cultures,[143] we notice that, by the first half of the third century B.C., there was a general extinction of their main traits: the destruction of settlements, the abandonment of the traditional necropoleis, and changes in the sphere of religion, have to be analysed together with the disappearance of certain basic elements of daily life such as pottery production; for the Southern Italian area, the most notable example is the disappearance of the widespread tradition of red-figure vases.[144]

[139] cf. Rouveret and Greco Pontrandolfo, op. cit. (n. 133), 99, 101.

[140] Rouveret, op. cit. (n. 126), 312.

[141] La Regina's analysis of settlement patterns and cultural change in Samnium appeared in a series of articles, notably 'Note sulla formazione dei centri urbani in area sabellica', in *Atti del convegno di studi sulla città etrusca e italica preromana* (1970), 191 ff.; idem, 'Contributo dell'archeologia alla storia sociale: territori sabellici e sannitici', *DdA* 4–5 (1970–1), 443–59; idem, op. cit. (n. 96), 271–81; idem, 'Il Sannio', in *Hellenismus*, 219–54 (in which see also (pp. 255–66) J. P. Morel, 'Le sanctuaire de Vastogirardi (Molise) et les influences hellenistiques en Italie centrale'). For an overview of this and other important work, see the papers in *Sannio: Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec. a.C.: atti del convegno 10–11 novembre 1980* (1984); *Abruzzo-Molise*; C. Ampolo et al., *Italia omnium terrarum parens* (1989), 301–434; also (for a recent assessment) A. La Regina, 'Abitati indigeni in area sabellica', *Comunità indigene*, 147–56. In English,

see (briefly) D. Rathbone, 'Salvaging the Samnites', *JACT Review*² 10 (Autumn 1991), 15–18 and now E. Dench, *From Barbarians*, 130–40.

[142] E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (1967), with E. Dench, *From Barbarians*, 4–5.

[143] In general: P. G. Guzzo and A. Bottini, *Greci e indigeni nel sud della penisola dall'VIII sec. a.C. alla conquista romana*, in *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* 8 (1986); *Italici in Magna Grecia*; *Basilicata*; *Comunità indigene*; *Da Leukania a Lucania. La Lucania centro orientale fra Pirro e i Giulio-Claudii* (1993); P. G. Guzzo, S. Moscati and G. Susini (eds), *Antiche genti d'Italia* (1994); more specifically on Lucanians: A. Pontrandolfo, *I Lucani. Etnografia e archeologia di una regione antica* (1982); on Iapygians: E. de Juliis, *Gli Iapigi. Storia e civiltà della Puglia preromana* (1988); on Daunians: R. Cassano (ed.), *Principi, imperatori, vescovi. Duemila anni di storia a Canosa* (1992).

[144] A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (1989), 270.

Considering the conquest now from the perspective of Roman culture, evidence for the Roman presence comes mainly from the foundation of Latin colonies, distributed at key points all over Southern and Central Italy, as discussed in detail in Section I.[145] At a time when Romans had to experiment with a new strategy, they chose to apply the prototype of a city to all areas. We have a tendency to forget the magnitude and significance of such an invention: but the feat of transferring to a new area and a new community many thousands of people from other Latin cities, from Rome itself, or even recruited from the local indigenous people,[146] must have been a highly complex operation. It is worth reiterating here the fact that the colonists alone usually numbered between 2,000 and 6,000, while a figure for family members and others must be added to these numbers. Furthermore, the city was laid out according to Roman needs and preconceptions, with spaces and buildings planned for the new inhabitants, the Latin colonists: a civic *corpus* organized according to Roman political and bureaucratic rules, Roman temples, Roman funerary arrangements, and the creation of a centuriated territory inevitably created powerful repercussions in the locality. The system, of course, worked in different ways according to the peculiarities of each individual context. The case of Paestum (273 B.C.) is again very illuminating: while the former occupiers, the Lucanians, did not change the structure of the city at all, the Romans completely altered the grid of the urban structure, erasing the previous Greek (and Lucanian) public spaces in favour of new Roman ones. The *agorá* and *ekklesiasterion* disappeared and a forum, together with the Comitium, was built in a different area: this gives the impression of a violent action, definitively cancelling out any trace of the previous political identity of the community.[147]

In certain parts of Central Italy, the situation was different, but the consequences of the foundation of the two cities of Alba Fucens (303 B.C.) and Aesernia (263 B.C.) must also have been profound: it is important to realize that these colonies were established in territories within which urbanization was unknown, as discussed above in Sections I and III, while it seems that the concentration within these colonies of the main local economic activity, transhumant pastoralism, was deliberate.[148]

Latin colonies became the local manifestations of a Roman mentality: furthermore, the significance of the pattern of colonies within Italy can be understood only if we look at another main Roman enterprise, the construction of the road system. Without entering here on a discussion of the dating of each consular road,[149] it is worth concentrating on the basic map of Italy between the third and second centuries B.C. and trying to think of it as a body with a nervous system (the roads). It becomes clear that certain areas were somehow 'benefiting' from the new structure, which also facilitated connection with Rome — and usually these are the ones where a Latin colony was provided — while others were completely excluded from the new system of communication, even if they had been under Roman control for a long time (for example the heart of Samnium). Even if the Roman roads were originally conceived of as an apparatus for moving legions more quickly (as has generally been supposed), it is clear that very soon they became the privileged structure for communication between the different areas of Italy — with a shift away from previous means of communication — ensuring at the same time the easier transmission of certain models of *Romanitas* (ranging from cultural to economic ones) to certain sectors and the exclusion of others.

To this general picture we should also add the other important new element in the Italian landscape: an increase in the vast areas included in the *ager publicus*, during the third and second centuries B.C. Although it is probable that some effects would have been apparent in the decades preceding the Hannibalic War, the effects of confiscation are of course particularly evident after this, when the creation and maintenance of *ager publicus* becomes instrumental in the destruction of the existing agricultural structures and in the creation of new ones, in the general direction of Roman interests.[150]

[145] E. Gabba, 'La colonizzazione romana tra la guerra latina e la guerra annibalica. Aspetti militari e agrari', *DdA* n.s. 5 (1988), 21; F. Coarelli, 'Colonizzazione e municipalizzazione', *DdA* n.s. 10 (1992), 21–30.

[146] F. Coarelli, 'Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 178; M. Torelli, 'Aspetti materiali ed ideologici della romanizzazione della Daunia', *DdA* n.s. 10 (1992), 49.

[147] E. Greco and D. Theodorescu (eds), *Poseidonia-Paestum I: La 'Curia'* (1980); iidem, *Poseidonia-Paestum III: Forum Nord,* Collection École Française de Rome 42 (1987); see also E. Greco, 'Archeologia della colonia latina di Paestum', *DdA* 3. 6 (1988), 79–86; M. Torelli, 'Paestum romana', in *Poseidonia - Paestum,* 33 ff.

[148] For Alba Fucens: J. Mertens, 'Alba Fucens', *DdA* n.s. 6 (1988), 87–104; for both Alba Fucens and Aesernia: F. Coarelli, in *Abruzzo-Molise*, 87, 165.

[149] T. P. Wiseman, 'Roman Republican road-building', in idem, *Roman Studies* (1987), 126–56 (= *PBSR* 38 (1970), 122–52); F. Coarelli, 'Colonizzazione romana e viabilità', *DdA* n.s. 6 (1988), 35–48. Cf. also n. 51, above.

[150] G. Tibiletti, 'Il possesso dell'*ager publicus* e le norme *de modo agrorum* sino ai Gracchi', *Athenaeum* 26 (1948), 173–236; for a more recent updated bibliography: E. Hermon, 'Coutumes et loins dans l'histoire agraire républicaine', *Athenaeum* 82 (1994), 496–505.

It is difficult to know how deliberate this whole process was, but the consequences are indeed clear: Roman intervention apparently destroys meticulously the former equilibrium of Italy, and replaces it with a new infrastructure, a new Roman framework. The final result will be more evident by the beginning of the first century B.C., but this result will make no sense unless we follow, stage by stage, the history of the Roman occupation of Italy. We have to start looking at what happens in Italy during the course of the third century B.C. not just as a series of separate acts performed in fragmented areas: for the Roman senate, the organization, year after year, of this vast acquisition of new territories involved also the growth of a concept of an 'Italian' reality, a new Roman state.

For example, they created a grid of relationships, based on the application of different *foedera* or different juridical arrangements with each community, which resulted in the isolation of the different areas: former 'federations' or alliances between different ethnic groups were destroyed, and each group was now made to depend on decisions made centrally.[151]

It would also be interesting to understand what was behind the decision of where to found the Latin colonies: not least to understand why they were created in certain areas and not in others. We have to note, for example, the complete absence for the whole of the third century B.C. of Latin colonies along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, in the heart of Magna Graecia, while others (Brundisium, Hadria, Ariminum) were created on the Adriatic coast, facing the East. Were the Romans simply not interested in this area? Was Greek culture in these areas still too strong to be replaced with such a different model? Or was it simply because the Romans wanted to restrict the potential of an area that was controlling links with Greece, deciding to move the centre of activity to another part of Italy?

On the same level we have to analyse the importance and the nature of operations — usually underestimated — such as the massive deportation of Italic peoples: in 269 B.C., the Picentes were moved from their original area on the Adriatic coast to a territory just on the boundary of the new colony of Paestum (founded in 273 B.C.),[152] while later 40,000 Ligures were 'transferred' into Samnium.[153] These are again examples of a plan designed to respond to a specific problem: fear of an unstable situation in Picenum was resolved by moving the inhabitants hundreds of kilometres away, despite all the risks that such a complex operation involved (the transfer, the creation of a new structure in the new territory, the adaptation of the Picentes to the area, etc.). If the Roman senators did not have a precise perception of the political situation of the whole of Italy, this kind of project would never have taken place: Rome was starting to deal with the concept of Italy as a Roman state, and ultimately each part had to work in 'harmony' with the others, the whole a perfect machine.

These brief considerations bring us inevitably to a subject that has received much more attention: the economic aspects of the Roman conquest. Can we detect precise economic interests in the expansion? The terms of the debate were underlined in a well-known *table ronde* in Rome, involving Eric Gruen, Emilio Gabba, and Filippo Coarelli.[154] While we need to agree that it is dangerous to insist on an economic motive as the main reason behind the conquest, it is nevertheless difficult to believe that the Romans were not taking into account — at least as a side-effect of conquest — the possible economic benefits following the conquest, the cost of which was very high, involving as it did the organization of the new structure. The control of such a huge area inevitably brought the Roman senate (and the senators) into a new reality, where they had also to defend their interests not only in Italy, but in the more 'international' market. If, on the one hand, the *foedera* with the Italic peoples allowed them to continue their traditional trading with their usual partners (as well as with those newly available as a result of Roman expansion), as in the case of the well documented *negotiatores Italici*, the new general framework outlined above gave to the Romans the major role of controllers, and sometimes of engineers, of the market. This is clear from the example of one of the most successful campaigns organized by Rome, that of 229 B.C. against the activity of Illyrian pirates, which was, as Polybius says,[155] endangering trade. During this campaign, the Romans took on the expense of sending an expedition of 20,000 soldiers, 2,000 horsemen, and 200 ships, and for the first time found themselves engaged on the other side of the Adriatic. If this campaign was not aimed at resolving a problem from which the Romans felt that they were suffering, it is hard to understand why they

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[151] A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd edn, 1973), 190 ff.; G. Clemente, 'Dal territorio della città all'egemonia in Italia', in G. Clemente, F. Coarelli and E. Gabba (eds), *Storia di Roma II. L'impero mediterraneo* (1990), 26 ff.

[152] Strabo v.4.13: A. Greco Pontrandolfo and E. Greco, 'L'agro picentino e la Lucania occidentale', in *Società e produzione schiavistica* I, op. cit. (n. 2), 137–49.

[153] J. Patterson, *Samnites*. Cf also n. 108, above.

[154] The acts are collected in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome* (1984), with the article of E. H. Gruen, 'Material rewards and the drive for empire' (59–82) and the following discussion (83–7).

[155] Polyb. II. 8 ff.

undertook such an expensive, international operation. The idea of Rome acting in this way out of an heroic and generous desire to protect her allies seems paradoxical indeed in the aftermath of the drastic action she had undertaken in controlling them and reorganizing the peninsula.

We have tried here to underline the necessity of a proper reconstruction of the process of the Roman conquest of Italy, stressing the importance of the third century B.C., a period which is generally rather neglected. Without such an approach, we would miss the sense of a strategy that evolved over hundreds of years: we would not understand Roman responses to Italy both before and after the Hannibalic War, such as the decline in the number of foundations of Latin colonies from the third to the second centuries B.C., and the corresponding increase in the number of foundations of Roman colonies during this period; the problematic use of the *ager publicus* and its consequences for the Gracchan period and its aftermath; and finally the Social War, as the final act in this process.

When we consider this historical period, the modern institutional tendency to specialize either in the study of indigenous cultures or in that of the Roman material has created a particular problem insofar as the documentation of the indigenous cultures tends in general terms to disappear by the beginning of the third century B.C., while Roman material culture is generally not particularly apparent until the second century B.C. The third century thus shows up as a kind of lacuna, a 'dark age' neglected because of traditional modern ideas about what constitutes evidence: we have always looked for 'positive' proofs, for 'presence': for historians, the existence of literary texts — or inscriptions — and, for archaeologists, the existence of material evidence. We have not been trained to consider 'absence' as a 'positive' element for the reconstruction of an historical period.

A few years ago, when chairing the final debate of the conference *La Romanisation du Samnium*, Lepore, commenting on some previous interventions, observed: ' . . . We also have to know what we mean by Romanization: Cantarelli was talking about the lack of Romanization, while Romanization can also create disintegration and you cannot say that when Romanization occurs, everything is fine. So let us get used to using this term in a neutral way and let us only then consider the character of what is going on, and identify the 'models' of development, or regression'.[156]

The Roman models, the application of which was so different and varied, were, as we have seen, also capable of causing destruction without replacing anything: if we set out with the expectation that we need to find Roman material in order to know that Romanization is occurring, we are misunderstanding an aspect of the process. We should look not only for individual Roman elements scattered all over the peninsula (from black glaze pottery to the Roman urban system), but also for the absence of these elements in areas where in theory we should expect them, as a result of Roman occupation. Presence and absence can be equally useful data for the impact of the Roman occupation, while the conservation of certain indigenous models as an attempt to preserve local identities can also help us to understand the character of this process. Rome experimented with a system, the application of which was continuously developing in the light of new events. It was by means of this evolving system that she was able to keep under control the new state, which had its origins in a fragmented reality. Rome imposed the framework but did not impose her presence everywhere.

It is as well to remember that an examination of cultural change in ancient Italy should ideally not begin and end with 'Hellenization' and 'Romanization'. In certain parts of Hellenistic Italy, one needs also to take into account 'Samnitization', or 'Lucanization', such as the case of the 'Samnitization' of Apulia before the Roman conquest.[157] This should make us recall not least the dangers of making assumptions about the priority of Greek and Roman culture, but it also, perhaps more importantly, emphasizes the bewildering nature of attempts to understand cultural interaction in ancient Italy, a task that is at times further complicated by the passion for labels. This confusion and complication can be illustrated by the deceptively laden question of how a Hellenized Rome Romanized a generally Hellenized (and sometimes here and there Samnitized or Lucanized) Italy, where the repeated use of -ization concepts conceals and blurs numerous very different processes. We should reiterate the point that we must be aware that we are dealing with different forms of contact, transmission, imposition, intention, and commitment. It is thus crucial to be clear about the sorts of questions we, as archaeologists or historians, need to be asking in each case.

[156] E. Lepore, 'Conclusioni', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 262; see also the interesting debate between J. P. Morel, M. Torelli and F. Coarelli, in *Comunità indigene*, 232 ff.
[157] A. Bottini, 'L'evoluzione della struttura di un centro daunio fra VII e III secolo: l'esempio di

Forentum', in *Italici in Magna Grecia*, 233 ff.; M. Torelli, 'Aspetti materiali ed ideologici della romanizzazione della Daunia', *DdA* n.s. 10 (1992), 48; for the Samnitization of Fregellae: F. Coarelli, 'Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium*, 178 ff.; for the Lucanization in the Paestan area, see above n. 132.

CONCLUSION

The scale of recent archaeological work in recent years revealed by the material surveyed here is very substantial, and the role of the archaeological Soprintendenze has been crucial in this, both in undertaking work on their own account and in collaboration with others; their openness to collaborative ventures, and the support also given by local communities to archaeological projects are greatly appreciated by those working in Italy.

Over the past few years archaeology has played an invaluable role in posing and suggesting answers to questions about the history of Italy under the last centuries of the Republic and in the early Empire — political, economic, and social. Various techniques have been employed — excavation of urban and rural sites, 'South Etruria-style' field survey, topographical survey following the practice of the *Forma Italiae*, aerial photography, and the typological study of artefacts of particular importance, notably amphorae — and these have been related to the wealth of epigraphic data from the area (one of the most prolific in terms of surviving inscriptions) and the literary sources. Each of these techniques has its own strengths and weaknesses, and methodologies are continually being refined. It is significant that some of the most striking results have emerged from projects which have sought to combine several of these disciplines. For example, Carandini's work in the Ager Cosanus has combined excavation of a major Roman villa (Settefinestre) with survey of the territory, excavation in the urban centre of Cosa, and study of the amphorae from the area; it has also been able to draw on earlier studies of Cosa itself and its port. The results, interpreted with reference to the Roman agricultural writers, represent a major contribution to our understanding of the economy of an important wine-producing area. Similarly, the Biferno valley project, incorporating field survey, excavation of a villa, and the analysis of animal bones and seeds, combined with the data emerging from the major urban excavations at Saepinum and the epigraphy of the area, has helped to transform our understanding of the Samnite heartland in both the pre-Roman and Roman periods. Even in these cases, it is worth noting that some work in the territory and in the urban centres (Cosa, Saepinum) has been under the aegis of separate projects; a lot has been achieved, but perhaps even more interesting results might have emerged from projects designed from the outset to investigate city and country together in an exhaustive study of complementary elements in the ancient landscape. The potential rewards of such an approach are apparent in some recent work in Italy (for example in the Liri valley, around Interamna Lirenas,[158] and in the Oria survey near Brindisi[159]) but perhaps most notably in work on the Greek landscape, for example in Boeotia[160] and (in synthetic form) in Alcock's *Graecia Capta*.[161]

In 1971, Brunt expressed the view that 'it is from archaeology that we can best hope to extend and deepen our understanding of social and economic conditions in ancient Italy';[162] the work of archaeologists over the past decade has certainly brought the realization of that hope significantly closer, and it is our hope that this survey will have made some of their work more accessible to those who are not specialists in this field and lead to further collaboration between historians and archaeologists, in the spirit particularly characteristic of the work of the late Martin Frederiksen and Ettore Lepore.

We have been forcibly struck, however, by the sheer volume of publication on the archaeology of the regions of Italy and are conscious that this survey only covers a small part of of it, both in geographical and in chronological terms, and before long will in part have been made obsolete by new publications. The *regular* publication of a volume of Archaeological Reports on Italy (on the model of those on Greece produced by the Hellenic Society) by an appropriate scholarly body or journal would be of immense value to all those working in the field and beyond.

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[158] J. Hayes and I. P. Martini (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Liri Valley, Central Italy under the Direction of Edith Mary Wightman*, BAR Int. Ser. 595 (1994).
[159] D. Yntema, *In Search of an Ancient Countryside: the Amsterdam Free University Field Survey at Oria* (1993).

[160] J. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass, 'Mediterranean survey and the city', *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 57–71.
[161] S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece* (1993).
[162] P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (1971), viii.