

Settlement and Society in Early Imperial Etruria*

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I INTRODUCTION

Archaeological survey has re-populated the landscapes of antiquity and transformed understanding of the settlement and economy of Roman Italy in particular. As more surveys are completed, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Italian countryside was more diverse and complex than was suggested by the interpretations of the pioneer projects. This article concerns just one restricted geographical region over a limited chronological period, using the results of over thirty surveys to explore the settlement and society of Etruria (*regio VII*) during the early imperial period.

Not long ago, understanding of early imperial Italy was necessarily framed largely by the historical evidence. Either explicitly or implicitly, interpretation was driven by the Augustan ideology of *tota Italia*, presenting the period as the successful conclusion of centuries of ‘Romanization’ which had led to similarity of settlement, economy, and identity.¹ Comparison with the ‘mosaic’ of pre-Roman Italy emphasized the point. More recently, however, both ancient historians and archaeologists have begun to consider the diversity of Roman Italy. In part, this perception of diversity reflects wider shifts in theoretical approaches, away from grand narratives, towards a new emphasis on the unique and the particular;² in part, it reflects the enormous growth in the size of the archaeological dataset available. This can be seen in approaches to urbanism, in that arguments for the similarity of early imperial towns are based heavily on the architecture of public buildings, whereas recent studies on the history of urbanization, social and spatial practice, and the excavation of non-monumental areas have prompted new understandings of ‘Roman’

* This paper draws on my doctoral thesis completed at the University of Leicester under the supervision of D. Mattingly and C. Ruggles. Various versions of the material discussed here were presented at the Universities of Groningen, Cambridge, and Glasgow. I would like to thank the participants at all three venues for their questions and comments, in particular P. van Dommelen, B. Knapp, and R. Roth. I would also like to thank H. Patterson, H. Di Giuseppe and other Tiber Valley Project colleagues for ongoing dialogue on the archaeology of that region and G. Barker for information. Finally, I am very grateful to D. Mattingly, M. Millett, and J. Patterson for reading drafts and offering critique and encouragement in equal measure, and my anonymous referees for much helpful advice. All errors, however, are mine alone. The following abbreviations are used:

Side-by-Side Survey = S. Alcock and J. Cherry, *Side-by-Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (2004)

Paesaggi d'Etruria = A. Carandini, F. Cambi, M. G. Celuzza and E. Fentress, *Paesaggi d'Etruria. Valle dell'Albegna, Valle d'Oro, Valle del Chiarone, Valle del Tafone* (2002)

Settlement and Economy = N. Christie (ed.), *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500. Papers of the Fifth Conference of Italian Archaeology* (1995)

Società romana = A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica, vols 1–3* (1981)

¹ *inter alia*, J.-M. David, *The Roman Conquest of Italy* (1996).

² e.g. N. Terrenato, ‘The Romanization of Italy: global acculturation or cultural bricolage?’, in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (eds), *TRAC97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (1998), 20–7. For historiography of Roman Italy studies, M. Torelli, *Tota Italia. Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy* (1999), 1–2.

urbanism as a more variable phenomenon.³ More recent studies of regional survey results have prompted a similar ‘diversification’ of the early imperial countryside.⁴

Full appreciation of this variability requires inter-regional comparison. Detailed comparative studies now exist for Greece and the Near East,⁵ but archaeologists of Roman Italy have largely avoided working at this scale of analysis.⁶ Explanation for this lack of progress may be both practical and conceptual. In relation to the former, there are genuine and significant differences in survey methodology, but it will be argued below that these should not prevent progress. Indeed, they have been overcome in other Mediterranean regions. From a conceptual perspective, the diversity of the peoples of the Italian peninsula and their early and protracted involvement with Rome make any generalizations difficult. The current renaissance of interest in pre-Roman Italy, with its emphasis on distinctive peoples, languages, and cultures, may be another disincentive to such generalization.⁷ There are, however, a number of smaller-scale comparative studies for Italy.⁸ Most have concentrated on the conquest and republican periods with their rich historical narrative.⁹ The better-known and more abundant archaeological evidence for the early imperial period has been relatively under-exploited, especially given the more advanced state of ceramic studies which provide excellent dating precision.¹⁰

In one of the most important contributions to this debate, John Patterson set out to question the supposed agrarian ‘crisis’ of early imperial Italy.¹¹ As well as reviewing the

³ See papers in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations, and Failures* (2000); also S. Keay, M. Millett, S. Poppy, J. Robinson, J. Taylor and N. Terrenato, ‘Falerii Novi: a new survey of the walled area’, *PBSR* 68 (2000), 1–93. Historical and epigraphical approaches increasingly emphasize the diversity of early imperial Italy, e.g. A. Giardina, *L’Italia romana: storie di un’identità incompiuta* (1997).

⁴ e.g. M. G. Celuzza and E. Regoli, ‘La Valle d’Oro del territorio di Cosa. Ager Cosanus e ager Veientanus a confronto’, *DdA* 4 (1982), 31–62; P. Garnsey, ‘Where did Italian peasants live?’, *PCPS* 25 (1979), 1–25, at 17–18; K. Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (1986), 103–9; E. M. Wightman, ‘The lower Liri valley: problems, trends and peculiarities’, in G. Barker and R. Hodges (eds), *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 2 (1981), 275–87.

⁵ S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (1993); ‘Breaking up the Hellenistic world: survey and society’, in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (1994), 171–90; J. Bintliff, ‘Regional survey, demography and the rise of complex societies in the ancient Aegean: core-periphery, neo-Malthusian and other interpretive models’, *JFA* 24 (1997), 1–38; H. A. Raab, *Rural Settlement in Hellenistic and Roman Crete. The Akrotiri Peninsula* (2001); T. J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East* (2003).

⁶ D. J. Mattingly and R. Witcher, ‘Mapping the Roman world: the contribution of field survey data’, in *Side-by-Side Survey*, 173–86.

⁷ Broader theoretical developments such as post-colonialism and globalization suggest the need to mediate between the local and the global, e.g. Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

⁸ G. Cifani, ‘Notes on the rural landscape of central Tyrrhenian Italy in the 6th–5th century BC and its social significance’, *JRA* 15 (2002), 247–60; N. Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland. The City of Rome and the Italian Economy 200 BC–AD 200* (1996); M. Rendeli, *Città aperte. Ambiente e paesaggio rurale organizzato nell’Etruria meridionale costiera durante l’età orientalizzante e arcaica* (1993); N. Terrenato, ‘Introduction’, in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (2001), 1–6, with more ambitious collaborative projects in progress, e.g. P. A. J. Attema, G.-J. Burgers, M. Kleibrink and D. G. Yntema, ‘Case studies in indigenous developments in early Italian centralization and urbanization: a Dutch perspective’, *JEA* 1 (1998), 326–81; H. Patterson (ed.), *Bridging the Tiber: Approaches to Regional Archaeology in the Middle Tiber Valley* (2004); H. Patterson, H. Di Giuseppe and R. Witcher, ‘Three south Etrurian “crises”: first results of the Tiber Valley Project’, *PBSR* 72 (2004), 1–36.

⁹ e.g. M. Ikeguchi, ‘A comparative study of settlement patterns and agricultural structures in ancient Italy: a methodology for interpreting field survey evidence’, *Kodai Journal of Ancient History* 10 (2000), 1–59; R. Witcher, *Modelling Roman Imperialism. Landscape and Settlement in Italy*, unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leicester (1999).

¹⁰ From a practical perspective, early imperial material culture is relatively easy to spot (e.g. glossy red rather than black pottery; also marble veneers, *opus reticulatum* ‘bricks’, etc.). This is important when studying pre-systematic surveys, or surveys where students or other untrained personnel provide labour.

¹¹ J. R. Patterson, ‘Crisis: what crisis? Rural change and urban development in imperial Appennine Italy’, *PBSR* 55 (1987), 115–46.

key historical texts, he compared the results from a range of surveys. As they demonstrated significant regional variation, Patterson argued for the need to allow for many regional models.¹² A more recent comparative study of central and southern Italy explored the regional relationship between urban and rural settlement during the early imperial period. Rural settlement patterns from fourteen surveys were weighted to account for differences in methodology and then plotted on a distribution map of towns.¹³ The results indicate a strong correlation of urban and rural settlement density. Both towns and rural sites were particularly numerous in west central Italy and much rarer in southern Italy. Although some correlation might have been expected, it was not a foregone conclusion that this degree of association would be discernible.¹⁴

As more surveys are published, reliance on a few key examples is lessened, while the need for a greater number of regional models is emphasized. But it is also becoming clear that there was great diversity across even small areas. The present article concerns just one relatively well-surveyed region of peninsular Italy, the Augustan *regio VII Etruria*.¹⁵ After settlement trends across this area have been identified, various alternative explanatory models are discussed, with specific factors including proximity to Rome, historical development, modes of production, land ownership, and transport costs. Particular attention is paid to the supply of foodstuffs and other goods to early imperial Rome, involving a necessary assessment of the scale and nature of the city's demands. The early imperial countryside of Etruria is also, more generally, an ideological battleground for economic historians: an accurate understanding of rural conditions is therefore of key relevance to wider debates about the ancient economy. Finally, this area has been central to debate about the socio-economic status of rural populations; possible contributions to this debate are also discussed. Etruria represents only one region of Italy (indeed, a region which may well be unrepresentative of the wider peninsula), but it is only by compiling such regional syntheses that it will be possible to build up a more advanced appreciation and understanding of the diversity of Roman Italy as a whole.

II DEFINING DIVERSITY

The early imperial landscape of Etruria has been characterized in diametrically opposed ways by scholars, whether historians or archaeologists. Frank suggests that the area was 'a depleted and unwanted country' due to market and environmental decline,¹⁶ whereas Harris argues that 'Augustan Etruria was a prosperous region'.¹⁷ Brunt discerns a contrast between the 'decay' of the coast and the more vibrant area closest to Rome.¹⁸ All these interpretations are based on historical, epigraphical, and architectural evidence. However, the historical sources concern geographically-restricted products (such as Luna marble and Arretine pottery), while neither inscriptions nor monumental buildings need be direct

¹² On the dangers of generalization, G. D. B. Jones, 'Il Tavoliere romano', *ArchCl* 32 (1980), 85–107. For regional models, C. Wickham, 'Marx, Sherlock Holmes and late Roman commerce', *JRS* 78 (1988), 183–93, at 189.

¹³ Surveys were classified as low, medium, or high intensity on a range of criteria, e.g. person days per square kilometre, and the number of sites weighted accordingly. For further discussion, see Mattingly and Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 177–83.

¹⁴ e.g. the nucleation of peasants at 'agrotowns' in southern Italy, Garnsey, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 6; D. Yntema, *In Search of an Ancient Countryside. The Amsterdam Free University Field Survey at Oria, Province of Brindisi, South Italy (1981–1983)* (1993), 202.

¹⁵ *Regio VII Etruria* is defined by the Tyrrhenian coast to the west, the river Tiber to the east, and more or less the Apennine watershed to the north.

¹⁶ T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. V. Rome and Italy of the Empire* (1940), 123.

¹⁷ W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (1971), 316–17. Giardina, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 233–45, provides a more recent and balanced account.

¹⁸ P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 BC–AD 14* (1971), 350–3.

indicators of general (i.e. agricultural) prosperity.¹⁹ Similarly, survey data have also provided the basis for contradictory interpretations of early imperial Etruria. Marxist archaeologists have suggested crisis,²⁰ while more recently the emphasis has been to recognize strong economic development of this area in response to Rome's demand for agricultural produce.²¹ One reason for such starkly opposed interpretations of early imperial Etruria relates to difficulties imposed by generalization. If it is impossible to generalize at the scale of Italy as a whole, these contributions demonstrate that it is also impossible to generalize about individual regions. Etruria must therefore be divided up: previous criteria have included the distinction between the coast and inland, north and south (inherited from historical accounts of the Etruscan or conquest periods),²² and factors such as favourable or unfavourable environment,²³ the distance from Rome,²⁴ and even city by individual city.²⁵

In the current paper, three distinct sub-regions are defined — the *suburbium*, the coast of Etruria, and inland Etruria. The chronological focus is the early imperial period, c. 27 B.C.–A.D. 150. Because appreciation of the early imperial period requires consideration of the late Republic, the overall chronological range discussed here extends additionally from c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 150. Table 1 collates information for over thirty field surveys; Fig. 1 shows their geographical location; Fig. 2 shows the location of other places mentioned in the text. The selection criteria are based upon the existence within a given survey of reasonably systematic methodology and of detailed publication. Many survey publications still omit such basic means of conveying core information as tables of site numbers, details of periodization or site-definition criteria, and so are of limited use in comparative studies.²⁶ Several of these surveys are still only partially published, and Table 1 is therefore not as comprehensive as it could and should be.²⁷ In addition, as only a small area of the *suburbium* falls in Etruria proper, a handful of surveys from beyond the Tiber in the western extreme of *regio IV* are included to facilitate better assessment of the area's relationship with Rome and the role of the Tiber. Fig. 3 presents histograms of the number of sites over time identified by nine of the surveys discussed.

¹⁹ On Luna marble, P. Pensabene, 'Le principali cave di marmo bianco', in M. De Nuccio and L. Ungaro (eds), *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* (2002), 203–22. On Arretine pottery, G. Pucci, 'La ceramica italia (*terra sigillata*)', in *Società romana*, 99–121. M. Torelli, *Studies in the Romanization of Italy* (1995), 49, contrasts the vitality of public building at the Latin colony of Cosa during the last two centuries B.C. with the lack of building at other centres. E. Papi, *L'Etruria dei romani. Opere pubbliche e donazioni private in età imperiale* (2000), 12–13, associates the subsequent wave of municipal benefaction (from Augustus to Antoninus Pius) as much with demonstrations of loyalty to the emperor by senatorial families as with economic prosperity; on the 'epigraphic habit' in general, G. Woolf, 'Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society', *JRS* 86 (1996), 22–39.

²⁰ A. Carandini, 'La villa romana e la piantagione schiavistica', in E. Gabba and A. Schiavone (eds), *Storia di Roma. Carattero e morfologie 4* (1989), 101–200; Celuzza and Regoli, op. cit. (n. 4), 41–4.

²¹ e.g. Morley, op. cit. (n. 8); S. Quilici Gigli, 'The changing landscape of the Roman Campagna. Lo sfruttamento del territorio in età imperiale', in J. Carlsen (ed.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire* (1994), 135–43.

²² For Etruscan differences, S. Moscati, *Storia degli italiani dalle origini all'età di Augusto* (2000); for variation in conquest strategies, F. Cambi, 'La casa del colono e il paesaggio (III–II secolo a.C.)', in *Paesaggi d'Etruria*, 137–45, at 145.

²³ M. Torelli, 'Osservazioni conclusive sulla situazione in Lazio, Umbria ed Etruria', in *Società romana*, 421–6, at 426.

²⁴ F. Enei, *Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium* (2001), 66, n. 118.

²⁵ N. Terrenato, 'A tale of three cities: the Romanization of northern coastal Etruria', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (2001), 54–67.

²⁶ D. J. Mattingly, 'Methods of collection, recording and quantification', in R. Francovich and H. Patterson (eds), *Extracting Meaning from Ploughsoil Assemblages* (2000), 5–15.

²⁷ In particular, final publication is awaited for Cecina, Farfa, Montarrenti, and Tuscania. A number of additional surveys are discussed in passing. The majority have been excluded from detailed study because publications lack sufficient details with which to assess and compare their results. M. Torelli, *Atlante dei siti archeologici della Toscana* (1992) provides an invaluable catalogue of all known sites in Tuscany. As it lacks any consistent methodological framework it cannot be treated as a definitive map (*ibid.*, xiv). Citation details are minimal and any analysis requires reference to the original publications or archives.

TABLE I. Regional surveys and late Republican — early Imperial transition.

(Regions: S *suburbium*; C coastal; I inland. Area surveyed: distinguishes between extent of study region and extent of area intensively surveyed; where only one figure listed, the two coincide (i.e. full coverage) unless otherwise stated. Agricultural intensification and population: + up; = stable; – down.)

REGION	NUMBER	DISTANCE TO ROME (KM)	SURVEY	AREA SURVEYED (KM ²)	SETTLEMENT TREND	SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY	SETTLEMENT DENSITY	AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION	POPULATION	PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS
S	1	5–45	South Etruria (incl. <i>ager Veientanus</i> , <i>ager Capenas</i> , <i>ager Eretanus</i> , <i>ager Faliscus</i>)	c. 1000	Up sharply; peak; limited C2 decline; c. 30% sites are new	Villas c. 30%	c. 2.5 per km sq	+	+	Kahane <i>et al.</i> 1968; Patterson <i>et al.</i> 2004; Potter 1979
S	2	9	Fidenae (Fidene) (Latium Vetus)	c. 31	Up sharply; peak; limited C2 decline	Villas c. 20%	c. 4.5 per km sq	+	+	Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1986
S	3	12	Crustumarium (Latium Vetus)	c. 33	Up sharply; peak; limited C2 decline	Significant % villas	c. 3 per km sq	+	+	Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980
S	4	35	Corese	c. 3	Up slightly; peak; limited C2 decline; c. 5% sites are new	Villas c. 30%	c. 5 per km sq	=	=	Di Giuseppe <i>et al.</i> 2002
S	5	40	Farfa (incl. Cures Sabini <i>Forma Italiae</i>)	c. 35/96	Up; peak	Villas 33% +	c. 2 per km sq	+	+	Leggio & Moreland 1986; Moreland 1987; Muzzioli 1980
S	6	21	Torrimpietra (<i>Forma Italiae</i>)	c. 96	Up slightly; peak	Villas c. 20%	c. 2.5 per km sq	+	+?	Tartara 1999
S	7	35	Caere (Cerveteri)	c. 90	Up; peak	Villas c. 30%	c. 2 per km sq	+	+	Enei 2001

S 8	45	Sutrium (Sutri) (incl. <i>Forma Italiae</i>)	c. 96	Up sharply (high abandonment; many new sites); peak; modest C2 decline	Villas c. 20%	c. 1 per 1 km sq	+	+	Morselli 1980; Potter 1979
S 9	50	Vicus Matrini (<i>Forma Italiae</i>)	c. 192	Up; peak; modest C2 decline	Farms under-represented; c.1 villa per 5 km ²	c. 1 per 4 km sq	+	+	Andreussi 1977
S 10	50	Civitella Cesi	c. 96	Up sharply; peak	Villas c. 15%	c. 1 per km sq	+	+	Hemphill 2000
S 11	55	Tolfa Hills	c. 436	Up slightly; peak	Villas present	<1 per km sq	+	=	Maffei & Nastasi 1990
C 12	70	Tarquini-Vulci (Tarquinia-Vulci)	c. 55	Up sharply; peak; modest C2 decline	Villas c. 33%	c. 1.5 per km sq	+	+	Corsi 1998
C 13	120	Ager Cosanus / lower Albegna valley (coast)	100 (whole valley, c. 1000 km ²)	Down	Villas up to 60%	c. 1 per km sq	=?	=?	Carandini <i>et al.</i> 2002; Dyson 1978
C 14	160	Rusellae (Roselle)	c. 49/244	Stable; sharp C2 decline	Villas c. 10%	c. 1 per km sq	=	=	Citter 1996
C 15	210	Scarlino/Pecora valley	c. 50/400	Stable; peak	Villas c. 20%	c. 1 per km sq	+	+	Cucini 1985; van Dommelen 1992
C 16	260	Lower Cecina valley (coast)	c. 25 (whole valley, 800 km ²)	Down	Villas c. 30%	c. 1 per km sq	=?	=?	Terrenato 1998
C 17	300	Ager Pisanus (Pisa)	c. 1800 (total region)	Up	Principal period of villa growth	?	+	+?	Pasquinucci & Menchelli 1995; Pasquinucci & Menchelli 1999
C 18	340	Ager Lunensis (Luni)	c. 200 (total region)	Up	(Modest) villas up to c.30%	<1 per km sq	+	=	Delano Smith <i>et al.</i> 1986; Mills 1981
I 19	65	Blera	c. 96	Stable	Few and modest villas	c. 1 per km sq	+	=	Quilici Gigli 1976

TABLE 1: *continued*

REGION	NUMBER	DISTANCE TO ROME (KM)	SURVEY	AREA SURVEYED (KM ²)	SETTLEMENT TREND	SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY	SETTLEMENT DENSITY	AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION	POPULATION	PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS
I	20	65	Cicolano	c. 22	Up?	None	<1 per km sq	+	+	Barker 1989
I	21	75	Reate (Rieti Basin)	c. 22	Stable	Villas c. 10%	c.2 per km sq	=	=	Coccia & Mattingly 1992; Coccia & Mattingly 1995
I	22	75	Tuscana (Tuscania) (incl. <i>Forma Italiae</i>)	c. 96/353	Stable	Larger sites, few/modest villas	c.2 per km sq	+	=	Barker <i>et al.</i> forthcoming; Quilici Gigli 1970
I	23	90	Volci-Bolsena (Vulci-Bolsena)	c. 100	Up, peak end of CI A.D.	Significant % villas	c.1 per km sq	+	+	Fontana <i>et al.</i> 2002
I	24	120	Saturnia / upper Albegna valley	100 (whole valley, c. 1000 km ²)	Stable	Villas c. 15%	c.1 per km sq	=	=	Carandini <i>et al.</i> 2002
I	25	130	Monte Amiata	c. 40	Down slightly, with increasing nucleation into villages	Villages; no villas	<1 per km sq	=?	=	Cambi 1996
I	26	160	Murlo	c. 63/130	Overall figures stable, but extensive relocation	Villas present but rare	<1 per km sq	=	=	Campana 2001
I	27	200	Val d'Elsa	c. 160	Down slightly, with significant relocation; c. 50% are new sites	Villas c. 5%	<1 per km sq	-	-	Valenti 1999

I 28	180	Chiusdino (& Montarrenti)	c. 50/360	Down in CI BC; no early imperial recovery	Very limited	<1 per km sq	-	-	Barker <i>et al.</i> 1986; Nardini 2001
I 29	220	Chianti senese	c. 158/386	Down	Villas c. 7.5%	c. 1 per 2 km sq	-?	-	Valenti 1995
I 30	210	Volaterrae /upper Cecina valley	c. 75 (whole valley, c. 800 km ²)	Stable; continuity of villages	No villas; villages	<1 per km sq	=	=	Terrenato 1998
I 31	190	Radicondoli	c. 52/132	Up (though numbers in both periods extremely low); no continuity	No villas; numerous generic sites	<1 per km sq	=	=	Cucini 1990

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- M. Pasquinucci and S. Menchelli, 'Paesaggio agrario e produzioni artigianali nell'Etruria settentrionale costiera (Ager Pisanus e Volaterranus)', in N. Christie (ed.), *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500. Papers of the Fifth Conference of Italian Archaeology* (1995), 209–17
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- T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (1979)
- S. Quilici Gigli, *Tuscan. Forma Italiae* (1970)
- S. Quilici Gigli, *Blerna. Topografia antica della città e del territorio* (1976)
- L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Crustumium* (1980)
- L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Fidenae* (1986)
- P. Tartara, *Torrimpietra* (1999)
- N. Terrenato, 'Tam firnum municipium: the Romanization of Volaterrae and its cultural implications', *JRS* 88 (1998), 94–114
- M. Valenti, *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena I. Chianti senese (Castellina in Chianti, Castelnuovo Berardenga, Gaiole in Chianti, Radda in Chianti)* (1995)
- M. Valenti, *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena III. La Valdelsa (Comuni di Colle Val d'Elsa e Poggibonsi)* (1999)
- P. van Dommelen, 'Una riconsiderazione di ricognizioni estensive: il caso dello Scarlino Survey', in M. Bernardi (ed.), *Archeologia del paesaggio* (1992), 859–76

Three key quantitative and qualitative measures of early imperial settlement variation are assessed and used here to evaluate overall demographic and agricultural trends. The first is change in the number of settlements. Do site-numbers at the period of transition between the late republican and the early imperial periods move up or down, or are they relatively stable?²⁸ Is there a noticeable peak in site-numbers at any time? If so, is this peak restricted to a single period or is it maintained across two or more periods? How do the numbers of continuing, new, and abandoned sites compare? Do stable site-numbers disguise a cycle of abandonment and foundation or relocation? The second measure is settlement hierarchy. Which components are present — farms, villas, villages, road stations, urban centres? Does the shape of the settlement hierarchy change over time? The third measure is settlement density (sites per square kilometre).

Comparative survey must address many methodological problems, including some hitherto neglected issues which are discussed in detail in Section IV. Here it is important to note several basic points. The first is variation in survey objectives and practice, which can have a fundamental impact on the results achieved. Some of these are straightforward to evaluate: for example, the spacing between fieldwalkers will affect the size of the smallest scatter to be consistently recognized. Others are more difficult to take into account: for example, different surveys use different types of material culture in order to date scatters; hence surveys which rely on rare imported finewares alone may identify fewer sites than surveys which also use more abundant local coarsewares. The collection of coarsewares has become more common since the 1980s, though exceptionally the South Etruria Survey made extensive use of coarsewares back in the 1960s. In addition, our evolving understanding of coarsewares means that typologies are constantly changing, so a survey using coarsewares twenty years ago would have been able to identify fewer sherds than is the case now. There are also spatial and quantitative considerations. Coarseware typologies are better developed in some regions than others and there are therefore variations in the amount of material available to be collected and identified. (These and other methodological issues are discussed in greater detail in Section IV.) As a result of all these difficulties, a list of the basic classes of material collected by each survey is not particularly helpful. Here, surveys entirely dependent on finewares are excluded.

A second issue concerns the interpretation of pottery-scatters as either farms or villas. The criteria for the distinction between the two types of settlement vary from survey to survey and from region to region, and, more problematically, these criteria are not always made explicit in the published accounts. Among the fifty years of fieldwork represented here, many of particularly the earlier surveys did not have explicit criteria. It is also clear that a more sophisticated approach to defining criteria has evolved over time. In particular, the very distinction between farm and villa is increasingly understood to be overly simplistic.²⁹ However, unless most surveys are to be discarded, some dependence on existing terminology is necessary. It is at least possible to use these data to understand broad regional differences.

'Farm' (*abitazione sparsa, insediamento rustico, fattoria, casa*) is used generically to cover small scatters of unremarkable material culture, but the term is relative. In the *suburbium* the term 'farm' might be used of settlements including relatively dense, varied, and wealthy scatters of up to 2000 m², whilst a 'farm' in inland Etruria would be a fraction of this size and would be accompanied by a relatively poor material culture. A scatter in the *suburbium* identical to the latter 'farm' might well be dismissed as 'off-site' material. The definition of villas is similarly variable. Close to Rome and along the coast,

²⁸ Here 'stable' is defined as within 10 per cent of the preceding total.

²⁹ R. Witcher, 'Agrarian spaces in Roman Italy: society, economy and Mediterranean agriculture', *Arqueología espacial (Paisajes agrarios)* 26 (forthcoming). Alimentary schemes (e.g. at Ligures Baebiani, Patterson, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 124–33) indicate an intermediary class of landowners, though few surveys include such a group in their settlement hierarchies.

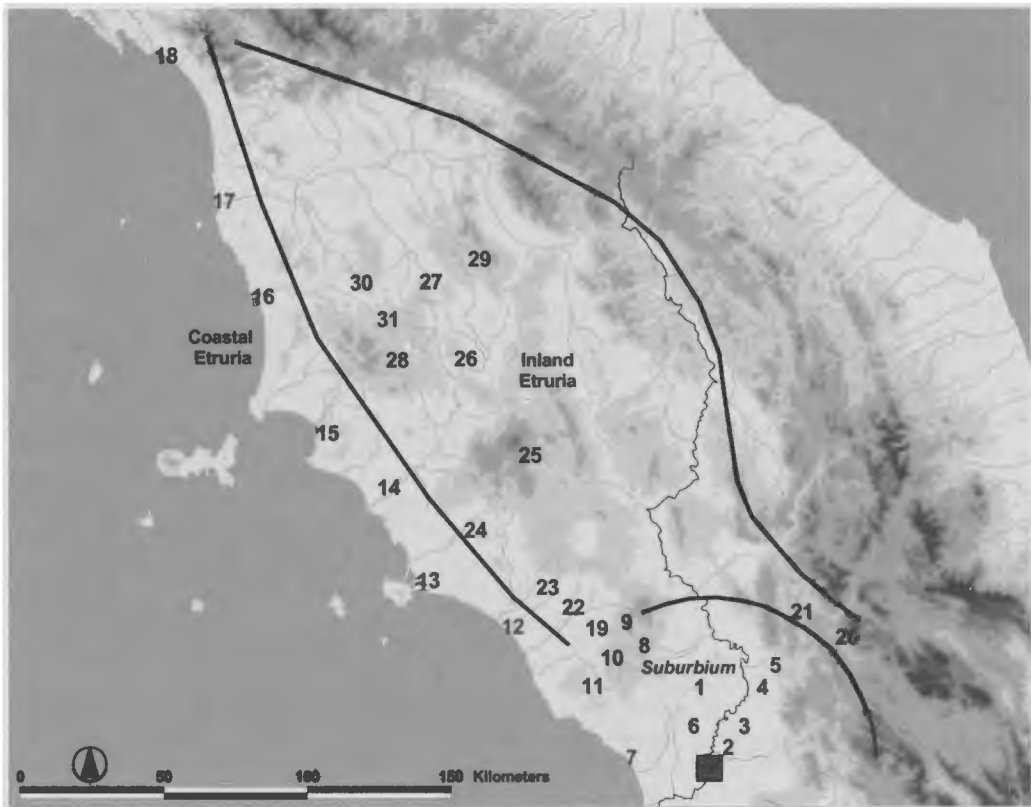


FIG. 1. Location of surveys discussed. Numbers refer to Table 1. The three regions of *suburbium*, coastal, and inland Etruria are also indicated (■ Rome). Contours in 300 m bands. River Tiber indicated in black.

identification as a villa would be suggested by evidence for architectural structures and decoration, luxury materials such as marble, and significant quantities of imported finewares distributed across extensive areas. In comparison, inland 'villas' are much more modest in terms of size, architectural elaboration, and material culture.³⁰ Although this regional relativity appears problematic, it is actually vital to the validity of any comparisons. It would be wrong to judge each region in turn by a single set of criteria:³¹ rather, it is important to compare local settlement hierarchies in their entirety. The real problem is whether different surveys within the same region consistently interpret scatters in the same way. Published criteria are essential for detailed assessment but, more generally, the limited classes into which surface scatters are divided (usually just two or three) means that they are reasonably robust when comparison is made between surveys.

Further up the hierarchy come the villages (*vici*) and road stations (*stationes*). Villages may overlap considerably in terms of size with both villas and road stations, but are distinguished by the absence of luxury materials and substantial structures and, in some

³⁰ e.g. 'villa scatters' in the *suburbium* often exceed 100 x 100 m; across inland Etruria villas are much smaller, e.g. 10 x 10–20 m (see M. Valenti, *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena I. Chianti senese (Castellina in Chianti, Castelnuovo Berardenga, Gaiole in Chianti, Radda in Chianti)* (1995), 29–31.

³¹ P. van Dommelen, 'Roman peasants and rural organisation: an archaeological perspective', in E. Scott (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology. First Conference Proceedings* (1993), 167–86, at 171; Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 78.

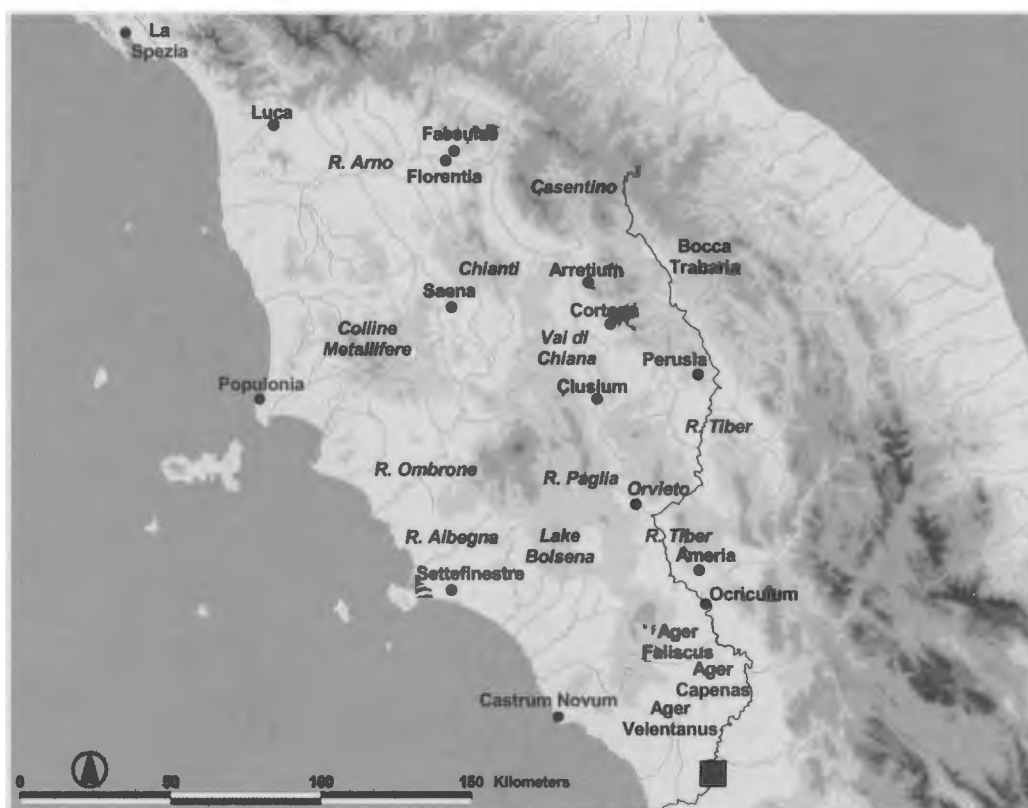


FIG. 2. Location of other places mentioned in text (■ Rome). Contours in 300 m bands. Modern names in italics.

areas, by their elevated and defensible locations.³² Villas and road stations are distinguishable through the latter's location on (consular) roads and the existence of documentary references. The precise interpretation of some of these larger settlements may better reflect academic preconceptions than the archaeological record: major sites on roads are routinely categorized as road stations, and sites away from roads are labelled 'villages'. Overall, therefore, whilst the precise criteria used by different surveys for site interpretation demonstrate variation, they focus around a limited number of categories of broadly similar character.

III AN INITIAL COMPARISON OF SETTLEMENT TRENDS

This section provides an initial comparison of the three sub-regions of Etruria identified above, with particular reference to rural settlement. Within each area, there is localized settlement-diversity in terms of density, chronology, and hierarchy; the boundaries between the areas are also imprecise. Nonetheless, the evidence from each is sufficiently differentiated to allow the identification of three distinct patterns (Fig. 4). The following

³² For the Albegna valley survey, two types of village are defined: Type 1 is 4–10 ha, Type 2 is greater than 10 ha (E. Fentress, 'Criteri tipologici e cronologici', in *Paesaggi d'Etruria*, 54–62, at 59). For defensible village locations, N. Terrenato, 'Tam firmum municipium: the Romanization of Volaterrae and its cultural implications', *JRS* 88 (1998), 94–114, at n. 11. In some areas of Italy, villas and villages are found in very close proximity, see n. 183 below.



FIG. 3. Numbers of sites from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 (in 25-year divisions). Top to bottom, left to right: *Suburbium*: (1) Tiber valley; (2) Torrimpietra; (3) Civitella Cesi. Coastal Etruria: (4) Tarquinia-Volci; (5) Roselle; (6) Ager Cosanus (coastal Albegna valley). Inland Etruria: (7) Tuscana; (8) Valdisia; (9) Saturnia (upper Albegna valley). For details, see Table 1. Note that the scale on the y axis, which indicates the number of sites found, varies by survey.

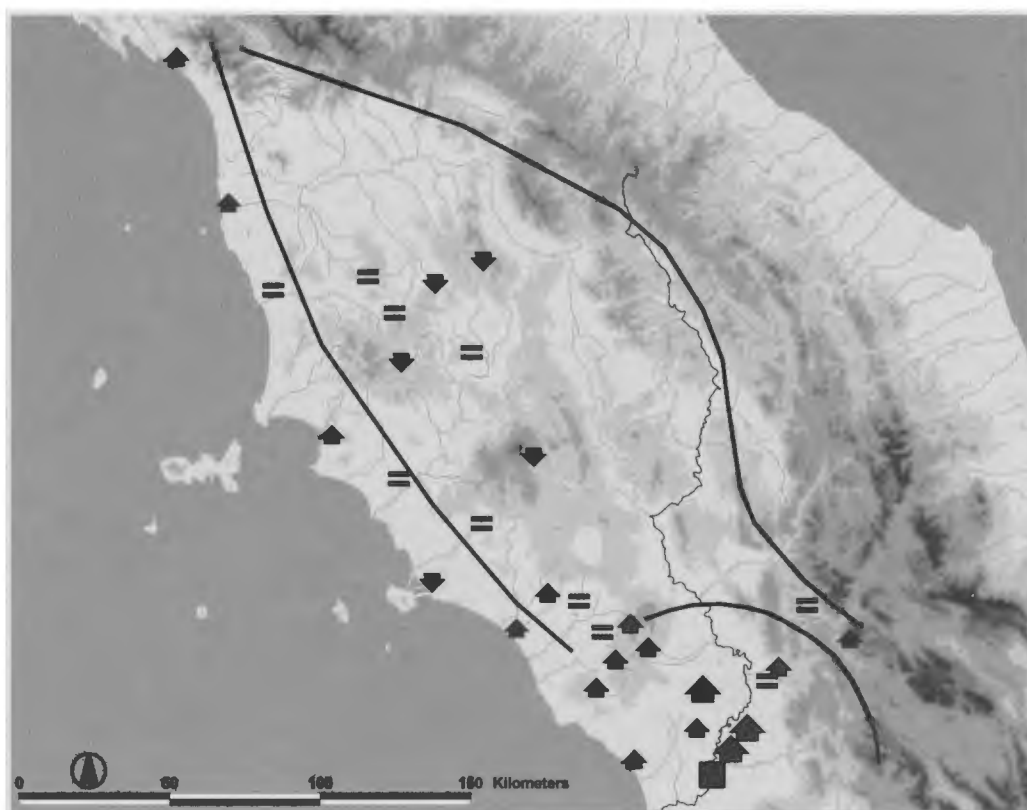


FIG. 4. Settlement trends at the transition between the late republican period and the early imperial period. ▲ indicates a rise in settlement numbers; the size of symbol indicates relative rise in numbers. = indicates stability of settlement numbers. ▼ indicates a decline in settlement numbers (■ Rome). Contours in 300 m bands.

section (IV) evaluates the validity of these patterns in the light of significant methodological issues.

The Suburbium

Ancient and modern uses of the term *suburbium* are highly varied:³³ here, it is taken to comprise a broad geographical region around Rome. Archaeologically, this area is characterized by a distinctive pattern of settlement, extending some 50 or 60 km from Rome and further still into Umbria along the Tiber valley. It includes Caere and Castrum Novum on the southern coast of Etruria, and extends north-east to Ocriculum and Ameria in southern Umbria.³⁴ This is one of the most intensively surveyed regions of the Mediterranean. The work of topographers such as Cozza, Pasqui, and Ashby laid the foundations

³³ E. Champlin, 'The *Suburbium* of Rome', *AJAH* 7 (1982), 97–117; N. Purcell, 'Tomb and suburb', in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds), *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard* (1987), 25–38, at 26–7; R. Volpe, 'Il suburbio', in A. Giardina (ed.), *Roma antica: storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi* (2000), 183–210, at 183.

³⁴ Additional evidence for settlement on the coast includes P. A. Gianfrotta, *Castrum Novarum. Forma Italiae 18* (1972); A. Maffei, 'La romanizzazione della fascia costiera tirrenica', in A. Maffei and F. Nastasi (eds), *Caere e il suo territorio da Agylla a Centumcellae* (1990), 163–81.

of research, and the subsequent South Etruria Survey is a landmark in Mediterranean field-work,³⁵ whilst subsequent surveys have substantially expanded knowledge of the area.³⁶

As noted above, localized diversity existed within each sub-region of Etruria, and the northern *suburbium* of the city was no exception. For example, there are differences in the density, type, and date of sites in the territories of Veii and Sutrium.³⁷ Despite this diversity, a number of dominant trends are apparent. During the transition from the late republican to the early imperial period, settlement in the *suburbium* demonstrated a strong continuity, in that the majority of pre-existing sites remained in occupation. In addition, abandoned sites were more than offset by the foundation of significant numbers of new sites, and the overall trend was a strong growth in total settlement numbers. In most areas, this growth culminated in a clear peak in settlement numbers during the first century A.D. This period of extremely high and sustained settlement persisted at least into the second century A.D. Overall site density was very high, frequently averaging three sites or more per square kilometre. Most of these sites are best characterized as farms,³⁸ although 'residential' villas, or villas with an elaborate *pars urbana*, constitute a third or more of the settlement hierarchy across large areas. However, the (archaeological) dividing line between farm and villa is particularly ambiguous in this part of Etruria, and in reality there was a wide spectrum of site types. Spatially, the distributions of farms and villas were thoroughly interspersed.

Rural sites are detectable as comparatively dense surface scatters of pottery and building material. The ceramic evidence includes both imported and locally-produced *terra sigillata*, thin-walled wares, and, less commonly, internal red slip cookware ('Pompeian red slip' ware).³⁹ Coarsewares are abundant and local typologies are relatively well developed.⁴⁰ Building materials include tile, *opus signinum*, *opus caementicium*, and *opus reticulatum* bricks.⁴¹ Plaster is (or at least, was in the years following initial deep ploughing) common and often painted; glass, marble wall-veneers, and pieces of mosaic and tesserae are also widely diffused.⁴²

Recent studies suggest that the emergence of this rural landscape may have been relatively sudden. Early surveys had suggested the gradual expansion of site numbers from the Etruscan period through to an early imperial peak, whereas subsequent surveys suggest a more abrupt transition.⁴³ Re-study of the South Etruria Survey material also questions the validity of the earlier conclusion of steady growth during the republican period, identifying instead significant decline during the second century B.C. Again, this new conclusion gives greater emphasis to the scale of the subsequent early imperial expansion.⁴⁴ Further

³⁵ T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (1979), 1–14.

³⁶ The South Etruria Survey and a number of other surveys from this region are currently the subject of comprehensive re-study as part of the British School at Rome's Tiber Valley Project, Patterson *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 8).

³⁷ Potter, op. cit. (n. 35), 133.

³⁸ The dearth of excavated examples must make this interpretation provisional. The best-known example is Monte Forco in the *ager Capenas* (G. D. B. Jones, 'Capena and the Ager Capenas, Part 2', *PBSR* 31 (1963), 100–58), though this is likely to provide only one model for a much more varied range of possibilities. Specifically, Jones considers the site to be part of a veteran settlement scheme of the late first century B.C. and it would not therefore assist interpretation of earlier and/or non-colonial sites.

³⁹ *Terra sigillata (italica)*, a red-slipped tableware, is the primary early imperial diagnostic pottery class. For pottery in the *suburbium*, A. Kahane, L. Murray Threipland and J. Ward-Perkins, 'The Ager Veientanus, north and east of Veii', *PBSR* 36 (1968), 1–218, at 11–13; Patterson *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 8), table 1. A. Oxé, H. Comfort and P. Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata* (2000). For a general introduction to Roman pottery in the Mediterranean, J. W. Hayes, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery* (1997).

⁴⁰ Patterson *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 8).

⁴¹ For a brief introduction to Roman building techniques, A. Claridge, *Rome. An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (1998).

⁴² Kahane *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 39), 153–7.

⁴³ cf. Potter, op. cit. (n. 35), tables 4 and 5; Quilici Gigli, op. cit. (n. 21), 138.

⁴⁴ P. Liverani, 'L'ager veientanus in età repubblicana', *PBSR* 52 (1984), 36–48; Patterson *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 8), 17.

evidence comes from the majority of excavated villas in this area which did not develop from republican farms but were founded *ex novo* during the early imperial period.⁴⁵ Additionally, during the later first and second centuries A.D. a series of large and luxurious maritime villas developed along the coast.⁴⁶

The fate of towns during the early imperial period was quite varied. Some such as Caere and Veii benefited from imperial patronage, although they remained pale imitations of their former selves;⁴⁷ others declined or disappeared;⁴⁸ and still others demonstrate evidence for prosperity.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the early imperial *suburbium* remains one of the most densely urbanized areas in Italy. This picture is reinforced through several first-century B.C. colonial settlements: Castrum Novum, Lucus Feroniae, Sutrium, and Veii.⁵⁰ A significant number of road stations also emerged along consular roads during the late republican period, including those at Ad Turres on the Via Aurelia and at Aquaviva on the Via Flaminia,⁵¹ centres which flourished during the early imperial period. By contrast, agricultural villages are not clearly attested in the northern half of the *suburbium*.

The Coast of Etruria

As defined here, the coast of Etruria extends from modern Tarquinia northwards as far as La Spezia, and reaches up to 20 km inland. More than any other area, the coast of Etruria has been at the heart of debate about the Roman economy, most noticeably with regard to the alleged decline of the peasantry and the so-called 'slave mode of production'.⁵² The archaeological focus of these debates has been the villa at Settefinestre and the surrounding *ager Cosanus*. This region demonstrates more internal variation than the *suburbium*, but again general trends can be discerned (with one notable exception).

In most areas, the late republican settlement pattern was characterized by strong growth in settlement numbers, including the emergence of significant numbers of villas. The transition from the late republican to the early imperial period witnessed broad stability in some areas, but modest to significant growth in others. In most areas, the majority of late republican sites continued in occupation; in some areas, the foundation of new sites brought about an early imperial peak. Significantly, however, in all areas neither stability nor growth was maintained beyond the first century A.D. when large numbers of sites, predominantly farms, were abandoned. This was followed by widespread villa abandonment from the second century A.D. Overall early imperial settlement density was high, frequently one site per square kilometre, but compared to that of the *suburbium*, the early imperial peak was modest and short-lived. The principal exception to these general trends is found in the *ager Cosanus*. Most notably, here there was a sharp fall in site numbers, particularly farms, during the transition between the late republican and the early imperial periods. Villas subsequently dominated the settlement hierarchy with a much higher ratio than found in other areas.⁵³

⁴⁵ e.g. Monte Gelato in the *ager Faliscus*, T. W. Potter and A. C. King, *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato* (1997). Lugnano in Teverina near Ameria, D. Soren and N. Soren (eds), *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Infant Cemetery* (1999).

⁴⁶ e.g. around Castrum Novum, Gianfrota, op. cit. (n. 34), 21.

⁴⁷ Maffei and Nastasi, op. cit. (n. 34); Papi, op. cit. (n. 19); J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Veii. The historical topography of the ancient city', *PBSR* 29 (1961), 1–122.

⁴⁸ e.g. R. M. Ogilvie, 'Eretum', *PBSR* 33 (1965), 70–112; L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Crustumium* (1980).

⁴⁹ For a range of urban sites in the Tiber valley, Keay *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 3); P. Johnson, S. Keay and M. Millett, 'Lesser urban sites in the Tiber Valley: Baccanae, Forum Cassii and Castellum Amerinum', *PBSR* 72 (2004), 69–100.

⁵⁰ L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC* (1983), 168–72.

⁵¹ Enei, op. cit. (n. 24), 67; T. W. Potter, J. M. Reynolds and S. Walker, 'The Roman road station of Aquaviva, Southern Etruria', *PBSR* 67 (1999), 199–232.

⁵² Carandini, op. cit. (n. 20).

⁵³ *Paesaggi d'Etruria*.

Along the coast, the settlement hierarchy was based on varying ratios of farms, villas, and villages, their distributions being usually, though not always, interspersed. Villas comprise up to a third of sites in many areas, although they display considerable variation as a group, ranging from a few enormous complexes such as Settefinestre to much more modest examples. Generally, however, they are usually distinct as a group from farm sites. As in the *suburbium*, a series of large and luxurious maritime villas developed along the coast during the later first and second centuries A.D.⁵⁴ Isolated rural farms formed the majority of sites, archaeologically demonstrated by surface scatters of pottery and building material (predominantly tile). Villages up to 40 ha overlapped considerably in size with the larger villas, but are distinguishable by their lack of structural evidence, or of marble and painted wall-plaster. Ceramic evidence comprises a wide range of imported finewares, including *terra sigillata*, local and imported amphorae, and local coarsewares with reasonably well-developed typologies.⁵⁵

Urban centres demonstrate considerable diversity. Old Etruscan centres such as Volci and Vetulonia declined in relative importance, as did the Latin colony of Cosa and its associated port.⁵⁶ The processing of iron at Populonia also declined and, along with Cosa, it was better known for fishing during the early imperial period.⁵⁷ Further north, the colonies at Luna and Pisae appear to have flourished.⁵⁸ First-century B.C. colonial settlements were made at Pisae and Rusellae. Finally, a series of road stations which had emerged along the coastal road, the Via Aurelia, during the late republican period continued to develop.⁵⁹

Inland Etruria

Of the three regions under discussion, inland Etruria is the largest and least intensively surveyed.⁶⁰ In particular, there have been few large and systematic surveys in the eastern half of the *regio* (least of all in modern Umbria, see Fig. 1).⁶¹ This biased coverage is significant, as it excludes the territories of some of the principal urban centres, in particular

⁵⁴ e.g. Albegna valley, M. G. Celuzza, 'Dalla riconversione delle ville alla crisi (50-200 d.C.)', in *Paesaggi d'Etruria*, 196-206, at 201-4.

⁵⁵ S. L. Dyson, *Cosa: the Utilitarian Pottery* (1976).

⁵⁶ A. M. McCann, *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* (1987), 331.

⁵⁷ Strabo (5.2.6; 5.2.8).

⁵⁸ C. Delano Smith, D. Gadd, N. Mills and B. Ward-Perkins, 'Luni and the *Ager Lunensis*: the rise and fall of a Roman town and its territory', *PBSR* 54 (1986), 81-146; Terrenato, op. cit. (n. 25), 56-7.

⁵⁹ e.g. ad Nonas, east of Cosa, F. Cambi, 'Appendice. La romanizzazione. Le zone della ricognizione. Zona A. Le Valli del Chiarone e del Tafone (Pescia Romana — Pescia Fiorentina)', in *Paesaggi d'Etruria*, 158-60.

⁶⁰ Additional surveys for Umbria include G. Becatti, *Tuder-Carsulae. Forma Italiae* 4 (1938); D. Manconi, M. A. Tomei and M. Verzar, 'La situazione in Umbria dal III a.C. alla tarda antichità', in *Società romana*, 371-406, at 378-83; D. Monacchi, 'Storia e assetto in età antica del territorio in cui ricade la villa di Poggio Gramignano', in D. Soren and N. Soren (eds), *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Infant Cemetery* (1999), 23-42; G. Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte. Esame del territorio e dei materiali archeologici* (1980); *Ville e insediamenti rustici di età romana in Umbria* (1983). For the Lazio/Tuscany border, W. V. Harris, 'The Via Cassia and the Via Traiana Nova between Bolsena and Chiusi', *PBSR* 33 (1965), 113-33.

⁶¹ Full publication of a number of surveys is awaited, including work at Orvieto, S. Stopponi, 'Contributo alla conoscenza del territorio orvietano', *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 6 (1999), 41-76, and in the upper Tiber valley (for summaries, F. Coarelli and H. Patterson (eds), *Mercator Placidissimus. The Tiber Valley in Antiquity. New Research in the Upper and Middle Valley* (forthcoming)). Nonetheless, some corroboration of the basic inland Etruria trends can be obtained through studies of funerary and epigraphic evidence at Clusium (Chiusi), Perugia (Perugia), and Volaterrae (Volterra), M. Cristofani, 'Strutture insediative e modi di produzione', in M. Martelli and M. Cristofani (eds), *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche* (1977), 74-83; O. Luchi, 'I territori di Volterra e di Chiusi', in *Società romana*, 413-20, at 415.

around the Val di Chiana.⁶² The current discussion refers largely to an area broadly comprising the (inland areas of the) modern provinces of Pisa, Siena, Grosseto, and Viterbo. In addition, some material from the provinces of Terni and Rieti is included.

As in the other sub-regions, there is local diversity of settlement, in particular between the hills and the inland valleys; on the other hand, there are also characteristics common to both. In most cases, the peak of settlement numbers was reached during the hellenistic or late republican period (third/second centuries B.C.). In some areas these numbers were maintained into the early imperial period, but in others the number of sites declined, in some cases markedly.⁶³ In the southern parts of the area the continuity of occupation of individual sites was relatively strong (e.g. at Tuscania and Rieti). Continuity of settlement in some northern areas was in contrast remarkably low — c. 50 per cent of sites in Valdelsa and, remarkably, just 5 per cent of scatters in Chianti senese. The settlement hierarchy comprised farms, villas, and villages in varying ratios. Villas were generally modest,⁶⁴ although there are some well-appointed sites.⁶⁵ Overall, they formed a small percentage of the settlement hierarchy, being concentrated in areas close to towns. Farms were more numerous, though this was the category most affected by the early imperial decline. Recent work suggests that the density of settlement in remote areas is higher than previously thought, though still low in comparison to other areas.⁶⁶

The number of urban centres was low given the overall size of the area. Towns were particularly scarce across the western half of the *regio* (especially between the rivers Arno and Ombrone), although there was considerable Sullan settlement and Triumviral/Augustan colonization.⁶⁷ Individual centres tended to be relatively large, and by comparison with the *suburbium* there were few ‘second-order’ urban settlements. Further down the settlement hierarchy, villages were widespread and broadly more significant in the less urbanized areas, reflecting the large size of individual urban territories. In general, with the decline in the number of occupied farms, villages assumed greater importance in local settlement hierarchies. There are comparatively few consular roads in this area and road stations are correspondingly rare. Unsurprisingly for such a large and geographically diverse region, settlement density was variable, with notable concentrations in river valleys and in the hinterlands of major towns, but overall settlement density was low.

⁶² e.g. the cities of Arretium (Arezzo), Cortona, and Clusium. There are several surveys of this area, e.g. G. Cataldi, A. Cherici, B. Gialluca, E. Lavagnino, G. Maffei, V. Orgera, and P. Vaccaro, *Cortona. Strutture e storia. Materiali per una conoscenza operante della città e del territorio* (1987); R. Chellini, ‘L’insediamento rurale romano tra Firenze e Siena (Fo. 113 IV)’, *JAT* 3 (1993), 108–52; A. Cherici, ‘L’insediamento antico nel territorio aretino: Carta archeologica Fo. 114 II’, *JAT* 2 (1992), 23–90; G. Paolucci, *Il territorio di Chianciano Terme dalla Preistoria al Medioevo* (1988); R. Raimondi, ‘Il territorio della Valdichiana occidentale in età etrusca e romana’, in L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds), *Urbanizzazione delle campagne nell’Italia antica* (2002), 109–25, but there are major problems of preservation and visibility, with consequent emphasis on structural remains, large sites, and toponyms, which suggests that known settlement patterns may be particularly incomplete and difficult to compare with other areas. There are similar problems to the north, e.g. Valdinievole, C. Bianchi, ‘Atlante Fondario Romano. L’insediamento antico in Valdinievole’, *JAT* 5 (1995), 141–90.

⁶³ The potential divergence of western inland Etruria from the Valdichiana to the east is suggested by evidence from Arretium indicating a more vibrant imperial landscape, Cherici, op. cit. (n. 62), 25.

⁶⁴ See M. Valenti, *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena III. La Valdelsa (Comuni di Colle Val d’Elsa e Poggibonsi)* (1999).

⁶⁵ e.g. J. J. Dobbins, *Excavation of the Roman Villa at La Befà, Italy* (1983); G. Gazzetti, ‘La villa romana in località Selvicciola (Ischia di Castro-VT)’, in *Settlement and Economy*, 297–302. The villa at Ossaia (Cortona) is particularly rich but entirely atypical, H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri, ‘The Imperial “Villa” at Ossaia (Arezzo, Italy): preliminary data on the territory of Roman Cortona’, *EMC* 40 (1996), 157–200.

⁶⁶ In the Casentino, compare P. Albertoni, M. Ducci and L. Paggetti, *Nuovi contributi per una carta archeologica del Casentino* (1989) with S. Stoddart, ‘An archaeological survey in the Casentino’, *ArchMed* 8 (1981), 503–27. Also for the upper Tiber valley, A. Tagliaferri, *Romani e non romani nell’alta Valtiberina da una ricerca archeologica di superficie* (1991); P. Zamarchi Grassi, ‘Recenti ricognizioni ed indagini archeologiche in Valtiberina’, in *Monumenti e culture nell’Appennino in età romana* (1993), 93–108.

⁶⁷ Sullan schemes include Faesulae (Fiesole), Arretium, Volaterrae, and Clusium, Harris, op. cit. (n. 17), 259–67; Triumviral/Augustan schemes include Florentia (Florence), Luca (Lucca), Volaterrae, and Saena (Siena), Keppie, op. cit. (n. 50), 168–76.

Most sites are characterized by low levels of material culture.⁶⁸ The primary diagnostic material is *terra sigillata*, but despite the major production centre at Arretium and several smaller local production centres, the quantities of this pottery, and imitation wares, from rural sites are restricted.⁶⁹ Other indicators such as amphorae are rare, and local coarse-ware typologies are relatively under-developed.⁷⁰ Marble, tesserae, and other architectural materials are also scarce.

On the basis of these brief characterizations, some preliminary observations can be made on the early imperial settlement of Etruria.⁷¹ The most significant concern differences of settlement trend, density, and hierarchy. In the *suburbium* and along much of the coast settlement numbers did not peak until the early imperial period, with strong continuity of republican settlement coupled with a considerable number of new sites. In strong contrast, the number of occupied sites in inland areas was generally stable, though in some areas it declined significantly. To the north, in particular, this apparent stability disguises significant settlement reorganization, with widespread abandonment of republican sites and relocation elsewhere (often in valleys). The early imperial peak in settlement numbers in the *suburbium* was maintained into the second and even the third centuries A.D. Along the coast, by contrast, there was substantial decline in numbers from the first century A.D. There were also marked differences in overall settlement density — frequently three sites per square kilometre near Rome and usually less than one site per square kilometre across inland areas. Similarly, the shape of settlement hierarchies was distinct. Villages were absent from the *suburbium*, but were increasingly numerous along the coast and across inland Etruria, while road stations, conversely, were more abundant closer to Rome. Villas were extremely common in the *suburbium* and along the coast and to a lesser degree around towns of the interior, although their form varied enormously both within and between the regions. In the *suburbium* the category of ‘farm’ developed seamlessly into ‘villa’; along the coast and in the interior the distinction between farm and villa was clearer. Across inland Etruria, substantial villas existed, but they were few and modest compared to those of the coast and the *suburbium*. Isolated rural farms were found in all areas, but were numerically by far the most frequent in the *suburbium*.

IV SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The previous section provided an initial comparison of the three proposed regions of Etruria on the basis of more than thirty surveys. The interpretation of any survey, however, requires detailed consideration of its methodology and the influence of that methodology on results.⁷² Comparison between surveys only compounds the problem of interpretation due to differing approaches to data collection. Indeed, methodological variability is widely cited as the greatest obstacle to survey comparison.⁷³ For example, the

⁶⁸ Note the large percentage of sites which can be dated only generically as Roman, e.g. C. Cucini, ‘Periodo romano’, in C. Cucini (ed.), *Radicondoli. Storia e archeologia di un comune senese* (1990), 243–51, at 245; Valenti, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 18.

⁶⁹ J. T. Peña, ‘Internal red-slip cookware (Pompeian Red Ware) from Cetamura del Chianti, Italy: mineralogical composition and provenance’, *AJA* 94 (1990), 647–61.

⁷⁰ For summary of ceramics, Cucini, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 249–50.

⁷¹ And therefore indirectly on late republican settlement as well.

⁷² *inter alia* F. Cambi and N. Terrenato, *Introduzione all’archeologia dei paesaggi* (1994).

⁷³ See papers in *Side-by-Side Survey*. Even comparison of surveys within the same region presents difficulties, as does re-survey work, e.g. A. Camilli, L. Carta, T. Conti and A. De Laurenzi, ‘Ricognizioni nell’ager faliscus meridionale’, in *Settlement and Economy*, 395–402; H. Di Giuseppe, M. Sansoni, J. Williams and R. Witcher, ‘The *Sabinensis Ager* revisited: a field survey in the Sabina Tiberina’, *PBSR* 70 (2002), 99–150; E. Fentress, ‘Field surveys in northern Campania’, *JRA* 6 (1993), 367–70. For the present research area, N. Terrenato, ‘Field survey methods in Central Italy (Etruria and Umbria). Between local knowledge and regional traditions’, *ArchDial* 3 (1996), 216–30.

surveys reviewed above indicate a decline in the number of sites as distance from Rome increases.⁷⁴ Is this a genuine pattern or does it reflect the declining intensity of survey coverage the further one goes from the city? It is undoubtedly true that areas closest to Rome have been studied most intensively and over a more sustained period of time, and there are also additional problems of visibility further away from Rome — for example, proportionately more forestation and uncultivated land. But are such methodological considerations sufficient to invalidate the basic observation of decreasing settlement density?

Detailed publication of survey strategies combined with modelling based on the results of earlier archaeological work can help to quantify the unevenness of fieldwork methodology.⁷⁵ In relation to the current data, it is important to note that even where high-intensity surveys of inland Etruria have been conducted, for example, at Rieti, Tuscania, Montarrenti, and Valdelsa, the patterns identified are simply not on the same quantitative and qualitative scale as those found in the *suburbium*. Occasionally, regional surveys cover sufficiently wide areas with internally consistent strategies to allow clear sub-regional patterning to be detected (e.g. South Etruria and the Albegna valley). More generally, distinctive regional patterns are increasingly supported by a critical mass of published surveys which, despite differences in methodology, demonstrate broadly similar regional results. In other words, the underlying settlement patterns are robust enough to overcome (a degree of) methodological diversity.

As well as sampling issues, post-depositional transformations of the archaeological record by processes such as ploughing and erosion have also been widely discussed.⁷⁶ These are important considerations for individual surveys, and the extent of such conditions can complicate regional comparison: note, for example, the massive alluviation in the Po valley which has made surface survey less effective there than elsewhere, rendering comparison with the results from peninsular Italy difficult. But across Etruria, can the marked contrast between the steep rise in settlement numbers in the *suburbium* and their stagnation or fall across inland areas be explained by the fact that each area has undergone different transformations since antiquity? It seems unlikely. There is no clear reason why ploughing or erosion should systematically suppress early imperial material in one area but not in another. Rather, differences in past behaviour or in the nature of the deposition of artefacts offer more plausible explanations. This raises the critical issue that, while most surveys have concentrated on the identification of sites and settlement trends, it is material culture and its variation across time and space which determine the identification of these sites and their changing numbers, and it is therefore material culture which lies at the heart of survey comparison.

A good example of the variation of material culture is provided by the distribution of marble wall-veneers (*crustae*). Close to Rome, such marble occurs on a significant percentage of sites and on a comparatively wide range of sites.⁷⁷ Further from Rome, marble is not only less abundant overall, but also more restricted in the percentage and types of site on which it is found. This is unlikely to represent post-depositional or fieldwork bias; both white and coloured marbles are relatively easy to recognize. The distribution is more likely to reflect genuine patterning created through behavioural or depositional differences. Factors such as transport costs are likely to have shaped the overall distribution pattern around the principal market and distribution centre at Rome;⁷⁸ proximity to the city

⁷⁴ See also comments by Jones, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 143.

⁷⁵ For the latter, U. Rajala, A. Harrison and S. K. F. Stoddart, 'The enhancement of the South Etruria Survey: GIS in the study of the research history of the southern Faliscan area', in L. Dingall, S. Exon, V. Gaffney, S. Laffin and M. van Leusen (eds), *Archaeology in the Age of the Internet. CAA97* (1999).

⁷⁶ Cambi and Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 72), 168–74.

⁷⁷ Kahane *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 153–6.

⁷⁸ For imperial control of extraction and distribution, J. C. Fant, 'Ideology, gift, and trade: a distribution model for the Roman imperial marbles', in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy. Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of instrumentum domesticum* (1993), 145–70.

would make marble relatively cheaper, though its high value could bear greater transport costs and thus it could travel greater distances than lower-value goods. The density of villas in the *suburbium* created great demand which could stimulate supply; smaller sites with more modest demand benefited from this luxury market, but combined they may have constituted a considerable ('aggregate') market in their own right.⁷⁹ In the *suburbium*, marble therefore found its way not only on to more sites, but also on to a wider range of sites. This relatively widespread social distribution has been interpreted as social aspiration through emulation.⁸⁰ Away from the *suburbium*, marble could still be acquired, but the presence of fewer wealthy landowners and fewer sites overall did not stimulate the same market volume. With higher supply costs and less pressure for ostentation, it is perhaps not surprising that the consumption of marble declined the greater the distance from Rome.

Clearly if the interpretation of a scatter of surface material as a villa were dependent on the presence of marble alone, the identification of villas would be highly uneven between different regions. This point underlines the difficulty of imposing universal site definitions.⁸¹ But there is more than methodological concern here: such variation in the distribution of material culture also reflects differences in consumption. The use of marble in the *suburbium* may have indicated wealth or pretension, but it was a widely diffused material. Along the coast and especially across inland areas, marble was concentrated on a much smaller number of sites, although it was often used there with some extravagance.⁸² Its use might therefore be considered more exclusive and noteworthy. Put simply, the significance of marble varied according to its context.

Another aspect of material culture which shows spatial and temporal variation across Etruria is architecture. Fashionable building techniques at Rome were disseminated both early and extensively in the *suburbium*. For example, both the villa of the Volusii at Lucus Feroniae and the small farm at Monte Forco were at least partially constructed in *opus reticulatum*. Both have been dated to the second half of the first century B.C.⁸³ Individual pyramid-shaped reticulate *tuffo* 'bricks' were also widely observed during the South Etruria Survey.⁸⁴ Further afield in Etruria, however, the use of *opus reticulatum* was largely restricted to urban centres,⁸⁵ whereas in the countryside the technique was used only at a few large villas, particularly maritime establishments.⁸⁶ Again, the use and significance of the technique may have varied according to location.

The distribution of *opus reticulatum* has been associated specifically with the 'slave mode of production' (see below).⁸⁷ Its primary distribution also coincides with the volcanic geology to which its technical demands are best suited. However, imitations of this technique in other materials such as limestone illustrate that it was dependent neither

⁷⁹ L. de Ligt, 'Demand, supply, distribution: the Roman peasantry between town and countryside: rural monetization and peasant demand (Part 1)', *MBAH* 9 (1990), 24–56; 'Supply, distribution and a comparative perspective (Part 2)', *MBAH* 10 (1991), 33–77.

⁸⁰ A. Wallace Hadrill, 'The social spread of Roman luxury: sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum', *PBSR* 45 (1990), 145–96, at 190–2. For the spread of mosaics and wall plaster in the *ager Veientanus* during the imperial period, Kahane *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 151, 154.

⁸¹ Cambi and Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 72), 212–14.

⁸² e.g. villa at Ponte Capo d'Acqua near Rieti, D. J. Mattingly and S. Coccia, 'Survey methodology and the site: a Roman villa from the Rieti survey', in *Settlement and Economy*, 31–43. In the north-east of Italy, in *regio X Venetia et Histria*, excavation and non-intensive survey has identified 576 sites. This sample might be expected to be biased towards larger/wealthier sites, but just 46 (or 8 per cent) produced marble, M. De Franceschini, *Le ville romane della X regio Venetia et Histria* (1998), 827–8. This is far lower than levels attested in the *suburbium*.

⁸³ Jones, *op. cit.* (n. 38); M. Moretti and A. M. Sgubini Moretti, *La villa dei Volusi a Lucus Feroniae* (1977).

⁸⁴ Kahane *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 150.

⁸⁵ Torelli, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 224.

⁸⁶ e.g. Celuzza, *op. cit.* (n. 54), 204.

⁸⁷ F. Coarelli, 'Public building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR* 45 (1977), 1–19, at 18.

on socio-economic organization nor on geology.⁸⁸ *Opus reticulatum* was a 'fashion statement'. Similar observations could be made in relation to other construction techniques, for example, *opus caementicium*, which was often used for the *basis villae* (villa platforms). Beyond such showy construction styles, there was great variation in even basic construction materials and techniques (for example, wood, river cobbles, *tufo*, limestone, travertine, and mud brick), and even the use of tile for roofs should not be taken as universal.⁸⁹ Again the implication is that the visibility of the material used, and therefore of settlement itself, is uneven.

Marble wall veneers and other architectural fashions associated with villas are highly visible, but they are socially restricted in scope, and there is therefore a risk of failing to see significant sections of the rural population. Inevitably, ceramics are the basis on which sites are dated and therefore the basis on which surveys are compared. The most widely distributed early imperial ceramic class in this respect is *terra sigillata italica*.⁹⁰ In contrast with marble and architectural fashions, which both have a clear centre of diffusion at Rome, ceramics demonstrate more complex and varied production and distribution mechanisms. Furthermore, the manufacturing centres producing *terra sigillata italica*⁹¹ were organized and located quite differently from earlier black-glazed ware kilns of the republican period.⁹² This has implications for the demand, supply, and distribution of pottery in the past, and hence the archaeological visibility of sites in the present. In the *suburbium*, most (but not all) early imperial sites used *terra sigillata italica*; by contrast, survey across inland Etruria suggests that *terra sigillata* was both socially and geographically restricted.⁹³ Survey which relies on imported finewares therefore risks missing smaller, poorer or more remote sites. The uneven supply of African Red Slip wares and its implications for mid- and late imperial site visibility have been well-explored;⁹⁴ to date, however, similar problems with regard to the early imperial period have been less fully debated.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ e.g. the villa at Paranzana in the Sabina tiberina, C. F. Gamurrini, A. Cozza, A. Pasqui and R. Mengarelli, *Carta archeologica d'Italia (1881-1897). Materiali per l'Etruria e la Sabina (Forma Italiae serie II, 1)* (1972), 334.

⁸⁹ Tile is often considered to be ubiquitous, but scatters of pottery with no associated tile may indicate thatched buildings or *capanne* (e.g. Pecora valley, van Dommelen, op. cit. (n. 31), 182). Such material may also relate to manuring, but should be distinguishable by its fragmentation and abrasion.

⁹⁰ Others include late *sigillata italica* and thin-walled wares; cooking/coarsewares include internal red-slip ware ('Pompeian red slip'); the most recent surveys have made the most substantial use of locally-produced coarsewares; generally, A. MacDonald, 'All or nothing at all? Criteria for the analysis of pottery from surface survey', in *Settlement and Economy*, 25-9.

⁹¹ Most famously at Arretium and Pisae, though also in the Tiber and Po valleys, e.g. M. Bergamini, 'Un insediamento produttivo sul Tevere in territorio tudertino', *JAT* 3 (1993), 179-94; Kahane *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 39), 11.

⁹² Black glazed ware (or *vernice nera*) is a black-slipped tableware and the principal diagnostic ceramic for the republican period. It was widely produced, especially in the Rome area, though also includes the Campana wares from Campania and Sicily. See J.-P. Morel, 'La produzione della ceramica campana: aspetti economici e sociali', in *Società romana*, 81-97.

⁹³ Around Monte Amiata, the distribution of *terra sigillata* is restricted to the more accessible Paglia valley. Sites in more peripheral areas only produce coarsewares of generic Roman date, F. Cambi (ed.), *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena II. Il Monte Amiata (Abbadia San Salvatore)* (1996). Rarity of *terra sigillata* and abundance of generically dated sites is also attested at Valdelsa and Radicondoli. In contrast, it appears to be easier to locate imperial sites at Arretium (see Chericì, op. cit. (n. 62), 25); it is tempting to associate this with the availability of locally manufactured *terra sigillata*.

⁹⁴ African Red Slip replaces *terra sigillata* as the principal diagnostic fineware from the late first/early second century A.D., E. Fentress, S. Fontana, R. B. Hitchner and P. Perkins, 'Accounting for ARS: fineware and sites in Sicily and Africa', in *Side-by-Side Survey*, 147-62; E. Fentress and P. Perkins, 'Counting African Red Slip', *AfrRom* 5 (1989), 205-14; M. Millett, 'Pottery: population or supply patterns? The Ager Tarraconensis approach', in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (1991), 18-26.

⁹⁵ For Spain, see J.-M. Carreté, S. Keay and M. Millett, *A Roman Provincial Capital and its Hinterland. The Survey of the Territory of Tarragona, Spain (1985-1990)* (1995). To emphasize the point, in the Valdelsa, African Red Slip is restricted to the larger villa sites around Saena, and absent from the more distant and smaller farms, Valenti, op. cit. (n. 30), 401.

A basic question must therefore be asked: does the lower number of sites from inland Etruria represent reduced visibility due to lower consumption of diagnostic material culture, or was settlement genuinely thinner there? The reality is most likely to be found somewhere between these two extremes — that is, both lower consumption of diagnostic material culture *and* fewer sites. The former is suggested by the consistently lower quantity and range of material from sites across inland Etruria; the latter is suggested by the failure of even high intensity surveys to identify settlement densities comparable with those found closer to Rome. But more important still is the fact that these two considerations may come together to make it disproportionately difficult to identify sites. For example, it was suggested above that the high aggregate demand of densely-settled rural populations might be one factor behind the high level of marble found in the *suburbium*. By contrast, the lower populations of inland Etruria comprised a smaller aggregate market which in turn would lead to a smaller volume of supply. As a result, access to certain goods would become even more restricted for such settlements. Consequently, not only were there fewer sites overall, but the lack of diagnostic material means that poorer, smaller or isolated sites are disproportionately harder to locate. In effect, variable consumption of material culture means that surveys recover a different proportion of each regional settlement pattern; survey comparison might therefore not be comparing like with like.⁹⁶

In terms of the present case study, these factors suggest that there is a systematic over-representation of settlement in the *suburbium* and a corresponding under-representation of settlement across inland Etruria. So is the dissimilarity of the *suburbium* and inland Etruria outlined above still valid? Whilst the implications of this discussion are profound and demand much further research, contextual information suggests that the basic distinctions are still real. Firstly, there is a ten-fold difference in settlement densities between the two areas (or one whole order of magnitude). In the *suburbium*, early imperial settlement is frequently three sites per square kilometre or more; by contrast, the Valdelsa, for example, averages around 0.1, or one site per ten square kilometres.⁹⁷ If this difference was to be entirely explained by uneven visibility, it would mean that only one-tenth the number of sites was identified in one survey area compared with the other. While not impossible, such a difference seems unlikely in the light of other qualitative and contextual information. For example, the distribution of urban settlement and villas across inland Etruria is notably thinner than that in the *suburbium*, and the identification of such 'obtrusive' sites is less sensitive to variation in survey intensity.⁹⁸ If such sites existed in significantly larger numbers, it would be expected that more would be known through accidental discovery and antiquarian records. A further consideration is the relatively small size of many inland sites. By comparison with the extensive scatters of the *suburbium*, inland sites in a similar position in the settlement hierarchy are much smaller. Again, the expectation is that larger sites would be better represented if they existed.

As such, whilst inter-regional studies have frequently foundered on the comparison of different fieldwork techniques, here the emphasis is on the interaction of behavioural and recovery factors and their influence on survey results. Renewed attention to the questions originally posed by Martin Millett in relation to pottery supply and site visibility is needed not only to facilitate comparison of data, but also to understand differences in the

⁹⁶ There is much debate about the percentage of sites identified by surveys. Comparison of historical records (e.g. Vell. Pat. 1.14.7) and survey results in the *ager Cosanus* suggests c. 33 per cent of sites were identified (Cambi, op. cit. (n. 22), 140). The intensification of field techniques has increased the density of sites in both inland Etruria (e.g. Tuscania) and the *suburbium* (e.g. Corese).

⁹⁷ Valenti, op. cit. (n. 64), 36. Clearly the ubiquitous generically dated sites are fundamental here; in sufficient numbers, these sites could even out or reverse trends. It is therefore essential to quantify and publish not only dated, but also undated sites. However, in the context of the present study it is worth noting that this lack of dating evidence is not limited to inland Etruria, but is common (if not to the same extent) on most surveys.

⁹⁸ 'Obtrusiveness', M. B. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (1987), 347. Many of these sites are mapped by Torelli, op. cit. (n. 27).

consumption of material culture.⁹⁹ Such issues have implications for the present study, but it is suggested that the broad differences outlined above (Section III) are still valid, even if the relative degree of difference is less clear.

V THE REGIONS OF ETRURIA

The second half of this paper considers the three basic settlement patterns identified above in relation to historical debates, in particular those concerning the status of rural populations. It is important to stress at the start that its aim is not to identify historically distinct and geographically bounded groups such as slaves, peasants, or tenants, since these categories are simplifications of complex realities.¹⁰⁰ Rather, the aim is to use the evidence to identify trends and possibilities which can be followed up with more detailed archaeological investigation.

Another point to emphasize is that, although these three areas were different, they were not isolated from one another, and the relationships between them need to be articulated. A key framework is provided by the economy. Both archaeologists and ancient historians have used economic models to identify variable agricultural strategies across the hinterland of Rome.¹⁰¹ For example, classic economic theory has been used to argue that agricultural production close to Rome and along the coast was more intensive due to higher land prices and lower transport costs, whilst production in more distant areas was characterized by more extensive exploitation, especially pastoralism and forestry. In effect, these economic models broadly define the three geographical areas under discussion — *suburbium*, coast, and inland Etruria. However, the assumptions behind these models are open to criticism. For example, the low cost of sea transport has led to an assumption that land transport was prohibitively expensive; in turn, the significance of land transport has been undervalued and the potential extent of the areas producing food for Rome's market underestimated.¹⁰² Similarly, the low cost of maritime transport has emphasized the ease

⁹⁹ Millett, *op. cit.* (n. 94).

¹⁰⁰ On peasants, P. Garnsey, 'Non-Slave labour in the Roman world', in P. Garnsey (ed.), *Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World* (1980), 34–47; *op. cit.* (n. 4); van Dommelen, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 182–3.

¹⁰¹ e.g. Von Thünen's Isolated State model, see A. Carandini, *Schiavi in Italia: gli strumenti peasantsi dei romani fra tarda repubblica e medio impero* (1988); P. W. de Neeve, *Peasants in Peril. Location and Economy in Italy in the Second Century BC* (1984); Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 59–63. For 'cost distance'/transport costs, J. DeLaine, *The Baths of Caracalla. A Study in the Design, Construction, and Economics of Large-Scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome* (1997); Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 63–8.

¹⁰² The basic cost-distance ratios (sea : river : land transport = 1 : 5 : 25–40) are derived from Diocletian's Price Edict. The low cost of river transport has elevated the importance of the Tiber for the supply of Rome at the expense of land transport, e.g. L. Quilici, 'Il Tevere e l'Aniene come vie d'acqua a monte di Roma in età imperiale', *Archeologia Laziale* (1986), 198–217. Recently, the importance of roads has been reiterated, R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy. Mobility and Cultural Change* (1999). Roads remained the primary means of moving goods. The extensive network of roads around Rome may have cut transport costs, while the inflated prices which goods could command at Rome (R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1982), 345–6) will also have distorted the ratios. It is also false to assume that cost ratios were constant. For example, short river journeys may not have justified the additional organization required, whilst long road journeys became proportionately more expensive with distance. But the most significant problem is the assumption that price is a function of production and transport costs: rather, supply and demand determine market price and, if demand is 'inelastic', prices will rise to absorb greater transport costs, W. V. Harris, 'Between archaic and modern: some current problems in the history of the Roman economy', in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy. Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of instrumentum domesticum* (1993), 11–29, at 27. In all these cases, the effect would be to extend the area which could contribute to the Rome market via land transport. Idealized economic models are also distorted by the uneven distribution of natural resources such as agricultural land, timber, metals and stone, e.g. Carrara marble from Luna (Fant, *op. cit.* (n. 78), 145), or timber from the Bocca Trabaria. Exposure to the wider imperial economy clearly stimulated some economic activities, but may have disrupted other extractive and processing industries, e.g. the lack of evidence for iron extraction during the imperial period at Tolfa, A. Zifferero, 'Archeologia delle miniere: note sul rapporto tra insediamenti e mineralizzazioni in Italia centrale', in *Settlement*

of contact between the west coast of Italy and Rome, and so indirectly implied the isolation of areas just a few kilometres inland. However, the model ignores localized connections between the interior and the coast.¹⁰³ Thus, while economic considerations can shape different models for the basic three-fold division of Etruria, they do not articulate the relations between them. Here the variability of human geography, and particularly socio-economic organization, is more important than idealized models of market demand.

VI THE COAST OF ETRURIA: MASTERS AND SLAVES

Perhaps the most debated model of Roman settlement, economy, and society concerns the Marxist 'slave mode of production' and its apparent early imperial 'crisis'. The basic model draws both on historical sources, particularly Plutarch (e.g. *Ti. Gracc.* 8), and on archaeological evidence, especially from the *ager Cosanus*.¹⁰⁴ The argument requires only brief summary here. During the second century B.C., the constant warfare of the Roman state brought about a series of inter-related developments.¹⁰⁵ Firstly, peasant-soldiers were compelled to fight in greater numbers, further from home, and for longer periods of time, undermining the viability of peasant farming. Secondly, imperial expansion, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean, generated vast wealth which the senatorial class invested in Italian land, buying up peasant holdings or illegally occupying *ager publicus*. At the same time, imperial activity opened up new markets such as Gaul, and provided new labour in the form of slaves. Peasant holdings which had not already lapsed due to death or urban migration were taken over and reorganized as large estates for the surplus production and export of wine.¹⁰⁶ Slaves had been widely used in agriculture from an early date: what distinguished the 'slave mode of production' was the specialized division of labour and the scale of production.¹⁰⁷ Archaeologically, the villa complex at Settefinestre has been advocated as the archetypal slave-run estate-centre.¹⁰⁸

Between the late first century B.C. and late first century A.D., the system underwent significant change — the so-called 'crisis of the slave mode of production'. The most debated explanation argues that the rise of provincial competition eroded Italian economic supremacy.¹⁰⁹ This stimulated diversification away from intensive production to extensive arable and pastoral alternatives. Other suggested explanations include the internal structural contradictions of the 'slave mode of production', including the increasing cost and the declining supply of slave labour, the passing of land into imperial ownership, and a structural connection to the earlier decline of the peasantry.¹¹⁰

and Economy, 541–54, at 547, and the shift of iron processing from Populonia (Strabo 5.2.6; C. Cucini, 'Topografia del territorio delle valli del Pecora e dell'Almo', in R. Francovich (ed.), *Scarlino I. Storia e territorio* (1985), 147–321, at 288–90) to Puetoli (Diodorus 5.13).

¹⁰³ See Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), map 1. The cost-distance model only considers economic activity concerned with the supply of Rome. It excludes other important economic activities such as transhumance which linked the hilly and mountainous interior to the coastal plains, e.g. E. Gabba and M. Pasquinucci, *Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana (III–I a.C.)* (1979); C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (1988); Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 68.

¹⁰⁴ *Paesaggi d'Etruria*; W. Jongman, 'Slavery and the growth of Rome', in C. Edwards and G. Woolf (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (2003), 100–22.

¹⁰⁵ See K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), fig. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Hopkins, *op. cit.* (n. 105), 11–74.

¹⁰⁷ A. Carandini, 'Sviluppo e crisi delle manifatture e urbane', in *Società romana*, 249–60, at 249.

¹⁰⁸ A. Carandini, *Settefinestre: una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana* (1985). Wine in the stamped Sestius amphorae is presumed to come from this estate; the distribution of these amphorae indicates markets, primarily in northern Italy and Gaul, D. Manacorda, 'The *Ager Cosanus* and the production of the amphorae of Sestius: new evidence and a reassessment', *JRS* 68 (1978), 122–31.

¹⁰⁹ Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 107).

¹¹⁰ Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 107); Celuzza, *op. cit.* (n. 54); Ikeguchi, *op. cit.* (n. 9).

Explanation of the origins and demise of this system has been the subject of much criticism by historians. For example, Rathbone has emphasized the dependence of slave-estates on peasant labour,¹¹¹ whilst Patterson has sought to limit its geographical scope.¹¹² The emergence of the system and Rome's use of slaves may also have begun earlier than often suggested.¹¹³ Explanations for the decline of the system have provoked even greater debate. Garnsey and Saller have questioned the coherence of the basic historical sources,¹¹⁴ while Purcell has argued for a first-century A.D. boom in Italian wine production.¹¹⁵ In response to these and other criticisms, proponents of the 'slave mode of production' have shifted the emphasis, scope, and chronology of the model, though not the basic premise.¹¹⁶

Archaeological evidence can also be used to question the notion that coastal Etruria (as well as Latium and Campania) monopolized the republican economy only to falter due to provincial competition. In particular, shipwrecks point to the early and resilient wine exports from the northern Adriatic to Rome (with Lamboglia 2 amphorae) and oil exports from Puglia to Gaul.¹¹⁷ This emphasizes the regionalized nature of the Italian economy: the economic problems of the *ager Cosanus* were countered by new developments in the *suburbium*, and later in Picenum and Bruttium.¹¹⁸ In other words, the shifting geography of export production was associated with the shifting geography of market demand (e.g. the decline of Gaul and the rise of Rome), and the nature of that demand (e.g. quantity over quality).¹¹⁹ In summary, these changes are best seen as the 'boom and bust' not of Italian agriculture as a whole, but of one specific product (quality wine), in one specific economic sector (slave-estates) in a few restricted areas.¹²⁰ But how restricted? Three archaeologically visible phases can be defined and tested against the evidence: (1) the emergence of a number of large villas alongside dispersed settlement during the second century B.C.; (2) a sharp drop in the number of small sites (farms) during the first centuries B.C./A.D., with villas now dominating the landscape; (3) the decline in the number of villas as well as farms by the second century A.D.¹²¹

¹¹¹ D. W. Rathbone, 'The development of agriculture in the *Ager Cosanus* during the Roman Republic: problems of evidence and interpretation', *JRS* 71 (1981), 10–23. Slaves must be kept fully occupied to be cost effective; additional labour was hired during periods of high demand such as harvest. Therefore slaves and peasants probably co-existed and may even have been structurally dependent, P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire. Economy, Society and Culture* (1987), 77; Ikeguchi, op. cit. (n. 9).

¹¹² Patterson, op. cit. (n. 11).

¹¹³ T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)* (1995), 393–4.

¹¹⁴ Garnsey and Saller, op. cit. (n. 111), 72–3.

¹¹⁵ N. Purcell, 'Wine and wealth in ancient Italy', *JRS* 75 (1985), 1–19, at 9–15, dismisses provincial competition and cites the late development of senatorial interest in viticulture as well as a shift from the production of quality to bulk wine.

¹¹⁶ cf. Carandini, op. cit. (n. 107); *Paesaggi d'Etruria*. For the distinction between central and peripheral villas (here coinciding broadly with coastal and inland villas), see A. Carandini, 'I paesaggi agrari dell'Italia romana visti a partire dall'Etruria', in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1994), 167–74.

¹¹⁷ C. Panella and A. Tchernia, 'Produits agricoles transportés en amphores: l'huile et surtout le vin', in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1994), 145–65, at 161; A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks* (1992).

¹¹⁸ For economic problems in northern Campania, P. Arthur, *The Romans in Northern Campania: Settlement and Land Use around the Massico and the Garigliano Basin* (1991). For Bruttium, P. Arthur, 'Some observations on the economy of Bruttium under the later Empire', *JRA* 2 (1989), 133–42.

¹¹⁹ P. Garnsey, 'The land', in A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (eds), *CAH 11. The High Empire, AD 70–192* (2002), 679–709. Panella and Tchernia, op. cit. (n. 117).

¹²⁰ Giardina, op. cit. (n. 3), 244; Morley, op. cit. (n. 8), 142; for provincial competition, see Section vi.

¹²¹ One type of villa which flourished along the coast during the first and second centuries A.D. was the maritime villa. Large parts of the coast of Etruria (and Campania) were characterized by substantial and luxurious villas (see F. Donati, 'Il territorio dell'Etruria settentrionale costiera in età romana e la villa di San Vincenzino', *RassArc* 18 (2001), 51–74; X. Lafon, *Villa marittima: recherches sur les villas littorales de l'Italie romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. / IIIe ap. J.-C.)* (2001)). Production focused on *pastio villatica* (especially fish) for both profit and sheer ostentation; large and luxurious residential quarters were integral. Their continued prosperity into the mid-imperial period suggests a different economic base compared to the late republican slave-villas.

Unsurprisingly, the model fits the evidence of the *ager Cosanus* relatively well.¹²² Beyond, however, there is little correspondence.¹²³ Most areas demonstrate either stability or an increase of settlement numbers during the early imperial period, while villas never dominated many other areas.¹²⁴ Indeed, the best parallels for the *ager Cosanus* are to be found in Campania.¹²⁵ Here too a rare combination of factors led to unprecedented development¹²⁶ — extensive colonization and centuriation, the replacement of existing social and economic structures with new concepts of ownership and exploitation, which in turn allowed external landowners to invest new imperial wealth in areas with access to markets and good agricultural land.¹²⁷ It is therefore unfortunate that so much of the debate about slave agriculture should have become associated with the *ager Cosanus*. If slave-estates did exist elsewhere, they had a very different impact on settlement organization.¹²⁸ For example, the stable or increasing number of small sites along the coast suggests that other areas may have maintained greater balance between free and unfree labour. In summary it is simplistic to equate the presence of villas with slaves, and farms and villages with non-slave labour, not least because peasants might own slaves, and slave-estate owners might seasonally employ peasants. Indeed, the interpretation of villas has

¹²² Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 108), noting the late date of the ‘type-site’ of Settefinestre (c. 40 B.C.), brings the whole system in Etruria forward into the first century B.C., though Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 130–2, rightly distinguishes between the production and consumption of wealth; amphorae are a better indicator of economic activity than elaborate architecture, see Manacorda, *op. cit.* (n. 108), 122–31.

¹²³ Torelli, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 426.

¹²⁴ Virtually every survey of the coast has considered its results in the light of Tiberius Gracchus’ journey through the area during the late second century B.C. (Plut., *Ti. Gracc.* 8). However, few have identified these desolate landscapes and so conclude that the model does not apply to their particular area, for example: Caere (Maffei, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 167); Tarquinii (C. Corsi, ‘Atlante Fondario Romano. L’insediamento rurale di età romana e tardoantica nel territorio tra Tarquinia e Vulci’, *JAT* 8 (1998), 223–55, at 228); Volci (D. Nonnis and G. F. Pocobelli, ‘Contributo alla topografia del territorio vulcente: l’età tardo-repubblicana’, *ScAnt* 8–9 (1998), 263–82, at 267); Pecora valley (van Dommelen, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 181). The mid-first-century B.C. date assigned to the development of the *ager Cosanus* by A. Carandini (ed.), *La romanizzazione di Vulci* (1985) requires him to relocate the slave-estates observed by Tiberius Gracchus further south. As a result, the location of these estates has been shunted up and down the coast, with little attempt to question their historical and archaeological validity. In general, the privileging of literary texts has been central to the persistence of the model, T. Cornell, ‘Hannibal’s legacy: the effects of the Hannibalic War on Italy’, in T. Cornell, B. Rankov and P. Sabin (eds), *The Second Punic War. A Reappraisal* (1996), 97–117, at 110. For slave-estates and the decline of the peasantry in the *suburbium* during the second century B.C., Patterson *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 13–17. In a few inland areas, the early imperial decline in site numbers has been linked to the creation of large estates (e.g. Valenti, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 399), but this does not presuppose the existence of the ‘slave mode of production’.

¹²⁵ Arthur, *op. cit.* (n. 118), 315–77.

¹²⁶ ‘pockets of hyperactive economic activity’, Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 32), 113. See also J. J. Paterson, ‘Hellenistic economies. The case of Rome’, in Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen and G. J. Oliver (eds), *Hellenistic Economies* (2001), 367–78.

¹²⁷ Torelli, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 46 notes the prosopographical evidence for Etruscan continuity at late republican Caere in sharp contrast to the discontinuity at Tarquinii, Volsinii, and Volci. This is best explained through diverse imperial dialogues with Rome, rather than simple distance from the city. Similarly, compare the origins of epigraphically-attested individuals at Cosa and Saturnia, Celuzza, *op. cit.* (n. 54), 193. In the particular case of Cosa, the long-term weakness of the colony should be seen as both the cause and effect of a failure to develop a sense of local civic responsibility, which robbed the city of its economic and social lifeblood, F. E. Brown, *Cosa. The Making of a Roman Town* (1980); E. Fentress, *Cosa V. An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991–1997* (2003).

¹²⁸ Despite recent interest, there has been little attention to agricultural slaves, not least because of the difficulties of identifying them archaeologically, K. Bradley, ‘Slavery and archaeology’, *JRA* 16 (2003), 571–6; W. Scheidel, ‘The archaeology of ancient slavery’, *JRA* 16 (2003), 577–81. Restricting the scope of the current model should not be seen as an attempt to deny the significance of slavery in Italian agriculture more generally. See R. Samson, ‘Rural slavery, inscriptions, archaeology and Marx’, *Historia* 38 (1989), 99–110.

broadened considerably to include very different regionalized models which use local form and context to reveal diverse modes of socio-economic organization.¹²⁹

VII THE *SUBURBIUM*: LANDLORDS AND TENANTS

While discussion of the settlement on the coast of Etruria has been dominated by the debate about slave agriculture, settlement in the *suburbium* has increasingly focused around agricultural production for the supply of Rome. In particular, the density of settlement-distribution and indicators such as the presence of wine-presses and cisterns have been taken as evidence for intensification of agriculture in response to urban demand.¹³⁰ The dominant interpretive model of villas argues that they represent rational economic investments in intensive surplus production of wine, oil, and delicacies for the table (*pastio villatica*) for market sale and profit.¹³¹ As with the ‘slave mode of production’ above, the aim of this section is not to dismiss this model *per se*, but to assess the extent of its relevance across different areas and to seek complementary interpretations.

Arguably, the distinctive settlement pattern of each region reflects the specific socio-economic organization of each landscape. As for the area along the coast, some have argued for the existence of extensive slave-estates in the *suburbium*, but these arguments are unconvincing, either using evidence from this area selectively or excluding it altogether.¹³² Arguments against the presence of such estates are more persuasive: for example, it has been noted that the complex volcanic landscape, divided by deep valleys and narrow ridges, was unsuitable for consolidated holdings,¹³³ that the area’s proximity to Rome provided an alternative labour pool, and that high land prices there discouraged the formation of large estates.¹³⁴ The relatively high density of towns and extensive euergetism has also been used to dispute the dominance of slave-estates close to Rome, on the grounds that municipal display was pointless if there were only slaves to impress.¹³⁵ But most significant is the growth, high density, and even distribution of rural settlement, and the wide social and economic distribution of material culture. Overall, the notion of a prevalence of slave-estates in the *suburbium* is one which finds little support.¹³⁶

This raises the question as to how land was exploited. As farms are one of the distinguishing characteristics of this area, it is useful to start here. In relation to southern Etruria, Potter has referred to ‘smallholders’ — a mixed group of colonists, veterans, and

¹²⁹ Hence, the villas in the lower Cecina valley are argued to be the modest estate centres of local Etruscan élites more concerned with conspicuous consumption than introducing new economic ideas, Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 62; villas in the *ager Cosanus* are associated with Roman ownership and the ‘slave mode of production’; and villas in the *suburbium* (below) are considered to be estate centres with associated tenant farms. These three types might be expected to overlap considerably across time and space. Further regional villa types can be identified in Samnium and southern Italy, Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 171.

¹³⁰ e.g. E. Lo Cascio, *Il princeps e il suo impero. Studi di storia amministrativa e finanziaria romana* (2000); Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8); Quilici Gigli, *op. cit.* (n. 21); R. Thomas and A. Wilson, ‘Water supply for Roman farms in Latium and South Etruria’, *PBSR* 62 (1994), 139–96.

¹³¹ e.g. Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 20).

¹³² e.g. Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 116), 169.

¹³³ Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 125.

¹³⁴ Ikeguchi, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 35, though Garnsey, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 15, notes the lack of historical evidence for a Rome-based labour force working in the surrounding area.

¹³⁵ For dense urbanization, Mattingly and Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 6), fig. 13.6. On euergetism, Papi, *op. cit.* (n. 19). On the presence of free population, Brunt, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 351–3. Although the monopolization of urban functions by Rome has been used to explain the decline of nearby urban centres (Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 178–80), the faltering urban life of the more distant colony of Cosa demonstrates that proximity to Rome alone does not explain such decline, Fentress, *op. cit.* (n. 127), 222.

¹³⁶ e.g. Quilici Gigli, *op. cit.* (n. 21); Volpe, *op. cit.* (n. 33).

peasants of various origins.¹³⁷ This group controlled limited areas of frequently marginal land. Through a combination of luck and hard work, these smallholders, it is argued, profited from agricultural production sufficiently to accumulate and expend wealth.¹³⁸ Potter therefore assumed the independence of smallholdings from the large villa estates.¹³⁹

However, several factors question the independence of this smallholder population. Firstly, these farms are not as marginal, in either location or quality of land, as Potter supposed; indeed, they are thoroughly interspersed with the villas.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, and more problematic, is the significant rise in the number of sites and their associated population. In particular, how did an independent peasantry, which had suffered decline due to military recruitment and eviction during the late Republic, not only revive but compete so effectively in the even more aggressive economic and social environment of two centuries later? During the first century A.D., the *suburbium* was characterized by greater competition for land and higher land prices than ever before.¹⁴¹ It seems improbable that an independent peasantry should have recovered sufficiently as to dominate the early imperial landscape.¹⁴² It would have been a fortunate citizen-farmer who maintained his independence in this environment.

Thus, a landscape dominated by either slaves or independent peasants seems unlikely. Whilst the evidence for dependency is thin, it appears the most plausible option. This is not to argue that slaves, or even slave-estates, did not exist in the *suburbium*, since, as already noted, the co-existence of free and unfree labour is highly probable.¹⁴³ Rather, the balance of probabilities suggests a strong emphasis on free, but dependent, labour. The density of sites and consequent small properties argue for highly fragmented landholding.¹⁴⁴ Combined with the interspersed distribution of villas and farms, this situation suggests elite ownership of multiple properties within single estates.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the combination of solid architecture with limited portable material culture, as found at Monte Forco, may indicate tenancy arrangements.¹⁴⁶ Legal tenancy, sharecropping, and (in)formal patronage offered both landowner and tenant various economic and social advantages: the landowner could intensify production and build a client base, whilst the tenant gained the benefits of patronage and a degree of economic security through access

¹³⁷ Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 134–5. Similarly, Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.* (n. 47), 61, refers to the ‘small-farming’ district to the north of Veii. For this group, in general, Garnsey, *op. cit.* (n. 4); *op. cit.* (n. 100).

¹³⁸ Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 133–4, even suggests that this might stretch to building a bath-suite at a small site at Crocicchie on the Via Clodia near Rome!

¹³⁹ In general, Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 134–5, places great emphasis on modern land use and landholding as models for earlier patterns.

¹⁴⁰ e.g. de Neeve, *op. cit.* (n. 101).

¹⁴¹ For land prices, P. W. de Neeve, ‘The price of agricultural land in Roman Italy and the problem of economic rationalism’, *Opus 4* (1984), 76–109. Pliny (*Ep.* 6.19) notes how Trajan’s law caused prices to rise and consequently brought a flood of property onto the market.

¹⁴² Even if the peasantry grew during the last two centuries B.C., as recently argued by E. Lo Cascio, ‘The population of Roman Italy in town and country’, in J. Bintliff and K. Sbonias (eds), *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe (3000 BC–AD 1800)* (1999), 161–72 and N. Rosenstein, *Rome at War. Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic* (2004), the ability to compete so effectively is no less impressive.

¹⁴³ See n. 111.

¹⁴⁴ See also Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 36.

¹⁴⁵ Attested historically, e.g. Sextus Roscius owned thirteen farms on the northern edge of the area, Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 7.20.

¹⁴⁶ L. Foxhall, ‘The dependent tenant. Land leasing and labour in Italy and Greece’, *JRS* 80 (1990), 97–114, at 111; Jones, *op. cit.* (n. 38). With regard to the upper Tiber valley, the letters of the Younger Pliny focus on *coloni* suggesting an early emphasis on small (cereal-producing) units within larger estates (Lo Cascio, *op. cit.* (n. 130), 263); labour organization has been argued to be tenancy, de Neeve, *op. cit.* (n. 101). Garnsey, *op. cit.* (n. 119), 704 notes that Pliny refers to relatively wealthy tenants, not the humblest peasants — the latter presumably existed but Pliny had little reason to discuss them. Given their faint archaeological signature they are effectively doubly invisible.

to land.¹⁴⁷ All of these were pressing needs during the early imperial period. Other dependency relationships may have been more exploitative, for example, arising through debt. The form dependency took is debatable, but it is likely to have been highly varied and flexible enough to respond to the changing demands of the nearby city.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, the source of these dependent populations is debatable, but they seem unlikely to have been former slaves. Even if they were previously independent peasants, however, the sharp rise in their numbers may point to some immigration from beyond the immediate area (see Section VIII).

Dependency effectively concentrates landownership into a smaller number of hands. Historical sources and epigraphical evidence reveal a variety of Etruscan, colonial, Italian, provincial, and Roman senatorial families, which can be grouped as internal and external. The former comprise Etruscan and colonial families based at local towns, deriving much of their wealth from local land, and spending much of that wealth within the area. By contrast, the latter group comprises outsiders for whom the acquisition of suburban land was necessary, desirable, or both. From the reign of Trajan, provincial senators were required to own land in Italy: the *suburbium* both fulfilled this requirement and offered other advantages, such as profit through agriculture.¹⁴⁹ During the later first and second centuries A.D., there was also growing imperial ownership of land especially in the Tiber valley.¹⁵⁰ Over time, therefore, land passed increasingly into fewer and less local hands.¹⁵¹

As discussed above, the emphasis of villa studies in the *suburbium* has moved increasingly towards the view that they were geared towards intensive agricultural production for Rome, that villas were market-oriented estates systematically producing surplus in response to market demand.¹⁵² The scale of production for Rome is now clearly attested, but this model marginalizes non-economic aspects of these villas. For example, in spite of an excavation bias towards the *pars urbana*, the role of villas in competition, status, display, and leisure has been understated.¹⁵³ In reality, the villa embodied both *utilitas* and *voluptas* (Varro I.4.1) and *negotium* and *otium*. Here, some of the evidence for the consumption of wealth and the 'non-economic' use of land is emphasized as a counterbalance.

Firstly, an important implication of the continuation of fragmented landholding worked by dependent farmers is that, although the land was worked intensively, this was still a risk-averse strategy, accepting stability of income in place of maximum profit.¹⁵⁴ It may have produced large amounts, but it was not producing as much profit as it might. Secondly, early imperial society demanded a particular mode of élite living. Augustus' monopolization of the city for status display forced élite competition out of Rome,¹⁵⁵ so

¹⁴⁷ Foxhall, op. cit. (n. 146); P. Garnsey and G. Woolf, 'Patronage of the rural poor in the Roman world', in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in the Ancient World* (1989), 153–70.

¹⁴⁸ See Wickham, op. cit. (n. 12), 189.

¹⁴⁹ Carandini, op. cit. (n. 116), 169; F. Coarelli, 'L'urbs e il suburbio', in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico II. Roma politica paesaggio urbana* (1986), 1–58, at 54. Senatorial villas known through the historical record are distributed along the coast and to the south and east of Rome, A. M. Andermahr, *Totus in Praediis* (1998); I. Shatzman, *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics* (1975), 30–3.

¹⁵⁰ Papi, op. cit. (n. 19), 179.

¹⁵¹ Torelli, op. cit. (n. 19), 54, sees the mid- to late second-century A.D. disappearance of Etruscan/Latin senators from southern Etruria as the takeover of this area by provincial senators.

¹⁵² e.g. Morley, op. cit. (n. 8), 108–42; M. Torelli, 'La formazione della villa', in G. Clemente, F. Coarelli and E. Gabba (eds), *Storia di Roma. L'impero mediterraneo I. La repubblica imperiale* (1990), 123–32. For the development of villa studies, S. L. Dyson, *The Roman Countryside* (2003), 13–19.

¹⁵³ Though see N. Purcell, 'The Roman villa and the landscape of production', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (1994), 151–79; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The villa as cultural symbol', in A. Frazer (ed.), *The Roman Villa. Villa Urbana* (1998), 43–53.

¹⁵⁴ Garnsey, op. cit. (n. 119), 705. Land frequently changed hands and was rarely retained within families, J. Bodel, 'Monumental villas and villa monuments', *JRA* 10 (1997), 5–35, at 12. Some opportunity for the creation of consolidated estates therefore existed (see Plin., *Ep.* 3.19), though there was apparently little desire or incentive to do so.

¹⁵⁵ Bodel, op. cit. (n. 154), 30.

that the imperial countryside was the new arena for display. Thirdly, the financing of these villas is unlikely to have been entirely raised from local sources. Potter observed that many villas emerged from existing republican farms and suggested that they represent the successful social and economic advancement of local smallholders.¹⁵⁶ Some undoubtedly were, but the substantial and coherent plans of new foundations such as Mola di Monte Gelato are more suggestive of much more substantial wealth. The origins of such capital are impossible to determine with certainty. Undoubtedly wealth was invested and recouped via agriculture in this area as everywhere else,¹⁵⁷ but the concentration of senatorial landowners makes it probable that some — possibly a substantial part — of the wealth lavished on these suburban estates was derived from other properties dispersed around Italy and the provinces.¹⁵⁸ The financial viability of many of these estates may have been based on the productivity of the provinces.¹⁵⁹ If the rise of provincial agriculture did damage the Italian economy (see Section VI), it should be remembered that it was often the same élite that owned land in both Italy and the provinces. In other words, it was not so much competition as a reorganization of the élite's property and wealth.

The *suburbium* has been considered to be distinctive because of its unique role as a producer for the Roman market.¹⁶⁰ Here, equal emphasis is placed on consumption. The density of villas and the wide social distribution of material culture indicate a distinctive pattern of suburban consumption and other landscape uses.¹⁶¹ In particular, it was the conspicuous consumption of a new range of imperial goods popularized by an external élite and acquired with wealth created elsewhere which shaped the suburban landscape.

VIII INLAND ETRURIA: VILLAGES AND PEASANTS

Research both historical and archaeological has focused disproportionate attention on the *suburbium* and the coast. By comparison, the more extensive inland areas are poorly served by interpretive models. Those proposed have tended to concentrate on the hellenistic/republican period; in particular, the settlement peak in the third/second centuries B.C. has been associated with the 'emancipation of the serfs' and a process of rural 'colonization', particularly at Volterrae and Clusium.¹⁶² Explanation of the subsequent stability or decline of settlement numbers during the early imperial period has drawn on the historical evidence for the political and military instability of the first century B.C.¹⁶³ Although peripheral to the main action of the Social War, many cities sided with Marius against Sulla in the subsequent civil war and suffered as a result. Colonists were settled, for example, at Faesulae and Arretium, causing tensions with local populations, and there was subsequent colonization at Luca, and possibly Florentia and Saena.¹⁶⁴ Such disruption

¹⁵⁶ Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

¹⁵⁷ e.g. Palaemon's fourfold profit on a vineyard at Nomentum, discussed by Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 115).

¹⁵⁸ See M. Millett, 'Rural integration in the Roman West: an introductory essay', in M. Wood and F. Queiroga (eds), *Current Research on the Romanization of the Western Provinces* (1992), 1–8, at 2.

¹⁵⁹ For senatorial ownership of land in Italy and the provinces, Shatzman, *op. cit.* (n. 149), 11–46.

¹⁶⁰ e.g. Morley, *op. cit.* (n. 8).

¹⁶¹ e.g. display, burial, rubbish dumping, quarrying, and manufacturing, J. R. Patterson, 'On the margins of the city of Rome', in V. M. Hope and E. Marshall (eds), *Death and Disease in the Ancient City* (2000), 85–103; Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 33). Moreover there is evidence that by the mid-imperial period these considerations were putting increased pressure on production, Volpe, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 204–5.

¹⁶² Valenti, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 397; G. Pucci, 'La romanizzazione del territorio di Chiusi', in G. Pucci and C. Mascione (eds), *Manifattura ceramica etrusco-romana a Chiusi. Il complesso produttivo di Marciannela* (2003), 9–10, at 9. The contemporary appearance of a series of fortified centres in peripheral upland areas, described as a process of 'Hellenistic *incastellamento*' reflects this rising population and the need to define territory.

¹⁶³ e.g. Harris, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 266; M. Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi* (1984), 273–4.

¹⁶⁴ Keppie, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 168–76. Other events include the military suppression of Catiline's supporters in 63 B.C. (at Arretium and Faesulae) and the Perusine War in 41/40 B.C., which is likely to have had specific repercussions for the city of Perugia, Harris, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 289–94, 299–303.

is likely to have been extensive, but was hardly unique to inland Etruria. Similarly, despite the fact that the area is, by comparison with the coast and *suburbium*, relatively distant from Rome (the principal early imperial market), various products were exported nevertheless. These included pottery from Arretium,¹⁶⁵ millstones from Orvieto,¹⁶⁶ timber from the Bocca Trabaria, and grain from the major valleys.¹⁶⁷ Other explanations for the particular development of the area are therefore required.

The lack of pre-first-century B.C. colonization may be more relevant. The conquest of south-eastern Etruria (the northern *suburbium*) during the fourth and third centuries B.C. was followed by extensive colonization, and there were similar settlement schemes along the coast during the third and second centuries B.C. Across inland Etruria, however, Rome's colonial control operated principally through the existing political order, with support for the existing élite.¹⁶⁸ The breakdown of that order and rising opposition to Rome coincided with the growing need for land for veteran settlement during the first century B.C. The most significant break with the Etruscan past was therefore much later than in the other areas. The colonial developments which prepared the coast and the *suburbium* for their dramatic economic development — the break-up of traditional social bonds, new landholding and labour strategies — were conspicuously delayed. Veteran settlement of the first century B.C. also took place in a different social and political climate to earlier colonization (for example, veterans received much smaller plots). These long-term differences in colonization arguably present an important framework for Etruria's later diversity.

The related and relatively limited urbanization of inland Etruria is also potentially significant. Towns were the motors of the imperial political economy. They were places of exchange, consumption, and *urbanitas* and constituted a medium of élite competition. In turn, these towns shaped rural economies and agricultural organization. The political ambitions of the élite were funded by agriculture;¹⁶⁹ therefore the limited urbanization of inland Etruria meant there was relatively limited internal demand to intensify agriculture. Two further considerations may have exacerbated this trend. Firstly, the low (and in some areas declining) rural population comprised a small (and declining) aggregate market: as demand fell, so would supply. In turn, this would lead to dis-integration from the wider economy, as localized village production developed to plug the gap.¹⁷⁰ Secondly, Italy's peculiar tax status from 167 B.C. deserves greater attention. Taxation of the provinces had implications for the growth of urbanization and economic development;¹⁷¹ in Italy, the absence of land tax might have led to stagnation in those areas such as inland Etruria which were less affected by other external economic pressures (such as market demand from Rome). Hopkins has suggested that taxes and rents were in competition and so tax relief may have allowed rent, and thus land prices, to rise,¹⁷² but none of these scenarios need necessarily have had positive effects on economy and urbanization.

There is a range of reasons as to why inland Etruria might be distinctive in terms of settlement and economy by comparison with coastal areas and the *suburbium*. Again, this distinctiveness should reflect socio-economic organization. Although the population

¹⁶⁵ Noticeably, the other main production centres are on the coast (Pisae) or, on the doorstep of Rome, in the Tiber valley (e.g. Prima Porta).

¹⁶⁶ F. Antonelli, G. Nappi and L. Lazzarini, 'Roman millstones from Orvieto (Italy): petrographic and geochemical data for a new archaeometric contribution', *Archaeometry* 43 (2001), 167–89; D. P. S. Peacock, 'The production of Roman millstones near Orvieto, Umbria, Italy', *AntJ* 66 (1986), 45–51.

¹⁶⁷ e.g. Clusium was known for spelt (Mart. 13.8).

¹⁶⁸ Harris, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 129–46.

¹⁶⁹ e.g. Patterson, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 144.

¹⁷⁰ De Ligt, *op. cit.* (n. 79), 75; Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 29).

¹⁷¹ e.g. Greece, Alcock, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 19–24.

¹⁷² K. Hopkins, 'Rome, taxes, rents and trade', in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy* (2002), 190–230, at 207.

remained widely dispersed at Tuscania, Rieti, and Blera,¹⁷³ further north there was a growing concentration of population at fewer and larger sites. Establishing the 'status' of these larger settlements is important — are they estate centres or villages? In the Chianti region at least, their presence has been argued to represent the development of estate centres and *latifundia*,¹⁷⁴ the inhabitants of these centres becoming dependants, whilst independent peasants survived in more peripheral areas.¹⁷⁵ However, these estate centres are different from those found, for example, on the coast. In the Chianti senese, just a quarter of these estate centres show any evidence for luxurious residential quarters and there is none at all at Radicondoli.¹⁷⁶ They are also smaller than coastal villages. Evidence for the widespread acquisition of land by the imperial family is less abundant for inland Etruria than it is for the *suburbium* or the coast, but such ownership may form one context for the nucleation of settlement and population and the apparent decline in intensity of agricultural exploitation.

The reasons people choose dispersed or nucleated strategies are varied. Roberts identifies communalities of 'assent' and 'enforcement'.¹⁷⁷ The former emphasizes 'positive attractors' which draw people together, often on the basis of kin relations, and assumes social independence. Motives may include defence (though this seems less likely for the early imperial period¹⁷⁸) or the economic and social potential of collective labour, especially in thinly-populated areas. In contrast, 'communalities of enforcement' may involve the extraction of greater or new surplus in the form of rents and taxes or increased control of social relations through surveillance. Nucleation as an élite strategy to increase control over population and resources may be a more realistic scenario. Relations between landowners and peasants were often antagonistic due to competition for land — a finite resource. However, the density of settlement was low and by the early imperial period marginal areas were being abandoned, with a new focus in valleys and along roads.¹⁷⁹ In theory at least, displaced peasants could have moved to more peripheral areas in order to maintain their independence.¹⁸⁰ However, the argument could be reversed; that is, there was not a lack of land, but a lack of people to work that land.¹⁸¹ In this scenario, nucleation offers the élite a means of guaranteeing access to labour.¹⁸² In this context, however, the lack of residential villas immediately adjacent to villages, as found for example in the Liri valley south of Rome, is noteworthy.¹⁸³

In reality, these village sites are a varied group, and a trend towards nucleation in itself does not presuppose either free or dependent status: nucleation of enforcement implies

¹⁷³ G. Barker, 'Archaeology and the Etruscan countryside', *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 772–85; S. Coccia and D. Mattingly, 'Settlement history, environment and human exploitation of an intermontane basin in the Central Apennines: the Rieti survey, 1988–1991. Part 1', *PBSR* 60 (1992), 213–89, at 271; S. Quilici Gigli, *Blera. Topografia antica della città e del territorio* (1976), 21.

¹⁷⁴ e.g. Cucini, op. cit. (n. 68), 241, 250.

¹⁷⁵ Valenti, op. cit. (n. 64), 318.

¹⁷⁶ Cucini, op. cit. (n. 68), 250; Valenti, op. cit. (n. 30), 400.

¹⁷⁷ B. K. Roberts, *Landscapes of Settlement. Prehistory to the Present* (1996), 335–7. These ideas are generalized from studies of villages in medieval England, but offer a starting point for understanding this poorly researched settlement category in Roman Italy.

¹⁷⁸ Though for continued banditry in the imperial period, T. Grünewald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire: Myth and Reality* (2004).

¹⁷⁹ e.g. Radicondoli, Cucini, op. cit. (n. 68), 247; Monte Amiata, M. Firmati, 'Il monte Amiata nel periodo romano', in F. Cambi (ed.), *Carta Archeologica della Provincia di Siena II. Il Monte Amiata (Abbadia San Salvatore)* (1996), 165–76, at 169.

¹⁸⁰ See Patterson, op. cit. (n. 11), 139.

¹⁸¹ For the relationship between the scarcity and mobility of Mediterranean populations, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000), 377–80.

¹⁸² Along the coast, large, specialist iron-working villages in close proximity to villas (van Dommelen, op. cit. (n. 31), 180) are suggestive of a similar attempt to control labour rather than land.

¹⁸³ e.g. Roccascocca, J. W. Hayes and I. P. Martini (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Liri Valley, Central Italy* (1994).

dependency, while nucleation of assent should indicate independence. However, as with possible tenancy in the *suburbium*, dependency might have been actively sought by all parties. Currently only hypotheses can be offered. Villages are a poorly-studied settlement category, particularly in central Italy. Future excavation may shed greater light on their significance.

The scale and mobility of population more generally may be one way of articulating the relationships between inland Etruria on the one hand, and the coast and the *suburbium* on the other. Seasonal migration of labourers between regions is recorded most famously in the context of Vespasian's great-grandfather, who, as a contractor, organized the annual summer migration of Umbrian workers to the Sabina to assist with the harvest.¹⁸⁴ Such movement tied regions together economically, even culturally, but also points towards complementary agricultural and demographic regimes which could afford to spare labour at different times of the year. There may also be implications here for the status of these migrants: slaves and dependent farmers might be less able to make such long seasonal migrations than free peasants.

There has been much recent work on the use of survey data for demographic reconstruction.¹⁸⁵ Despite methodological problems, the results of the surveys discussed above are sufficiently robust to allow some basic contrasts to be identified. Most obviously, while the early imperial population of the *suburbium* rose significantly, the coastal population was stable or rose only modestly, and the population of inland Etruria remained stable or fell. Such differences could reflect divergent demographic cycles.¹⁸⁶ Further, their geographical proximity makes it tempting to relate these differences to population movement. The late republican and early imperial periods were a time of unprecedented social and geographical mobility:¹⁸⁷ could the rise in the *suburbium*'s population be directly linked to the lack of growth or even decline across inland Etruria?

It is now widely accepted that the early imperial population of Rome, at c. 0.8–1 million, required continuous immigration to reproduce itself.¹⁸⁸ Some of this population may have been drawn from the city's immediate hinterland, but the significant demographic growth in the *suburbium* itself suggests the possibility that this area also attracted immigrants.¹⁸⁹ On a broader scale, the free population of Augustan Italy was not characterized by any significant change in size.¹⁹⁰ This general trend emphasizes the growth of the *suburbium*'s population as especially remarkable.¹⁹¹ Tentatively it might be suggested that the coincidence of a rising population in Rome and in the *suburbium* with declining

¹⁸⁴ Suet., *Vesp.* 1. E. Fentress, 'Demografia e insediamento (50 a.C.–100 d.C)', in *Paesaggi d'Etruria*, 181–96, at 191–2, discusses an early twentieth-century parallel with significant numbers of labourers seasonally moving from inland Etruria (including the Casentino) towards the coast.

¹⁸⁵ See papers in J. Bintliff and K. Sbonias (eds), *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe (3000 BC–AD 1800)* (1999); R. Osborne, 'Demography and survey', in *Side-by-Side Survey*, 163–72.

¹⁸⁶ Bintliff, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 26–7.

¹⁸⁷ Particularly as a result of colonization, W. Scheidel, 'Human mobility in Roman Italy, 1: the free population', *JRS* 94 (2004), 1–26, at 20.

¹⁸⁸ Hopkins, *op. cit.* (n. 105), 97.

¹⁸⁹ Indeed, it is worth stressing the evidence for immigration to the *suburbium* (e.g. as attested epigraphically, Papi, *op. cit.* (n. 19)), though clearly this evidence relates to a restricted social group.

¹⁹⁰ Interpretation of the historical demography of Roman Italy is hotly debated. Here, the argument for no major change in the free population between 225 B.C. and A.D. 14 is accepted, see Brunt, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 121. Recently, Lo Cascio, *op. cit.* (n. 142), has argued for substantial growth during this period. The decline in early imperial settlement figures in Samnium and southern Italy as well as parts of inland Etruria may add weight to Brunt's interpretation (Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 9)). For reviews of this whole debate, N. Morley, 'The transformation of Italy, 225–28 B.C.', *JRS* 91 (2001), 50–62; Scheidel, *op. cit.* (n. 187).

¹⁹¹ See Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 32.

population across inland Etruria¹⁹² indicates inter-regional migration.¹⁹³ Such movement might explain how landowners found dependent farmers for their estates.¹⁹⁴ It might also explain the need for increased control over the peasantry of inland Etruria through nucleation of settlement.¹⁹⁵

IX CONCLUSIONS

Over the last twenty years, the number of surveys of peninsular Italy has increased enormously, with results that point to significant local and regional diversity. In consequence, generalized models of settlement and agriculture based on a few key surveys are no longer sufficient. To argue either for a general first-century A.D. decline or a boom is equally inadequate as they are built on limited foundations. One approach is to compare rather than to generalize. The present article takes one region of Italy, Etruria, and evaluates the social and economic diversity of the early imperial period through a range of interpretative models.

At the heart of comparative survey are unresolved issues of methodological compatibility. Here it is argued that while surveyors have focused on how best to sample settlement patterns,¹⁹⁶ there is a more fundamental issue concerning the variable ways in which people used material culture in the past and the ways in which this affects our ability to recognize sites in the present.¹⁹⁷ As a result, two regions with identical settlement patterns, but diverse traditions of material culture, will look very different in the archaeological record. Basic though this observation is, its implications for the comparison of Mediterranean survey have not been fully acknowledged. In the current case study, the limited quantities of *terra sigillata*, marble, and African Red Slip across inland Etruria mean that imperial-period sites are harder to locate and hence the area may appear less populous than it actually was. In contrast, the area closer to Rome had access to a much wider range of goods. This presents problems for comparative survey, but also points the way to new approaches concerned with consumption and its variability.

Despite these problems, contextual information underwrites a three-fold division of Etruria: *suburbium*, coastal Etruria, and inland Etruria. But identifying different regional trajectories is only the first step: it is also vital to articulate the threads which connect them. The theme adopted here is the dynamic created by the city of Rome, the structural integration of economies and social groups as part of the city's growing hinterland.

The densely-populated *suburbium* was the primary hinterland of Rome. Villas demonstrate great variety of form and ownership, and were most likely funded by a combination of local production and the profits of empire. Around these villas were fragmented properties, intensively farmed, most probably by dependent tenants, some of whom may have originated from beyond the area. The already intensively-exploited republican landscape underwent a significant growth in the early imperial period combined with the spread of new symbols of economic status and social pretension. The existing model of gradual emergence needs to be replaced with a more revolutionary

¹⁹² And other parts of Italy; Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 32; Witcher, *op. cit.* (n. 9).

¹⁹³ Patterson, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 142, suggests that the formation of larger estates in Samnium pushed the peasantry off the land; some made their way to local towns, others to Rome. It seems plausible that some also found opportunities in the *suburbium*. On inter-regional migration, see W. Broadhead, 'Migration and transformation in North Italy in the 3rd–1st centuries BC', *BICS* 44 (2000), 145–66.

¹⁹⁴ Compare this with the difficulties of finding tenants in northern Campania, Fentress, *op. cit.* (n. 73), 369.

¹⁹⁵ The destabilizing effects of increased social and geographical mobility during the early imperial period should not be underestimated. However, the number of Italian army recruits declined at this time.

¹⁹⁶ For comparison of sampling methodologies, T. Rasmussen, 'Tuscania and its territory', in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (1991), 106–14.

¹⁹⁷ Millett, *op. cit.* (n. 94), 20–3.

model.¹⁹⁸ Strong continuity into the mid-imperial period indicates both sustained demand for specialized produce, and the area's continuing function as a rural retreat and arena for social display. In summary, this was a landscape of both intensive and extensive patronage, production, and consumption. It was unlike any other landscape in Etruria (or indeed elsewhere in Italy): ironically, its familiarity has sometimes led to its uncritical use as an example of the wider Italian situation.

The coastal economies demonstrate greater diversity than the *suburbium*. Some areas had undergone precocious development back in the second century B.C., as their economies were reoriented around the opportunities created by Roman imperialism in Gaul. However, the *pax romana* shifted the economic balance between Italy and the provinces: as the élite reshuffled its land portfolio, areas such as the *ager Cosanus* became vulnerable. In 200 B.C. it offered cheap land and proximity to the Gallic market, but by A.D. 50 Gaul was a very different place,¹⁹⁹ and specialized wine production was unsuited to the demands of the new market at Rome. Although of great importance, these economies were restricted to small areas and evidence for late republican production in other parts of Italy questions the dominance of coastal Etruria in this trade.²⁰⁰ Other areas along the coast of Etruria underwent expansion, probably in connection with the Rome market. The divergent histories and environments of these coastal areas guaranteed a range of responses, but again there is an irony that the least representative (the *ager Cosanus*) has been the most widely discussed.

Finally, inland Etruria demonstrates stable settlement at best, with decline across significant areas. The predominant organization of labour was most likely a free peasantry. In most areas this population was stable, though in some areas it declined: in general there appears to have been a nucleation of population. This may indicate a deliberate attempt to tighten control over production due to worsening labour shortages or, alternatively, attempts by peasants to co-operate for economic or social advantage. Overall, consumption of locally-produced and imported (diagnostic) material culture was low.

Beyond geographical differences, to what degree was this diversity simply a legacy of pre-Roman times or alternatively the result of Roman imperialism? The evidence suggests strong elements of both. For example, the long-standing differences between the northern and southern Etruscan cities were perpetuated through the contrasting conquest strategies of crushing colonization and the courting and support of existing élites.²⁰¹ By the early imperial period, there were many threads which united Rome and the Italian allies — language, epigraphy, urban forms — but the growth of Rome did not lead to complete uniformity, economic, cultural, or otherwise. In fact, the already diverse landscapes of Italy experienced new pressures which simultaneously pulled them apart and locked them together. In this sense, Rome sustained and created even greater diversity across early imperial Italy.

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¹⁹⁸ cf. Potter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), tables 4 and 5; Quilici Gigli, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 138.

¹⁹⁹ G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998).

²⁰⁰ D. Nonnis, 'Appunti sulle anfore adriatiche d'età repubblicana: aree di produzione e di commercializzazione', in *Strutture portuali e rotte marittime nell'Adriatico di età romana* (2001), 467–500.

²⁰¹ For the latter, Terrenato, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 3–4.