



STUDIES IN THE
ROMANIZATION
OF ITALY



Mario Torelli

*Edited and
translated by*
**Helena Fracchia and
Maurizio Gualtieri**



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HELENA FRACCHIA AND MAURIZIO GUALTIERI

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COMMITTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AArch	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i>
AASO	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i> . Louvain-la Neuve, Institut d'Archéologie
<i>Acta Antiqua</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua</i> . Magyar Tudományos Akademia
<i>Acta Inst. Rom. Fin.</i>	<i>Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae</i>
AE	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Acta 6</i>	<i>Akten des VI Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik</i>
AJPb	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> .
<i>AnnScAt</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene</i>
<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>	<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>
Arctos	<i>Arctos. Acta philologica Fennica</i>
ASMG	<i>Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia</i>
<i>Athenaeum</i>	<i>Athenaeum. Studi periodici di Letteratura e storia dell'Antichità</i>
<i>Atti Soc. Tosc. Scienze Naturali</i>	<i>Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali</i>
<i>Atti Taranto</i>	<i>Atti Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia</i>

BCAR	<i>Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma</i>
BdA	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
Capitolium	<i>Capitolium</i>
Chiron	<i>Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
CIE	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Coll. Latomus	<i>Collection Latomus</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
DdA	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica</i>
EAA Suppl.	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Supplemento</i>
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphiké</i>
Epigraphica	<i>Epigraphica. Rivista italiana di Epigrafia</i>
Etpphilarchbelg	<i>Etudes de Philologie et Archéologie belges</i>
FA	<i>Fasti Archeologici</i>
Gallia	<i>Gallia. Fouilles et Monuments archéologiques</i>
Glotta	<i>Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache</i>
Hermes	<i>Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
Historia	<i>Historia Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
IP	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae²</i>
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRGZ	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Klio	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i>
Latomus	<i>Latomus. Revue d'études latines</i>
MA	<i>Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Monumenti Antichi</i>
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MAL	<i>Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei</i>
MEFR	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité</i>

<i>MemAcclinc</i>	<i>Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>MemPontAcc</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie</i>
<i>MGR</i>	<i>Miscellanea greca e romana. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica</i>
<i>MonPiot</i>	<i>Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Monuments Piot</i>
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità: Accademia dei Lincei</i>
<i>NSc Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplement to Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>Philologus</i>	<i>Philologus: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
<i>PIR²</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi Antichi</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RAL</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei</i>
<i>RAAN</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RevEtGr</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
<i>RendLinc</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>RendPontAcc</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia</i>
<i>RbMus</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>RIASA</i>	<i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i>
<i>RivFil</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia</i>
<i>RömMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römischen Abteilung</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi Etruschi</i>
<i>StMatStRel</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>St. Misc</i>	<i>Studi Miscellanei. Seminario di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana dell'Università di Roma</i>
<i>StSardi</i>	<i>Studi Sardi</i>

Abbreviations

<i>StStor</i>	<i>Studi Storici</i>
<i>Suppl. Libya Ant.</i>	<i>Supplement to Libya Antiqua</i>
<i>TLE</i>	<i>Testimonia Linguae Etruscae</i>
<i>WienSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

EDITORS' NOTE

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS in this collection included extensive references in the notes. In order to make this vast body of detailed bibliographical references on the Romanization more helpful and more readily accessible to the reader, we have compiled the individual items in a comprehensive bibliography chapter by chapter. Numerous overlaps have been eliminated and the references have been updated. A concordance for articles in *Notizie degli Scavi* is also included in the Bibliography at the end of the relevant chapter sections.

Substantial changes were made in sentence structure and word order to avoid a phraseology that would be quaint, exotic, or merely awkward in English but we have tried to retain the very vivid personality and presentation of Professor Torelli. Professor Torelli has gone over the English translations to smooth out any ambiguities or changes in meaning. Site names or references to art works, museums, et cetera, have been left in the original Italian; although this may be awkward for the reader it is, in our view, more accurate.

In transcriptions of inscriptions, Italic type has been used where the text is intelligible. Letters enclosed in parentheses constitute the abbreviations found on the stone. Letters in brackets indicate supplements made to the extant text, while a series of three dashes in brackets indicates a lacuna of indeterminate length. Letters printed in capitals indicate text which is meaningless as it stands or fragmentary and uninterpretable.

The original sources for the chapters are as follows:

1. "The Creation of Roman Italy: The Contribution of Archaeology," Public Presentation (revised), University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, April 1986.
2. "La situazione in Etruria," in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, P. Zanker, ed., pp. 97–109 (Göttingen 1976).
3. "Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine: Italia: regio VII (Etruria)," *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio, Tituli V* (1982): 275–99.
4. "Per la storia dell'Etruria in età imperiale," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* XCIX (1971): 489–501.
5. "Un *Templum Augurale* d'età repubblicana a *Bantia*," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, new series 8, XXI (1966): 293–315.
6. "Una nuova epigrafe da *Bantia* e la cronologia dello statuto municipale Bantino," *Athenaeum* LXI (1983): 252–57.
7. "Aspetti Storico-archeologici della romanizzazione della Daunia," from *Atti del XIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici Manfredonia, 1980*, in *La Civiltà dei dauni nel quadro del mondo italico*, Leo S. Olschki, ed., pp. 325–36 (Firenze 1984).
8. "Monumenti funerari romani con fregio dorico," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* II (1968): 32–54.
9. "Edilizia pubblica in Italia centrale tra guerra sociale ed età augustea: ideologia e classi sociali," *Les "Bourgeoisies" Municipales Italiennes aux II^e et I^e siècles av. J.-C.* (1983): 241–50.
10. "Innovazioni nelle tecniche edilizie romane tra il I sec. A.C. e il I sec. D.C.," *Tecnologia, economia e società nel mondo romano*, *Atti del convegno di Como, September 1979*, pp. 139–61 (Como, 1980).

PREFACE

PROFESSOR MARIO TORELLI, of the University of Perugia (Italy), was invited to the University of Alberta in April 1986 as a Distinguished Visiting Professor in the Department of Classics. The impetus for this collection of essays was Professor Torelli's public lecture and departmental seminars presented in Edmonton, as well as conference papers presented in Italy on various aspects of the Romanization of Italy.

Owing to the interest expressed by various colleagues and the collaboration of Mrs. N. Gutteridge, director of the University of Alberta Press, who applied for a translation grant to the University Community Projects Committee, we have been able to publish the text of the public lecture and translate some of his previously published papers on related subjects in order to provide an English-speaking general audience with a *summa* of recent work on a topic of major interest and relevance to all students and scholars of ancient Italy.

E. T. Salmon in *The Making of Roman Italy* dealt with general aspects of the Romanization of Italy in his historical outline of the third to first centuries B.C. (Ithaca, 1984) while W.G. Harris dealt more specifically with central Italy in his study *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971).

The papers collected in this volume, with the exception of Chapter 1, address case studies dealing more specifically with the archaeological and epigraphical evidence for various aspects of the Romanization process in central and southern Italy, areas in which several University of Alberta excavations have been conducted in the last decade. These papers shed considerable light on the multiple situations and the related responses set in motion by Roman intervention into those specific areas and by the

creation of a unified political and administrative system which eventually made Rome and Italy the center of a Mediterranean empire.

In the first chapter, a revised version of the public lecture, Torelli outlines the background for the case studies presented in this collection. In this introductory essay he emphasizes a fact fundamental to the understanding of the phenomenon of the Romanization of Italy: the unequal levels of cultural development in ancient Italy at the time of the expansion of the Roman hegemony over the rest of the peninsula. Torelli effectively delineates the cultural geography of ancient Italy during the important and little understood third century B.C. Torelli also provides a synthetic picture of the material culture and artistic production of the various cultural areas within the Italic territories between the third and first centuries B.C. A clear distinction emerges between the world of cities, such as Etruria, Latium, and Campania, as well as the coastal areas of Magna Graecia, and the world of the "noncities," the Apennine hinterland of Samnium, Lucania, and that part of the Adriatic region between Picenum and Apulia. Torelli demonstrates that such a distinction should not be seen as a clear-cut division between two worlds: clear stimuli towards the urbanization process can be detected in the archaeological record in those regions which he defines as "peri-urban." Conversely, the picture which emerges from his analysis is one of great variety of socioeconomic situations which Rome had to incorporate within a unified political and administrative structure. Thus, despite the early military conquests of the fourth and third centuries B.C., by which Rome managed to extend her supremacy over the whole of the Italian peninsula, it was only in the crucial half century between the Social War and the beginning of the Principate that one can actually detect the results of the Romanization process in large parts of Italy. Indeed, it is only under Augustus that the diversity of structures and cultural and economic levels become assimilated into a unified system.

The thorough archaeological picture provided by this overview of mid- and late-Republican Italy constitutes a basic reference point for more detailed discussions of the regional situations. The topic was discussed in November 1988 at an international conference on *La romanisation du Samnium aux II^e et I^{er} s. av. J.-C* held at the Centre Jean Bérard (Naples, Italy). The Romanization of Basilicata (ancient Lucania) was the subject of another conference held in April 1987 at Venosa (Italy). In

1989, G. Volpe analyzed the evidence for the Daunian area (*La Daunia nell'eta' della Romanizzazione*, Bari, 1990).

Etruria, the focus of Chapters 2 to 4, has been a favorite field of study for scholars working on the problem of the Romanization of Italy. Studies in recent years dealing with the Romanization of Etruria range in scope from the analysis of the historical developments between the fourth and the first centuries B.C. (Harris 1971) to the analysis of changes in the rural landscape of sample areas (A. Carandini, ed., *La Romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci*, Milan, 1985). In Chapter 2 an overview of the artistic production of the region during the late Hellenistic period is presented and examined in conjunction with the economic and social situation of second and first century B.C. Etruria. In Chapters 3 and 4 the epigraphical evidence for two important factors, that is, the participation of members of the Etruscan aristocracy in Roman political offices and the introduction of local Roman magistracies, in determining the role of Etruria within the Roman world is presented. In Chapter 3 Torelli updates a paper he wrote in 1969 to incorporate new evidence and recent discussions on the prosopography of Roman senators of Etruscan origin. Chapter 4 reviews B. Liou's book on *Praetores Etruriae* (Bruxelles, 1969) which Torelli uses as a springboard to discuss a number of local magistracies in Roman Etruria. This chapter extends the chronological range of the analysis of Etruria into the second century A.D.

Ancient Lucania also receives particular attention in this collection of essays in light of the important epigraphical evidence from the Latin colony of Bantia and the equally important discovery at that site of a *templum augurale* of the Late Republican period which Torelli himself explored. Chapter 5 contains a physical reconstruction of the *templum* together with a stimulating discussion of its significance in Roman Lucania, based on fragmentary archaeological evidence and a thorough scrutiny of the little known written sources. The analysis includes the question of the role of augury in both the Etruscan and Italic worlds and its continued importance in Roman society and religion. In Chapter 6, Torelli adds considerable detail to the picture of Republican Bantia in his discussion of an inscription from the excavations at the site which shed new light on the chronology of the *Tabula Bantina Osca* and on the *templum augurale* itself.

Daunia, the northernmost section of Apulia, is the focus of Chapter 7. This essay studies the earliest stages of Rome's intervention into the South of the Italian peninsula (between the second half of the fourth and the early third centuries B.C.), against the background of Daunian culture and settlement organization. This chapter discusses in detail the historical circumstances of the foundation of the earliest Latin colonies in the southeast of the peninsula and especially the early stages of the settlement at Venusia (the border region between Daunia and Lucania), for which a comprehensive study is still missing in spite of much field work done in recent years in that area.

The last three chapters bring the discussion back to a wider geographical area, analyzing cross-regionally selected aspects of the Romanization as it is reflected in the development of funerary architecture, public building, and construction techniques. Chapter 8 is dedicated to a class of funerary monuments which emphasize the importance of the local cultural context to the phenomena of Romanization and, at the same time, illustrate the mechanisms by which the Romanization affected artistic form and production. A class of funerary monuments with Doric friezes has long been linked with the spread of Roman colonization (for example, the chronology of their appearance in southern France) although lacking a study of their development and distribution. The analysis included in this volume, however, underlines the importance of the local cultural substratum and the social and economic conditions of the tombs' proprietors in order to clarify certain aspects of their structure and geographical distribution. Thus, although focusing more specifically on a single class of monuments, the paper is of major methodological significance for the scrutiny of the effects of Romanization on the local artistic expression. At the same time, the discussion brings up a lucid example of the key role of patronage in the development of Roman art.

Torelli also looks at public building in central Italy during the late Republican period (Chapter 9) and at the spread of new Hellenistic architectural types which take place concurrently with the great building renewal of the early second century B.C. in the city of Rome. After an apparent Italic *koiné* in architectural typologies which lasts until the late third century B.C., the gap between the center (Rome) and the periphery of the least developed regions of Italy becomes particularly evident, in spite of the impulses toward urbanization brought about by the Roman presence in the Italian peninsula. Torelli emphasizes the role of

euergetism of the local elite families, on the one hand, and donations on the part of the senatorial aristocracy, on the other, as important factors in the diffusion of new architectural types. Some of Torelli's remarks are critical to the study of the development of Late Republican architecture in general. His discussion about the early basilica and its functional and ideological links with the *atria publica* provides a useful interpretative paradigm for the development of Roman Republican architecture.

Chapter 10 analyzes the spread of Roman construction techniques and offers considerations of programmatic importance for the organization of Roman Italy and for the Roman world in the wider view. In discussing the development and diffusion of *opus reticulatum* Torelli underlines how this particular construction technique was considered the indication of *urbanitas* in the impressive urban development of Italy between the late first century B.C. and the first century A.D. The subsequent analysis of its diffusion within Romanized Italy provides the groundwork for the discussion of the organization of the technique itself and its direct links with the economic conditions of the time, thus presenting a very illustrative picture of new building developments within Romanized Italy and, more generally, in the early Roman empire.

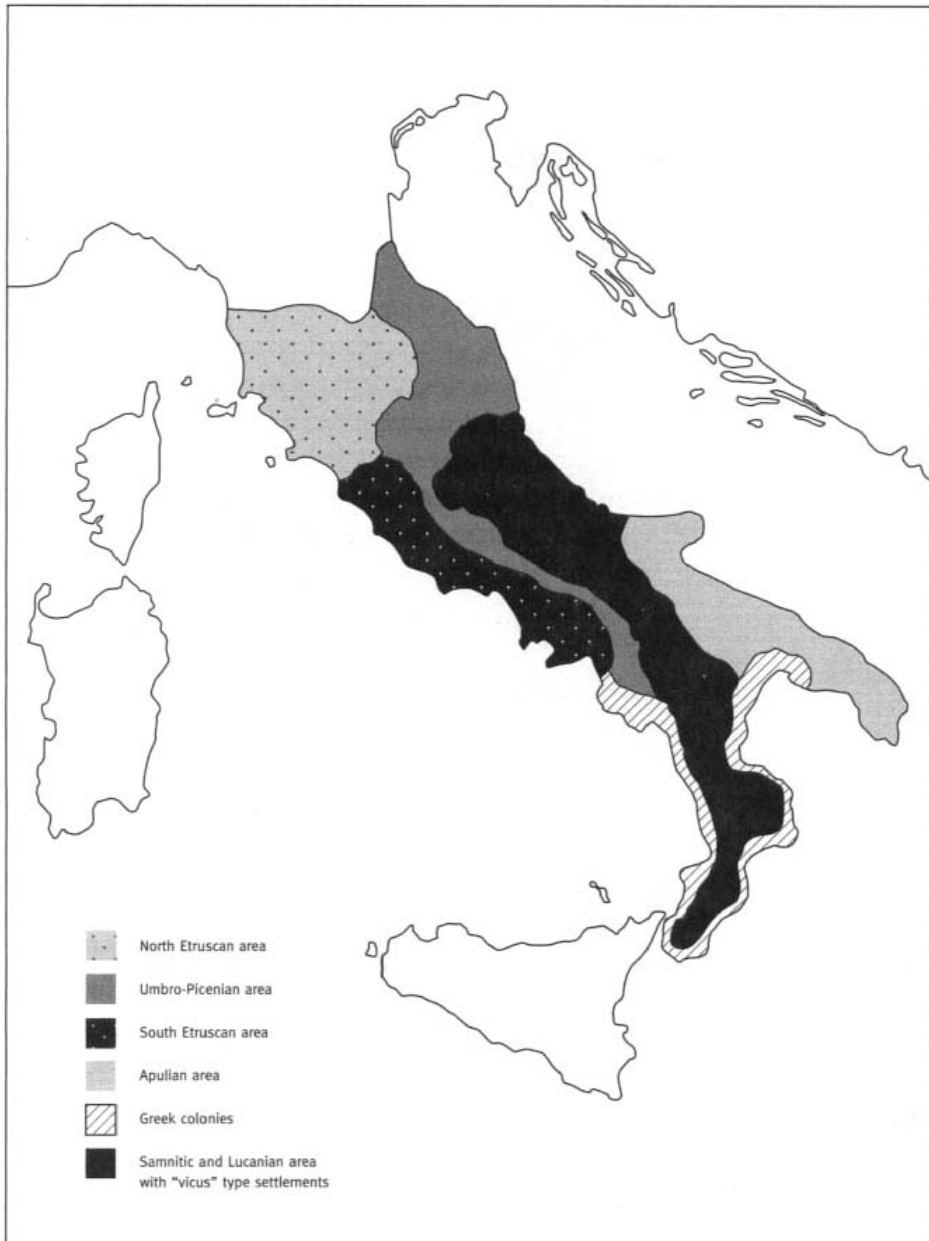
In sum, the papers collected in this volume encompass a detailed analysis of the socioeconomic and cultural background to the Romanization of Italy and at the same time provide a full picture of the material evidence from a number of Italian regions and a variety of local situations in the period between the Late Republic and the Early Empire.

Helena Fracchia
Maurizio Gualtieri

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THE CREATION OF ROMAN ITALY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ARCHAEOLOGY

IN THE STUDY OF "ACCULTURATION," archaeological evidence is a faithful reflection of the historical reality in its articulation of both structures and ideological forms. Indeed, the study of material culture—or archaeology in the widest sense—provides a detailed picture of the main transformations which occurred in the production process. Changes in the typology of urban and rural settlements reveal the different ways in which the productive forces are distributed in a territory. Thus, the alterations which occur in the previously established equilibrium in a given economic and social structure can be significant. The circulation of archaeologically detectable goods gives us an indication not only of the level and quality of commercial exchange but also of the degree of social organization and of differences in the levels of accumulated wealth. The types of goods produced in specific areas can provide some indication about the degree of craftsmanship development and the scale of workshops. Precise statistical data on the finds from settlement areas and cemeteries may enable us to determine figures for social mobility and to understand the interconnections between the latter and the stratification of society. No less indicative are the data which can be extracted from archaeological finds pertaining to the sphere of "ideal" forms such as cults, funerary customs, changes in taste and the very structure of artistic forms. Provided that we take into account the necessary differences between the finds themselves and ideology and between the latter and structure, all these data are very useful in understanding structural developments. In addition, these data provide an overall view of the cultural trends of the ruling classes, both in connection with the heritage of

the preceding traditions and the relationships of hegemony or marginality to external cultures.

Such statements about the potential value of archaeological evidence must be set against the background of very fragmentary evidence. As well, the tradition of studies on the Italic culture is in a deplorable state, as is our comprehension of the structural heterogeneity of the areas occupied by populations of Italic language. Until very recently, scholarly research has laid exclusive emphasis on data pertaining to ideological forms and thus on those elements that are closest to the cultural manifestations of Hellenistic and Roman derivation. As a result, we ignore almost totally the aspect of material culture. And in consequence we are much better informed about the higher manifestations of Hellenization or Romanization and of the ideological aspects than we are about the so-called "indigenous" aspect. Often these "indigenous" aspects have been the object of distorting speculation, in search of the phantom "Italic *genius*" or the like. Luckily for us, however, the more serious historical and archaeological research of recent years has created the background for modern historical considerations. For example, we can note the fundamental, numerous contributions of M.W. Frederiksen and W. Johannowsky for Campania, and of A. La Regina for the Samnitic areas, in addition to the papers presented at the Colloquium in Göttingen on "Hellenismus in Mittelitalien." My paper is based very much on this work and aims at providing a general view of the problem.

Another fact of fundamental importance in the understanding of such a complex phenomenon as the Romanization of Italy is the very unequal level of development found in the territories inhabited by peoples speaking Italic languages. This is especially the case for the period preceding the establishment of Roman hegemony on the peninsula in the third century B.C. and during the phase of Romanization in the second and first centuries B.C. These territories included areas where there was a very high degree of economic, social, and cultural development, areas from which Rome derived important technological and cultural stimuli, such as Campania. Both the part of Campania Romanized at an earlier stage by way of colonial settlements (such as Cales) and the part that remained formally independent until the Social War, such as the area of Nuceria, Cumae, or Teanum, are examples of this phenomenon.

Within the "Italic" area, a definition which essentially corresponds to a linguistic rather than socioeconomic and cultural concept, we may dis-

tinguish a plurality of regions. This plurality of regions reflects fairly well the diverse articulation of the structures of ancient Italy at the moment of the various movements in the archaic period of the Umbro-Sabellian tribes, as well as the effects deriving from the economic and political presence of Rome, active in the area for two centuries before the *bellum sociale*. The destructuring action fostered by Rome by means of her colonies, or as a consequence of the wars of conquest or of the Hannibalic war, is extremely important. Entire regions of southern Italy, such as the plains of Apulia, Lucania, and a large part of Bruttium, are hit by violent destructions in the second half of the third century B.C., particularly in the final decades of the century: this fact radically changed the local habitat. From Daunia to the Salentine region, from the valleys of the Bradano, Basento, and Sinni rivers to the Brettian plains of the Crati River, the Roman conquest left behind a scorched earth. Older and more recent excavations of Apulian, Lucanian, and Brettian settlements and precious surveys of Lucanian and Apulian areas have consistently revealed destruction and heavy depopulation, with a few meaningful exceptions represented by some Greek colonies and by a few major indigenous centers (the example of Canosa is outstanding). The shrinking urban areas and the rapid decay documented by a drastic reduction of public and private building and in craft production reveal visible and long-lasting consequences even in those major settlements which had survived, and which had been favored, to some extent, by the Roman conquest, such as Canusium and Herdoniae in the Daunian area.

We can distinguish three regions in the Italic territories. A first region is represented by Oscan Campania: here, in spite of the Samnitic conquest of the fifth century B.C. and the wars of the fourth and third century B.C., a very marked development of ancient date had never been completely stopped. The well-known case of post-Hannibalic Capua, first dismembered and then soon resurrected as a city, is representative of the depth and strength of the roots of the urban model in the region. The archaeological evidence clearly shows that between the end of the third century B.C. and the beginning of the first century B.C. the local aristocracies are among the richest in the Italian peninsula. Public and private building are undertaken on a large scale. The amount of wealth which accrues to the region as a consequence both of the booty from the Hellenistic East in the wake of Roman conquests and the development of a specialized local agriculture testify to this continuity. Although the ori-

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